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Ata

Ata is a small word with a magnitude of meaning that encompasses the spiritual and the relational, and reflects what we consider essential to a Māori indigenous therapy. Ata refers both to the actual as well as to the symbolic and thus allows us to explore meaning and possibility. Ata connects us to the natural world, entices us into relationship, caressing and encouraging human potentiality in the most subtle and gentle ways. Ata is used as a connector which invites a variety of meanings:

Ata — referring to early morning; ata pō, before dawn; ata tu, just after sunrise or dawn; as well as ata marama, moonlight.

Ata — referring to form, shape, semblance, shadow, reflection, and reflected image, as in whakaata, to look at one's reflected image; wai whakaata, a reflection to look into.

Ata — used to express accuracy, or to validate.

Āta — (noun) indicating care, thoughtfulness, as in ātawhai, showing kindness and concern; (verb) to consider; (adjective) purposeful, deliberate, transparent; (adverb) slowly, clearly.

Ata also appears as a component in other words such as ātāhua, beautiful, pleasant; and waiata.

We take inspiration from this word ata and embrace the way in which it supports us all to shape, inform and inspire the psychotherapy community in Aotearoa to reflect the essence of and challenges to our people and our landscape. Nga mihi nui ki a koutou katoa.

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Ata: Journal of Psychotherapy Aotearoa New Zealand

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Editorial: Feeling and thinking under emotional pressure

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Wiremu Woodard (Tuhoe)

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Korihi te manu	The bird sings
Tākiri mai i te ata	The morning has dawned
Ka ao, ka ao, ka awatea	The day has broken
Tīhei Mauri Ora!	Behold, there is life!

E ngā mana, e ngā reo, e ngā manu tioriori, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa!

The environment, both physical and emotional, within which we all live, work, love and hate, is increasingly disturbing, if not unbearably undoing. The relentlessness of the Covid 19 pandemic, the ongoing nuclear threat and catastrophic horror generated by the war in Ukraine, and the evermore urgent climate crisis with which we are all faced, produces states of mind within us all that are often terrifying. To be able to feel and think in such circumstances is perhaps an impossible challenge, and yet an absolutely necessary one for us all to face, if we are to act with wisdom, courage and care, in the face of these multiple and unavoidable terrors. In these very difficult circumstances, does psychotherapy and its accumulated wisdom have anything to offer? We suggest it does.

Foundational to the creative uniqueness of Wilfred Bion, we suggest, is his conceptualisation of the process of thinking under emotional pressure. That the mind is a pictogram, continually dreaming itself, an unconscious cinema, playing beneath the surface of our awareness. As Ferro (2011) commented,

> I believe that the "waking dream thought" (Bion, 1962) is the most significant and important of [Bion's] concepts. Aside from the night dream, our mind, through

its alpha function, constantly creates a continuous operation of "alphabetisation" of all the sensory stimuli and proto-emotions that we receive. The endpoint of this operation is the formation of alpha elements, which, when we put them into sequence, produce the waking dream thought. (p. 155) ... the mind that brings this transformation does not only transform the proto-sensorial and proto-emotive chaos into affectively meaningful representation, but, through the constant repetition of this mental work, also transmits "the method" [of thinking] deployed to achieve this (alpha function) (p. 162).

What this means for how we might inhabit the therapeutic moment is poetically captured by Thomas Ogden (2001),

> ... the analyst must be able to experience ... what it feels like being with the patient, and yet, for the most part, these experiences are unconscious. The analyst is initially, and for quite a long time, more "lived by" these predominantly unconscious feelings than he is the author of a set of thoughts, feelings, and sensations that he experiences as his own creations and can name for [her]himself. A good deal of my work as an analyst involves the effort to transform my experience of "I-ness" (myself as unselfconscious subject) into an experience of me-ness, (myself as object of analytic scrutiny) (p.19).

Central to the phenomenology of what Ogden described is the capacity for reverie: to hold our dream thoughts, evoked in the presence of our dreaming patient, in our mind, even as these fleeting fragments slip illusively from us.

Jung (1966) described, in his psychology of the transference, the encounter, unconscious to unconscious, of the pictogram of the mind of patient and analyst. Ogden (2001) and Bion (1962) encourage my phenomenological enquiry into these fleeting dreams thoughts, slowly allowing them to cohere into representation of inevitably disturbing affective states. And Foucault (2006) warns me that to react too quickly, is to risk enacting the discourses of our time, and thus to avoid inhabiting myself, feeling, dreaming, and eventually thinking, while recognising the immense emotional labour such a stance requires. If psychotherapy is not to be a further "monologue of reason about madness" (Foucault, 1967, cited in Rose, 2019, p. 150), then our only hope, is to surrender to, and linger with, the irrationality of the encounter, unconscious to unconscious, therapist, and patient.

Further, we suggest that a similar challenge faces us all as we, together and individually (though most importantly together, given how essential other minds are in service of feeling and thinking creatively and honestly), if we are to grapple and meaningfully engage with the collective challenges of our time. This is the challenge with which we must intentionally engage if we are not to "grasp for certainty," but rather inhabit the negative capability which our frightening times demand.

We suggest that each of the papers in this issue of the journal, assists us in this daunting task. Keith Tudor provides us with a comprehensive and insightful consideration of the depth and essence of person centred psychotherapy, the wisdom of its founders, particularly Carl Rogers, and the gifts it has to offer us all, if we but have ears to listen. Mihili Alexander

offers us a poignant and timely exploration of her research reflecting upon the experiences and perspectives of self identifying non-indigenous ethnic minority psychotherapists in Aotearoa New Zealand, and the multiple perspectives they bring to the psychotherapeutic and cross-cultural encounter in this context. John Farnsworth brings his sharp intellect to the many potentials and challenges which technology provides, for the practice and craft of psychotherapy in today's complex technological world. And Tiana Pēwhairangi Trego-Hall and Lily Kay Matariki O'Neill, in conversation with Anna Fleming and Verity Armstrong, provide voices of ranagatahi, voices which members of the New Zealand Association of Psychotherapists (NZAP) first heard during their panel contributions, offered as part of the NZAP 2021 Te Ipu Taiao — Climate Crucible online conference. Tiana and Lily call us to turn our attention towards the terrors we all face, and to listen to the wisdom of indigenous youth, in relation to the environmental catastrophe that is upon us.

We hope the combination of articles in this issue proves enriching for readers, particularly during these times of such disturbance, and of creative possibility.

We thank Hineira Woodard for her generous and expert work providing te reo Māori interpretations of the abstracts; tēnā koe, Hineira. Our deep thanks to our creative, skilful, and eagle-eyed designer, Katy Yiakmis; tēnā koe, Katy. Thank you to Nikky Winchester for her dedicated and skilful work as assistant editor: tēnā koe Nikky. And we thank Luisa Maloni for her careful and unfailingly accurate work in assisting the editors in numerous tasks, large and small. Finally, we thank you, the reader (NZAP member or subscriber), for your continuing support of the journal; we hope you will find this issue an evocative, provocative, enjoyable, and engaging read, and we look forward to editing the next issue.

Tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa.

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Person-centred psychotherapy

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Abstract

This article discusses person-centred psychotherapy. Firstly, it provides a brief history of the development of person-centred psychology, and its form of psychotherapy, and summarises the contributions of the different tribes or strands of what is now generally referred to as the person-centred approach. Secondly, it considers some of the key contributions that Carl Rogers and other person-centred theorists and practitioners have made to the field of psychotherapy, as well as ways in which person-centred psychotherapy is viewed as insufficient and unnecessary. Finally, the article examines the present state of person-centred psychotherapy and its therapies in Aotearoa New Zealand, and the prospects for its future development and influence.

Whakarāpopotonga

He matapakinga i te whakaoranga hinengaro pū-whaiaro tā tēnei tuhinga. Tuatahi, ka whakaratoa he kōrero paku nei o mua o te whanaketanga o tēnei momo tirohanga hinengaro, me tōna āhua hauora hinengaro ka whakarāpopoto hoki i te hua o ngā peka rerekē o tēnei mea e kīa nei i ēnei wā ko te rato pū-whaiaro. Tuarua, ka whakaarohia ētahi o ngā huanga matua kua homai e Kara Rāpata me ētahi atu kaiwhakatakoto ariā kaiwhakaharatau hoki ki te anga o te whakaora hinengaro, ā, me te āhua whakaaro kāre i te rahi ā kāre noa iho ōna kiko. I te mutunga, ka āta matawaihia te takotoranga onāianei o tēnei āhua whakaora hinengaro me āna haumaruhanga i Aotearoa Niu Tīreni, me ngā tōnui mō tōna whanaketanga anamata tōna awenga hoki.

Keywords: person-centred; psychology; psychotherapy; counselling; research; cross-cultural communication.

Person-Centred Psychotherapy: A (Very) Brief History

> He paiaka te rākau i tū ai.
> Through the roots the tree will grow.

The birth of what is now known as person-centred therapy is generally dated as 11 December 1940, when Rogers gave a talk at the University of Minnesota, entitled "Newer Concepts in Psychotherapy". In the talk, which was published two years later (Rogers, 1942a), Rogers described some characteristic steps in the therapeutic process of what he referred as a "newer psychotherapy" and four key elements of the character of this therapy: the individual drive towards growth; an emphais on the present, immediate, here-and-now situation, including its limits; a greater emphasis on feelings, emotions, and impulses than on thinking and intellectualisation; and viewing the (therapeutic) relationship itself as a growth experience. This last point acknowledged the influence on Rogers of Jessie Taft (1882–1960), a pioneering social worker and therapist, who first coined the term "relationship therapy" in the early 1930s (Taft 1933/1973). Much of Rogers' early thinking about relationship therapy and, later, the therapeutic relationship, came from Taft and other Rankians, including Frederick Allen and Virginia Robinson. Taft had been in analysis with Otto Rank, the Austrian psychoanalyst, writer and philosopher, following which she studied with him, translated his work, and wrote a biography of him (Taft, 1958). DeCarvalho (1999) discusses the influence on Rogers and the earliest formulations of client-centred therapy of Rank and "the Philadelphia circle" (Taft, Allen, Robinson, and others). Although Rogers himself had only one direct contact with Rank (on a three-day workshop organised by Taft), Rogers was particularly influenced by Rank regarding individual integrity, the capacity for individual choice, and a relationship therapy relying on the human qualities of the therapist. The emphasis on growth, which was later to become a hallmark of humanistic psychology and psychotherapy (from the 1960s onwards), was the subject of a session entitled "The accent in psychotherapy: Growth processes versus psychopathology" at the 1966 annual conference of the New Zealand Association of Psychotherapists (NZAP) (Manchester & Manchester, 1996).

Historically, what is now known as "the person-centred approach" has developed through a number of iterations, recognised within the approach (e.g., Ellingham, 2011; Embleton Tudor et al, 2004), each of which has, arguably, deepened and widened the approach, its psychology and therapy, and its application.

Iterations of Rogers' work and thinking

Relationship therapy

The first iteration was marked by Rogers' first book, *The Clinical Treatment of the Problem Child* (Rogers, 1939), and his talk in Minnesota (Rogers, 1942a). The book was based on Rogers' clinical experience over 12 years of what were then referred to as "maladjusted" children in Rochester, New York. Notwithstanding its references to "treatment", "problem", and "diagnosis", terms which Rogers was later to critique, the book contains the seeds of some important features of person-centred psychology, namely:

- His reference to the human organism — which a number of theorists in person-centred psychology view as its root metaphor (Neville, 2012; Spielhofer, 2003; Tudor & Worrall, 2006); indeed, in their review of Rogers' work, Hall and Lindzey (1970, 1978) categorised Rogers as an organismic theorist.

- His advocacy of changing the environment as a form of treatment — which prefigured his environmental conditions of therapy (Rogers, 1957, 1959).
- His positioning of "treatment" as relationship therapy.
- His reference to expressive therapy, specifically play techniques and drama.

Historically, Taft's and Roger's development of relationship therapy was the original "relational turn", one that sparked Rogers' subsequent work on the therapeutic relationship, its conditions (Rogers, 1957, 1959), and impact (Rogers et al., 1967) — and one which predated the psychoanalytic "relational turn" (Greenberg & Mitchell, 1983) by some 50 years. In the light of subsequent splits in the nation of person-centred and experiential therapies, some commentators have regretted Rogers' move away from this original formulation (Ellingham, 2011; Tudor, 2022).

Non-directive therapy

The second iteration, "non directive therapy", was marked by the publication of *Counseling and Psychotherapy* (Rogers, 1942a), which contains a short but significant chapter on "Directive vs non-directive approaches". It also contains Rogers' elaboration of two aspects of the therapist's role: that of responding to feelings (as distinct from content); and the acceptance, recognition and clarification of positive, negative and ambivalent feelings. The book also contains the case study of Herbert Bryan, a client of Rogers, which, according to Kirschenbaum and Henderson (1990) is "the first recorded, fully transcribed and published psychotherapy case in history" (p. 62).

Interestingly, in terms of Rogers' attitude to naming his clinical work, as well as subsequent turf wars in the profession(s), the use of the two terms "counselling" and "psychotherapy" in the title of the book is inclusive, rather than distinctive; in other words, Rogers viewed the terms and activities as synonymous. Indeed, in the index of the book, the entry for "psychotherapy" says "*See* Counseling" (Rogers, 1942a, p. 450). Whether or not there is a distinction between these two terms, activities, disciplines, and professions, and their practitioners, has been the subject of much debate — for nearly 100 years! Suffice it to say that, generally, within the person-centred world, its practitioners do not see an *inherent* difference between psychotherapy and counselling (and thus the use of the generic terms "therapy" and "therapist"), preferring instead to define any differences in terms of education/training (entry levels, length, course requirements, standards, etc.); qualification (levels); accreditation and registration; and legislative context.

Client-centred therapy

The third iteration of the person-centred approach, and what Zimring and Raskin (1992) referred to as the "second decade" of client-centred therapy, was marked by the publication in 1951 of Rogers' book, *Client-Centered Therapy*, which represented a shift of focus from the skill(s) of the therapist to the the client. Rogers outlines a number of aspects of his then current view of client-centred therapy, including the attitude and orientation of the counsellor and, significantly, a view of the therapeutic relationship as experienced by the client. He also confronts questions raised by "other viewpoints" on transference and "transference attitudes", diagnosis and the applicability of client-centred therapy. The book

also contains his first major formulation of theory — of personality and behaviour — written in the form of 19 propositions. Rogers followed this up at the end of the 1950s with the publication of a long and comprehensive chapter on "A theory of therapy, personality and interpersonal relationships, as developed in the client-centred framework" (Rogers, 1959).

Person-centred therapy

The fourth iteration was marked by the publication of another book, *On Becoming a Person: A Therapist's View of Psychotherapy* (Rogers, 1961/1967b), which shifted the focus again, this time from the client *as client* to the client *as a whole person*. The title of the book conveys the direction of Rogers' interest and thinking, with its emphasis on experience and experiencing, and being and becoming. It also contains important papers on the characteristics of a helping relationship, a process conception of psychotherapy, the fully functioning person, a theory of creativity, and a critique of behaviourism, as well as two papers on philosophy and three on research. The importance and the development of the concept of congruence (i.e., the genuiness or authenticity of the therapist) may also be traced to this period.

The person-centred approach

The fifth iteration was marked by Rogers' increasing interest in the application of the principles of person-centred psychology and its therapy, including group therapy (Gordon, 1951; Rogers 1970/1973b), couple therapy (Rogers, 1973a; O'Leary, 1999), and family therapy (Gaylin, 2001), to other aspects of life, for example, education (Rogers, 1969, 1983; Rogers & Freiberg, 1994); conflict resolution (McGaw, 1973); parent education (Gordon, 1975); politics (Rogers, 1978); working in organisations (Rogers, 1980); aspects of society (Rogers, 1980); and leadership (Plas, 1996). This was reflected in the term — and the title of Rogers' last book, *A Way of Being* (Rogers, 1980), following which the phrase "the person-centred approach" became more widely used. John K. Wood (1996), a close associate of Rogers, elaborated on this when he argued that the person-centred approach:

> is not a school ... itself, it is not a movement ... it is not a philosophy. Nor is it any number of other things frequently imagined. It is merely, as its name implies, an approach, nothing more, nothing less. It is a psychological posture, if you like, from which thought or action may arise and experience be organized. It is a "way of being". (pp. 168-169)

A species-centred approach

A sixth iteration of this psychology was discussed by Tudor and Worrall (2006) in their book, *Person-Centred Therapy: A Clinical Philosophy*. Acknowledging that the concept of the organism lies at the heart of the person-centred approach, they argued that:

> Rogers' use of the concept signifies both a unified concept of human motivation and a focus on all organisms, and in this sense it may be more accurate to talk about a people-centred or even species-centred approach to life and to therapy. (pp. 45–46)

However, whilst the plural ("people" and "species") is more encompassing than the singular ("person"), there is still a sense in which framing the approach in terms of human beings is (too) anthropocentric, a criticism also levelled at humanistic psychology in general, especially from perspectives informed by post-humanism and environmental philosophy and ethics (see, for instance, Rust, 2009).

Eco-centred therapy

This critique suggests a seventh iteration of the approach — that of an eco-centred therapy. Although client-centred therapists have been talking about the environment since Amatuzzi presented his paper at the first International Forum of the Person-Centered Approach in 1984, and it was represented in the work of Bernie Neville, specifically on different forms of consciousness, and the being of the whole world — as he later put it, *The Life of Things* (Neville, 2012) — it was not until 2011 that it was the subject of a special issue of the international journal *Person-centered and Experiential Psychotherapies* (Keys, 2014). In his article on the subject, Bazzano (2013) argued that this is "one more step" for person-centred therapy and therapists to take.

Factions, Groups, Tribes, and Strands

As with most, if not all, other approaches/schools/modalities of psychotherapy, the person-centred approach has developed in different directions as a result of theoretical — and sometimes personal — differences. Lietaer (1990) suggested that the termination of the Wisconsin project, a major study of psychotherapy with schizophrenics (Rogers et al., 1967), was a crucial moment in the history of the approach, subsequent to which four discernible "factions" within or associated with the approach may be traced:

1. A group around Rogers, who subsequently (from 1969) was based in the Center for the Studies of the Person, La Jolla, California, where he continued to develop the philosophy and practice of the approach.
2. A group around Eugene Gendlin, who developed focusing and experiential therapy in the European tradition of existential philosophy (Gendlin, 1962; see also Levin, 1997).
3. A group around Charles Truax and Robert Carkhuff, who developed an eclectic model of the helping relationship (see Truax & Carkhuff, 1967; Patterson, 1985), but who, in popularising the approach — it was they who coined the term "the core conditions" — also contributed to some of the misunderstandings of the original theory (see below).
4. A group around David Wexler and Laura Rice, who chose cognitive learning psychology as a theoretical framework for their development of the person-centred approach (see Wexler & Rice, 1974).

There are now a number of what Sanders (2004, 2012) has, following Warner (2000), referred to as "tribes" within the person-centred nation. In his original book on this subject, published in 2004, Sanders identified these tribes as: classical client-centred or person-centred therapy, focusing, experiential, existential, and integrative, to which, 10 years later

(in the second edition of the book) he added: emotion-focused therapy, person-centred expressive therapies, pre-therapy, and client-centred or person-centred therapy based on working at relational depth. To these, I have noted four additional strands: the cognitive-behavioural, the political, the spiritual, and the ecological (Tudor, 2021, 2022). Table 1 summarises these tribes and strands in the chronological order of their development, together with the key concepts emphasised within each tribe/strand, and key texts that represent the theory and practice of each tribe/strand.

TABLE 1

The tribes of the person-centred nation (based on Sanders, 2004, 2012) and strands of person-centred and experiential therapies (from Tudor, 2021)		
Tribes and *Strands*	**Key concepts**	**Key texts**
Classical (from 1939)	organism, actualising tendency, formative tendency, self, locus of evaluation, non-directivity, conditions of worth, the necessary and sufficient conditions of personality change	Rogers (1939, 1942a, 1959), Patterson (1948/2000), Shlien (1960s/2003), Bozarth (1990/1998), Brodley (1990), Barrett-Lennard (1998), Warner (1990), Sommerbeck (2003), Merry (2004/2012), Kritz (2006/2008), Tudor & Worrall (2006), Ellingham (2011)
Integrative (from the late 1950s) **and Pluralistic** (from the 2010s)	meta-perspective(s), principled non-directivity, personal integration, common factorseclecticism, pluralism	Rogers (1957), Stubbs & Bozarth (1996), Worsley (2004/2012) Cooper and McLeod (2011)
Experiential (from the early 1960s)	experience, agential, reflexivity, process experiential, attending to process	Rogers (1961/1967b), Gendlin (1962, 1974/1981), Iberg (1984), Rennie (1998), Lietaer (2002), Worsley (2002), Baker (2004/2012)
Cognitive-behavioural (from the mid 1970s)	organism, perception, construct, self-concept, intentionality, social cognition, self-schemas	Wexler (1974), Zimring (1974), Cartwright & Graham (1984), Rice (1984)

Pre-therapy (from the mid 1970s)	psychological contact, contact impairment, contact function(s), contact reflection(s)	Prouty (1976), Prouty et al. (1998/2002), Sanders (2012)
Focusing/ focusing-oriented (from the late 1970s)	experiencing, felt sense, interactional human nature, personality change	Gendlin (1974/1981, 1996), Purton (2004/2012)
Political (from the late 1970s)	personal power, collaborative power	Rogers (1978), Miller O'Hara (1984), May et al. (1986), Natielo (1990/2001), Kearney (1996), Tudor (1997), Proctor & Napier (2004), Proctor et al. (2006)
Person-centred expressive therapies (from the early 1980s)	creativity, expressive arts modes, creative connection, arts for peace	N. Rogers (1984, 1993/2000, 2011), N. Rogers et al. (2012), Brown (2012), Ono (2018)
Spritual (from the early 1980s)	spirit, spirituality, presence, transcendent, faith	Arnold (1984), Bowen (1984), Thorne (1991, 1998, 2002), Leijssen (2008)
Ecological (from the 1980s)	ecology, ecological self, organism, formative tendency	Amatuzzi (1984), Neville (2012), Bazzano (2013), Blair (2013), Keys (2014), Tudor (2014)
Emotion-focused (from the mid 1980s)	present-moment emotional experience, assimilative integration, therapeutic task, task markers, end state	Greenberg et al. (1993), Elliot et al. (2004), Elliott (2012), Goldman (2017)
Working at relational depth (from 1996)	configurations of self, relational depth	Mearns (1996), Mearns & Cooper (2005), Schmid & Mearns (2006), Knox (2012)
Existential/ existentially-oriented (from the late 1990s)	existence as a process	Cooper (2004/2012), Stumm (2005), Madison (2010)

Contributions of the Person-Centred Approach

Mā tōu rourou, mā taku rourou ka ora te iwi.
With your food basket and my food basket the people will thrive.

Having established the ground that is person-centred psychotherapy, the second part of this article considers some of the contributions that Rogers and other person-centred theorists and practitioners have made to the wider field of psychotherapy, specifically, to research, to humanistic psychology and its therapies, and to education and training. In each of these discussions, I also acknowledge some of the problems posed by — and to — person-centred therapy and, more broadly, the person-centred approach, which have led to it being considered insufficient and/or irrelevant.

Research

Rogers was one of the first psychologists to undertake research into psychotherapy (see Rogers, 1942b) and, as noted above, the first to publish a complete transcript of his work with a client (Rogers, 1942a). He followed this up with numerous journal articles and two books on research: *Psychotherapy and Personality Change* (Rogers & Dymond, 1954) and *The Therapeutic Relationship and Its Impact: A Study of Psychotherapy with Schizophrenia* (Rogers et al., 1967). His theoretical formulations of the therapeutic relationship (Rogers, 1957, 1959) were derived from what would now be viewed as a form of grounded theory, based on close listening to recordings of client sessions. As he himself put it: "One of the most important characteristics of the client-centered orientation to therapy is that from the first it has not only stimulated research but has existed in a context of research thinking" (Rogers, 1960/1967a, p. 244).

In 1956, Rogers was honoured by the American Psychological Association in receiving (along with Wolfgang Köhler and Kenneth W. Spence) its first Distinguished Scientific Contribution Award; his citation included the reasons and acknowledgement for the award: "for formulating a testable theory of psychotherapy, and for extensive systematic research to exhibit the value of the method and explore and test the implications of the theory" (cited in Kirschenbaum & Henderson, 1990, p. 201). In the majority of its issues (from 1986-1990), the *Person-Centered Review* carried articles on research, and, in 1990, devoted a special issue to "Human Inquiry and the Person-Centered Approach" (Seeman, 1990). The current major international peer-reviewed journal in the field, *Person-centred & Experiential Psychotherapies*, first published in 2002, also regularly publishes research articles.

Writing in 1960 and reflecting on the large number of objective empirical investigations that client-centred therapy had already set in motion — 122 between 1942 and 1957, according to Cartwright (1957) — Rogers advanced some reasons for such stimulation of research:

1. Because "the theory of client-centered therapy has been seen from the first not as dogma or as truth but as a statement of hypotheses, as a tool for advancing our knowledge" (Rogers, 1960/1967a, p. 244), "[t]here has been a sense of commitment to the objective testing of each significant aspects of our hypotheses" (p. 244).
2. Due to the fact that this approach to scientific study can begin anywhere and at

any level of generality or refinement, "[o]ut of this attitude has come a series of instruments of increasing refinement for analyzing interview protocols, and … measuring … the self-concept, and the psychological climate of a therapeutic relationship" (p. 245).

3. Because the constructs of the theory in his formulation published the previous year — Rogers had identified 40 — had been "kept to those which can be given operational definition" (p. 245), the use of such operationally defined constructs meant that predictions based on these could be confirmed or disconfirmed, which, in turn, obviated the use of "success" and "failure" as criteria in studies of therapy.

4. Due to the fact that these constructs (such as self-concept, positive regard, and the conditions of personality change) have a generality — which meant that they have application and can be studied in a wide variety of human activities.

Because client-centred therapy has always existed in the context of a university setting, it had been exposed "to the friendly criticism of colleagues … to critical scrutiny … [and] to the eager searching of younger minds" (p. 246).

Rogers conducted most of his research between the late 1930s and the late 1960s. Following his move in 1967 from the University of Wisconsin to the Center for the Study of the Person, in La Jolla, California, he became less involved in research and more focused on developing person-centred psychology as an approach to life beyond the clinic. Nevertheless, he did promote "research thinking" in person-centred therapy and a person-centred approach to research (Elliott, 2007), which contributed not only to the development of *person-centred* therapy — which others have taken forward (for a bibliographic survey of which, see Lietaer, 2016) — but also to the wider field of psychotherapy. For instance, his research on the conditions of therapy (Rogers, 1957), which was originally an integrative statement (Stubbs & Bozarth, 1996), i.e., about all therapies, prefigured subsequent interest and more recent research in "common factors", i.e., those factors which are "in common" across therapeutic models and modalities.

I suggest a number of reasons for the lack of interest in this particular contribution of Rogers:

• The lack of knowledge across the field of psychotherapy as a whole: as practitioners tend to be educated or to train in a specific theoretical orientation or therapeutic modality, it takes openness, a specific interest, time, and some discipline to read outside and beyond one's core theoretical model.

• The lack of knowledge about or interest in research: until relatively recently, the majority of psychotherapists (myself included) were able to train and qualify without having to study any research in psychotherapy (methods, methodologies, etc.), other than case studies. This has led to what McLeod (2003) referred to as a "research gap" in psychotherapy and counselling between research and practice.

• The fact that most of the research paradigm(s) associated with psychotherapy research are not mainstream: the collective and/or individual view of human nature (ontology), the subjective nature of knowledge about self and others (epistemology), and the reflective and/or interpretive nature of how we might understand and process what

we discover or find (methodology), are all somewhat counter-cultural to the dominant paradigm of evidence-based research, i.e., *empirically*-supported evidence.

- The fact that case study research, the original form of research in psychotherapy, is viewed by significant authorities (and funders) as a low standard of evidence compared to randomised-controlled trials, which are viewed as the "gold standard" of evidence (e.g., Harbour & Miller, 2001; National Health and Medical Research Council, 2009).
- The fact that it is difficult to distinguish between psychotherapy and other forms of psychological therapies, especially counselling, counselling psychology, and clinical psychology, and also some therapy or therapies in rehabilitation psychology, psychiatry, clinical social work and clinical nursing. The lack of agreement — and, indeed, the considerable disagreement — about the distinctions between these different activities and disciplines internationally makes research and, especially, international research extremely difficult.

The fact that the majority of the education/training of psychotherapists internationally takes place in private training institutes means that students/trainees in this sector have less access to resources, including academic journals, than their counterparts educated/trained in the public sector. For many, this continues after qualification, unless a psychotherapist is a member of an organisation that produces a professional and/or academic journal.

The good news on the research front in this country is, not least, that this journal is now freely available; that Auckland University of Technology is establishing an entity (group/institute) for research in the psychological therapies; and that the NZAP has established a research committee that has identified certain priorities for research.

Humanistic psychology

The history of humanistic psychology cannot be understood or appreciated without acknowledging the influence of person-centred therapy. In November 1964, Rogers attended the founding conference of the American Association of Humanistic Psychology (AHPP) at the Wesleyan University and Old Saybrook, Connecticut (Bugental, 1965). As Elkins (2000) put it: "That conference helped clarify the vision and set the course of humanistic psychology in America. Within a few years, this movement became a 'third force' in American psychology" (p. 120). Initially, the focus of this new psychology was more in opposition to the dominant forces of psychoanalysis and behaviourism. As DeCarvalho (1990) put it: "At first … the AHPP was little more than a protest group. Its early organizational meetings were colored by a deep dissatisfaction with and rebellion against behaviourism" (p. 28). That said, Maslow, who was one of the inspirations for the founding conference, viewed humanistic psychology as "epi-behavioural" and "epi-Freudian" ("epi" meaning "building upon") (Maslow, 1962). Similarly, in his introduction to the special issue of the *Journal of Humanistic Psychology* (which had been established in 1961) devoted to papers from the Wesleyan/ Saybrook conference, Bugental (1964) wrote: "Humanistic psychology generally does not see itself as competitive with the other two orientations; rather, it attempts to supplement their observations and to introduce further perspectives and insights" (p. 22). These further perspectives and insights include:

- Acknowledging the individual as a unique, truth-seeking, integrated (or integrating) and self-regulating whole, with a right to autonomy with responsibility, with capacities and potentialities.
- Conceptualising the person as being aware, creative, embodied, holistic, and responsible, having free choice, making sense and meaning, and, as primarily a social being, with a powerful need to belong.
- Viewing growth and therapy as being based on actualisation and self-awareness, including authenticity; an autonomy that acknowledges interdependence; emotional competence, completion, and creativity; and respect for wholeness, integrity, and difference.
- Asserting the centrality of the therapeutic relationship as the primary agent of therapeutic change, founded on the therapist's contactfulness and engagement, genuineness or authenticity, non-judgemental acceptance, and empathy; and as a resource for overcoming alienation (see Association of Humanistic Psychology Practitioners, 1998/2009; Bühler, 1965; Cain, 2001; Sutich, 1968).

Sixty years on, humanistic psychology encompasses many approaches, including gestalt therapy, neo-Reichian body psychotherapies, psychodrama, psychosynthesis, and transactional analysis, alongside person-centred and experiential therapies: which, I suggest, are the "big six" schools or approaches within this third force of psychology.

In Aotearoa New Zealand, there is a small Western humanistic tradition which has been expressed principally through the activities of the New Zealand Association of Rationalists and Humanists (established in 1927), whose members included Michael Savage (1872–1940), former Prime Minister of New Zealand (1935–1940). In terms of psychology and, specifically, psychotherapy, the humanistic tradition is similarly small and, currently, only represented in training courses in bioenergetics, Hakomi, psychodrama, psychosynthesis, and transactional analysis (for a description of which, see Tudor et al., 2013).

Reading the history of the NZAP, which was founded in 1947, it is clear that, initially, it was dominated by male medical professionals and positioned itself and its membership in close alliance with medicine (Manchester & Manchester, 1996). It is also clear that the primary theoretical influence — indeed, in the early days, the only theoretical influence — was psychoanalysis and psychoanalytic thinking. In 1974 the Association changed its name to The New Zealand Association of Psychotherapists, Counsellors and Behaviour Therapists, and established three divisions: analytic, general psychotherapy, and counselling. The next year, presentations at the Association's annual conference included, for the first time, some that reflected humanistic therapies (in that case, transactional analysis). Since then and, notwithstanding two further changes of name (in 1981 and 1987), the Association (now the NZAP) has embraced therapists from a number of humanistic schools, specifically, and almost entirely due to the presence of training courses in those approaches noted above as well as gestalt. However, I would question the inclusiveness of this embrace given the requirements of the Advanced Clinical Practice (ACP) pathway to full membership of the NZAP which clearly (and contradictorily) states that "This is not a training based on either curriculum or any particular modality of

psychotherapy; it is however rooted in psychodynamic theory" (NZAP, 2021, p. 4). This wording and sentiment runs the risk of alienating candidates who might consider the ACP pathway but feel or understand that they must undertake training, supervision, and personal therapy that is psychodynamic. The New Zealand Association of Child and Adolescent Psychotherapists (NZACAP) is exclusively psychoanalytic and psychodynamic in orientation, as its rules state:

The objects for which the Association is established are:

2.1 The fostering and advancement of the theory and practice of Child & Adolescent Psychotherapy with emphasis on the application of psychoanalytic, psychodynamic and system theory alongside developmental principles in diagnosis and treatment. (NZACAP, 2018, p. 4)

One aspect of the long and winding road to the state registration of psychotherapists in 2010 (Dillon, 2017/2020) was that this move was supported by a number of humanistic psychotherapists who thought that the relevant responsible authority, the Psychotherapists Board of Aotearoa New Zealand (PBANZ, "the Board"), would adopt a position of theoretical neutrality — which it did and still does. However, whilst this is true of the gazetted scope of practice for the child and adolescent specialisation (New Zealand Gazette, 2008, as well as subsequent revisions), the Board's (2019) additional core competencies for psychotherapists working with children and adolescents require such psychotherapist to have a knowledge base of psychoanalytic theory (competence E.1)a) and c)) and to be psychodynamic in practice (competence E.2)b). This contradicts the Board's claim to be theoretically neutral and excludes humanistic (including person-centred) child and adolescent therapists from registering as psychotherapists and contributing to the mental health and well-being of children and adolescents in this country.

Such old prejudices die hard. On one occasion (in 2009) when I introduced myself to a colleague as a humanistic psychotherapist, she replied abruptly: "Isn't that a contradiction in terms?" I appreciated her saying this as it was a useful pointer to the profession of psychotherapy in this country, and my acclimatisation to both. Nevertheless, it appears that, until all psychotherapists in this country accept what is referred to as the Dodo bird verdict (from Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland*) on psychotherapy research comparing therapeutic modalities, i.e., that all have won and all must have prizes (King et al., 2000; Luborsky et al., 2002; Rosenzweig, 1936; Wampold, 2001), psychotherapists, health practitioners, and health care providers who identify as humanistic, let alone person-centred, will not feel so prized.

Education and training

Rogers was one of very few founding fathers or mothers of a school of, or approach to therapy, to articulate and publish their ideas about education — and he did so not only about the education and training of therapists, but also about education in general. His book, *Freedom to Learn*, was originally published in 1969; a thoroughly revised version appeared in 1983; and a third edition appeared after Rogers' death (Rogers & Freiberg, 1994). Rogers identifies the aim of a more human education as, typically, being a movement towards: a climate of trust in the classroom; a participatory mode of decision-making in all aspects of

learning by all participants; helping students prize themselves; developing excitement and curiosity in intellectual and emotional discovery; and developing in teachers these attitudes when facilitating learning and helping students grow as persons. This has led the more Rogerian of person-centred therapy courses or programmes to promote and facilitate students' self-directed learning, including assessment (for one report of which, see Blomfield, 1997).

Like A. S. Neill (1960) and Paulo Freire (1967/1976; 1972), each of whom Rogers cites, Rogers made a distinction between education and schooling, and between education and training, and wrote about issues of power in training and, more broadly, the politics of education. Rogers was so committed to this freedom that he asserted that "no student can or should be trained to become a client-centered therapist … It is far most important that [the student] be true to his experience than that he should coincide with any known therapeutic orientation" (Rogers, 1983, pp. 423-424). This perspective again demonstrates Rogers' anticipation of subsequent developments in the field, in this case, research which demonstrates that the therapist's theoretical orientation is much less significant with regard to therapeutic outcome than is the therapeutic relationship or any other extra-therapeutic factors (Lambert, 1992; Wampold, 2001). Thus, research suggests that education/training course/programmes in psychotherapy (and counselling, and counselling and clinical psychology), rather than focusing on a core theoretical model, should be acknowledging the significance of extra-therapeutic factors, or the heroism of the client as Duncan, Miller and Sparks (2004) put it; and the importance of the therapeutic relationship, or, more precisely, the ability of the therapist to relate therapeutically with a range of clients. Rogers' ideas were radical at the time, and remain so some 50 years later, especially in the context of the increasing regulation of education and training in psychotherapy and other social and health professional activity.

In the light of Rogers' theoretical rigour and his ideas about education and training, it is particularly ironic that, following the end of the Wisconsin research project, two of his associates, Charles Truax and Robert Carkhuff, in their subsequent work on effective counselling and psychotherapy, focused on only three of the six necessary and sufficient conditions of therapeutic change, i.e., the therapist's accurate empathy, non-possessive warmth, and authenticity or genuineness. They also promoted the training of these as technical skills rather than being a part of a broader education about the qualities of the therapeutic relationship. In doing so, Truax and Carkhuff (1967) popularised the inaccurate and unhelpful term, "the core conditions" (a term Rogers never used); reified the role of the therapist as "offering" these conditions, and discounted the role and person of the client, thereby setting in motion a skills training approach which fundamentally misrepresented person-centred praxis. Whilst the authenticity of the therapist is crucial, as is their acceptance of and empathy for the client, these qualities are not sufficient for effective therapy — and Rogers never claimed they were. The impact of Truax and Carkhuff's work and influence, including on other practitioners and writers such as Gerald Egan, famous for his book *The Skilled Helper* (the first edition of which was published in 1980), however, was to "dumb down" Rogerian and person-centred praxis to the point that, whilst these skills were seen as fundamental, they were viewed as only foundational. Thus, "person-centred" has been considered by some as only a form of counselling and insufficient as a psychotherapy;

and, within counselling, by others, as only basic and, therefore, requiring other supplemental theory and skills. Evan Sherrard (personal communication, August 2015) offered a counterpoint to this:

> I personally think of my Rogerian foundation … as the fundamental foundation for any psychotherapeutic approach … [being able] to sit and listen effectively to people and keep yourself out of it and be focused on [the] client in front of you — the skills that Rogers encourages. You can't use any other method.

Understandably, person-centred educators and trainers have, over the years, countered this and there are now many professional and degree courses and programmes in counselling and psychotherapy all over the world that provide a thorough education/training in the person-centred approach. Reviewing the prerequisites for NZAP's Advanced Clinical Practice pathway (NZAP, 2021), and the recently published *Consultation Response [Training] Accreditation Standards* (PBANZ, 2021), and knowing the depth and breadth of the approach, it is clear that a person-centred education/training course/programme could meet all the requirements set out in both documents.

Person-Centred and Experiential Therapies in Aotearoa New Zealand

> He aha te mea nui o te ao? He tangata, he tangata, he tangata.
> What is the most important thing in the world? It is the people, it is the people, it is the people.

In some ways, one could argue that the person-centred approach has become a victim of its own success in that, while it is a well-known term, few connect or attribute "person-centred" to Rogers or to person-centred psychology. Similarly, the term and claim to be "patient-centred" is rarely based on client-centred therapy and its various developments. A recent search on these terms in New Zealand documents revealed the following:

- Encouraging person-centred care (Gee et al, 2011).
- Models of care that are person-centred (Clendon, 2011).
- Patient and family centred care (Boon, 2012).
- Patient and family/whanau-centred care framework (Taranaki District Health Board, 2013).
- Person-centred and people-directed approach (Ministry of Health, 2013).
- Person-centred care for people living with dementia in New Zealand (Gee & Scott-Multani, 2014).
- People-centred and integrated health services (World Health Organisation [WHO], 2015)
- Person-centred (Tameifuna, 2015).
- Patient centred care (Keene, 2016).
- A person-centred future in New Zealand (Tautoko Support Services, 2016).

- A person-centred care scale (Yeung et al., 2016).
- Patient and person-centred care (Health Navigator New Zealand, 2020).
- Person centred approach (Spectrum Care, 2020) (which, in the past two years, has been replaced by a "customer-centric" model).
- Person-centred approach — in a health or wellbeing setting (New Zealand Qualifications Authority, 2021).
- A person-centred approach to primary mental health and addictions support (Closing the Loop, n.d.).

In none of these documents, reviews, or articles is Rogers (or are any other person-centred writers) acknowledged, cited, or referenced. This is not unique to Aotearoa New Zealand, but this is the evidence from the New Zealand context. Indeed, this extends to two key international documents on patient-centred care, one from the Institute of Medicine (2001) and the other on a framework for integrated people-centred health services from the World Health Organisation (WHO, 2016). The one exception to this is a learning guide to the person-centred approach produced by Career Force/Te Toi Puhenga (2017) which acknowledges that:

> Person-centred is a term that originates from the works of psychologist Carl Rogers (1902-1987), who recognised there were key elements in optimising peoples' health and wellbeing. One was ensuring people were empowered to make decisions about the life they choose to live, and secondly that positive and meaningful relationships were at the very core of a person's sense of wellbeing. (p. 2)

I appreciate this acknowledgement of Rogers' work and agree with the summary, especially in the context of practice, work and life in this country. Elsewhere, Brian Rogers and I have traced the history of the person-centred approach and of person-centred therapy *in* this country (Rodgers & Tudor, 2020, Tudor & Rodgers, 2020). We emphasise the preposition "*in*" in order to acknowledge the fact that the person-centred approach and its various forms of therapy are, as with all therapeutic modalities in this country, settler therapies.

Here in Aotearoa New Zealand, those of us who are proponents of person-centred therapies face a number of historical and contextual issues with regard to identifying and organising around person-centred therapies:

- The fact that neither Carl Rogers or any of his immediate students or followers visited this country professionally:
- Rogers and his wife, Helen, did spend some days here in February 1965 on his way back from Melbourne where he had addressed a meeting of the British Psychological Society (Victorian Group) and the New Zealand College of Psychiatrists (Victorian Branch), at which he presented a paper on the therapeutic relationship (Rogers, 1965; for details of which, see Rodgers & Tudor, 2020). During his short time in New Zealand, Rogers stayed with, or visited Reverend David Williams who had trained with him in Chicago and was one of a number of clergy who were influential in developing counselling services in New Zealand, including Lifeline (which Williams founded).

To date, this is the only direct connection I have found between Carl Rogers and one of our own founding fathers, though Evan Sherrard (who was more associated with both psychodrama and transactional analysis in this country) also trained in person-centred counselling, at the Institute of Religion in Houston, Texas (1964-1965), and always acknowledged this influence in his work (as noted above).

• The fact that client- or person-centred therapy is not widely taught in Aotearoa New Zealand:

Although a number of educators/trainers, especially in counselling education, will claim to be basically person-centred, there are no counselling courses based on person-centred psychology. One, Vision College (Active Training Centre) in Christchurch, has one core paper (i.e., a course within the programme) on person-centred counselling. Counselling education/training providers with whom I have talked about this say either that they don't teach it or that they only teach it in the foundation or first year as they then have to teach other approaches in order to satisfy the organisation, external accreditation bodies (see New Zealand Association of Counsellors, 2016), and/or funders. I know of one course, which did teach person-centred theory and skills, that was closed entirely on the basis of one manager's misunderstanding and ignorance of the approach.

• The fact that there is a strongly-held distinction between counselling and psychotherapy in this country:

Despite — or perhaps because of — the fact that, from 1974 to 1987, psychotherapists and counsellors were part of the same professional association, for the past 30 years there have been two distinct national associations of psychotherapists and counsellors (and, from 1975, another one specifically for child and adolescent psychotherapists). One feature of this is that counselling is seen as drawing more on and reflecting humanistic psychology while psychotherapy is seen as more influenced by psychodynamic and psychoanalytic thinking; and, indeed, for many colleagues here, psychotherapy is seen as synonymous with psychodynamic, which, philosophically, represents a category error whereby a species (in this case an approach to and within psychotherapy) is conflation with the genus (that is psychotherapy). It appears that, despite the presence of some humanistic psychotherapists in the NZAP (including bioenergetic practitioners, gestaltists, Hakomi practitioners, psychodramatists, psychosynthesis practitioners, self-psychologists, and transactional analysts), the default setting and basic assumptions of the organisation is psychodynamic (see Murphy, 2017; Tudor, 2017). Clearly, for some, such distinctions, including that between psychotherapy and counselling, remain important; for others, such distinctions can appear to be expressions of the narcissism of small differences that make very little difference to improving the mental health of New Zealanders and, specifically, to increasing the number of psychological therapists, especially psychotherapists, counselling psychologists, and counsellors in the public sector.

The fact that any education/training in person-centred therapies in Aotearoa New Zealand would need to engage with biculturalism, specifically Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and, more broadly, with mātauranga Māori:

This is an important journey and one that needs to be undertaken with humility and respect and on the basis of relationship(s). On the basis of a sophisticated, comprehensive, and well-researched person-centred psychology, I would argue that we have the theory to sustain this journey regarding the organism; actualising and formative tendencies; the person and people(s); alienation; diagnosis; conditions of therapy, including contact; processes of therapy, including fluidity; a countertheory of transference; the environment; and much more. One recent step on this journey was PCE2021, the fourteenth biennial conference of the World Association of the Person-Centered and Experiential Psychotherapy and Counseling (WAPCEPC), which was held earlier this year in-person at Te Purengi, the wharenui of Ngā Wai o Horotiu, the marae at Auckland University of Technology, and online with colleagues all over the world (PCE2021, 2021). This was the culmination of a five year journey which had the aim of bringing the person-centred and experiential world to Aotearoa to see and understand what we do and are trying to do here with regard to bicultural engagement, and to let the small person-centred and experiential community here see what the international community has to offer. Part of this journey in organising the conference entailed a lot of conversations, and another part took the form of some intellectual work — including Ioane and Tudor (2017), Haenga-Collins et al. (2019), Tudor and Rodgers (2020), Rodgers and Tudor (2020), Rodgers et al. (2021), and Tudor (2021) — which, we hope, will provide some basis for further conversations and new and enhanced ways of thinking about what an approach that centres on the-person-in-context might offer.

In making these points, I am aware that they focus on a particular Western psychology and therapy in a post-colonial context. This is not to ignore the many kaupapa-based services provided by non governmental organisations throughout this country, or the many indigenous practitioners working in organisations with strong foundations in mātauranga Māori. In this sense, if they are to be relevant in this country, all Western psychology and psychotherapy/ies need to address the gaps between rich and poor; private and public provision; continuing colonisation and decolonisation (for instance, of curricula); exclusive and inclusive education/training and practice; and so on. In this sense, I think there is more to do in ensuring such relevance through deconstructing Western psychologies, psychotherapies, and narratives, a process which I suggest involves both humanising as well as resacralising psychotherapy (Samuels, 1992/1993); and decolonising and indigenising the curricula of psychotherapy education and training.

Conclusion

Although rarely sighted in this country, the person-centred species of the genus psychotherapy does exist, and, indeed, at nearly 80 years old, has longevity and wisdom,

depth and breadth. Although viewed as a poor and younger relation by some of its psychodynamic cousins, it turns out to be something of a grandparent in its own right to the practice, discipline, and profession of psychotherapy. Nevertheless, and like any other Western, settler psychology and therapy, if it is to be relevant to and in this country, it needs to deal with, as Salmond (2017) puts it: "the collision of cosmologies … [whereby] during encounters between people who live differently, taken-for-granted assumptions may come to light and be questioned" (p. 413). I hope that this article, as well as the larger project of which it is a part, suggests that person-centred psychotherapy is not only rigorous and relevant, but also — and drawing on its own theory — both extensional and respectful enough to be open to change where the ground is different.

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The "other Other" perspective: Reflecting on encounters of bicultural Aotearoa New Zealand as experienced by non-indigenous ethnic minority psychotherapists

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Abstract

Aotearoa New Zealand is a bicultural nation, yet home to peoples of many different ethnicities. Among the many immigrants to these shores are a growing number of non-indigenous ethnic minority psychotherapists. This article draws on findings from a small qualitative study with four non-indigenous ethnic minority psychotherapists practicing and residing in Aotearoa New Zealand, to explore and understand their lived experiences. Additionally, current literature is drawn upon to supplement findings and to reflect on what it means for non-indigenous ethnic minorities to encounter and exist within a bicultural sphere.

Whakarāpopotonga

He iwi tikanga rua a Aotearoa Niu Tīreni, ahakoa tonu he kāinga ki te mātawaka. Kai roto i te manene maha ki tēnei whenua, e rahi haere ake ana nga kaiwhakaora hinengaro manene iwi hauiti. He tirohanga tā tēnei tuhinga ki ngā hua puta ake i tētahi mātai ine kounga i waenga i ētahi kaiwhakaora hinengaro manene hauiti tokowhā e mahi ana e noho ana i Aotearoa Niu Tīreni kia kite kia mātau ki ō rātau wheako koiora. I tua atu ka honoa atu ngā tuhinga o ēnei rā hai kīnaki i ngā hua, ka āta whai whakaaro ai hoki he pēhea tēnei āhua ki ngā iwi ehara i te tangata whenua , ā, he iwi hauiti ki te tuki ki te whaiora i roto i te awe o tikanga ruatanga.

Keywords: biculturalism; ethnic minority; indigenous; psychotherapy.

Introduction

The signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840 officially set the foundation of Aotearoa New Zealand as a bicultural nation. However, it has only been since the mid-1980s that the government has actively started recognising the relationship between indigenous Māori and settler Pākehā based on Te Tiriti o Waitangi and, in doing so, embraced a bicultural ideology. As New Zealanders in general grappled with what this meant, the situation rose in complexity with radical changes in immigration policy resulting in an influx of immigrants from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds. Thus, while Aotearoa New Zealand, in legislation, is a bicultural nation, it is, also, a multicultural society.

The growth in diverse ethnic communities within New Zealand has led to discussions regarding the impact on New Zealand's emergent biculturalism and attempts to address indigenous rights. In many ways Aotearoa New Zealwand is still grappling with its bicultural identity and attempts to develop a workable biculturalism (Pearson & Ongley, 1996; Williams, 1996). On the other hand, compared to other British settler countries such as Canada and Australia, New Zealand is yet to develop a locally relevant multicultural framework that complements and expands on biculturalism (Belgrave et al., 2004; Fleras & Spoonley, 1999; Williams, 1996). As a result, it can be a struggle for migrant and non-indigenous ethnic communities to place themselves within Aotearoa New Zealand society (De Souza & Cormack, 2009; Pearson & Ongley, 1996).

I was born and raised in Sri Lanka, a place with its own colonial past, and immigrated to Aotearoa New Zealand as a young adult. I spent the first few years of my life here adjusting to a social and cultural environment that felt vastly different to the one I was familiar with, navigating experiences of otherness and belonging almost exclusively in relation to a western (Pākehā) cultural context. Without a forum in which to engage in any meaningful way with my experience of looking and feeling different, I learnt how to keep these feelings in check so I could protect myself from the pain of confronting issues of race and cultural difference.

This defensive adaptation no longer served me as I undertook my training in psychotherapy, and I was challenged to explore and reflect on constructs and representations of otherness inside of myself, and how I respond to these representations as they manifest in interpersonal and group settings. It is also in the context of my training through a Pākehā institution that I first had opportunity to engage somewhat intimately with tangata whenua and aspects of indigenous Māori culture. Although inconsistent and dispersed throughout a predominantly western curriculum, I found these encounters with Māori culture to be significant and memorable. However, it presented me with a dilemma around situating myself within the prevailing discourse around biculturalism; where is my place, as tauiwi, visibly and noticeably different to the dominant group, but also as tangata tiriti, as an immigrant who now calls Aotearoa New Zealand my adopted home? To keep quiet was to be subsumed under the category of the dominant group, but without access to the power and privilege of being white or of European descent.

The research that this article is based on was originally undertaken as part of my Master of Psychotherapy degree. As a fairly new immigrant to these shores, it was my personal struggles to locate myself and my experience within the dominant discourse of biculturalism in Aotearoa New Zealand that fuelled my curiosity to explore and understand the experience

of other non-indigenous ethnic minority psychotherapists, and their encounters with biculturalism.

In the original study, I conducted semi-structured interviews with four psychotherapists who self-identified as non-indigenous ethnic minorities in Aotearoa New Zealand (Salpitikorala, 2015). In this article, I focus on discussing some of the main themes that arose from this study, drawing on current literature to supplement findings and further concepts explored in the paper such as 'visibility' and 'otherness'.

The paper begins with a discussion of the 'visibility' of immigrants, leading into how immigrants make sense of different experiences in the dominant cultural and indigenous settings. Next, the construct of 'other' is introduced and includes consideration of how learning to see one other may pave the way for seeing many others, as well as a discussion of immigrant others and indigenous others. The article concludes with some reflections for the psychotherapy community with respect to practice and research. Throughout this paper, use of the word 'participants' will denote findings from the original study (Salpitikorala, 2015), unless specifically cited in the context of another study.

The Visibility of Immigrants

In the immigration literature, a distinction is frequently made between visible and invisible immigrants, the former term denoting immigrants who are visibly different to their host cultural (usually Anglo-Saxon) residents. The latter term is used to denote white immigrants, usually from European backgrounds (George & Fitzgerald, 2012; Leinonen, 2012; Trlin, 2012). Such a distinction has been necessary, as evidence suggests that visible immigrants face significantly more challenges and hardships compared to invisible immigrants (Bartley & Spoonley, 2004; Fleras & Spoonley, 1999; Leinonen, 2012; Preston & Murnaghan, 2005; Statistics New Zealand, 2013). This study included the experiences of two non-European (visible) and two European (invisible) participants, and findings indicated that all four participants felt visibly different in some sense, making it possible to identify common themes and patterns across their experiences. These visible differences comprised of more straightforward differences based on skin colour (non-European participants) and accents (European participants); as well as their self-identification as ethnic minorities, and their lived experience of feeling 'other' to the dominant Pākehā group.

New Zealand has a long history of racialising visible immigrants such as those of Asian and Polynesian origin, including the implementation of assimilationist migration policy aimed at keeping the country 'white', that specifically excluded the entry of non-European, visibly different migrants (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999). De Souza (2006) asserted that, at an implicit level, these policies and attitudes continue to shape the treatment of immigrants in Aotearoa New Zealand; an assertion corroborated by evidence from research on New Zealanders' attitudes towards immigrants (e.g. Ward and Masgoret, 2008).

However, research exploring the experiences of invisible immigrants indicate that they too experience settlement difficulties owing to perceived social and cultural disparities, and despite their apparent invisibility, experience prejudice and discrimination at less overt levels (Trlin, 2012). Findings of my study (Salpitikorala, 2015) reflected that the two non-European psychotherapy participants experienced acculturative stress directly related to

reconciling conflicting cultural values, and feeling pressure to assimilate; struggles that were not referred to by the two European participants. Overall, however, findings highlighted that acculturating to mainstream Pākehā culture, including adapting to and making sense of the dominant cultural attitudes, values, structures and practices, constituted a significant set of adjustments for these foreign-born therapists.

Making Sense of the Difference in Experiences in the Dominant Cultural and Indigenous Setting

An important finding in the study was that participants' experiences of relating to mainstream Pākehā culture differed quite significantly from their experiences of relating to indigenous Māori culture (Salpitikorala, 2015). The former was characterised by disconnection, alienation, overwhelm, otherness and pressures to assimilate. In contrast, the latter engagements were characterised overwhelmingly by identification, support, and connection. Indeed, for the two non-European therapists, these identifications were based on cultural affinities and similarities with Māori culture. Nevertheless, these positive experiences and engagements ensued, even when some participants encountered cultural differences that necessitated adjustment of their own cultural frameworks and viewpoints in order to understand the indigenous experience. There could be several reasons for the contrast in experiences between these two cultural settings. On the one hand, unlike with mainstream culture, engaging with Māori culture was not underscored by some of the pressures to acculturate and assimilate in order to 'make it' in the new dominant culture. So although participants commented on the lack of access to Māori cultural experiences in the mainstream, this also meant, perhaps paradoxically, that participants had more choice and control over the level of engagement they initiated with the indigenous community and culture.

On the other hand, as epitomised by participants' experiences on the marae, Māori philosophies and cultural values that underpin how engagement is initiated and relationships are developed with others, contributed significantly to the differences in participants' experience in the dominant cultural setting *vis-à-vis* the indigenous setting. Hence, if we attempt to understand this experience by situating it within a particular moment in time, the marae encounter is perhaps the best example. This encounter provided a gateway into the indigenous context and set the foundation for continued engagement with Māori. This initiation into Māori culture, etched in participants' memories and, as characterised by their recollections, seemed to be underpinned by manaakitanga: the process of showing respect, generosity and care for others (Māori Dictionary, 2021). At the gates of the marae, they were ceremoniously welcomed (pōwhiri) and, in accordance with the tradition of pepeha, invited to bring themselves in by relating their own story of who they are, where they come from and how they came to be here. Thus, the indigenous context provided relief from the cultural pressures that participants felt in the mainstream, and offered an alternative way of engaging and being in the world, quite different to the dominant cultural ethos and ways of being.

Relations between immigrant and indigenous communities have received scant attention as a topic of empirical inquiry. However, some support for the kind of inferences

made above have been found in the writings of migrant scholars, especially postcolonial feminist writers (De Souza, 2006, 2011; Mohanram, 1998; Wittman, 1998), who have explored these relations and their implications. For instance, De Souza, a nurse academic of Goan Indian ancestry, maintains a blog where, among other topics, she explores and writes about the shared cultural spaces occupied by immigrants and indigenous groups in white-settler societies (De Souza, 2011). In one of her articles, she describes an experience she witnessed at a refugee conference at New Zealand's AUT university, where a refugee participant had delivered a mihi, reflecting on how a pōwhiri held for refugees as part of their resettlement process, "helped him regain his *mana* after the dehumanizing experiences of his refugee journey" (De Souza, 2011, para. 8). This refugee participant's experience in many ways parallels experiences described by the participants in this study, and indicates that they felt cared for by Māori in the indigenous setting, in a way that allowed them to regain a sense of integrity following the disintegrating experience of their immigrant journey.

Wittman (1998) talked about the commonality or shared reality endured by both indigenous Māori and many immigrants to Aotearoa New Zealand. Wittman asserted that both groups need to be bicultural by necessity "if they are to both make it in present day New Zealand society and retain their own culture" (p. 58). She also reported findings from interviews conducted with 48 Jewish women residing in New Zealand, in which some participants expressed a natural sense of affinity with Māori. For instance, Wittman quotes a participant who was born and socialised in New Zealand but who strives to retain ties with her Jewish ancestry as part of her identity: "I can identify with the Māori side of being a New Zealander very easily … that Māori side is as natural as swimming for me" (p. 62). The kind of cultural pressure many immigrants describe encountering in mainstream society and, by contrast, the almost automatic sense of affiliation they felt with Māori, indicates that the recognition of this commonality may underpin their sense of identification with, and support for, the indigenous experience.

Some immigrants may also recognise the historical plight they share with Māori, albeit from opposite angles. For one participant in the current study, awareness of his own colonised cultural history naturally led to identify more with Māori than with Pākehā. For another participant, identification with the sense of shame, of which she heard Māori speak, resonated with her own sense of shame rooted in her colonising cultural heritage. These experiences represent the many cultural positions and spaces that are shared by non-indigenous ethnic minorities and Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand, both as part of their cultural histories, and as part of their current struggles in a context where practices and structures that govern their daily lives and experiences are by default monocultural and othering.

Construction of '*Competing Others*' and its Implications

Despite the sense of affiliation that foregrounded participants' engagement with indigenous Māori, some tensions and difficulties became apparent in the therapeutic context (Salpitikorala, 2015). Notably, one therapist described having to work through transference reactions where they felt positioned as an invader, "just like Europeans but probably worse" (p.46), a cultural other who has displaced Māori and taken their place in society. Participants

struggled as immigrants and ethnic minorities for a place in a society where cultural understanding and resources are only extended to the indigenous group; and reflected how experiencing biculturalism is often simultaneous with experiencing further marginalisation and invisibility as non-indigenous ethnic minorities. These dynamics reflect wider debate surrounding biculturalism and multiculturalism in Aotearoa New Zealand, particularly in relation to resource allocation, where indigenous and immigrant groups are often positioned as "*competing others*" (De Souza & Cormack, 2009, p. 219, emphasis in original). Arguments have been raised in support of each group or position, usually in opposition to the other.

The unprecedented rise in immigration, following the restructuring of immigration policy in Aotearoa New Zealand, drew protest from Māori who were concerned about the cultural and economic implications of immigration, but for different reasons than Pākehā. Some of these concerns persist into the present (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999). Pressure for recognition of greater cultural diversity is seen as diluting the primacy of biculturalism, of Māori as tangata whenua and their claims for special status and rights under Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Asian immigration, in particular, has been criticised as a quick fix economic solution, and as posing a threat to improving Māori employment and participation in the labour market (Walker, 1995).

Similarly, arguments have been made against biculturalism in favour of multiculturalism, based on the premise of a multicultural state where all ethnic groups have equality of access to support, resources and legal processes, as opposed to a state where one group has special status or rights based on indigeneity (Thakur, 1995). De Souza and Cormack (2009) argued that this construction and perpetuation of "competing others" only serves to maintain the dominance of white-settler practices, by obscuring the monocultural core around which these arguments are made. Similarly, Mohanram (1998) contended that far from being a vehicle for equal power sharing, biculturalism in the way it is currently set up is "ultimately revealed to be something that can be initiated only by Pākehā, because it is Pākehā who control the resources" (p. 26). In this mode of biculturalism, Mohanram pointed out, "Pākehā have, Māori have not. Pākehā give, Māori receive" (p. 26). Understandably, then, such an environment would be further muddled by the addition of "others" whose needs also claim visibility, yet who then find themselves competing with the "have nots", but without the status of the indigenous group and without clearly demarcated policy or processes to support their needs.

Nevertheless, as one study participant reflected, "[biculturalism in New Zealand] is a very unique outcome … it's an attempt at getting out of colonialism in a different way" At the least, central to most bicultural endeavours in Aotearoa New Zealand, is an ambition towards balancing power relations between two cultural groups in a different way than that allowed by assimilation or even integration (Durie, 1998; Spoonley, 1993). Further, biculturalism in Aotearoa New Zealand has been the result of a long and arduous struggle by Māori to reclaim their Māoriness and the sovereignty promised to them under Te Tiriti. Colonisation had a devastating impact on the well-being and culture of indigenous Māori, with Māori facing significant depopulation and near genocide during the nineteenth century (Durie, 1998), and Māori continue to face significant barriers to access and inclusion (Webby, 2001). The ongoing impact of colonisation on Māori is evident in the significant disparities in health, education, employment, and socio-economic advancement (Durie, 1998).

Despite the signing of Te Tiriti, successive governments pursued a course of assimilating Māori into mainstream European society, amidst tribal protests and Māori voices of opposition, which were largely ignored and did not influence any restructure in policy (Durie, 1998; Hill, 2010). In essence, Māori had to continue on their quest for reparation and justice based on Te Tiriti and its principles long after the document was signed. According to Hill (2010), a key factor that led to the overturning of the assimilative policies pursued by the government was the "longevity of Māori resistance and its intensification following the advent of what is generally called the Māori renaissance" (p. 293). According to Durie (1998), the move towards biculturalism rather than assimilation or integration resulted in a necessary and, in some ways, radical restructuring of New Zealand's approach to health. Te Tiriti o Waitangi eventually came into effect in health policy over 150 years after its signing. However, there are still significant gaps in how Te Tiriti has been translated into practice to ensure health gains for Māori (Webby, 2001). To summarise, the historical factors described above reflect only a brief overview of the enormous effort that Māori had to make to retain their Māori identity, well-being, cultural practices and structures from being completely eroded by colonising processes.

Seeing One "Other"—Seeing Many "Others"

In light of the historical developments outlined above, some migrant authors, like De Souza (2009), emphasise the importance of returning the indigenous to the centre, because "Māori have paved the way for others to be here in Aotearoa/New Zealand" (para. 38). There is, indeed, some promise in the hope that the understanding and acceptance extended to one "other" will eventually be extended to many "others". However, there seems to be little realisation of this hope reflected in the way cultural diversity is currently being approached and engaged in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Findings in this study revealed, that the four psychotherapist participants perceived and experienced biculturalism in the professional context as a welcome alternative to the dominant westernised perspectives and approaches to mental health and treatment (Salpitikorala, 2015). However, these cultural services are exclusively reserved for Māori, while other ethnic minorities are usually subsumed under the mainstream model, making invisible their disparate needs. Participants indicated that while they felt resourced to work with Māori, and could engage the support of Kaupapa Māori services when required, they felt significantly under resourced when it came to supporting clients of other ethnic groups. Some practitioners were left carrying the burden of bridging these cultural gaps in mainstream treatment.

One participant made the observation that in mainstream mental health treatment, cultural awareness and understanding generated via bicultural training is not extended to other ethnic communities whose customs, traditions, and values resemble that of Māori. Other research has reported similar patterns. Pavagada and De Souza (2007) drew attention to the lack of official data available for the mental health of Asian ethnic groups, illuminating the paucity of research efforts aimed at these communities. This is concerning, given that Asian ethnic groups constitute the fastest growing ethnic group in Aotearoa New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Despite their population growth, national health surveys

tend to subsume members of Asian ethnic groups in with New Zealand Europeans. Asian ethnic groups have been overlooked in health research and policy, despite evidence that prevalence rates for major illnesses like Type 2 diabetes amongst certain Asian groups exceeds that seen in Māori (Duncan et al., 2004). In some cases, reservations have also been expressed by educators regarding the addition of an Asian cultural competency dimension to a curriculum that has already been stretched to include Māori and Pacifica cultural issues (Nayar et al., 2009).

The above-cited research focused specifically on the overlooked needs of Asian ethnic groups, currently the largest non-indigenous visible minority group in Aotearoa New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2013). Indeed, it would be reasonable to assume that disparities are more apparent when visible minorities are subsumed in with New Zealand Europeans, given the significant cultural distance between these groups and Pākehā culture. The two non-European psychotherapy participants alluded to the significant differences in cultural values between their cultures of origin and Pākehā culture. Thus, speaking specifically of visible migrants, Mohanram (1998) questioned, "what place does the visibly different body of the coloured immigrant occupy within the discourse of biculturalism?" (p. 27). Mohanram argued that in New Zealand, whiteness is constructed in opposition to indigeneity and, consequently, New Zealand's biculturalism has become a model that is predicated on race — "whiteness and blackness that does not extend beyond the Māori" (p. 27). The literature seems to suggest that there are implications, perhaps less well researched, in subsuming less visible migrants in with New Zealand Europeans, and expecting their course of assimilation will be relatively smooth.

Immigrant Others and Indigenous Others

As discussed in the foregoing sections, thus far efforts to address non-indigenous cultural diversity in Aotearoa New Zealand have been seen as conflicting with efforts to realise the needs and rights of indigenous Māori. However, as demonstrated by findings in Salpitikorala (2015), which parallel observations made by other migrant scholars, immigrants and Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand share many cultural spaces and positions that have the potential to develop into mutually enhancing relationships. Immigrants who feel other to Pākehā in significant ways feel identification and affiliation with Māori. Sometimes these identifications are rooted in and strengthened by the cultural wounds they carry as part of their own cultural heritages. Being positioned as "competing others" may prevent immigrant minorities and indigenous Māori from utilising these shared experiences as instruments for empowering each other in meaningful ways. Indeed, immigrants have been supporting indigenous rights and claiming justice for both groups, in Aotearoa as well as overseas. For instance, in New Zealand, a young Asian feminist movement has come together in support of indigenous rights under the collective, "*Tau iwi* people of colour supporting tino rangatiratanga" (Bamboo, 2013).

In the mental health context, Pavagada and De Souza (2007) noted that other ethnic communities can draw from Māori experiences and initiatives to address health and treatment gaps in their own communities. Sachdev (1998, cited in Pavagada & De Souza, 2007) pointed out that two factors are necessary for the realisation of this change; first, that

ethnic communities themselves take the primary initiative, and second, that an appropriate socio-political environment is created to facilitate such initiatives.

One participant highlighted the paradox he faced as a new immigrant, needing to reconcile the internationally promoted image of New Zealand as a flourishing multicultural society, and the national preoccupation with biculturalism that implicitly serves to exclude immigrants. This participant's experience reveals an important gap in current efforts directed at orienting new immigrants to New Zealand society and culture. De Souza (2004) calls attention to this gap, emphasising the need to resource new migrants to become informed of their role in relation to Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and helping them to recognise and understand the position occupied by tangata whenua in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Furthering the Discussion

Findings of the study described (Salpitikorala, 2015) indicated that ethnic minorities and indigenous Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand implicitly share many cultural spaces, and each group can contribute meaningfully to the other. Further, as discussed, immigrants who have chosen Aotearoa New Zealand as their new adopted country are inevitably implicated in New Zealand's bicultural discourse, whether or not they feel directly impacted by biculturalism. Exploring their perspectives and experiences can motivate them to become better informed and politically aware, and may empower them to negotiate a more meaningful position for non-indigenous ethnic minorities in an (officially) bicultural society.

The study identified and described some common struggles faced by immigrant (ethnic-minority) psychotherapists in adjusting to the socio-cultural and political context of Aotearoa New Zealand. In doing so, the study contributed to bridging an important gap in the research literature pertaining to cultural diversity in the counselling/psychotherapy profession in a New Zealand context. Evidence suggests that there is merit for considering the experience of being an immigrant or "being not from here" as a separate contextual variable that affects therapists who have made that transition (Karni et al., 2013). As Gedo and Gehrie (2010) pointed out, psychotherapy, being an intimate form of communication, would inevitably need to rely on shared cultural meanings. Hence immigrant psychotherapists, especially those who have been born and socialised in a different cultural context, would face technical challenges of a greater magnitude than non-immigrant psychotherapists (Akhtar, 2006). In the New Zealand context, the increase in ethnic-cultural diversity due to immigration would not only mean an increase in the diversity of the clientele, but also an increase in the cultural diversity of psychotherapy trainees. There is hence an important incentive for future research to be focused in this area.

The dissertation research described here (Salpitikorala, 2015) was the first that gathered first-hand data specifically from non-indigenous ethnic minority psychotherapists about their experiences of residing and practicing in New Zealand and their ensuing understandings and perceptions of biculturalism. A small study, with only four participants, nevertheless, numbers do not constitute criteria for measuring quality or trustworthiness in qualitative research (Englander, 2012; Morrow, 2005). That said, a larger sample would allow for better appreciation of the variation of the phenomenon of interest (Englander, 2012). A more homogenous sample would have added to the depth and complexity of the

findings. For instance, the current study participants were all at different stages in their acculturation process, and also differed in terms of other factors such as ethnicity, age and stage of life at entry, factors that motivated migration and so on, all of which influences adjustment to a new host culture (Karni et al., 2013). Hence their individual accounts, related to immigration and acculturation, were idiosyncratic and complex.

Summary

Very little research exists that considers the perceptions and experiences of non-indigenous ethnic minority psychotherapists residing and practicing in Aotearoa New Zealand, a country whose official status is that of a bicultural nation. In this paper, the voices of four psychotherapists who self-identified as non-Māori ethnic minorities and other literature have been interwoven to reflect on the encounter of biculturalism. Findings indicate that therapists as immigrants and non-indigenous ethnic minorities face a dual struggle; on the one hand, acculturating and finding a sense of fitting in and belonging within the dominant Pākehā culture and, on the other hand, feeling excluded from the dominant discourse and practices of biculturalism, a discourse that will determine the future direction of their new adopted country. Participants' experiences in the dominant cultural setting differed markedly from their experiences within the indigenous Māori cultural setting. The former was characterised by disconnection, otherness and pressures to assimilate, and the latter was characterised overwhelmingly by identification, support, and connection. However, situated in the context of biculturalism, there was a tendency for immigrant and indigenous others to be positioned as "competing others", whereby the focus on biculturalism served to dilute and make invisible the presence of non-Māori ethnic minorities.

In an Australian context Hage (1998) argued that in order for non-indigenous Australians to ethically belong to Australia, they must develop an ethical relationship with Australia's history of colonisation. According to De Souza (2004), for immigrants in white-settler societies, this means recognising their collusive role in colonial capitalism and, consequently, in usurping the indigenous. Developing this sort of historical and political awareness, she says, will enable immigrants to see past their own oppression, and realise that their futures are intertwined with that of the indigenous and their struggle for justice and self-determination.

The current paper has sought to bridge an important gap in the research literature pertaining to cultural diversity in the counselling/psychotherapy profession in a New Zealand context. Immigrants and ethnic minorities in Aotearoa New Zealand can become empowered to have their voices heard and their struggles recognised, by working in collaboration with, rather than in opposition to, indigenous Māori. Such an endeavour provides for ethical and mutually enhancing grounds for negotiation, and has the potential for rebalancing power relationships.

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Mediated psychotherapy, transitional space and cybernetic capitalism

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Abstract

My focus is on how psychoanalysis and digital worlds influence each other: how they shape and comprehend each other through the human, the posthuman, various new digital processes and cybernetic agents. Together, they create entanglements of consciousness, affect and unconscious processes that are intricate and wide-ranging. They are intricate, too, by interweaving with psychoanalytic theory, illustrated here through the concept of transitional space. They also interweave with a rich body of contemporary social theory and I draw on Bernard Stiegler's work to show how these extensive bodies of psychotherapy and critical theory relate in important ways to each other. Critical theory is often sensitised to psychoanalysis, but it is also highly critical of the way digital capitalism constructs new cybernetic worlds, the "psychopathologies of cognitive capitalism", as Neidich (2017) terms it. Patricia Clough (2018) describes these developments as "the user unconscious", the other-than-human agencies increasingly at work beyond and below the threshold of human consciousness. I emphasise that practitioners cannot avoid these developments, and I conclude by asking how, as psychotherapists in democratic societies, we best engage effectively and critically with them.

Whakarāpopotonga

E arotahia ana e au te pēhea o te awenga i waenga o te wetewetenga hinengaro me te ao matihiko; pēhea tā rāua hanga, mōhio hoki i a rāua anō mai i te ira tangata, te tangata pohewa, ngā tepe matihiko hou me ngā tūāhua kaiwhakahaere kōtuitui. Piritahi ka puta ake he whīwhinga mauri ora, he ngau me ngā hātepe mauri moe tino uaua tino whānui nei. Ka uaua ake anō hoki ki te rarangahia atu ki te ariā wetewetenga hinengaro, e whakaahuahia ake ana e te ariā atea tauwhirowhiro. Ka taki hono atu anō hoki ki te rahi o ngā ariā hapori o ēnei rā ā ka toro atu au ki ngā mahi a Penara Hiekere kia kitea ai he pēhea te hononga o ngā huihuinga whakaoranga hinengaro matawhānui nei me te ariā wetewetenga ki a rāua anō. I te nuinga o te wā kua taunga kē te ariā matapaki ki te wetewetenga hinengaro, engari e kaha ana ki te whakahāwea i te āhua whakahou mahi ao kōtuitui a te haupū rawa matihiko, arā e ai ki te kī a Nitiki (2017), " ngā arakauwaka haupū rawa". Ko tā Paterehia Karawhe

(2018) whakaahua i ēnei whanekenga ko te "kaimahi hinengaro moe", ko ērā atu i te ira tangata kaiwhakahaere e rahi haere ake ana te mahi i tua atu i raro iho o te pito hinegaro ira tangata. E whakahau ana au kāre e taea e ngā kaiwhakaharatau te karo i ēnei whanaketanga, ā, i te mutungā ko taku matapaki ki a tātau ngā kaiwhakaora hinengaro i roto i tēnei hāpori manapori he aha te huarahi pai, te huarahi whai hua hai hīkoitahitanga mā tātau.

Introduction

> What seems possible if not necessary is to rethink the human in terms of digital media and computational technologies impacting the relationship of governance, economy, and sociality. (Clough, 2018, p. 76)

My starting point is the mobile phone framed, in this case, as a transitional object. To do so highlights a powerful set of tensions between therapeutic practices and online technologies. Mobile devices themselves represent new boundary objects within therapeutic spaces — boundaried because they mediate between individual users and their access to the vast, instantaneous worlds of the internet. Yet, these very connections to massive global infrastructures raise profound sociotechnical concerns. Contemporary social theorists, often drawing on the transitional object, reveal the sheer toxicity, often hidden, that is inherent in much of contemporary digital capitalism (Featherstone, 2020; Stiegler, 2014, 2018). Neidich (2017) for example, dubs this toxicity as the "psychopathologies of cognitive capitalism." Cognitive capitalism encompasses artificial intelligence (AI), the Internet of Things (IOT), emerging cybernetic futures along with tangible social media, wearable devices and interconnected digital devices. Consequently, the tensions between unconscious processes and digital technologies provide ways to link the individual and the cybernetic within contemporary thought. It is worth emphasising, then, that we are engaging not simply with the personal unconscious nor even the collective unconscious, but the digital and the technological unconscious (Ashraf, 2020; Powell, 2008; Thrift, 2004).

Mobile Transitional Space

The mobile phone has long been studied for the way it shapes intimacy, social identity and attachments across space and time (Farnsworth & Austrin, 2015; Hills, 2007; Hjorth & Lim, 2012). The coming of mobile devices also signalled fluid, multiple, boundaryless interconnection. Mobility is their central feature. Social scientists MacRury and Yates (2016) describe the mobile phone as a "portable extension" of the self, "a powerful metaphor and metonym for thinking about wider and more deep-seated anxieties" (p. 62). Mobiles act as "attachment objects" which, when understood through object relations, demonstrate how subject and object are mixed, like Clough's "user unconscious", in complex and ambivalent ways. Aaron Balick (2010) comments that western cultures, through mobile devices, "have

reinvented the transitional object — only rather than a furry blanket or a teddy bear, it's a smartphone" (n.p.).

Key, here, is emphasising transitional objects and potential space as intrinsically relational and initially dyadic. This enables transitional phenomena, as Winnicott (1971) writes, to become diffused and spread out "over the whole intermediate territory between 'inner psychic reality' and 'the external world as perceived by two persons in common', that is to say, over the whole cultural field" (p. 4). Implicit in Winnicott's formulation is a secure setting within which any potential space can be created, so that impingements and anxiety do not intrude (Dockar-Drysdale, 1950). In an online context, this can be understood as a boundary, with the mobile as a *boundary object*.

As Stoytcheva (n.d.) writes, "A boundary object is any object that is part of multiple social worlds and facilitates communication between them." (p.1) Boundary objects enable "identification, coordination, reflection, and transformation" (Akkerman and Bakker, 2011, p.132). Moreover, "the notion of boundary may be extended to explore their sensate surfaces that contain primitive, pre-verbal, pre-symbolic, and pre-subjective characteristics" (Diamond et al, 2004, p. 31). All the components of potential space are implicit in this description. Digital devices operate, then, as boundary objects to enable conscious and unconscious communication between participants.

In practice, these boundaries are dynamic, mobilised through text, audio and video, each with multiple communicative functions. As a simple example, the phone acts as a booking or communication device for a therapist, operating just as the therapy door or waiting room has long done. Each necessarily carries its own sensate or symbolic meanings.

The same sensate and symbolic meanings apply across mobile devices, software and apps. Recent studies of Zoom and audio-visual platforms describe how, for instance, they do so in relation to the shaping of meaning across timespans or over space, none of which was anticipated in the face-to-face context (e.g. Cataldo et al, 2021; Isaacs Russell, 2021; Karl et al, 2021; Zhang et al, 2013). This may include how the therapist is placed onscreen, the client's background or visibility, the quality of audio, whether recording is taking place, anxieties about confidentiality (Churcher, 2017), or how interruptions, delays and breakdowns shape interaction (Gordon et al, 2021). Each is crucial to the generation of meaning, intimacy and security. Each is also a *mediated* experience, one in which the generation of social interaction is subtly or crudely translated through the cameras, microphones, screen density, processor speed, or network stability. Valeria Corbella (2020, p. 4) draws on Bleger's (2017) writing to characterise all these as background aspects, non-processes, of the online setting. Yet, it is clearly a broader phenomenon. "Setting" implies a stable stage or staging; in practice, mediated interaction is closer to an exchange of every dimension, mediated and interactive. It encompasses both therapist and client before, during and after the interaction. Equally, it is part of a continuum for both parties, whose ongoing digital lives interlace social media, internet and search engine usage, Twitter activity and much else, which can potentially alter therapists' privacy, for example, in ways rarely experienced before online worlds were created (Ralston, 2021). In the digital context, mediation is an ongoing experience, not simply a setting, one closer to the immersion of swimming or breathing.

It matches online therapeutic experience: the changing locations of a device (bedroom, car, outdoors), the client's social context or the unexpected presence of other participants,

whether human or animal (the crying baby, cat on screen, dog's woof in the background). Each element carries its own set of fluctuating dynamics around intimacy, distance, exposure, vulnerability, gesture, misinterpretation and much else, each of which feed into the unconscious components of a session (Chherawala and Gill, 2020).

What these all suggest, however, is how critical the mobile is as a boundary object to sustain the delicate experience of online potential space. For instance, Churcher (2017) outlines how the very instability of digital settings may actively shape, or provoke, unconscious processes. He suggests, citing Bleger (2013), how a psychotic part of the personality can be "quickly and quietly deposited in the setting, where it remains as part of the 'non-ego', hidden and unanalysed, until a disruption of some kind causes it to become manifest" (Churcher, 2017, p. 5). As indicated, online disturbances can readily bring such material to the foreground.

Mediation, across devices, opens up several possibilities simultaneously. It provides a current horizon of discussion about online therapeutic work (Scharff, 2019, 2020). It moves seamlessly between dyadic and collective interaction (tweets, group messaging, project management software such as Monday.com). It also blends collective and aural mediation, as cultural studies scholar Malcolm James highlights. In *Sonic Intimacy* (2020) he traces how "intimacy and co-presence were created, nurtured, and maintained", unexpectedly, within the practices of jungle pirate radio (Kim, 2021). These diasporic cultures, through specific genres, sustain immersion and identity over both space (listeners are distant from the stations) and time (the music can be recorded and replayed later). As James emphasises, it is the presence, texture and *vibe* of the music that creates this immersive experience. These dimensions are formative of the self in acoustic contexts, shifting constantly between symbolic and pre-symbolic experience. This takes place through a continuous, repetitive immersion in the music, and the emerging formation of identity oscillating between self and other, in the engagement with genres, musicians, stations and DJs.

Pettman (2017) expands the psychoanalytic implications of sonic experience and intimacy. Arguing that "the prototype of the signifier lies in the aural sphere (Laplanche and Pontalis, 1968, p. 49)", he describes how symbolic and pre-symbolic registers create sonic envelopes of intimacy within earliest experience. Steinmetz (2019), likewise, explores "our first sonic aesthetic" (2019, p. 122), beginning first in the womb, then with "the mother's voice" (p. 122). As she argues, following Bollas (1978), such sonic experience connects directly "to our first transformational object relation" (2019 p. 122).

What are the implications of these investigations of the perceptual and the aural for digital psychoanalysis? Whether dyadic or collective, pre-symbolic or symbolic, self or other, offline or online, each echo Winnicott's emphasis that cultural experience may begin in early interaction but is potential transitional experience at every stage of life. What these accounts add, however, is the importance of the experience as *mediated*. Presence, in the digital domain, is shaped by the medium which, previously, never needed much explicit attention. Now, as Corbella (2020) describes, it has become central. In so doing, it highlights the medium as intrinsic to interaction. Corbella (2020), for example, describes how analysts are, themselves, entirely entangled in social media, potentially revealing aspects of themselves or their lives in ways unimaginable by earlier generations. "What emotional effects does the active participation of their analyst in social media … have on the patient?"

(p. 9). In short, therapeutic boundaries are constantly and unpredictably reconstituted within mobile worlds requiring fresh forms of attention to what we mean by setting and frame, as John Churcher (2015) emphasises.

In this respect, we can usefully extend Corbella's (2020) account of four metaphors of analytic encounter to a fifth. Following Farate (n.d.) and Civitarese and Ferro (2017), she describes the fourth metaphor as the analytic field. Digital experience requires a fifth, the *medium,* which as noted, shapes how the analytic field is both experienced and negotiated. The medium is mobile, transitory, interruptive, immersive and multimodal. As I will return to below, it illustrates the unfolding of Stiegler's concept (1998, 2009, 2018, 2019) of *technis*, of technologies as not merely extensions of human capacities, but as shaping human experience itself. Digital technologies, in the analytic context, simply foreground this in a more urgent way.

One last point. Winnicott notes that there can be "pathological use of transitional phenomena" (1971, p.37).[1] Both MacRury and Yates (2016, p. 54) and André Green (2005, pp. 16 & 30) point to such phenomena as disturbances and distortions in play, but also the impact of rivalry, deception and aggression. In the digital context, mobile devices act as sites for the emergence of transitional objects or object relations of any kind. They also enable constructive and destructive potentials for humans and their technologies. These constitute the dynamic boundaries, the medium, of the digital.

If my focus so far has been mainly on the dyadic, it now needs to turn to the surrounding concerns of cognitive capitalism and its psychopathologies, which I mentioned earlier (Neidich, 2017). First, I describe these huge digital domains. Second, I outline how their pathologies are debated and understood by critical theorists. I specifically draw on the work of Bernard Stiegler, who draws on Winnicott's transitional space and how it illuminates the constitution of toxic and healthy societies through their technological practices.

Cybernetic Worlds and Transitional Spaces

Why should psychotherapists care about the development of emergent digital phenomena such as Non-Fungible Tokens (NFTs), cryptocurrencies or DeFi (decentralised finance), let alone initiatives around carbon coin or reef bonds, the acceleration in the implementation of AI systems, what impact the Internet of Things will have, or the rapid growth in new virtual worlds? Why should we care about virtual worlds at all?

Virtual worlds and digitisation constitute the reality within which we increasingly live and which, consequently, shape the nature and practice of our work. These are sociotechnical issues, in other words, they involve the continuous entanglement of social worlds and technologies — including the social worlds of psychotherapy.

Many commentators, as I describe, demonstrate how work (including therapeutic work) is being reshaped by datafication through digital technologies, let alone related changes in professional practices, or the way our work is regulated and routinised. In short, psychotherapy, as one form of professional work, is already being transformed.

Against this background, it can be comforting for psychotherapists to believe that, as part of a long legacy stretching back to Freud or Jung, their work remains essentially unaffected. Long humane and humanist traditions, grounded in the psychodynamic and

the relational, imply we are inoculated against such changes, yet psychotherapists are just as entangled in what Braidotti (2019) and others describe as the posthuman as anyone. Most of us use Zoom and video conferencing software, texting and mobile devices, social media, online banking, cloud storage, digital files, as well as using the internet for registration, research or professional development reasons, and much else. We are as deeply implicated in these arrangements as any other digital citizen.

To emphasise this point, digital media have already altered the professional interactions with our colleagues and our clients. They reshape the pressure on our routines of work. It includes how we are paid, how we manage "the frame" around appointments or cancellations (text, email), how we advertise, whether we offer online resources to clients, how we communicate with colleagues or engage in distance supervision, and how we protect our sensitive data and ourselves through software updates, secure wi-fi or password managers.

Not only, then, do we have to care about emerging virtual worlds, we cannot avoid them. Psychotherapists, however, possess a limited professional vocabulary and few conceptual frameworks with which to engage with them. Traditionally, psychotherapy has relied on a perspective that focuses primarily on the individual, not the larger collective or nation. Psychoanalysis has certainly investigated these frameworks (Bollas, 1978; Freud, 2015; Sonpar & Kanwar, 2019; Volkan, 2017). Little psychoanalytic work, however, addresses the digital domains I have outlined, let alone the impact of digital capitalism, that confront psychotherapists.

Those disciplines, incidentally, employ a terminology alien and abstract to most psychotherapists. Terms such as "capitalism", let alone "algorithmic capitalism", are rarely part of a therapeutic vocabulary (Tweedy, 2017), yet they are essential to describing the massive, subtle, sometimes dehumanising effects of machine computation. So, using them here is a way to articulate these new experiential worlds. Likewise, critical theory displays little agreement about "best" terms. Why prefer cybernetic over algorithmic capitalism; surveillance capitalism over dataveillance? In part, it simply reflects the sheer speed and magnitude of change. Often, then, the context will indicate why one term is preferable to another.

Why this matters is captured in the thought of the key critical theorist, Bernard Stiegler. Robert Holton (2020) summarises his perspective thus:

> Digital capitalism undermines human desires and projects, simultaneously destroying the legacy of social memory. Transgenerational communication is thereby disrupted, leaving the young increasingly adrift of broader social bonds. The sheer speed of digital algorithmic processes pre-empts reflection and critical debate (p. 200).

Stiegler's perspective foreshadows the acceleration of technocapitalism and its implications and I turn to these before outlining his own analysis.

The Implications of Technocapitalism

Much recent writing captures the immense speed and scale of change in digital commodity capitalism. Despite some of psychoanalysis' foundations in cybernetic and machines (Clough & Johanssen, 2019; Featherstone, 2020), it is still in the process of fully addressing and theorising this (Hallsby 2018, Johnston 2008).

Digital capitalism is variously described as datafication (Erkan, 2019), computational, cognitive or surveillance capitalism (Vercellone, 2007; Zuboff, 2019), semiocapitalism (Berardi, 2009), or algorithmic governmentality (Crogan, 2019). Each term points to our massively interconnected globe where we are ceaselessly tracked and monitored by private and state bodies, whether this is Big Tech (Google, Apple, Facebook, Amazon and Microsoft), or the Five Eyes alliance in the West, China or Russia in the East. As Jagodzinski (2020) notes, "We search Google only to have Google searching us; we naively thought that digital services were free, but it is us who are 'free' to be used by capitalist platforms" (p. 9).

Much of this highly critical commentary responds to Gilles Deleuze's (1992) short, highly influential, analysis of "societies of control"; how our seeming freedom is shaped, monitored and organised in ways that entirely frame how we understand our reality and choices (Brusseau, 2020).

This is critical: the intensive, microscopic interconnectedness of developing technologies at the affective and neural level threatens to embed the societies of control at a subliminal threshold. It is one reason for the new term, "neurocapitalism". As *Vox* magazine headlined it in 2019, "Brain-reading tech is coming. The law is not ready to protect us" (Sigal, 2019). Similarly, Giorgio Griziotti describes how "the body in its entirety connects to networked devices so intimately that they enter into symbiosis and modify each other" (interview with Di Biase, 2016). The simple smartwatch, for instance, not only shapes our behaviour but our expectations of health and fitness, through its numerous sensory measurements and workout modes uploaded to the cloud (Holloway, 2019). Simultaneously, it changes our ideas of fitness and health, just as algorithmic dating sites shift expectations towards a consumer model of intimacy (Longo, 2019) and online porn changes sexual practices (Quadara et al, 2017).

Neurocapitalism extends well beyond this, for example, to emerging brain-computer interfaces. Elon Musk's company "has created flexible 'threads' that can be implanted into a brain and could one day allow you to control your smartphone or computer with just your thoughts" (Samuel, 2019). Neurocapitalism encompasses "the quandary of neural plasticity" (Neidich, 2017) along with neuropharmacology and "Dtx". Dtx is a new field that connects digital therapeutics and clinical pharmacology, blending wearable devices, telehealth and psychological treatments (Chung, 2019). Not surprisingly, the prodigious speed and size of these developments has created widespread concern. Thomas Metzinger commented in 2010:

> The Internet has already become a part of our self-model. We use it for external memory storage, as a cognitive prosthesis, and for emotional autoregulation … Clearly, the integration of hundreds of millions of human brains … into ever new medial environments has already begun to change the structure of conscious experience itself. (p. 234)

Matteo Pasquinelli (2014) and Rosie Braidotti (2019) typify authors who attempt to articulate the tensions implicit in these immense shifts and the interpenetration of existential, neurological and digital commodity worlds. Griziotti (2020) describes them as "biocognitive capitalism" and Benjamin Bratton (2016) as "the design of political geography tuned to this era of planetary-scale computation" (p. 3).

Shoshona Zuboff (2019), in a recent influential book, uses the term "surveillance capitalism". She studies global platforms such as Google, Facebook, Apple, Microsoft and Youtube, and how they organise our collective and largely unconscious activity via algorithms and data mining. She discusses how digital audiences, for example, are presented with material which intensifies their pre-existing choices and behaviours. This is one theme of the Netflix documentary, *The Social Dilemma* (Minow, 2020). Luciana Parisi (2016) describes it as the way algorithmic capitalism attempts to capture every aspect of collective interaction across the planet.

This perspective needs to be placed against its more optimistic alternative. A broad set of schools and approaches study, for example, how algorithms construct "unstable associations of people, things, processes, documents and resources" (Neyland & Möllers, 2017). They do so without the same bleak predictions around control societies, surveillance or the dominance of the hyperreal. Consequently, this work raises questions about how far algorithmic power and neurocapitalism will actually shape or dominate ordinary human activity, even on Facebook (Beer, 2017; Bucher, 2017; Kitchin, 2017). Traditions such as STS (Science and Technology Studies), for example, emphasise human agency and co-engagement with digital processes (Marres & Gerlitz, 2015; Marres & Moats, 2015), rather than its implicit domination.

Likewise, extensive studies in psychiatry offer a more complex assessment of how extensively the internet may be changing or replacing our cognition or memory; or whether individuals are using or being used by dating algorithms (Firth et al, 2019). This, in turn, allows for the possibility for ethical governance with even the most obscure and inaccessible algorithms (Neyland, 2016).

Psychoanalysis/Psychotherapy and the Digital

Psychoanalysis has, itself, extensively investigated social practices in digital worlds (e.g. Krüger & Johanssen, 2016; Emmert-Streib et al, 2019; Bandinelli & Bandinelli, 2021). It includes AI as a form of algorithmic unconscious (Possati, 2020).[2]

Psychology, more broadly, has investigated the development of affective computing, with research over a century about how emotion might be simulated (van den Broek et al, 2011). Online technologies have made this a sprawling field, from asking whether technology is killing human emotion (Eddy, 2019), to exploring how messaging interactions work (Tagg & Lyons, 2021).

Therapies and online technologies have also combined in the development of digital therapies through websites, apps, and social media (Kent, 2019). As Michael Weightman (2020) comments, these are proliferating and appear under a variety of titles: digital or electronic psychotherapy; e-psychotherapy; computer-assisted psychotherapy or internet-based psychotherapy. There are also AI apps, such as counselling or mental health chatbots called Tess or Woebot. Users such as Erin Brodwin (2018) reveal their success ("I spent 2 weeks chatting with a robot about my anxiety—Here's how it went"). In Aotearoa, there are government initiatives which included, in 2020, John Kirwan's Mentemia app, a health journal app called Melon, and the e-therapy programme "Staying on Track" (Clark, 2020).

My focus here, however, is how psychoanalysis and digital worlds influence each other,

how they shape and comprehend each other through the human, the posthuman and various cybernetic agents. These entanglements of consciousness, affect and unconscious processes are intricate and wide-ranging. Patricia Clough (2018) dubs them "the user unconscious", and portrays them as recognising "the other-than-human agencies that are increasingly at work beyond and below the threshold of human consciousness" (Kafer, 2020, p. 1).

Here, she explores how selves are experienced and even formed in online activity as opposed to in person. Online, an individual can also be a user with a "thing-self" (Clough, 2018, p. 78; Chun, 2016). This is the user's separate, somewhat autonomous online identity that assumes a life of its own. The thing-self is what gives shape to what she calls "the user unconscious". A user unconscious is "the unconscious in relation to the collapse into the YOU" (Clough 2018, n.p.), the social identity online. The YOU is one's "cloud of digital traces" (n.p.), as opposed to just an "I". This YOU remains embedded as metadata — images, texts, Facebook interaction, phone activity. It constitutes an individual's identity beyond the in-person self. Fragments of this identity, which Deleuze (1992) calls the "dividual" as opposed to the individual, has a separate existence. It is a thing-self that becomes digitally metabolised. This is one concern voiced in the documentary *The Social Dilemma,* noted earlier.

All this seems a long way from the psychoanalytic understanding of either the "skin ego" (Anzieu, 1989, p. 62) or somatic, polyvagal experience (Slonim, 2014). Yet, as Clough and Jacob Johanssen (2020) discuss, the skin ego and the thing-self also mark some limits of how being is experienced, or known by others, online and offline.[3] Sensate experiences of smell, touch and taste, or even collective heart synchronisation (McCraty, 2017), have limited online equivalence. Each of these somatic communications influences feeling, responsiveness and awareness in ways that audio-visual exchanges do not readily replicate.

The thing-self is where different forms of subjectivity often emerge, whether it is through fan sites, social media activity or online lists. They mark:

> A strong orientation towards self-marketing and self-commodification and can well be seen as the fulfilment of what Adorno, with a view to the cultural industry, termed "psychoanalysis in reverse" (1954, p. 223). (Krüger & Johanssen, 2016, p. 17)

The problem here is that, whether we focus on individual or collective experience within cybernetic worlds, there are ongoing problems for psychotherapists around how to conceptualise the unconscious, the subject, and relational dynamics, in short, how and to what we pay attention to, where digital interaction is concerned.

Critical Theory, Bernard Stiegler, and Transitional Objects

These complex psychodynamics link directly to the larger landscape investigated by critical theory. In this context, it is possible to understand devices not just as boundary objects but, in Bernard Stiegler's writing, as technologies, *pharmakon*. Stiegler's book, *What Makes Life Worth Living* (2013), echoes the same interest as Winnicott in how creative social life is made and sustained. Indeed, he draws directly on Winnicott, beginning his first chapter with the title "The loss of the feeling of existing". As he writes,

Such was Winnicott's great discovery: the fact that maternal knowledge is knowledge of that which, in the transitional object, consists, though it does not exist, and which gives to the child placed under this protection the feeling that "life is worth living". (p. 2)

He goes on:

I argue in this work that the transitional object is the first pharmakon … The transitional object is the first pharmakon because it is both an external object on which the mother and child are dependent (losing it is enough to make this clear) … and an object that, not existing but consisting, provides … their serenity, their trust in life, their feeling that life is worth living, their autonomy. (pp. 2-3)

Acknowledging it is essential to the "formation of a healthy psychic apparatus", he follows Winnicott in accepting that "a bad relation to this object" is "destructive of autonomy and trust" (Stiegler, 2013, p. 3). In this context, then, technological devices, technis, represent pharmakon. They possess both toxic and curative potentials.

Following Plato, we can observe that pharmacology is at once a poison and a cure (Stiegler, 2014). In other words, digital technologies can become toxic or open new vistas and new ways of thinking. (Bradley, 2021, p. 6)

Stiegler's concern, throughout all his work, is the acceleration of hyper-industrialisation that strips out human capacities and memory, embedding them in technical systems throughout the course of human history, first in writing and tools and, latterly via digital systems, AI and computational capitalism. Hyper-industrialisation has created, in Daniel Ross's (2018) summary:

Numerous deleterious effects that are now being felt at the level of the biosphere itself, including (but not limited to) the crisis of climate change, leading to the proposal that we have entered into a new geological epoch, the Anthropocene. (p. 10)

Michael Melmed (2020) develops a "psychoanalytic container" to make a similar point: that many of our technologies stunt sensuous engagement, "collapse psychic space, diminish our capacity to tolerate frustration, and blind us to our dependence on worlds beyond the human" (p. 1).

In these contexts, boundary objects and mediation are components of the larger sociotechnical systems with which we began.

What are the implications of Stiegler's argument? Like boundary objects, the curative pharmakon ties together self-formation and object formation through accumulated moments of trust and intimacy. It highlights the formation of an integrated, secure self, through human care. Alternatively, the toxic pharmakon threatens fragmentation through datafication and algorithmic capitalism which renders the individual as dividual. Stiegler's writing represents the conscious and unconscious oscillation between curative and toxic,

constantly mediated through mobile devices, singular passage points for a ceaseless semiotic flow (Lembke, 2021).

Conclusion

I asked earlier why psychotherapists should care about NFTs or DeFi. The answer may now look different. We could articulate it in two, related ways. Firstly, through the lens of neural plasticity. As suggested earlier, the human and the cybernetic are increasingly interwoven, so that AI systems, machine learning or the Internet of Things shape how we understand ourselves as human, because we are continuously entangled as data. In this sense, mediation becomes not only increasingly central, but increasingly, and invisibly integrated. As Haraway or Hayles (1999) insist, we are gradually, and constantly, becoming posthuman cyborgs. Neural plasticity is key here. David Eagleman (2020) has recently described the human brain as "a plug'n'play machine" (p.25), where every sensory input can not only be rewired and relearned, but human sensory mechanisms and body shapes can be entirely remodelled. We may extend the human through, for example, neurobiological access to the ultraviolet spectrum or to electromagnetic fields. Donna Haraway (in Haraway and Wolfe 2016) describes this as the coming of the posthuman cyborg. Such neural and somatic plasticity raises profound questions about what it means to be human (Beinsteiner, 2019). Why would that not exercise psychotherapists as much as anyone else?

This view is entwined with the second perspective, which concerns the ceaseless oscillations around cybernetic technologies as pharmakon. Trust, intimacy and security versus alienation, integration or molecular atomisation at the individual or the collective scale. Liberatory potential against addictive, enslaving "proletarianisation" as human data subjects. The perspective is developed here through Stiegler, but Peter Sloterdijk (2014), for example, writes equally forcefully on anthropotechnology and modernity.[4]

When thought of psychoanalytically, these two visions evoke a third: the articulation of the unconscious at both global and personal scales. In object relations terms, they symbolise an endless shuttle between paranoid-schizoid and depressive positions. The paranoid-schizoid is the terrors of predatory data extraction, disintegration of communities to atomised dividuals, and primitive addictions to the machines of digital capital.

The depressive position, anticipated in Winnicott's 'Some Thoughts on the Meaning of the Word Democracy' (1950), suggests more sociable, egalitarian forms of participation. These, he noted, are collaborative achievements, secured only through the effort to maintain "ordinary good homes" (Winnicott, 1950, p. 551). In this context, the digital, as outlined earlier, offers ways to mediate and expand this possibility. Ordinary good homes, Winnicott writes (1950, p. 551), provide "the only setting in which the innate democratic factor can be created" (p. 551).

We can expand this idea much further by drawing on Lambrecht's (2016) work around intergenerational colonial trauma in Aotearoa New Zealand. As he comments, Winnicott's transitional space enables access to 'the space of wairua or spirituality in a safe and discerning manner' (2016, p.155). Here, Winnicott's ordinary good homes translates to whānau and the four pillars of *te whare tapa whā*. Importantly, it encompasses colonial trauma and the spiritual in ways often absent from discussions of the digital. This perspective

offers a way to reconceive the paranoid-schizoid of the dividual and the depressive as a transitional and collective spiritual space (Faimberg 2005, Kirshner 2006).

Where is psychotherapy in these contexts? Like every other institution it, too, must navigate the exploitative or empowering struggles I have outlined. As I noted, it is also a political and institutional practice operating within mental health systems, mixed economies and the welfare state (Kornbluh, 2019; Ngui et al, 2010; Perini, 2016). As Kornbluh (2019) comments, psychoanalysis is a discursive formation; a way of construing other worlds, including the computational. So, psychotherapy is equally entangled in politics, conscious and unconscious, alongside the cybernetic and algorithmic capitalism with which it engages.

How might it respond? One set of possibilities lies in its own technologies. These include the sense-making practices of history-taking, reflection and enquiry central to therapeutic work. Galič et al (2017) echo Winnicott, emphasising how such practices are equally central to larger, democratic projects, regardless of profession or discipline. These practices, together, illuminate mobile activity. In the therapeutic context, how we can constantly examine the ways mobiles silently mediate our work. Such sense-making practices, Galič et al argue, constitute liberatory work. They create possibilities for insight and opportunities for action. Like Stiegler, they point beyond individual to collective engagement; to acting politically against datafication and surveillance capitalism. These are some of the stakes, historical and contemporary, facing psychotherapists in cybernetic times.

Notes

1. See recent commentaries, e.g. Caldwell (2018, 2022) on negative transitional phenomena.

2. The digital unconscious has been interrogated, for example, through concepts of the machinic unconscious, the semiotic and the asemiotic (Deleuze & Guattari, 2009, 2013; Genosko, 1996; Watson, 2009). These terms describe how any particle of communication is transmitted in and between human and machine systems (Jellis et al, 2019; Vachnadze, 2021). In these contexts, the unconscious is understood as a series of emergent intensities and sign systems, well beyond the simply human. It suggests how the human, posthuman and cybernetic might be integrated with unconscious processes in a far more extensive way than Freudian or relational psychoanalysis accommodate (Deleuze & Guattari, 2009, Hayles, 1999).

3. Mellier (2014) discusses different ways in which psychic 'envelopes' are conceived, including economic, topographical, dynamic and genetic.

4. Yuk and Lemmens (2017) provide a useful comparison of Stiegler and Sloterdijk.

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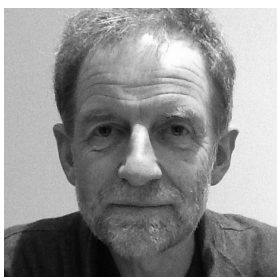
John Farnsworth has written extensively across a variety of fields including psychotherapy, social science and new technologies. He works as a psychotherapist in private practice in Dunedin and also holds an Associate position in Otago University's Media, Film and Communications programme.

Tiana Pēwhairangi Trego-Hall and Lily Kay Matariki O'Neill in conversation with Anna Hinehou Fleming and Verity Armstrong: Rangatahi from Te Ipu Taiao – Climate Crucible, NZAP Conference 2021

Tiana Pēwhairangi Trego-Hall (Te Rarawa, Ngāti Whātua, Tainui iwi and of the Numangatini people from the Island of Mangaia in the Cook Islands) and Lily Kay Matariki O'Neill (Ngāti Kahungunu)

Rangatahi

Anna Fleming (Ngāpuhi, Ngāi Tūhoe) and Verity Armstrong (Kai Tahu)

Psychotherapists

Abstract

Ka pū te ruha, ka hao te rangatahi — The old fishing net is replaced by the new fishing net. This whakatauki reminds us that our rangatahi, our young people, as our next generation, are the ones that will take the lead. The following kōrero emerged from the rangatahi panel which Tiana and Lily were part of at the NZAP's Te Ipu Taiao Climate Crucible hui in March 2021. We received much feedback and gratitude around the indigenous perspective that each young person brought with regard to the current climate crisis, and so we asked them if they would be interested in a follow up interview that could be published. As Aotearoa's next generation, we were interested to further explore their experiences and feelings as indigenous rangatahi living in Te Ao Hurihuri, our ever changing world.

Whakarāpopotonga

Ka pū te ruha, ka hao te rangatahi. He whakamaumaharatanga mai tā tēnei whakataukī ko ā tātau rangatahi, ā tātau taiohi, te reanga whai muri mai, ngā kaitātaki mō apōpō. I puta mai ngā kōrero e whai ake nei i te rōpū rangatahi i roto nei a Tiana rāua ko Riri i te hui a Te Ipu Taiao Climate Crucible hui a NZAP i te marama o Poutū-te-rangi 2021. Tino koa, tino maha ngā kōrero a ngā taiohi i whakahokia mai e whakaputa ana i ō rātau tirohanga mō te āhuarangi mōrearea ōnaianei. Nā tēnei ka pātaihia rātau mena ka aro ake rātau ki ētahi uiuinga, ka tāia nei pea ā tōna wā. Nā te mea ko rātau te reanga e piki ake ana, e tino kaikā ana mātau ki te whai haere i ō rātau wheako me ō rātau whakaaro — ngā taiohi tangata whenua e noho ana i roto i tēnei Ao Hurihuri, tō tātau ao e kore nei e mutu te hurihuri.

Keywords: climate crisis; rangatahi; whenua; indigenous.

Introduction

> Ka pū te ruha, ka hao te rangatahi
> The old fishing net is replaced by the new fishing net

The above whakatauki gestures towards the role of rangatahi as leaders in Aotearoa New Zealand, now and in the future. The following kōrero, which was undertaken via Zoom, emerged from the rangatahi panel which Tiana Pēwhairangi Trego-Hall and Lily Kay Matariki O'Neill were part of at NZAP's Te Ipu Taiao Climate Crucible hui in March 2021. We engaged in this kōrero several months after the conference, and further explored Tiana and Lily's experiences and feelings as indigenous rangatahi living in Te Ao Hurihuri, our ever-changing world.

Anna: Tutawa mai i runga
           Tutawa mai i raro
           Tutawa mai i roto
           Tutawa mai i waho
           Kia tau ai te mauri tu
           te mauri ora ki te katoa
           Haumi e, hui e
All: Taiki e.

Anna: Kia ora koutou. Thank you for coming. As I said, I think it'll be really neat if we can just have a kōrero similar to the one we had earlier on in the year. I'm really interested to hear what your thoughts might be and some of them might have even shifted or evolved given so much has happened since March. Maybe if we just start with one of our opening questions which is the same way we started back in March. What is your sense of how young people are being impacted currently by the climate crisis?

Lily: I think, just in a general sense, not just indigenous youth, but all young people have grown up with that fear factor of the effects of climate change because the first climate change reports came out back in the seventies but I think they only started being taken seriously at the turn of the 21st century. A lot of us have grown up with that. I'd call it a bit of a shadow over not just our experiences day-to-day but our futures. I think that has been a major contributor to climate anxiety and I think also it feels quite a deep passion in a lot of young people to move for social change and invest in renewable energies and giving land back and all that type of stuff.

          I think that we are a generation, that it's our job now to fix it, we don't have any other choice. Like I said back in March, as an indigenous person, I don't think of it as a responsibility but I do think of it as a privilege. I think it's my privilege to be able to restore whenua.

Anna: That puts quite a different spin on it, doesn't it, being able to see it as a privilege rather than just this responsibility that's been left to you.

Lily: Yeah.

Tiana: I think also a lot of indigenous voices are being heard now so our values, our whaakaro such as mana motuhake are being recognised by Pākehā now; it's not about me and you, it's about us as a collective. I think that's what a lot of young people nowadays are taking on board and are more willing than their predecessors to work with indigenous people to find solutions. They're listening to us and I think that's a great thing. I just wanna tautoko what Lily said.

Lily: It's become less ethnocentric, Eurocentric. Obviously, we still have a long way to go but in the past it's been western knowledge systems of ways and knowing and doing and everything else. I think indigenous knowledge systems are being valued more in a sense because people are finally realising the value of indigenous knowledges, particularly around climate change. I know in Australia at least, with backburning to prevent bush fires, that's an indigenous practice that was ignored which resulted in centuries of devastating bush fires. This year, after the 2020 bush fires, they've finally brought in indigenous elders and indigenous knowledge systems into Government enterprises to lead backburning which has resulted in, I can't remember the exact statistic, but 40% less spontaneous bush fires. I think that's just a small example of prioritising diverse knowledges and histories and ways of knowing and doing and existing in the world.

Verity: I was wondering how, for both of you, what experiences from your lives really brought you to the passion for thinking about climate change and what your connection with that is?

Tiana: Growing up I always heard the phrase, "If you're born Māori your life is already political from your birth." Knowing that, even though I present as a Pākehā

European but growing up in Te Ao Māori, that was something that came naturally and something that I grew up with. As I've talked about previously in my publication, The Politics of Toheroa Soup, I was only seven when I was going out and collecting traditional kai moana to feed my whānau and I know that's the reality for a lot of rural Māori who depend on Papatūānuku, Tangaroa for their kai. It's something that is in their lives daily, weekly, and it's just ingrained in them that I suppose urbanised Māori don't have to think about as often. When you've been brought up like that, you already have an awareness of your surroundings, "I can't get those mussels, they're too small," or "My garden's looking a bit empty, I need to go and weed the garden or help her to grow." You become dependent on your natural resources. I think for me that was always embedded in me because I was fortunate enough to live in an urbanised setting but also in a rural setting where I went home often.

Going up to my Nan's for summertime, she didn't have water in the water tank just to have a shower; we went to the creek to go and have our showers and our baths and our wash. That's been happening for generations, before Pākehā came with their water systems. I suppose my answer to that is it's always been there, having that in our consciousness. Even having a rural marae away from the cities, our kaitiaki, our kaimahi that work on the marae, they need to know how to operate a marae without running water or without certain utilities that you do have in the big cities. It's always been there.

Lily: I think that's so true that when you're born Māori or indigenous it's just part of who you are. Your identity is politicised immediately and climate change is another one of those big things that is turned into politics when it's actually a human rights issue, frustratingly. I completely agree with that. Obviously, I grew up in Australia, I grew up in a really urbanised setting and I would go home to my whenua to visit my whānau and get those insights that I don't get from daily life about who I am and my cultural identity. Going home helps put your life into perspective as yourself, as being part of a bigger picture and I think that is just so integral to Māori identity that is so different from European. It's not as individualistic, everything you do as a Māori is for your community. I'm yet to meet an indigenous person who is self-serving which I think also contributes to the passion that indigenous young people have for climate change justice.

Because I didn't have the opportunity to spend much time on my whenua, I have interacted with mostly indigenous Australians and I found that different community of young Aboriginal Australians and Torres Strait Islander Australians that wasn't accessible to me through my own culture just because I didn't grow up in Aotearoa. I have that when I need it but it's just not around me. The way I look at my indigenous heritage and my identity is more through a global lens of community and the commonality of experience between all indigenous peoples around the world.

Verity: It was about your personal experiences and how that brought you to this kaupapa

which I think you've spoken about really well. What I'm hearing from the both of you is the importance in both of your lives about the collective and about being part of something that is more than just yourselves and your nuclear family and something about being connected to a sense of something that's much larger than just us. I wonder if that idea is in there, too, about conversations about climate change or potentially where we find ourselves now, that idea of being connected, woven together, not just with the people around us but with the world around us, too. I wonder if anything in that resonates with either of you?

Tiana: I don't wanna generalise. Te Ao Māori, we are holistic people. We believe Papatūānuku is a being, our atua are beings and we're supposed to treat them accordingly. Papatūānuku is our mother, she provides for us. In our world, we don't bomb mothers, we don't set fire to our mum — I'm talking about the climate change now. Because of our world view, that shapes how we treat our environment, much differently to how Europeans or the western system have treated the environment over the years.

Because we believe Papatūānuku is a being and our atua, the world around us, are living things, we treat them as such. Even before the concept of climate change or pollution came to our shores, before Europeans came to Aotearoa, I think that sense of taking care of her was always there, or taking care of Te Ao has always been there. I don't think that's changed because Pākehā have come up with the words climate change or that we need to now suddenly take care of our world. For Māori, that's always been there and if anything what has changed is the way we consume the products of Papatūānuku and Tangaroa. Over-fishing, over-using resources — something that we didn't do traditionally but now because of new world views that is something we've gotta consider, our whānau's over-digging toheroa, we've gotta say something to them. That whānau over there, they're planting pines, what's that gonna do for our forest? Plant traditional kauri or pōhutukawa. I guess my point is I've always seen it as Māori have always been traditional caretakers even before climate change was a concept. I see it as there wasn't a need for climate change to be a concept because there wasn't a problem for us.

Lily: It just made me think about how we can't really begin to heal Papa if we aren't healed ourselves. Just for instance, for urbanised Māori or people who are at the beginning of the Te Reo journey or you're trying to identify yourself and articulate who you are in a colonised society, it can be hard to enter into that big community space of fighting climate change, finding that passion, if you're so disconnected from your identity culturally in any sense, really. I think what's really insidious is that colonisation is still doing the work to dispossess Māori, indigenous people all over the world and hold us back from our truer selves, I suppose you could say. In a lot of circumstances, I know some of my whānau that are stuck in the hamster wheel of colonisation and the substances they've brought to us and the priorities that they've brought to us, it's quite sad. I think that's where a lot of the tension arises; we're all running at different speeds as individuals and we're trying to

rebuild our cultural identity in a society that it feels like it doesn't want us to almost. I think that can be a real challenge in terms of restoring whenua.

Tiana: Add on to that, I feel like Pākehā do pick and choose when they want to engage with Māori, and only engage with Māori, I feel, when it is on their terms or when it is of best interest. That doesn't apply to everyone but even conversations recently, I've heard on social media, a woman wrote, they were talking about the use of the word "Aotearoa", "I'm not Māori, I'm a Kiwi," this was a Pākehā woman, and the response was, "'Kiwi' is a Māori word," and anyway the argument just kept going and going. I do feel like there is mātauranga that does need to be protected when it comes to engaging with not just Pākehā, but others outside of our culture in terms of our traditional practices and how we take care as well, because I feel that our culture isn't for sale. It's not for everyone to have access to; it's for Māori and, yes, you may be privy to certain information but at the end of the day, it wasn't your people affected by your actions, it wasn't your people's whenua that was taken away and built for housing for many people that aren't from this whenua. I think there does need to be recognition of historical injustices somewhere as well and that people can't expect to come to us for all the answers or what they want from us without giving back to us, I suppose. Reciprocity is what I'm trying to get at.

Lily: Yeah it's been quite paternalistic. Like they're doing this to protect you but really it's just restrictive.

Tiana: Even DOC at the moment up here in Northland, under the guise that Māori aren't using their whenua, DOC is coming in, the saviour, saying, "We'll take Māori land and put it under conservation." To me, that's still colonisation, whether for a good thing or a bad thing. That's not your land to take, that is private Māori land and whatever guise you come under DOC, Government, "You need a new road," that is still a form of colonisation. Their argument is because we're not using the whenua. Just because you're not seeing us build a house on the whenua or some commercial buildings, doesn't mean that it's not in use. Even if it wasn't in use, it's still not yours to take but that's what's happening up here.

Lily: Yeah, it's like they use the word "conservation" as an excuse. Just paint it with a broad brush of 'we're helping out' but it's just under a new name, I think, it's just colonisation in a terrible disguise, really. It's awful.

Verity: It's heart-breaking and I think it's so true Lily, what you're talking about, that disconnection from culture and from self. I know that one of the earlier speakers was talking about the idea of climate crisis having emerged because of a general disconnection throughout the world and how the idea of capitalism has come in and disconnected us from ourselves and, as you say, with colonisation that's happened for Māori and for indigenous people — that disconnection from their culture and how important that connection has to be and has to be totally

integrated. I wondered, for you both, thinking about rangatahi now, what you see as the task for your generation?

Lily: Big question.

Verity: Huge question, isn't it? Now that we've done our bit!

Lily: The word that just came to my mind was probably "healing", in a lot of senses. I know still in discussions of climate justice and social movements around that when I'm in spaces with a lot of young people, it can be difficult to come to a conclusion about what our targets are because it's so intersectional. Or I should really say, it's not quite intersectional enough in the sense that a lot of Pākehā youth in those spaces are still, not their own fault, just have been raised in the Eurocentric kind of 'land can be owned' ideology that a lot of POC youth don't recognise as an important factor- so it can be hard to have those discussions in a diverse group because, depending on your cultural background, you have different priorities. Which is why I think that the more connected we are to ourselves and to our culture as Māori, the more we can do to help our Papa in healing, which really starts with healing ourselves and our people and communities.

     I don't mean that to sound segregational because we should all definitely be coming together but there is that point where you have to draw that line between actually this is ours and ours only. I think it's just gonna be one of those really long, difficult conversations that we just have to keep having. It's probably more damaging to just throw your hands up and go, "This is too hard, I am too exhausted to have this conversation anymore, I can't do it." It's unfair but it's always indigenous people at the front lines defending land that's already been taken from us once. We're doing the work and we just have to keep going, I think. Just a lot of difficult discourse and rearranging of priorities.

Tiana: I think Lily summed that up perfectly. I think we need to start with ourselves first as people, as Māori, before we can go to Government and say, "Hey this is what we wanna do." If we're not all on the same page, we've got one waka here and then another waka at the back here trying to catch up or have opposing opinions. I think the more that we can work together, heal together then I think we can create a better world for everyone.

Lily: We're only as strong as our weakest, right?

Tiana: I think it's evident, not all Māori are on the same page and that's okay, you don't have to be on the exact same page at the exact sentence but as long as the heart is there for the kaupapa and that we know that we're there for the kaupapa. In this case it's climate change. That we're here to better ourselves and to better our world. How we go about bettering the world may be different from the people over here but if it's gonna create the same outcome then that's all we can hope for.

It might be controversial but even with COVID at the moment, I know Māori who are on the fence about getting the vaccine and then other Māori who are all for it and then those that are completely against it. Again, that has to do with historical injustices, the flu pandemic, for example, in the early 20th century. I do think that Māori rightfully have hesitation towards the Government and are sceptical about Government initiatives to help us because of what they've done in the past. I think that's fair, too, but, as I said, if we can all get on the same waka or on different waka but get to the same destination, then I think we can make the world a good place.

Anna: Do you have anything you wanna add to that, Lily?

Lily: I've been seeing a lot of that kind of stuff on Facebook, especially with my Māori whānau around Aotearoa. A lot of the responses I found, especially on the internet, from Pākehā Kiwi, is they go straight to judgement which I find really challenging to interact with because there's clearly that disconnect of understanding the history of Aotearoa. I think a lot of the time it's brushed over with this- we're a team and everything's fine, we have Māori words for all the Government- and it's really easy to forget for Pākehā in Aotearoa the legacy of the violence of colonisation is still around and it's in living history, it's happening now. I think there needs to be more understanding for Māori perspectives, especially around this topic. This is just a great example about vaccinations, of course there's going to be distrust but I think blaming Māori for that distrust is the wrong approach. I think that it should be — What is the Government gonna do about it? They should be the ones responsible for fixing that relationship, not Māori, and I think that it's disgusting that Māori are blamed for that relationship. Sometimes it feels like Māori are doing 80% of the work, more than that, to heal themselves and it should not be our responsibility to do that.

Anna: I'm wondering if we start to bring it to a close. I think one of the parts that I really liked about what you said before, Lily, and what we've all talked about, and it's a very psychotherapy kind of idea — is that disconnect of the self and what happens when that's at play. I think what you acknowledge is when you've got that kind of rupture then this is what comes from that — we end up in different crises and different states of change. If we start to bring it to a close; is there anything that you two would like to end on or any thoughts that you feel like you'd like to finish off with? Potentially what your hopes might be?

Lily: I'd like to speak optimistically. I think the healing work that we need to do is 100% about decolonisation cos no matter what angle you look at any crises Māori or indigenous people are facing, if you take enough steps back, it'll lead to colonisation. I think healing starts with ourselves and I think it would be awesome to live in a world where the priorities of the Government are in line with the priorities of the people of that whenua.

Tiana: I think Lily wrapped it up pretty on point with that one. Ideally, I would like to live in a New Zealand, in an Aotearoa where Te Tiriti is being upheld 100%. Whether or not we're gonna get there, that's the big question, if we're ever gonna get there. The only way to improve it is if, I suppose, Pākehā are able to meet us at our level, are willing to hear what we have to say and take on board our needs and our wants, to mend those relationships of colonisation. Until then, we've got a lot of work to do, both parties. Māori, healing ourselves and, I suppose, the Government, the rest of Aotearoa, being willing to hear us and actually listening to us cos you can't solve everything on your own.

Anna: Verity, did you have anything?

Verity: I just wanted to add that when you said that, Tiana, I was thinking, there were a lot of Pākehā and people from overseas as well I know, listening to you both at the Climate Crucible and I think were really hearing you, and inspired about what you had to say and how valuable and important it is for the future. I really want to thank you for that too.

Tiana: I don't wanna come off anti-Pākehā, not at all, I am Pākehā myself, I'm Māori and Pākehā. I do think, like Lily said, that is a big thing- decolonising ourselves, cos for a lot of Māori you either present Māori, you don't present Māori, you've been brought up or you haven't been brought up in Te Ao Māori so I do think that is a very big challenge for us. I don't wanna come across anti-Pākehā but please listen to us.

Anna: Kia ora. Kia ora kōrua, thank you very much again. It was really great to be able to hear from you both and your thoughts and ideas which just have such a depth and truth to them, so I'm really excited that we get to bring something else from you. The response that we had from our Climate Crucible talk was that people are I think hungry for this perspective, and I was just thinking when you were talking, Tiana, maybe it's about non-Māori to maybe not be joining us on our waka but at least being able to come alongside so that we can reach the same point rather than going wiwi wawa away from each other. Kia ora kōrua.

Anna: Poupoua ki runga
Poupoua ki raro
Ki taku aroaro e
Kia mau, kia ita
Kia ita, kia mau
Kia tu, kia tu
Tau ana, tau ana
Haramai te toki
Haumi e, hui e

All: Taiki e!

Tiana Pēwhairangi Trego-Hall, Te Rarawa, Ngāti Whātua, Tainui iwi and of the Numangatini people from the Island of Mangaia in the Cook Islands. Tiana graduated last year from the Auckland University of Technology with a BA in Māori Development and Māori Media. She is continuing her studies this year and is currently doing a PGDIP in Health Science. She has spent her life between Auckland and Kaihu, a little settlement in Northern Kaipara. In these communities, she is filling her kete with knowledge from kuia, koroua (elders) and whānau. She hopes to one day utilise the skills gained from her education to better the lives of whānau, hapū and iwi in Te Tai Tokerau.

Lily Kay Matariki O'Neill, Rangitane, Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi. Lily is in her final year of study at the University of Sydney, studying Art History and Indigenous Cultures, with an honours thesis in Indigenous art making pre and post colonisation. With a passion for curation, Lily is currently a Youth Collective Member at the Art Gallery of New South Wales with future plans in the study of Indigenous art curation and making overseas. Growing up in Eora Country/Poihakena (Sydney) and returning home to Porangahau, Waimarama and Danniverke, Lily has connected to whenua and tikanga, growing every year.

Anna Hinehou Fleming (she/her/ia) is of Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Hine, and Tūhoe whakapapa and also connects to South London in England. She was born in Tāmaki Makaurau and continues to live there with her whānau alongside Te Wai o Taiki. She is a registered psychotherapist and a member of Waka Oranga, National Collective of Māori Psychotherapy Practitioners and the New Zealand Association of Psychotherapists, Te Rōpū Whakaora Hinengaro. Having worked in various health and social services for over 15 years, Anna's therapeutic approach combines her professional and personal experiences and has a focus on attachment and developmental theory from an indigenous Māori perspective. Now based at the Department of Psychotherapy and Counselling at AUT, Anna enjoys being a part of the journey of training psychotherapists and providing an indigenous focus within the University space. Contact details: annafleming.therapy@gmail.com

Verity Armstrong is a Kai Tahu woman from Aotearoa New Zealand. She also has strong connections to clans MacKintosh and Armstrong. While her whakapapa is from the bottom of Te Waipounamu in the stunning Oraka/Aparima area, she grew up in Tāmaki Makaurau. Verity worked as a social worker in the area of childhood trauma, and then trained as a psychotherapist through AUT. She worked for an organisation specialising in domestic and sexual violence, and is now in private practice, specialising in sexual trauma. She also has an interest in sex positivism, relationships and love. Verity joined the rūnanga of Waka Oranga after experiencing their support and wisdom throughout her training and beginning years as a psychotherapist. Verity is married to her partner of many years, and has three tamariki. Her experience of mothering and being in relationship, and all of the learning this involves brings her a wealth of experiences, feelings and growth. Contact details: verityarmstrong@gmail.com

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