MARGINS OF UNCERTAINTY:

A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF MARGINALITY IN MULTIPLE DIMENSIONS OF EXPERIENCE

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
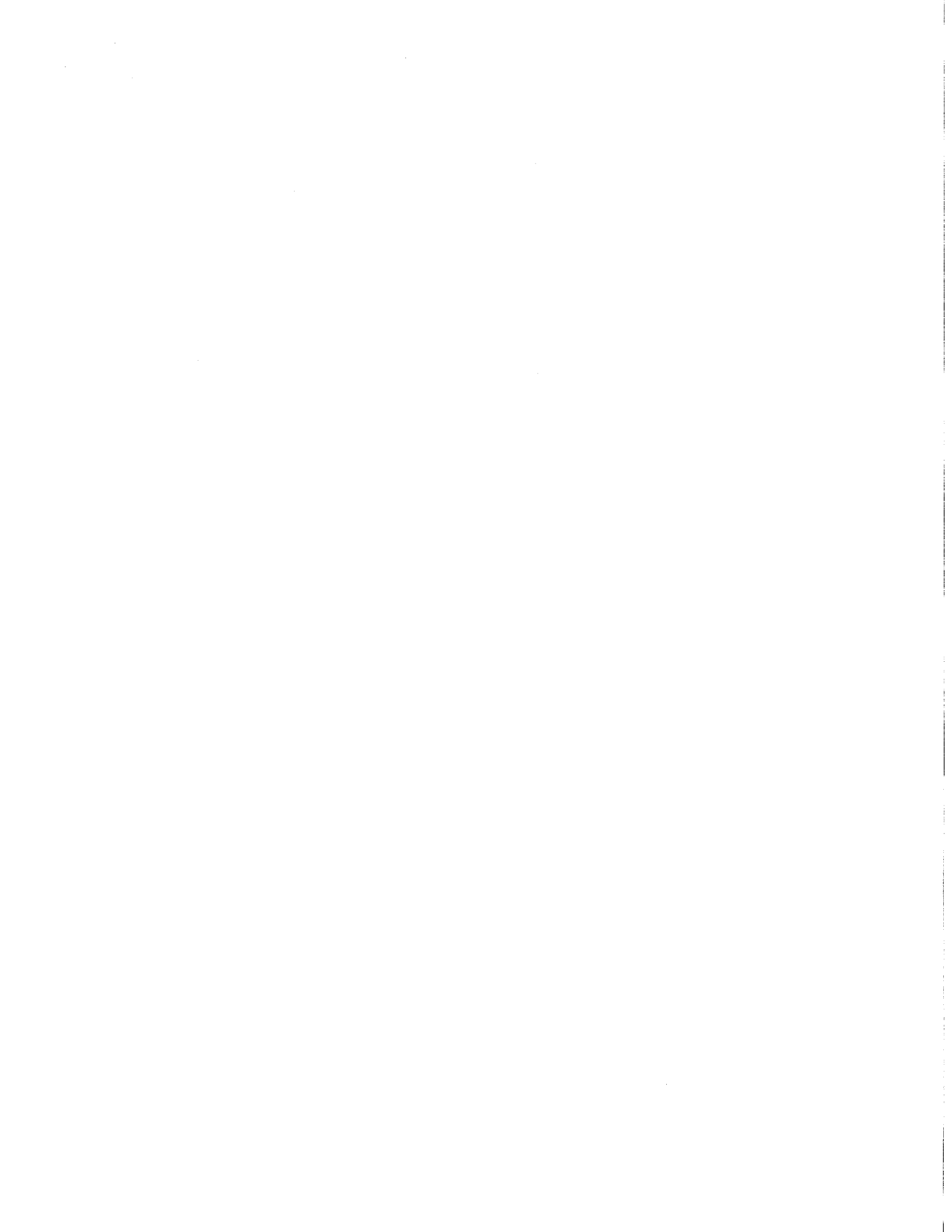for the award of the degree

MASTER OF PROCESS WORK

from

THE PROCESS WORK CENTRE OF PORTLAND
GRADUATE SCHOOL

by

Lee Spark Jones

September 2000

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES, TABLES AND BOXES

Figures

Tables

Boxes

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

PREFACE

This thesis is the culmination of a three-year doctoral research project, undertaken through the University of Wollongong, New South Wales, Australia, and conducted simultaneously with studies for a Masters/Diploma in Process-oriented Psychology (Process Work) through the Process Work Centre of Portland Graduate School. It has therefore been written at the intersection of two worlds, the world of western academic psychology and the world of Process Work. Its conceptual and methodological approach is marginal to both, and makes a creative and innovative contribution to each of them, in various ways. Since I address mainstream psychology in the body of the thesis, I would like to address readers who are more familiar with the world of Process Work by offering a few preliminary comments on how the research presented here contributes to Process Work theory and praxis.

Although the worlds of process-oriented psychological inquiry and western academic psychological research are not as distant from each other as they were even a decade ago, they still differ widely in their normative philosophical and methodological approaches. Process-oriented Psychology adopts a broadly relativist, phenomenological, and heuristic approach to the study of human experience. Founded in the tradition of depth psychology, it welcomes subjectivity as a research tool, appreciates qualitative research methods, and has gone on to incorporate interdisciplinary, sociopolitical and multicultural perspectives in both theory and practice. It rejects the notion that positivist science, with its emphasis on quantification and measurement, is the only valid form of human inquiry. In contrast, western scientific psychology developed as a positivist, ethnocentric discipline, which eschewed non-western psychological thought and

avoided interdisciplinary cross-fertilization. At different stages in its history, and to varying degrees, it has ignored the sociocultural and political dimensions of human experience, and rejected qualitative methods and relativistic, phenomenological research as valid scientific approaches to inquiry. As a result, the literatures of Process Work and mainstream academic psychology generally have little overlap. Process Work has received little research focus or acknowledgment from mainstream academic quarters.

My thesis makes a bridge between these two literatures by exploring key Process Work concepts within the linguistic, metatheoretical and methodological conventions of western academic psychology. Mindell's (1995) differentiation of multiple dimensions of rank is substantiated conceptually and empirically in this work, through theoretical elaboration on marginality as a multidimensional concept, and empirical demonstration of it in the context of everyday lives. The concept of the edge, which is central to Process Work theory and practice, is also investigated in cultural theoretical terms, through my development of the concept of 'secondary marginality'. This development serves to elaborate conceptually on the complex, dynamic nature of the edge in personal, inter-relational and intercultural contexts.

In addition, this thesis contributes to the body of Process Work research by identifying metaskills (A. S. Mindell, 1995) that are particularly important in intercultural interaction, in everyday relationships, in therapeutic settings and in research contexts. These are particularly relevant to multicultural counseling theory and practice - and to current thinking about cultural diversity issues, in Process Work as well as in general psychology. In particular, the problems of subtle stereotyping and

political correctness are addressed with useful implications for the education and training of Process Work therapists, group facilitators and researchers.

Finally, the thesis makes a methodological contribution to Process Work research. In recent decades, non-positivist methodologies have become much more acceptable in mainstream psychology. In large part this is due to developments in the philosophy of science over the past few decades, and their methodological reflection in various social sciences. There is now a vast literature on non-positivist research and qualitative methods of inquiry, with the concomitant expectation that such research must be pursued with as much rigour as positivist and quantitative research. The attention given to explicating the metatheoretical assumptions and methodological choices upon which the present project rests, may offer some guideposts and resources to others who tread a similar path. The operationalization of rank as a multidimensional concept, and the development of a research tool that can also be used for assessment and training in therapeutic settings, may likewise be helpful to Process Work researchers and practitioners.

<div align="center">***</div>

A note on the organizing structure of the thesis may assist the reader in navigating paths of conceptual inquiry and practical investigation, with simultaneous appreciation of the philosophical assumptions and methodological choices which shape these interrelated paths.

The thesis is structured in three main sections, with introductory and concluding chapters. The body of the thesis, which incorporates the conceptual work and three-part

study, is presented in *Part Two* and *Part Three* respectively. The metatheoretical underpinnings of the thesis are discussed in *Part One*. This material is presented first for several reasons. Firstly, a pluralistic approach to inquiry calls for a thorough explication of underlying assumptions. This clarification is offered at the outset, in the interests of sound research. Secondly, issues and choices in interpretive, qualitative research are canvassed because psychology is a field of inquiry in epistemological and methodological transition. Although qualitative methods now constitute a burgeoning field of inquiry, their impact has been felt only recently in psychology, relative to other social sciences. Description of methodical issues and choices is presented in *Part One* in order to familiarize the reader with the research approach adopted in subsequent parts of the thesis. This kind of preliminary discussion may neither be so necessary, nor so detailed, when a plurality of approaches to inquiry are more widely accepted in psychology. Thirdly, since my research incorporates some innovative procedures, it is also important to acquaint the reader from the start with the methodological context for their development.

While this delays full discussion of key theoretical concepts of marginality and their subsequent exploration in everyday life worlds, it is intended to convey the tenor of my inquiry clearly and facilitate a thorough understanding of my chosen approach. I hope this order of presentation will ultimately assist the reader in accompanying me on a journey through conceptual concepts and lived experience of marginality, which for me was both complex and fascinating.

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores marginality from the twin perspectives of theory and lived experience. Theoretical discussion takes an interdisciplinary approach to the exploration of marginality as a sociocultural and liminal phenomenon. It focuses on two main concepts: margin as periphery and margin as threshold. A three-phase study explores how these theoretical concepts of marginality manifest in everyday life worlds. It responds to recent critiques of unidimensional approaches to cultural diversity in therapeutic psychology (Weinrach & Thomas, 1996), as well as the call to conduct diversity research from perspectives that recognize the social construction of knowledge (Pedersen, 1997). The purpose of the study is to explore how marginality is perceived, experienced and understood in the lived experience of culturally diverse psychotherapists and non-therapists. It investigates marginal and mainstream experience across multiple areas of cultural influence (Hays, 1996a), and 'in between-ness' in intrapersonal experience and intercultural interaction. Framed from an interpretive perspective influenced by postmodernism (Kvale, 1996), critical hermeneutics and phenomenology (Hagan, 1986) and guided by a pragmatic metanarrative (Hoshmand, 1994), the three-phase study adopts a qualitative approach to inquiry. It was conducted in Portland, Oregon, U.S.A. Using purposive intensive sampling, Phase I addresses the experience of nine residents of an inner-city neighbourhood. Phase II addresses the experience of nine psychotherapists. In both phases, in-depth interviewing is the primary data generation strategy. This is supplemented in Phase II by two types of researcher-generated document: guided journal entries and an original instrument, a 'web-wheel' diagram. A concomitant focus of the study is the development of this diagram as innovative research tool. Phase III, focuses on praxis and empowerment. It

explores effects of participation in the study, and solicits feedback on research strategies and outcomes. Interpretive analysis is guided by Kvale's (1996) 'ad hoc' approach to theory-driven and data-driven thematic analysis, and is assisted by QSR NUD*IST 4.0 and Nvivo 1.1 software. Outcomes include the identification of eight thematic threads: complexity of sociocultural status and identification, hardship, multiple dimensions of power, awareness, margin as teacher, process, margin as limen, and uncertainty. 'Not knowing' is found to be a salient aspect of intercultural interaction. Outcomes point to the pitfalls of over-generalizing the experience of marginal or mainstream groups; and the need for multidimensional approaches to diversity which reflect the complexity, ambiguity and uniqueness of lived experience. Implications for various fields of inquiry are discussed, with particular reference to the training of culturally sensitive psychotherapeutic practitioners, and methodological developments in qualitative research.

INTRODUCTION

In current academic discourse, issues of plurality, diversity and contextuality have become central to humans' attempts to know themselves and their world. In this climate, marginality has achieved, paradoxically, a position of focus as a topic of inquiry and discussion across the human sciences. This is apparent across the social sciences and at their intersections (Dogan & Parhre, 1990). In psychology, it is evident in emergent theoretical fields such as critical psychology (Henriques, Hollway, Urwin, Venn & Walkerdine, 1997) and the psychology of diversity (Trickett, Watts, & Birman, 1994), including feminist, black, and indigenous psychologies (Carter, 1995; Kim & Berry, 1993; Morawski, 1994), areas of social psychology, such as minority influence research (Moscovici, Mucchi-Faina & Maass, 1994; Mugny & Perez, 1991), community psychology (Tolan, Keys, Chertok & Jason, 1990) and applied fields such as multicultural counselling and psychotherapy (Ponterotto, Casas, Suzuki & Alexander, 1995). This thesis contributes to the growing body of research on marginality at several levels: theory, qualitative investigation, and praxis. Its purpose is to explore meanings of marginality from an interdisciplinary, multidimensional perspective, informed by theory, lived experience and practical action. Through conceptual exploration and qualitative inquiry, its aims are to deepen understanding and expand perspectives on marginality. Therapeutic psychology in general, and multicultural counselling psychology in particular, provide localized contexts of inquiry, and a focus for heuristic direction arising from the research.

In essence, this thesis describes the journey of a "researcher-as-traveller" (Kvale, 1996) that was undertaken over three years, covering various kinds of conceptual, experiential and methodological terrain. It began with a wide-ranging interest in marginality and psychotherapy, prompted by personal and professional experience, and

critiques of current approaches to cultural diversity in psychology (for example, Das, 1995; Weinrach & Thomas, 1996, 1998; Trickett, Watts & Birman, 1994). I set out to investigate marginality from a broadly inclusive theoretical perspective, recognizing that this was an area of inquiry that was not concentrated in one particular discipline, or branch of psychology. At the same time, I was interested in how individuals experienced marginality, in the richness of lived experience, and how this might reflect broader theoretical ideas. I was particularly interested in ways in which therapeutic psychology had been addressing these questions, as well as margin-mainstream dynamics and diversity issues, at a practical, experiential level. I wanted to know more about marginality as an experiential phenomenon in the life worlds of therapeutic practitioners, since research had tended to focus more on how mainstream practitioners might better address the needs of marginalized client populations. As I journeyed into these areas, it became clear that such a complex and subjective field would require building an appropriate method of inquiry. My purpose therefore became one of methodological investigation and craftsmanship, as well as conceptual and experiential exploration.

Marginality is a complex phenomenon, which may be understood from a range of philosophical and disciplinary perspectives, and investigated using various strategies of inquiry. It can be defined broadly as 'being on the periphery or threshold', and has a wealth of meanings, which attach variously to it in different contexts and are influenced by the worldview of the particular meaning-maker. The construction of meaning is a relational process, intrinsically concerned with diversity. As Storey (1993, p. 700) observes, "Meaning is not the result of an essential correspondence between signifiers and signifieds, it is rather the result of difference and relationship". As Bruner (1996)

comments, meaning is complex and difficult to analyze. Our constant immersion in it makes it is difficult to reflect upon it with the perspective that distance allows. However, meaning can be understood as an ongoing process, an active construction by human culture and individual cognition. Bruner (1996) comments that "we make human experiences meaningful by the narratives we bring to bear on them, and almost universally these narratives reflect (though they do not mirror) the "stored" foundational narratives of the culture, altered imaginatively to fit the occasion and its needs" (p. xvi). He emphasizes Shore's (1996) notion of meaning as 'twice born'. Meaning is thus produced "once at a cultural level as the communal or canonical meaning of some thing or act or utterance and again in idiosyncratic meaning for some individual on some occasion" (p. xv). The exploration of marginality presented in this thesis addresses both cultural and personally unique aspects of meaning making. Cultural aspects are considered through inclusion of constructionist and critical theoretical perspectives in exploration of sociocultural meanings of marginality, and through recognition of multiple areas of cultural influence in the exploration of individual experience. Idiosyncratic experience is explored from a critical hermeneutic, phenomenological perspective in the qualitative investigation of marginality in everyday life worlds.

Ontological, epistemological and axiological biases come into play whenever choices around meaning occur (Hoshmand, 1994). In culture and in individual life, some meanings are favoured over others, based on assumptions about the nature of reality and about knowledge and how it is attained. Aesthetic and other value-based judgments favour some positions and reject others. In the culture of academia, and in disciplinary sub-cultures, this process manifests in different ways and with different timing, determining fluctuating bounds of acceptable meaning, as well as ways in which

meaning may be explored. The concept of a research identity (Ponterotto & Grieger, 1999) is useful for localizing these broad philosophical, political and temporal influences in the person of the researcher. Given the centrality of the researcher-as-instrument in qualitative research, it is an especially relevant consideration in qualitative research designs.

As described by Ponterotto & Grieger (1999), a research identity pre-dates, as well as develops throughout, a specific research process. It is best conceived as a plural, shifting phenomenon, since it encompasses a multiplicity of identities. It may change from one project to another, and may develop over the course of a single project, as described by Ponterotto and Grieger (1999).

An individual's overall personal identity is composed of multiple and reciprocal identities. For example, racial identity, gender identity, religious identity, political ideology, and career identity... For an academic scholar, a crucial sense of identity revolves around one's *research identity*. This identity defines how one perceives oneself as a researcher, with strong implications for which topics and methods will be important to the researcher. Naturally, one's research identity both influences and is influenced by, the paradigm from which one operates. (p. 52)

Their concept of a researcher identity is meaningful because it incorporates notions of culture and worldview in the process of research design. The worldview of the researcher includes culturally-based and research-based worldviews.

Worldview can be defined as the "lens" through which people interpret their world; one's worldview is culturally based, stemming from the socialization process (Ibrahim, Ohnishi, & Wilson, 1994). By extension, one's *research worldview* is the lens with which one sees, approaches and manages the research

process. One's research worldview shapes the specific paradigm from which one will conceptualize, conduct and interpret research. (p. 51-52)

The research worldview is shaped by the research culture (as in the training and socialization processes of academic psychology). Thus, for example, particular academic environments reflect certain conceptual assumptions about knowledge. These may then become incorporated into a researcher's worldview and contribute to his or her research identity. This is well illustrated in Kvale's (1996) use of journeying as a metaphor of identity. He suggests that the identity of 'researcher-as-traveller' is associated with a generative view of knowledge. It is produced through interaction and encounter on the research 'journey'. In contrast, a researcher who has the identity of 'researcher-as-miner' views knowledge as an objective entity that is waiting to be discovered. The adoption of such identities may occur as a positive or negative process. As a positive process, the researcher's approach is congruent with the particular academic tradition in which she or he is trained. In a negative process of influence, unsatisfactory experiences in the researcher's experience may lead to rejection of traditional approaches to inquiry, and exploration of new or different ones. The degree to which this is permissible or supported by the researcher's immediate environment is an additional factor.

In acknowledging the salience of cultural influences on research identity, and making them explicit, a researcher makes choices in self-description which are themselves shaped by cultural influence, unique life experience and meaning-making. This underscores the importance of reflexivity in the research process. By reflecting on his or her research identity, the researcher can make explicit the underlying

assumptions, preferences and biases that shape the design and implementation of a research project and influence interpretation. This is in the interest of research soundness and is particularly recommended where research is conducted from outside the traditional positivist frame. A more detailed discussion of this is included in Chapter 3. Explication of the various factors that contribute to my research identity is presented in Appendix A. It includes self-description in the multiple areas of cultural influence and dimensions of power investigated in this project, and other areas of personal, professional and academic bias.

Overall, the thesis is structured in three parts, with introductory and concluding sections. These three parts reflect the areas of exploration described, and pertain to the methodological, conceptual and experiential aspects of the research presented in this thesis. Each part will be described briefly, providing an overview of the entire project, as well as its metatheoretical and methodological foundations.

PART ONE: MARGINALITY AND METHOD consists of Chapters 1 and 2. It presents the underpinnings of an approach to inquiry which falls outside the parameters of traditional psychological inquiry, and which therefore warrants a detailed explication of its metatheoretical assumptions and strategic choices. This is presented in the interests of sound research, as a detailed description and justification of method, and as a contribution to the increasing methodical diversity of psychology as a discipline. *Part One* also offers an illustration of the concepts of marginality discussed in the thesis.

Margin-mainstream dynamics are reflected in the conceptual assumptions and institutional development of the discipline. As a science of humans seeking to know about themselves, and to apply that knowledge in their own interests, psychology is a reflexive science (Hoshmand, 1994). In recent decades, psychologists have recognized and used reflexivity in relation to psychology as a scientific discipline, examining and questioning its guiding assumptions. The impetus for this has come from the margins. Throughout the history of ideas, human knowledge has progressed through a paradigmatic process of ebb and flow (Kuhn, 1970), in which once marginal systems of thought become predominant, and are then superseded by others. Broad perspectival shifts in the philosophy of Western science have taken place as a result of the increasing influence of formerly marginal relativist conceptual systems. From a reflexive perspective, therefore, psychology can seen as a marginal discipline, as a marginalizing discipline, and as a discipline in transitional process.

Psychology has a long history as a marginal discipline in relation to Western science. From its inception as an independent branch of science in 1879, psychology has been viewed as a pseudo-science. It has been subject to rejection by established disciplines in the natural sciences tradition, while striving to attain and maintain recognition as an empirical science (Leary, 1990). Orthodox psychology is also a marginalizing discipline, in that it has clung to an ethnocentric worldview of Newtonian science, and pushed to its periphery various theoretical and methodological approaches. Depending on the dominant theoretical approach at any given time, various perspectives have not been well accepted within the main body of psychological inquiry. For example, current mainstream privileging of cognitive perspectives marginalizes

psychoanalytic, humanistic-existential psychologies and a wide range of experiential approaches to psychotherapy.

Psychology's dominant worldview has also excluded certain areas of human experience from its scope of inquiry. Sub-disciplines that address these areas are relegated to the margins, in terms of available resources, their freedom to pursue avenues of investigation appropriate to their research areas, and the degree to which their theories and findings are disseminated. For example, psychology has been dismissive of non-quantifiable human experience because of its ethnocentric foundations in reductionist and positivist philosophies of science. Non-rational, non-local, and non-temporal experience has received attention only in certain sub-disciplines, which have also been limited in their approach to such inquiry by their epistemological frame (Jones, 1996). Transpersonal psychology, for example, has occupied a marginal place in Western psychology (Tart, 1969). Topics such as intuition, spirituality, the body as a source of wisdom, non-linear thinking, and collective-based identity, have received little focus. Non-western psychologies have until recently been excluded altogether, and experience and ways of thinking which fall outside the bounds of Western ethnocentric assumptions have been widely disregarded (Berry & Annis, 1988; Ward, 1989).

In theory and practice, Western psychology has also shown a lack of attention to the sociocultural processes contextual to individual psychological functioning. Problems and processes of community and communication are central to the subject matter of psychology (Leary, 1990; Shore, 1996). However, this has not been the discipline's focus throughout much of its history. In his discussion of the relevance of the

indigenization of psychology, Sinha (1991) is critical of the artificiality, triviality and lack of external referents of psychology as it has been developed in the West. He suggests that psychology tends to "vivisect human phenomena into bits and pieces, thereby missing their complexity" (p. 39). He also highlights the need for psychology to encompass large social structural and cultural influences, and to address the methodological deficiencies that "insulate [psychology] from the complexities of social problems" (p. 40).

> Western psychology is microcosmic, placing disproportionate emphasis on narrow aspects of problems and small segments of behavior. In spite of the correction imparted by field theory, psychology in the west is basically microsocial in orientation and concentrates almost entirely on personal characteristics of individuals actors in social processes rather than on socio-structural factors. (p. 39)

However, the culture of academic psychology at the turn of the 21st century is in transition after decades of domination by the metatheoretical assumptions of positivism. As Morawski (1994) suggests, it is effectively a liminal discipline, being in a state of 'in between-ness'. Formerly rigid adherence to the principles and methods of the natural sciences has been diminishing rapidly. Non-positivist paradigms, such post-positivism, constructivism and social constructionism (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Lincoln & Guba, 1985) are increasingly influential. Qualitative methods are steadily gaining acceptance, although they remain marginal to a quantitatively oriented core (Hayes, 1998; Kopala & Suzuki, 1999; Smith, Harré, & Van Langenhove, 1995a; 1995b). As part of this process, marginalized sub-disciplines have fought to establish and maintain their existence, and to bring marginal perspectives to the mainstream agenda. In many areas of academic inquiry, previously marginal perspectives have influenced mainstream thinking. For

example, psychoanalytic, behavioural and cognitive psychologies at different times have held marginal or dominant positions in psychology. Post-positivist conceptual systems currently challenge the precedence that positivist philosophy has traditionally had over other systems of thought. In certain sub-fields, such as critical psychology, relativist perspectives have themselves become mainstream, moving previously dominant perspectives to sub-disciplinary margins. Similarly, ethnocentric bias in psychology is currently being challenged in various sub-disciplines.

In traditional psychological research, the underlying assumptions of positivist science are rarely made explicit or justified (Maracek, Fine & Kidder, 1997). Characteristic of a mainstream position, normative assumptions are taken for granted. Marginal paradigmatic perspectives, on the other hand, must be explicated at some length, in the interests of justification, and communication with the mainstream. Since this thesis adopts a methodological approach which is marginal to traditional psychological research parameters, Part One discusses at some length the metatheoretical perspectives and methodological choices which shape the research. It also addresses the contextual, perspectival nature of meaning making, by situating the research in the current context of epistemological and methodological debate and change.

Chapter 1 of Part One situates the thesis in its conceptual, strategic and methodical context, by addressing three areas related to method. The first, pertaining to conceptual systems of inquiry, deals with the broad philosophical trends of the Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment eras, and aligns the metatheoretical foundations of the thesis with the latter. Following Polkinghorne (1989), conceptual systems of inquiry are discussed

as 'conversations of human science', in order to contextualize and make explicit the philosophical preferences that guide my research. The second area is concerned with strategies of inquiry. It includes the critical hermeneutic, phenomenological and pragmatic orientations that characterize my research. The third area pertains to the current debate over qualitative and quantitative methods. Since my research takes a qualitative approach to inquiry, the chapter reviews debate surrounding the use of qualitative methods in the social sciences. It also reviews the use of qualitative methods in the history of psychology, and describes some defining characteristics. A concluding summary outlines the metatheoretical standpoint and methodological preferences that characterize the present research project.

Chapter 2 presents a detailed discussion of design choices and issues specific to the present research project. This is presented as a methodological backdrop to the research report presented in subsequent sections of the thesis. The chapter discusses issues of method specific to my research design. Again, given the marginal status of qualitative methods in psychology, a more detailed explanation is offered than is customary in traditional research reports in psychology. Since a wide variety of design strategies and procedures are included under the rubric of qualitative methods, this chapter introduces the particular strategies and procedures adopted in the present research project. Following Kvale's (1996) schema for organizing a qualitative interview investigation, various choices and issues are discussed, including the role of theory, considerations in research design, data generation strategies, and approaches to analysis and interpretation. These are discussed in sufficient detail to acquaint the reader with the specifics of the chosen method, and justify their use. Ethical issues and

evaluative criteria consistent with an interpretivist, qualitative approach to inquiry are also explored here.

PART TWO: MEANINGS AND MANIFESTATIONS OF MARGINALITY consists of Chapters 3 and 4. It presents a conceptual exploration of marginality and reviews ways in which these concepts manifest in psychology historically and as a present-day discipline. Chapter 3 discusses theoretical concepts of marginality from an interdisciplinary perspective. It explores various concepts of marginality, focusing on two broad definitions: margin as periphery, and margin as threshold. The first half of the chapter discusses the concept of margin as periphery. This concept focuses on a hierarchical power relationship between centre and margin. Here theoretical discussion revolves around sociocultural concepts of marginality. It is influenced predominantly by cultural theory, particularly the thinking of Ferguson, Gever, Minh-Ha & West (1990). The chapter discusses the relationship between margin and centre or mainstream, the power of the mainstream, and the power of the margins. State-oriented and process-oriented concepts of marginality (Champagne, 1995; Ferguson et al., 1990; A. P. Mindell, 1995) are considered, with a focus on margin and mainstream as interrelated processes. By way of illustration, I refer to margin and mainstream dynamics in relation to cultural diversity in the United States.

The second of the two focal concepts discussed is the concept of margin as threshold. Conceptualization of margin and mainstream as process introduces consideration of this concept. Process implies flow, transition, and change. The concept of a threshold also implies transition, and possibility. From a literal point of view, a threshold is the strip of material at the bottom of a doorway. As such, it marks a

transitional zone, an entry and exit point, between the inside and the outside of a building, for example. It is also an ambiguous or paradoxical zone, since it is effectively neither inside nor outside, or both inside and outside. Figuratively, the term 'threshold' is thus used to convey transition, as well as ambiguity, and possibility, or entry into the new. Being on the threshold of some experience (for example, the threshold of departure or the threshold of discovery) suggests an experience that has not yet arisen, yet which is arising. The concept of marginality as threshold therefore hinges on transition, ambiguity and possibility. Movement between alternatives is suggested here, rather than the hierarchical or power relationship implied by the concept of margin as periphery.

This conceptualization of marginality is neglected in the literature, perhaps in part because some of the worldviews that contribute to its formulation tend to fall outside Western intellectual parameters. My consideration of margin as threshold is influenced by relativist and non-rationalist worldviews. Examples may found in quantum physics and non-western, non-rationalist traditions, including much indigenous thought. Drawing on these worldviews, I propose a concept of 'secondary marginality', influenced by Turner's (1967, 1969, 1985, 1986) work on liminality. Turner (1986) refers to the limen, or threshold, as the "betwixt and between" (p. 41), and as a "gap between ordered worlds [where] almost anything may happen" (Turner, 1968, p.13). Similarly, I define secondary marginality as a zone of 'in between-ness'. This constitutes a shifting and indeterminate border between the interrelated processes of margin and mainstream, and is characterized by ambiguity and innovation. Thus, in relation to margin as threshold, liminality and paradox are considered, along with the creativity, innovation and potentiality of the margin. The concepts considered in

Chapter 3 flag the importance of margin, mainstream and secondary marginality as key concepts in the subsequent exploration of lived experience of marginality, presented in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

Chapter 4 relates the foregoing conceptual exploration of marginality to the domain of psychotherapy, and associated disciplinary areas, particularly multicultural counselling psychology. The term 'psychotherapy' is used interchangeably with 'therapy' and 'counselling' here, as a generic term for 'helpful interpersonal communication' ranging from guidance counselling to psychotherapy (Ponterotto et al., 1995, p. 4). In the last few decades, sociocultural marginality has become a focus of research, since culture and diversity issues have increasingly been recognized as significant for psychology as an academic and professional discipline. Various sub-disciplinary fields contribute to a groundswell of influence that is challenging the ethnocentric and scientistic assumptions on which Western psychology has been based for much of the last century. These include cultural psychology, critical psychology, community psychology, multicultural psychology, indigenous psychology and the psychology of human diversity. Some theorists (for example, Pedersen, Draguns, Lonner, & Trimble, 1996) propose that diversity issues are so crucial to psychology as a whole that multicultural psychology should be seen as a 'fourth force' in psychology, as significant an influence in the development of the discipline as psychoanalytic, behavioural and cognitive psychologies have previously been. In the applied fields of counselling, psychotherapy and clinical psychology, the homogeneity of professional psychology is being challenged, in relation to its underlying theoretical and practical assumptions, as well as its practitioner and client populations (Atkinson & Lowe, 1995; Lee, 1997; Lee & Richardson, 1991; Pedersen, 1997).

In discussing these trends and developments, Chapter 4 provides a broad rationale for the study of lived experience of marginality, and its focus on the particular experience of psychotherapists. Despite the growing volume and significance of culture and diversity research, the extent to which these are addressed in general psychology remains patchy, peripheral, and divided (Trickett et al., 1994). Within the field of multicultural psychology, there is diversity of opinion on theoretical positions, strategic stances and paradigmatic persuasions, which contribute to it as a developing sub-discipline, as well as a force for change (Pedersen, 1997). Considerable diversity research has addressed specific areas of cultural influence, such as race and ethnicity, as well as other non-ethnic differences such as gender, sexual orientation, age and physical ability. However, multicultural research in psychology has not focused on marginality as a complex phenomenon spanning multiple areas of cultural influence. Nor has conceptual thinking on marginality and culture (amongst cultural theorists and critical psychologists, for example) carried over to inform research in psychology's practically and professionally focused sub-disciplines. The concept of margin as threshold has scarcely been addressed, although the innovative potential of marginality has been investigated by some social psychologists (Moscovici et al., 1994; Mugny & Perez, 1991) and feminist psychologists (Morawski, 1994).

PART THREE: LIVED EXPERIENCE OF MARGINALITY – A THREE-PHASE STUDY consists of Chapters 5, 6, and 7. It presents a narrative account of the present investigation of lived experience of marginality. Framed from an interpretive perspective, influenced by postmodernism, phenomenology, and critical hermeneutics, the study is guided by a pragmatic metanarrative. An empowerment perspective also influences the approach to inquiry. The study is essentially concerned with the

investigation of the life world, or *Lebensweldt*, as "the world as it is encountered in everyday life and given in direct and immediate experience, independent and prior to explanations" (Kvale, 1996, p. 54). The purpose of the study overall is 1) to explore how culturally diverse persons perceive, experience and understand marginality in their everyday life worlds, across multiple areas of cultural influence and 2) to investigate how the concept of secondary marginality might manifest in lived experience. Cultural constructs and personal meaning-making are simultaneously considered. Thus, the study aims to ground theoretical concepts of marginality in lived experience, investigate the salience of marginality in culturally diverse life worlds, and explore implications and instructive potential for therapeutic psychology. The study focuses on psychotherapists' experience of marginality in the nine areas of cultural influence specified in Hays' (1996a) ADDRESSING model, namely age, disability, religion, ethnicity/race, socioeconomic status, sexual orientation, indigenous heritage, national origin, and gender. It also includes the experience of a group of non-therapists, residents of a culturally diverse, inner-city neighbourhood, who could be regarded as a group of potential clients. It places emphasis on psychotherapists' personal experience, rather than their professional role.

The primary data generation strategy adopted in the research project is interviewing. It is influenced largely by Kvale's (1996) approach to qualitative research interviewing, and his view of the interview as "a construction site of knowledge" (p. 42).

The implicit conceptions of the knowledge produced by interviews and the explicit analysis of knowledge construction by postmodern philosophers thus converge on the conversational, narratival, linguistic, contextual and interrelational features of

knowledge. None of these features are specific, new postmodern insights of the past decades. The pervasiveness of these aspects of knowledge as expression of a postmodern loss of belief in an objective reality *is* new however, as is the recognition of their intertwinedness in the communal construction of knowledge of a social reality. (p. 45).

It is also influenced by Hagan's (1986) hermeneutic phenomenological approach, which is especially relevant to the present study, because it pertains to interviewing members of marginalized groups. Hagan rebuts positivist prescriptions for rigour in interviewing, maintaining that they ascribe too much control to the interviewer, ignore the social context of interviewing, overlook the interviewer's part in constructing the data, and often treat interviewing as an inferior supplement to experimental, quantifiable methods. Positivist conventions for interviewing as a research method hinge on the valuing of objectivity, and are reflected in attempts to achieve researcher neutrality and avoid respondent bias. Maracek et al. (1997) speak of the inherent difficulties that arise with this approach:

We were taught that researchers should stand at a safe distance from those we study, "running " them through procedures designed to extract information from them. We learned that data were like low-hanging fruits, waiting to be gathered; research was not a shared intersubjective activity. Moreover, the burden of explanation rested exclusively on the researcher.... Such a stance makes it difficult to live with surprise and confusion unwelcome, hard to learn the participants' point of view. (p. 639)

From an interpretive standpoint, interviewing tends to be regarded as an important method in its own right, rather than as an adjunct to experimental, quantitative methods.

Evaluation of strengths and weaknesses of interviewing found in the literature often reflect underlying positivist assumptions about the importance of objectivity, interviewer-respondent distance, and control (Marshall & Rossman, 1989). However, a hermeneutic phenomenological approach to interviewing such as Hagan's (1986), emphasizes that interviewing is a means of accessing respondents' life worlds. Its purpose is to elicit rich and detailed descriptions of respondents' concerns, opinions, feelings and actions, in their own words. Here, the focus is on understanding meanings, not on control. The interview is conceptualized as a social encounter between interviewer and respondent, in which the interaction between the two participants is all-important (Hagan, 1986). Knowledge generated through the interview is inter-relational, a co-creation of interviewer and respondent as conversational participants (Kvale, 1996). As an interactional event, the participation of both the respondent and the researcher in mutual dialogue contributes to the construction of the data, which are indicative of shared meanings and expectations operating within the interview.

From this perspective, relationship is central to the research process. The kinds of attitudes and behaviour that further relationship and facilitate dialogue are recommended over strategies designed to distance researcher and participant from each other and perpetuate deception in the interest of objective research. Positivist approaches to interviewing caution against interviewer and respondent bias and take steps to minimize them, often at the expense of a more genuine human interaction. However, as in any relational encounter, interview interactions do not always go smoothly, biases and interests come into play, and information exchanged is only a partial representation of personal realities, influenced by the immediate situation and the broader social contexts in which the interview takes place. From an interpretive,

phenomenological perspective "significant knowledge of human life is obtainable by a genuine human relationship, not a technical one" (Hagan, 1986, p. 353). Openness, fluidity and meaning clarification during the interview helps a person's world to reveal itself more than following rigid formulas and set texts.

Assessment of the soundness of this approach to interviewing, centres on considerations of relationship, reflexivity, and contextuality. Single researcher interview studies, such as the one presented in this thesis, rely on considerations such as these, rather than strategies such as inter-relater reliability checks, in order to establish the quality of the research. Ethical considerations are interrelated with evaluative concerns, and include issues of power and control (Burman, 1997). Various researchers note the particular salience of such issues when interviewing on sensitive research topics, or in research involving marginalized groups (Kavanaugh & Ayres, 1998). Ethical and evaluative issues in interpretive, qualitative research are discussed at greater length in Chapter 2, and in relation to the three phases of the research project (Chapters 5, 6 and 7).

While interviewing plays the central role in data generation in this research project, other strategies are also used in the interest of obtaining multiple perspectives on the phenomena under study. Guided journal entries, and an original instrument, a 'web-wheel' diagram that was developed in the course of the study, were used as supplementary data generation strategies. Their use was similarly guided by underlying interpretive assumptions. They are more meaningfully described in subsequent chapters, which detail the context and process of their development. Exploration of the 'web-wheel' diagram as a tool of research, praxis and empowerment is a substantial aspect of

this thesis. The design, development, use and potential application of the 'web-wheel' is discussed in Part Three.

The investigation of lived experience of marginality is presented as a three-phase study, rather than as several separate studies. This is because the stages through which it developed are neither completely separate, nor chronologically discrete. Rather, they overlap each other in various ways, such as time-frame and participation. Although the first and second phases were conducted sequentially in the data collection phase, they are not discrete studies, and the third phase is interrelated with them. In the interest of clear presentation, however, the phases are described in three separate chapters.

Chapter 5 provides an account of the first phase of the study. It presents the research questions, rationale, sampling and selection procures, data generation, interpretation and verification strategies, and outcomes for the first phase of the study. This phase investigates the experience of nine residents of a culturally diverse, inner city neighbourhood in Portland, Oregon. Four research questions guide this phase of the project. The first investigates how participants experience marginality in their life worlds, across multiple areas of cultural influence (age, disability, religion, ethnicity and race, socio-economic status, sexual orientation, indigenous heritage, national origin and gender). The second question explores whether participants' experience of marginality changes over time, in relation to context and in relation to personal factors. The third question investigates whether participants talk about power and in what ways. The fourth question explores how participants describe any experiences of 'in between-ness' that feature in their accounts of personal and interactional experience. Outcomes are presented using the 'web-wheel' diagram as a means of data reduction and display, and are discussed in the form of six thematic threads. These are complexity of

sociocultural status and identification, multidimensionality of power, hardship, process, margin as limen, and uncertainty. These outcomes contribute to the design of the other two phases of the study.

Chapter 6 reports on the second phase of the study. It looks at the experience of a culturally diverse group of psychotherapists working in various parts of inner city Portland, Oregon. Its first two research questions are similar to those of Phase I, except that they apply to participant therapists. A third question explores how participant therapists describe their experience and identification in five areas of power (sociocultural, psychological, relational, activist and transpersonal power). As in Phase I, experiences of 'in between-ness' are explored in intercultural interaction, only in this phase, therapeutic interaction is the focus of interest. Outcomes revisit and elaborate on the thematic threads identified in Phase I. Vignettes conveying the rich fabric of each participant's experience are presented, along with web displays of therapists' self perceptions in five dimensions of power. The themes of liminality and uncertainty are explored in depth and detail, building on findings from Phase I. Two additional themes are identified: the theme of awareness and the theme of margin as teacher. 'Not knowing' in intercultural interaction in therapeutic settings is a particular focus of these outcomes.

Chapter 7 investigates short-term and long-term effects of participation in the study, and elicits feedback from participants on their perceptions of the research process, its outcomes, and potential practical applications. In particular, it investigates the usefulness of 'secondary marginality' and 'not knowing' in culturally diverse, therapeutic interaction, and potential practical applications of the 'web-wheel'. This

phase of the study, which is interwoven with the other two phases, involves both groups of participants in a process of feedback and consultation. It reflexively examines the empowerment approach which guides the project overall, and investigates ways in which the study might contribute to personal, cultural or systemic change. Outcomes describe various perspectives on empowerment, including empowerment through self-reflection, voice, relationship and challenge. Perspectives on praxis focus on possible uses of the 'web-wheel' in intrapersonal, interpersonal and group contexts, and its potential spheres of application in therapeutic psychology.

The concluding section of the thesis provides a summary of the entire research project, and a comprehensive discussion of its findings, bringing together conceptual conclusions and outcomes of the three-part study. Implications of the overall findings are discussed, with regard to theoretical and methodological developments and heuristic direction. Particular consideration is given to implications for cultural diversity training in psychology, especially the training of psychotherapeutic practitioners. The chapter also discusses the limitations of the research, and offers suggestions as to how future research might extend the present project.

Web-building as a research metaphor

Overall, the research project exhibits the creative license and reflexive tone characteristic of interpretive, qualitative inquiry (Tesch, 1990). These are reflected in an innovative method, use of visual and metaphorical forms of representation and interpretation, a non-traditional report structure, and use of the first person in the description of the research process. The research account is therefore a unique presentation, grounded in my perceptions of the research topic and overall research

purpose (Meloy, 1994). With respect to the individual uniqueness and creativity that may characterize qualitative inquiry, Miles and Huberman (1994) recommend the use of metaphor in the reporting of qualitative studies. Kvale (1996) sees the use of metaphor as "richer, more complete" (p. 275) than simple description. He also cautions about the tendency for reports of qualitative studies to become boring, or to lose their connection with the depth and inner significance of the original conversational data. Chenail (1995) suggests that pattern or structure is important in the reporting of a qualitative study, so that the data upon which comment is to be made can be laid out and interwoven with commentary. He suggests that one way of presenting data is to give it a shape that resembles the phenomenon being studied. A web-shaped diagram is used initially in the presentation of findings to represent the complexity of marginal status and identification, and is subsequently used as a data generation and interpretation device. Therefore the metaphor of web-building is particularly appropriate to describe the convey the tenor of the overall research process.

Although the three phases described in Chapters 5, 6, and 7 appear here in sequential order, they originally emerged in a fluid design process, which resembles the construction of a spider's web. Figure 1 shows a non-linear, web-like representation of the research process described in this thesis. Various components of the research process are represented: the topics of conceptual and practical inquiry, the research participants (including the researcher), and the central research question. The circular pattern of triangles represents the three phases of the project, as well as its iterative nature. Lines and spaces interconnect the various components, suggesting that the research process and its outcomes emerge out of linear thinking and the spaciousness of not knowing and questioning.

The metaphor of web-building conveys a rich impression of the research process, which involves a complex, multidimensional, iterative and interrelational approach to the exploration of marginality. It also highlights the non-linearity of the research process.
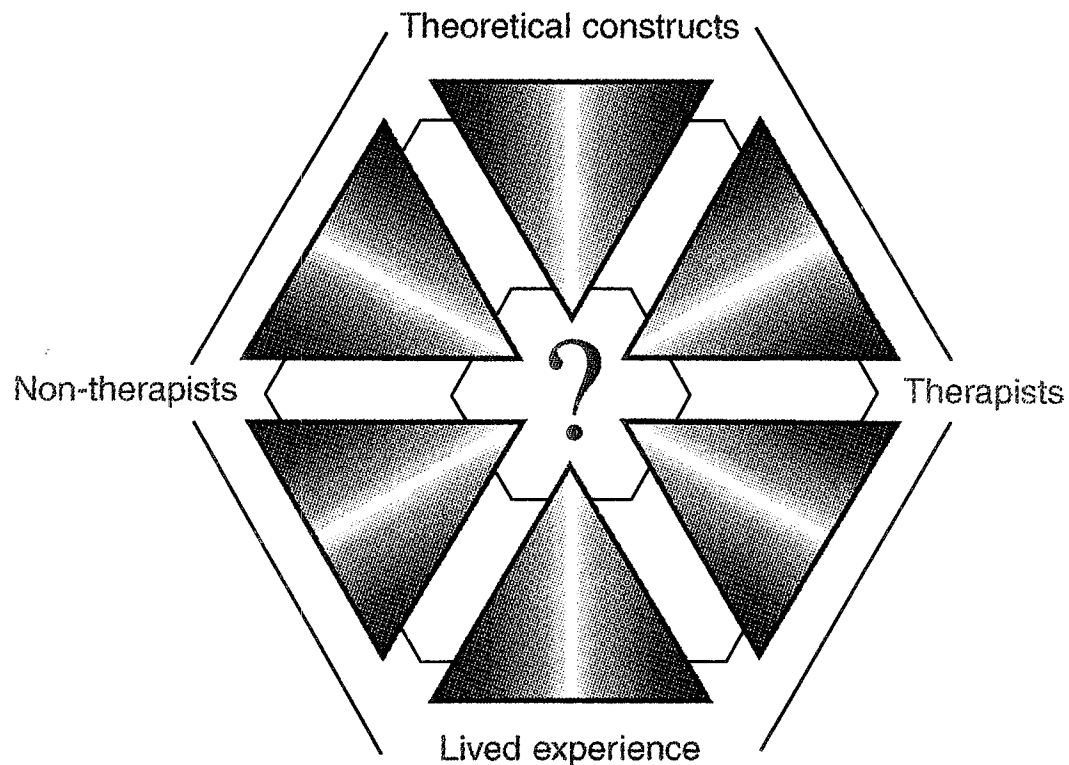
Figure 1. A non-linear representation of the research process

This non-linearity is conveyed with difficulty in cultures that privilege expressions of linear time. It is more easily conveyed where cultures recognize expressions of non-linear time. For example, as Tierney & Lincoln (1997) observe, Pueblo Indian expression of time is like a spider's web:

> Different cultures have different ways to express time... texts do not naturally flow in linear fashion from point A to point B to point C. Instead the structure emerges as it is made.... Pueblo expression resembles something like a spider's web with many little threads radiating from the center, crisscrossing each and one another. (p. 83)

Such concepts of time are more suited to inquiry processes like the one presented here, which are co-productions of situational, contextual and processual knowledge.

As a metaphor of construction and re-construction, web-building reflects the assumption that research involves the intersubjective production or co-creation of knowledge, rather than the objective discovery of definitive and fixed realities. A hermeneutic research process involves working with parts and the whole throughout, moving in and out from an emergent central point of reference, as well as between points on the periphery, proceeding both in straight lines and in spirals. It continues, as does the building of a spider web, in stages which have a kind of chronological order, but which are neither entirely linear nor discrete. There is movement back and forth between the stages, which are subject to disturbance and repetition. This iterative process is both systematic and spontaneous, requiring industry, tenacity, delicacy and connection to firm ground. The researcher as web-builder constructs a coherent thread of inquiry, anchoring it to theoretical and experiential grounding which shapes the study, and generating a spiraling process of inquiry. Like the spider on its spinning thread, the researcher needs a willingness to swing into space, not quite knowing where in theoretical and methodological territory she or he may land. The completion of the web entails its partial or complete destruction: what is caught in it affects the original structure of the web, requiring modification or the beginning of a new construction

process. Similarly, the findings of an interpretive, qualitative research project are endlessly open to new interpretation and design. As Packer and Addison (1989) suggest:

> Although hermeneutic inquiry proceeds from a starting place, a self-consciously interpretive approach to scientific investigation does not seek to come to an end at some final resting place, but works instead to keep the discussion open and alive, to keep inquiry underway. (p. 35)

PART ONE

MARGINALITY AND METHOD

CHAPTER 1

ISSUES OF METATHEORY AND METHOD

Changes in the philosophy of science have had a pervasive influence on the social sciences. Paradigmatic shifts have come somewhat belatedly to psychology, compared to some of the other social science disciplines, such as anthropology and sociology. However, the discipline of psychology is in a state of methodological flux and the relativistic thinking characteristic of postmodern science is increasingly evident in the psychological literature (Kvale, 1992; Smith et al., 1995a). In this climate of change, the positivist philosophy of science, with its foundationalist assumptions of ontological realism and epistemological dualism, is no longer the unquestioned disciplinary norm. A plurality of paradigmatic perspectives and methods are available to the researcher. Problems of diversity and contextuality characterize the research agenda, and call for researchers to explicate their philosophical perspectives and methodological choices.

Accordingly, this chapter situates the thesis in its disciplinary context and the academic climate at the beginning of the 21st century, while outlining the paradigmatic perspectives by which it broadly framed. It reviews the metatheoretical assumptions that have dominated psychology in the West for much of its history, and describes the changes, which are occurring in the landscape of psychological inquiry. Changes relating to methods of inquiry are discussed in particular, with focus on psychology's growing acceptance of qualitative approaches. Particular attention is given to conceptual foundations and investigative approaches that influence the

present project. These include moderate constructionist (Kvale, 1996), emancipatory (Rappaport, 1994), and pragmatic (Hoshmand, 1994) perspectives; critical hermeneutic and phenomenological strategies of inquiry; and qualitative methods.

1.1 Conceptual foundations

The human sciences have a shared philosophical history in the development of Western thought. Particular disciplines have followed distinct paths through the methodological debates of the last hundred years. Different perspectives have become institutionally dominant at different times and in different fields, which have further split into sub-disciplines and areas of specialization. However, in a fundamental sense, the human sciences as a whole are indivisible philosophically because of their common roots in the Western history of ideas (Murphy, Dingwall, Greatbach, Parker, & Watson, 1998). Although a detailed exploration of this topic is beyond the scope of this discussion, a brief overview is presented here, to contextualize the conceptual foundations of the thesis.

1.1.1 Conceptual systems as conversational process

The common heritage of the human sciences is conveyed in Polkinghorne's (1989) discussion of their philosophical development. Polkinghorne presents the varying conceptual foundations on which human science endeavours rest, as 'conversations', or *epistemes* in the terminology of Foucault. Two conversations are particularly relevant here: the Enlightenment or 'epistemologic' conversation and the post-Enlightenment or postmodern 'epistemic' conversation. These conversations are dialectically related to each other, as well as two earlier conversations (the Ancient

Greek conversation, and the 'revelatory' conversation, the Church doctrine of the Middle Ages).

The epistemologic conversation consists of two positions on whether true knowledge of reality can be attained through human reason. An objectivist position claims that it can. A relativist position claims that it cannot, since knowledge is always subject to cultural and personal bias. The Enlightenment conversation is usually associated with the objectivist position. However, as Polkinghorne (1989) points out, both objectivist and relativist positions:

> accept the notion that the kind of refined rationality that is supposed to yield truth is the rationality manifested in the scientific method in either its first version, in which emphasis is given to inductively initiated generalizations based on empirical observations, or the amended version, in which hypotheses deduced from theoretical premises are submitted to empirical testing (p. 16).

The 'epistemic' conversation of postmodernity challenges the Enlightenment conversation and its foundationalist assumption that the central purpose of human science is to represent objective reality. Its various elements do not revolve around an objective-relative dichotomy as in the epistemological conversation. Rather a variety of themes receive attention, centering on what Polkinghorne describes as the acceptance of a range of rational processes (such as metaphor, textual interpretation and narrative knowing) that can be used in knowledge acquisition. From this perspective, models and metaphors of knowledge organize, rather than reflect, how reality is perceived. They provide "an ability to order various subsets of our experience; they act as an opaque lens through which to view and serve as instruments

for decision-making" (Polkinghorne, 1989, p. 39). Knowledge from the epistemic viewpoint is seen as perspectival, contextual, temporal, value-based and aesthetically and pragmatically oriented. It is concerned with surface phenomena rather than a search for universal laws, and recognizes and appreciates wisdom as well as technical expertise (Polkinghorne, 1989).

1.1.2 Conversations in psychology

Western psychology came of age as a participant in the Enlightenment conversation. It has been strongly influenced by foundationalist (also identified as essentialist) philosophies, which favour a search for 'truth' through attempts to discover successive approximations of objective reality. The positivist philosophy of science has dominated Western psychology for much of its hundred-year history, especially during the later half of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century. Its central tenets are twofold: the realist belief in a reality that exists independent of the mind that seeks to know it, and the dualist notion that reality can and must be known through an objective knowledge process. Throughout successive waves of theoretical influence, including structuralism, functionalism, the psychology of adaptation, behaviouralism and experimentalism (Hoshmand, 1994), the 'received view' of positivism attained and maintained a position of such orthodoxy that its influence has remained strong in psychological inquiry, despite the subsequent influence of rationalist, idealist, and more recent relativist perspectives.

As the normative mainstream, positivist science tends not to explicate or justify its underlying conceptual assumptions. These include reductionism, which sees the

goal of the inquiry process as the reduction of objects under study to their component material essences, and operationalism, which requires that phenomena of interest be defined in such a way that they are accessible to measurement. They are accompanied by a belief in experimental method as the *sine qua non* of scientific inquiry. Quantification and measurement are essential components of this method. The hypthetico-deductive method, which involves the development and testing of theory as the basis of inquiry, is also associated with scientific inquiry in the positivist tradition. According to Denzin & Lincoln (1998b) research in this tradition:

> focuses on efforts to verify (positivism) or falsify (post-positivism) a priori hypotheses, most usefully stated as mathematical (quantitative) propositions or propositions that can easily be converted into precise mathematical formulas expressing functional relationships (p.196)

The aim of this kind of science is prediction and control, and a considerable number and variety of statistical and mathematical models are adopted towards that end.

In the course of psychology's development as a scientific discipline, however, positivism has never been the sole metatheoretical perspective represented. Historically, opposition to positivist approaches in psychology occurred in the context of the Enlightenment conversation. It was opposed early on by theoreticians such as Dilthey, Wundt, Bretano, Husserl, Weber, and James (Hoshmand, 1994). The mental sciences (*Geisteswissenschaften*) and cultural sciences *(Kulturwissenschaften)* traditions (Schwandt, 1998) have accompanied the natural sciences tradition (*Naturwissenschaften*), albeit in a minor key, for much of Western psychology's history. These alternative traditions are based on the belief that the human sciences

require an approach which differs from that of the physical sciences. Wundt, for example, believed that "attempts to subsume mental processes under the types of laws found in the physical sciences will never be successful" (Wundt, 1866, quoted in Kim & Berry, 1993, p. 2). Having attained a position of hegemony, for decades positivism eclipsed alternatives to the natural sciences tradition. However, positivist human sciences, including psychology, have been criticized increasingly in recent decades, both from within and outside the positivist viewpoint. Criticism has focused on such problems as the neglect of context, meaning and purpose; lack of connection between overarching theory and local context; bias towards nomothetic inquiry and theory testing, and the marginalization of discovery in the inquiry processes. Positivist research has also been criticized for its lack of recognition of the interactive nature of the research relationship, and the degree to which fact, theory and values affect each other (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998b).

As Polkinghorne (1989) discusses, the epistemic conversation of the postmodern era profoundly challenges the philosophical underpinnings of the Western scientific enterprise, including psychology. Postmodern perspectives within this conversation vary in the degree to which they embrace a relativist perspective and sociopolitical critique. Their influence is increasingly evident in current psychological thought. Extreme forms of postmodernism are highly relativistic, maintaining that there is no privileged basis for claiming certainty of knowledge. However, this is not characteristic of all of the thinking that contradicts the positivist tradition. Various perspectives layer an interpretivist "canvas" (Schwandt, 1998, p. 223) founded in a tradition that aims for understanding of meaning (*Verstehen*), as opposed to

experimental verification. Broadly, interpretivist, constructivist and critical perspectives can be distinguished on this canvas, along with many paradigmatic sub-distinctions. Constructivist and social constructionist (Gergen, 1985; 1994) influences are increasingly found in psychology, characterized by their view of knowledge as "a social construction, dependent on the language and symbols of culture and the communal processes of meaning construction" (Hoshmand, 1994, p. 26). Constructionist perspectives view knowledge as perspectival, or dependent on the vantage point and values of the knower, and pluralistic. Knowledge is also seen as embedded in the context in which it occurs, and as an interactional process in which communication, and relationship with others and the environment, are key components.

Critical or emancipatory perspectives, which tend to share constructionist assumptions, also focus on the operation of power and dominance in history and culture, particularly in relation to systems of thought and social institutions. The empowerment perspective (Rappaport, 1994) is perhaps one of the most marginal and controversial in psychology, a discipline that has long privileged positivist criteria of objectivity and neutrality. However, its presence in psychological research is increasing, reflected in action research (Argyris, 1989) and a variety of approaches influenced by critical perspectives, including feminist psychology (Hare-Mustin & Maracek, 1990; Morawski, 1994). Rappaport (1994) describes this perspective as a worldview that takes a positive approach to diversity, seeking strengths in difference, and looking for ways to maximize them through the various interdependent aspects of the research process. It is applicable to individuals and communities and is

particularly relevant in research, such as the present project, which addresses marginalized populations. Rappaport states:

> Research methods are neither free of values nor of the conceptual framework the researcher holds. If this is the case, then the researcher who claims to understand or make statements about others is faced with the task of representing the experience of others. To do so in an intellectually honest way will require a means to hear the voices of the people themselves. Often the voice of those outside the mainstream, or those whose identity has been historically degraded will be difficult to hear. To amplify their voices (and to avoid providing them with our own scripts) a way of doing research is required that consciously attends to this goal.... Empowerment demands that we look to diverse local settings where people are already handling their own problems of living, in order to learn more about how they do it. It also demands that we find ways to make what we learn from them more public and accessible to others who are shut out from such settings. One way to do this is to use our research to give voice to the people of concern by authenticating their experiences.... As a consequence, an empowerment worldview requires knowing (not just knowing about) the particular people we claim to understand because we have provided an opportunity for them to speak for themselves. (pp. 361-368)

1.1.3 Beyond polarity – a pragmatic metaperspective

Much of the challenge to mainstream psychological thinking has occurred in the form of polemical debate over the relative superiority of particular philosophical

perspectives and methods of inquiry associated with them. As noted in the Introduction, processes of mainstreaming and marginalization can be seen in the dominance of certain systems of inquiry and the rejection of others. Such processes are inevitably associated, from a Foucauldian perspective, with power and interest operative in specific historical and cultural contexts. When one polarized position attains a position of dominance, its assumptions are often afforded the status of unquestioned 'truths'. In this process, one set of ideals and prescriptions rejects the opposing position. Often, there is no acknowledgment of ways in which the dominant position takes on characteristics of positions it rejects. For example, a hegemonic positivist position rejects the notion of knowledge as a social construction, denying the role of cultural and sociopolitical influence in the production of knowledge. However, in so doing, it is itself acting as a cultural and political force in the production of knowledge. As another example, an extreme relativist position might argue that knowledge is pluralistic and entirely conditional on the knower, context and other extrinsic factors. It thereby rejects the notion of a singular truth, and marginalizes the physical universe, subjective experience and "the productive uniqueness of the individual" (Hans, 1995, p. 103) in the knowledge process. However in its assertions of the salience of relativity and contextuality, this position subscribes to a 'truth' which is as unassailable as the essentialist 'truth' it opposes.

Increasingly, however, attempts to establish the supremacy of one or another philosophical stance are being viewed with a new eye. Theorists have attempted to go beyond objectivist/relativist dichotomies (Bernstein, 1983) and incorporate metatheoretical perspectives that have been developed outside the Western

philosophical tradition (Manicas & Secord, 1983). In an age of cultural diversity and methodical plurality, hegemonic approaches appear increasingly anachronistic. Some thinkers, such as Hans (1995) recommend the value of a syncretic approach to metatheory, which does not attempt to universalize knowledge and the knowledge process, but seeks an inclusive framework within which positions that have been treated as mutually exclusive may instead be regarded as complementary. In contrast to eclecticism, which puts together theoretically opposed or mutually contradictory explanations, meta-perspectives which embrace paradox and apparent contradiction are gaining acknowledgement. Polkinghorne's (1989) metaphor is suggestive of this, since conversations are rarely neatly dichotomous, and tend to contain overlapping ideas, ambiguities, contradictions and conflict.

Ideas of subsuming various philosophical perspectives under an inclusive metanarrative (Kvale, 1996) while avoiding the problems of eclecticism, are increasingly being entertained. Hoshmand (1994, 1995, 1999) recommends a pragmatic metaperspective, which recognizes the practical applicability of various conceptual systems of inquiry, and their suitability in different knowledge contexts. From this perspective, heuristic potential and practical usefulness, rather than logical justification, determine the degree to which apparently contradictory or paradoxical perspectives can be combined. In the practicalities of everyday life, for example, Newtonian science is useful for understanding the mechanical, material world, and functioning in it. Much of what is taken for granted as part of daily life would not be possible without it. At the same time, social constructionist theories are useful for understanding the social world and culturally embedded human experience

(Hoshmand, 1994). Similarly, quantum theory is useful in its own realm, the sub-atomic world. It may also be a useful bridge between Western science and Eastern systems of metaphysical thought and practice, and for understanding non-material, supra-rational experience (Abraham & Gilgen, 1985; Barton, 1994; Butz, 1992; Stairs, 1991).

The philosophical assumptions which underlie quantum physics, as well as ancient metaphysical philosophies of the east, and indigenous cosmologies do not to fit neatly within material empiricist or social constructionist frames, and their relevance to Western psychology is only recently being explored. However, pragmatic acceptance of the possibility of usefully combining apparently contradictory perspectives sits well with further exploration in this area. The combined conceptual influences that shape this thesis therefore constitute a framework of unmargined possibility grounded in pragmatic consideration. This is a particularly suitable frame for research that explores complexity and ambiguity at conceptual and experiential levels. It resonates with the ideas expressed by (Hassan, 1997) in his discussion of "unmargined realities". He says:

> Like others, I balk at some notions current in academe. I do not believe for instance that everything is 'culturally' produced; such a view blurs the infinite variations within biocultural space, within a single view of family even. Nor do I subscribe to the so-called 'materialist' view of existence; for the language animal participates in reality more enigmatically than such a view allows.... Nor do I extol by rote dissent over consent, margins over centers, immanence

over transcendence – you know the list and it is tediously long. Can such binaries yield nuance? (p.164).

1.2 Strategies of inquiry

As discussed so far, conceptual systems address subtle and complex questions of ontology (theory of being), epistemology (theory of knowledge) and methodology (theory of method). They represent the deepest substratum of theoretical and practical research. The epistemologic and epistemic 'conversations' so far discussed, and the various perspectives (positivist, post-positivist, interpretivist/ constructivist and critical or emancipatory) that they encompass, represent conceptual systems characteristic of the modern and postmodern eras. Out of these conceptual foundations, arise more specific traditions of inquiry. These traditions or strategies of inquiry help to shape the paradigmatic frame within which research is conducted.

Denzin & Lincoln (1998) state that paradigms of inquiry "define for inquirers what it is they are about, and what falls within and outside the limits of legitimate inquiry" by answers to interconnected questions of ontology, epistemology and methodology. They define a paradigm as:

a set of *basic beliefs* (or metaphysics) that deals with ultimates or first principles. It represents a *worldview* that defines for its holder, the nature of the "world", the individual's place in it, and the range of possible relationships to that world and its parts, as, for example, cosmologies and theologies do. (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998b, p. 200)

The strategies of inquiry that more specifically delineate a researcher's paradigmatic frame of reference have been classified and categorized in different ways by various researchers, and are referred to using various terms such as orientations (Tesch, 1990), theoretical traditions (Patton, 1990), and strategies of inquiry (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998c).

Several strategies of inquiry can be discerned in Kvale's (1996) qualitative approach to interview research, on which the present research project was partly modelled. Hermeneutics, phenomenology and heuristics are included in this approach, characterized by "a rather moderate postmodernism: although rejecting the notion of an objective universal truth, it accepts the possibility of specific local, personal and community forms of truth, with a focus on daily life and local narrative" (Kvale, 1996, p. 231). This kind of approach also recognizes "knowledge as interrelational and structural, interwoven in webs or networks. Knowledge is neither inside a person nor outside in the world, but exists in the relationship between person and world" (Kvale, 1996, p. 44).

1.2.1 Critical hermeneutics

The hermeneutic tradition originated as an approach to studying theological texts, but more recently has been applied in the social sciences. Although psychology has been slower than some of the other social sciences to adopt this approach, interest has grown particularly in the last decade, and its acceptance in psychological investigation is increasing (Packer & Addison, 1989; Tappan, 1997). Simply stated, the word 'hermeneutics' means interpretation. Its meaning in philosophical and

investigative contexts is more elaborate, pertaining to the discipline of philosophical hermeneutics as a discipline, and types of interpretive, qualitative research. Hermeneutic approaches to inquiry draw on the work of Dilthey, and may be defined as "the deliberate and systematic methodology of interpretation" (Tappan, 1997, p. 645). Fundamental to this approach is the concept of the hermeneutic circle, originally described by Dilthey in relation to the complex process of interpretation, in which parts and the whole of a particular text are considered in cycles or spirals of understanding and elucidating meaning.

As part of this process of recognizing and working within the greater context of the whole, some hermeneutic approaches include historical and cultural context in their approach to interpretation (Messer, Sass, & Woolfolk, 1988; Palmer, 1969). Thus, critical hermeneutics incorporates critical inquiry and deconstruction, recognizing the sociopolitical aspects of knowledge and the importance of the practical utility of research (Brydon-Miller & Tolman, 1997; Hoshmand, 1999). Constructionist and empowerment epistemologies interact here. A critical hermeneutic stance, as described by Hoshmand (1999), lies at the heart of the present research on marginality. It calls for:

> attention to the sociopolitical aspects of knowledge and the deconstruction of cultural texts. It involves an intentional effort in uncovering cultural and political assumptions, with the aim of empowering the less vocal and those who have been subjugated by the existing social structure and dominant discourse. (p. 21).

1.2.2 Phenomenology

As inquiry processes, hermeneutics and phenomenology are closely related, since hermeneutics developed out of the philosophical orientation of phenomenology. Considered by some to be a paradigm rather than a research strategy, phenomenology began as a school of philosophy (Spiegelberg, 1960), but later developed specific research methods (Kvale, 1996). Phenomenological researchers study the ordinary 'life world'; they are interested in the way people experience their world, what it is like for them, how best to understand them (Moustakas, 1994; 1988; Van Manen, 1990). In order to gain access to others' experience, phenomenologists explore their own experience and also collect comprehensive, detailed descriptions from their respondents. These descriptions are submitted to a questioning process in which the researcher is open to themes that emerge, and develops a full and in-depth understanding of a particular phenomenon (Giorgi, 1970; 1985). There are similarities between phenomenological investigation and naturalistic inquiry, defined by Tesch (1990) as: "a non-positivistic approach to research in which the researcher is the instrument and the focus is on understanding the meaning the people under study give to their experiences" (p.51). Heuristics, a phenomenologically-derived perspective (Douglass & Moustakas, 1985; Moustakas, 1990), is particularly significant in interpretive approaches to research where the role of researcher-as-instrument is central. Heuristic research is a form of reflection-based research, requiring "a subjective process of reflecting, exploring, sifting, and elucidating the nature of the phenomenon under investigation" (Douglass & Moustakas, 1985, p. 40). Heuristics and a hermeneutic phenomenological approach are influential strategies of inquiry in the project presented in this thesis.

1. 3 The quantitative-qualitative debate

The conceptual and strategic issues discussed so far have echoes in the methodological controversy which surrounds the re-emergence of qualitative inquiry in psychology and other social sciences. The quantitative-qualitative debate, or 'QQD' as it has been dubbed (Rabinowitz & Weseen, 1997), occurs across many disciplines and fields of inquiry, and has been prompted by relativist influences on the philosophy of science in the postmodern era. Across the social sciences, a debate about the relative acceptability, salience, and scientific standing of qualitative and quantitative approaches to inquiry has continued, with more or less intensity, for decades. As an aspect of the larger discussion about conceptual systems of inquiry, the qualitative-quantitative debate has surfaced and intensified relatively recently in psychology, compared with other social sciences. This debate is of significance to the present research, because the various issues it canvasses are often raised in response to forms of qualitative inquiry, such as those presented here.

1.3.1 Qualitative research - paradigm or method?

In the rapidly growing literature on qualitative research, qualitative and quantitative approaches to inquiry are discussed in terms of paradigm and method. Sometimes these are not clearly distinguished. The term 'paradigm' is sometimes used loosely, in reference to broad conceptual systems of inquiry, specific research strategies or both. 'Qualitative' and 'quantitative' may be used as overarching paradigmatic designators, framing a debate between competing or complementary paradigms (Creswell, 1994). This can add to confusion in an already complex discussion, which involves questions of conceptual orientation, research strategy,

logic of inference and argumentation, philosophical differences, and method choice (Hoshmand, 1994). Where a paradigmatic association is made (for example, quantitative methods associated with a positivist perspective, qualitative methods with an interpretivist one) qualitative and quantitative methods may be seen as incommensurable, because of their association with incongruent ontologies or epistemologies. Qualitative methods may also be imbued with ideological value in moves to upset prevailing hegemonies. Axiological biases, not explicitly stated as personal preference, further complicate a complex and sometimes heated debate. For example, Burman (1997) argues that the point of commonality between qualitative approaches that may differ in their underlying assumptions is that they "stand against positivism's assumption of an unmediated relation between the world and acts of investigation of it" (p. 792).

In this chapter, consideration of conceptual systems and the quantitative-qualitative debate is presented separately, to reflect the position (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994) that the terms 'qualitative' and 'quantitative' refer to methods rather than conceptual paradigms, and tap many philosophical roots. From this perspective qualitative and quantitative approaches may be used with a variety of metatheoretical perspectives and various methods may be used appropriately with various paradigms. Qualitative investigations may thus be based on different philosophical foundations, such as positivist or realist ontologies and associated epistemological assumptions. Merriam (1998), for example, identifies three main philosophical orientations (positivist, interpretivist, critical) which may be associated with qualitative methods. Denzin & Lincoln (1998c) identify four: positivist, post-positivist, constructivist/

interpretive and critical theory.. Despite attempts to classify qualitative inquiry according to particular epistemological stances, it appears that actual research practice is contradictory. Some qualitative research has been identified with an idealist stance, and quantitative research with a realist one, in practice it is associated with a spectrum of idealist-realist positions. While some researchers associate qualitative research with inductive reasoning, and quantitative research with deductive reasoning, others believe that good science involves both for different purposes (Murphy et al., 1998), and that an inductive approach is not an exclusive defining characteristic of qualitative inquiry. Similarly, qualitative and quantitative research have sometimes been tied to particular research contexts. Some define qualitative research as synonymous with naturalistic research, quantitative with experimental environments. However, as Murphy et al. (1998) point out, quantitative research takes place in natural settings and in experimental studies, since context affects the quality of the data obtained in both settings.

1.3.2 Pragmatic possibility

Thus, while some take the position that qualitative and quantitative methods are incompatible, others take a more flexible and practical approach (Morgan, 1998). Henwood & Pidgeon (1992) discuss the problems inherent in overemphasizing or under-emphasizing the significance of epistemological distinctions in relation to the qualitative and quantitative approaches. They argue that, on the one hand:

> quantification is but one manifestation of the common practice of deriving coherent, mobile and combinable inscriptions in science... qualitative and quantitative research procedures are but different forms of the analytic practice

of representation in science, in that both seek to re-arrange the complexities of 'raw' data. (pp. 99-100)

On the other hand, they note that under-emphasizing theoretical issues characterizes the choice between qualitative and quantitative as a merely technical one and "risks a reversion to the position where research is evaluated only in relation to the classical canons of reliability, validity and objectivity" (p. 100). They believe that the issue of what constitutes qualitative methodology is not a simple one, eschew formulating typologies for them, and suggest that the immediate concern is to avoid viewing qualitative and quantitative methods as deriving from incommensurable paradigms, which would in turn disallow "the principled use of a mixture of methods" (p. 100). Similarly, Banister, Burman, Parker, Taylor, & Tindall (1994) suggest that; "it is not necessary to set quantitative and qualitative traditions in opposition to each other, and we would lose sight of the value of much qualitative research if we were to do so" (p. 1). Brannen (1992) comments that:

> The distinction between qualitative and quantitative approaches to research is best represented, not by the analogy of a crossroads of dichotomous choice, but by the analogy of a complex maze where we are repeatedly faced with decisions, and where paths wind back on one another. (p. 52)

One approach to negotiating this maze lies in adopting a pragmatic meta-perspective (Datta, 1997; Green & Caracelli, 1997; Hoshmand, 1999; Patton, 1990). A pragmatic approach regards all data that can contribute to an understanding of a particular topic of inquiry, as worthy of consideration. Various philosophical stances may be taken in combination with qualitative or quantitative methods (Lincoln &

Guba, 1985), depending on the issues raised by the question and the context and complexity of analysis, rather than on the type of data available (such as numbers, text or a combination of both). Pragmatic arguments for mixing quantitative and qualitative methods are also found in Bryman (1988) and Silverman (1985).

A similarly pragmatic approach to this issue draws on the metaphor of cross-cultural identity (Ponterotto & Grieger, 1999). From this viewpoint, the traditions of quantitative and qualitative research are seen as two different research cultures. Recognizing the degree to which most psychologists are influenced by the positivist paradigm, and trained in experimental, quantitative methods, Ponterotto and Grieger propose 'a symbiosis between qualitative and quantitative methods in a merged research identity' (p. 55). They suggest that qualitative and quantitative perspectives represent different worldviews, with different languages, often accompanied by a sense of tension, or gap. They suggest that one can become bilingual and bicultural in one's research identity, something they see as a difficult, challenging, long-term, and ultimately pragmatic process. The choice of the research paradigm is dependent on the specific nature of the research problem and on the current state of knowledge in the field. Having a bicultural research identity and its related competencies allows the researcher more flexibility and options in both gaining a perspective on a research question and planning its investigation. This concept of a bicultural research identity is particularly relevant to the present project, which adopts an inclusive, pragmatic stance towards the use of qualitative and quantitative methods in the investigation of multiple cultural identities.

1.3.3 Definitions and characteristics

One of the more cloudy areas of the qualitative-quantitative debate concerns issues of definition. Quantitative research appears to be more easily defined, since it is a long-standing norm in psychological inquiry, closely associated with positivist assumptions. The degree of acceptance given to quantitative methods in psychology means that they are familiar and definition is rarely required. Their basic features are taken for granted as the scientific norm. Ponterotto and Grieger (1999) describe quantitative inquiry as research that focuses on "the strict quantification of observation (data) and on the empirical control of variables. This form of research most often incorporates large scale sampling procedures and the use of statistical tests to study group averages and variances" (p. 50). Creswell (1994) defines quantitative research as "inquiry into a social or human problem, based on testing a theory composed of variables, measured with numbers, and analyzed with statistical procedures, in order to determine whether the predictive generalizations of the theory hold true" (p. 3).

By contrast, various definitions of qualitative research, with varying emphases, may be found in the literature, reflecting efforts to grasp a burgeoning collection of conceptual perspectives and practical strategies. Denzin & Lincoln (1998a) offer "an initial generic definition" recognizing that in the complex historical field in which qualitative research is situated, its definition can mean different things at different times:

Qualitative inquiry is a field of research is its own right. It crosscuts disciplines, fields, and subject matter. A complex, interconnected family of

terms, concepts, and assumptions surround the term qualitative research. These include the traditions associated with positivism, post-structuralism and the many qualitative research perspectives, or methods, connected to cultural and interpretive studies....Qualitative research is multi-method in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials – case study, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts – that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals lives. Accordingly, qualitative researchers deploy a wide range of interconnected methods, hoping always to get a better fix on the subject matter at hand. (p. 2-3)

While this is a comprehensive definition of qualitative research, other definitions, highlighting its various aspects, can be found in the literature. Taken together these definitions form a collage, which conveys the nature of qualitative inquiry as well as the difficulty with which it is specifically defined. Tables of comparison (for example, Creswell, 1994; Merriam, 1998; Ponterotto & Grieger, 1999) show some of the basic differences between the assumptions and practices of qualitative and quantitative research, using artificial dichotomies as aids to

Data numeric data

Orientation linear social phenomena

Purpose analysis non-linear non-numeric data

hypothesis
testing

spoken word

iterative

hypothesis
generation

written
word

interactive

theory
building

"*varieties
of mind in
living action*"
- James, 1901

ambiguous

interpreting

evaluative

understanding

meaning
making

complex

descriptive
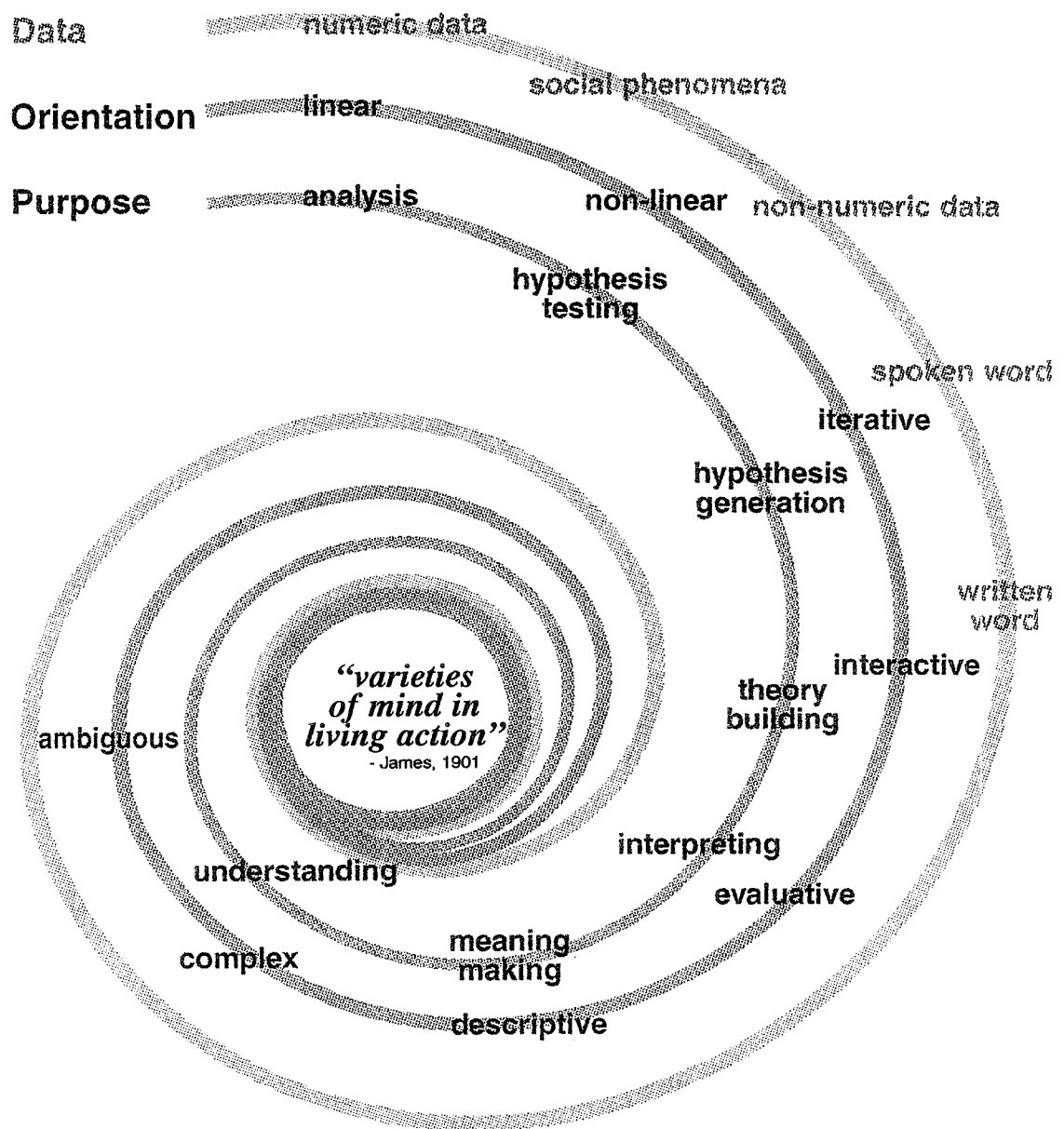
Figure 2. Definitional aspects of qualitative research, showing varieties of data type,

orientation, and purpose.

understanding, rather than hard and fast delineation of differences. In actual research the lines of distinction tend to blur. My helical compilation in Figure 2 represents this. It shows various aspects of qualitative research, with a spectrum of possibilities of purpose, orientation and data type. The diagram is presented as an alternative to tables of linear, dichotomous comparison. Since qualitative methods may be used within a range of conceptual frames, the influence of positivist and non-positivist perspectives are represented. Components which tend to be associated with a positivist orientation are located on the outer dimension of the spiral, those which tend to be associated with an interpretive approach are represented on the spiral as it moves inwards.

The different foci that characterize a plurality of definitions are shown on the spiral. Maracek et al. (1997) for example, define the overall tenor of qualitative inquiry thus:

> The heart of a qualitative stance is the desire to make sense of actual lived experience, to understand as William James (1901/1994, p. 114) put it, "the varieties of mind in living action". (p. 632)

Merriam (1998) defines qualitative research as "an umbrella concept covering several forms of inquiry that help us to understand and explain the meaning of social phenomena with as little disruption of the natural setting as possible" (p. 5). She focuses on the process of inquiry, evaluative criteria, and the role of the researcher as defining characteristics:

> Qualitative research is not a linear, step-by-step process.... It is an interactive process throughout, that allows the investigator to produce believable and trustworthy findings....Data collection, analysis and reporting are interactive

processes....The investigator is the single most important component in qualitative research. (p. 151)

Other definitions hinge on the absence of quantification: "any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification" (Strauss & Corbin, 1997, p. 17). Some definitions focus on the type of data collected: "Qualitative research involves the collection, analysis and interpretation of data that are not easily reducible to numbers. These data relate to the social world and the concepts and behaviors of people within in it. (Murphy et al., 1998, p. iii). Or as Taylor and Bogdan (1984) observe: "Qualitative methodology refers in the broadest sense to research that produces descriptive data: People's own written or spoken words and observable behavior" (p. 5). Still other definitions associate qualitative inquiry with underlying philosophical assumptions. Burman (1997) suggests that:

> What the motley collection of approaches to research that are termed "qualitative" have in common is that they are interpretive; that is, they reject the possibility of arriving at an understanding of actions, events or objects outside practices of representation. (p. 792)

As the spiral composite of definitions suggest, qualitative inquiry is defined in a range of ways. Despite the fact that qualitative and quantitative methods are used within a variety of conceptual frames, the influence of underlying interpretive perspectives tends to be reflected in definitions of qualitative approaches to inquiry. In her comprehensive and widely cited work, Tesch (1990) lists over 40 types of qualitative research and presents a detailed taxonomy of approaches. She observes

that common to much, if not all, qualitative research, are a flexible and emergent design, sample selection that is non-random, purposeful and small, and intense or prolonged contact between researcher and participants. Eliciting understanding and meaning from the participants' perspective is often a main purpose. The research orientation tends to be holistic, complex and contextual with an emphasis on understanding 'how'. Data are largely non-numeric, though may include interpretation of numeric patterning, or some form of counting of non-numeric categories. Findings tend to be in the form of rich description of context, players and activities, and in the form of themes, categories, typologies, tentative hypotheses and theory derived inductively from the data. This generic description is applicable to the investigation presented in this thesis.

1.3.4 Qualitative inquiry in psychology

Qualitative methods are not new to psychology (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). For example, they featured prominently in the work of Freud, Jung and the depth psychologists. Early in psychology's development as an independent science, psychologists such as William James recognized the value of qualitative approaches:

Behind the minute anatomists and the physiologists, with their metallic instruments, there have always stood the outdoor naturalists with their eyes and love of concrete nature ... In psychology there is a similar distinction. Some are fascinated by the varieties of mind in living action, others by dissecting out, whether by logic or by brass instruments, whatever elementary processes may be there." (James, 1901/1961, cited in Maracek et al., 1997, p. 642)

For decades qualitative methods were eclipsed by quantitative methods due to prevailing positivist norms. Growing acceptance of non-positivist, non-experimental paradigms has influenced recognition of qualitative inquiry. Nonetheless, this shift is relatively recent (Ashworth, Giorgi, & De Koning, 1986; Banister et al. 1994; Breakwell, Hammond, & Fife-Shaw, 1995; Kopala & Suzuki, 1999; Mertens, 1998). As yet qualitative methods are less widely accepted than in other social sciences, such as education (Ely, Anzul, Friedman, Garner, & Steinmetz, 1991; Ely, Vinz, Downing & Anzul, 1997; Janesick, 1998), ethnography and anthropology (Wolcott, 1994), sociology (Silverman, 1985), nursing (Morse, 1991; 1997; Morse & Field, 1995) and program evaluation (Patton, 1989). However, interdisciplinary use of qualitative texts is common amongst qualitative researchers, and helpful for psychologists moving into qualitative research at a time when qualitative texts specific to psychology are still relatively few in number. In psychology, as Burman (1997) notes, the growing acceptance of qualitative approaches is found in the increasing use of resources such as ethnography, grounded theory, action research, and feminist research. These are joined by interpretive approaches (such as personal construct psychology) and emerging linguistic and textual approaches such as discourse analysis (Banister et al., 1994). This increasing acceptance is more evident in some countries than others. For example, in the United States qualitative research is less acknowledged and accepted than in the UK, continental Europe, Australia and New Zealand (Maracek & Fine, 1997).

Margin-mainstream dynamics are reflected in psychology's growing acceptance of qualitative inquiry. Rabinowitz & Weseen (1997) observe that the qualitative-

quantitative debate is shifting into the mainstream, and that this corresponds to an increasing reflection of social diversity in the composition of psychologist academics and practitioners:

> Within psychology the debate erupts on the margins, in areas such as the psychology of women and gender, where awareness of unequal power relationships among groups, including the researcher and the researched, has forced a critical awareness of the research process, and especially of the historically dominant quantitative paradigm.
>
> As the lines that divide both basic and applied research as well as the sub-fields of psychology become blurred, and the face of the discipline changes with respect to the gender race/ethnicity, social class and sexual orientation of its practitioners, the debate has broken out in mainstream psychology. (p. 606)

Rabinowitz & Weseen (1997) examine the reasons behind the difficulties with, and resistance to, integrating qualitative and quantitative approaches in psychology. Topics raised in their investigation of postgraduates' experiences with qualitative research in psychology include epistemological and methodological issues, attitudes to qualitative and quantitative methods, prospects for integrating the two approaches, and the impact of methodological choices for careers in academia. The study also raises issues that are discussed infrequently in the literature, such as the place of science in psychology, participants' social identity as researchers and power dynamics in the profession.

1.4 A marginal perspective on metatheory and method

The foregoing discussion highlights psychology's roots in the history and philosophy of science, their influence in its development, and problems in asserting the superiority of one conceptual system over others. It also explores the various strategies of inquiry that influence the research project presented in this thesis, and discusses issues related to the adoption of qualitative methods in psychological research. From this discussion, the metatheoretical tenor of the thesis is conveyed. Borrowing Polkinghorne's concept of philosophical conversations underscores my preference for a dialogical approach to metatheoretical possibility, in which exploration through ongoing dialogue is preferred over an oppositional, dichotomous approach. The perspectives of the epistemic conversation, critical hermeneutics and praxis, phenomenology and heuristics are all significant influences. Connected by a pragmatic metaperspective, these combine belief in the social construction of knowledge, respect for lived experience, critique of social structures, and belief in the importance of conducting socially relevant and reflexive research. As this discussion has indicated, beyond a basic disagreement, or at least confusion, about definitions and use of terminology, complex and difficult ontological, epistemological, and axiological issues underlie the qualitative-quantitative debate. Cultural and political factors are also influential. One viewpoint is that qualitative and quantitative research should be seen as incommensurable paradigms marked by dichotomies of practice and philosophy. However as the above review indicates, the underlying philosophical debates have been going on for centuries and show no sign of being resolved conclusively. Statistical, numerical approaches and verbal descriptive processes have long been used in the production of knowledge. From my viewpoint, the qualitative-

qualitative dichotomy is artificial and unhelpful. Rather, qualitative and quantitative approaches are more usefully seen as methods of inquiry, not overarching paradigms. Within shifting and diverse fields of inquiry, they may be associated with a plurality of philosophies and strategies of inquiry, based on a pragmatic approach to methodological choice.

The perspective that undergirds this thesis is therefore located at the fringes of metatheoretical convention in psychology. The orientation towards relativist, social constructionist theories of knowledge and qualitative methodology is marginal to psychology as a whole, despite disciplinary changes in this respect. Recognition of metaperspectives that underlie quantum science, indigenous thinking and Eastern metaphysical systems, is rare in psychology as yet (Pedersen, 1997). However, the usefulness in recognizing ambiguity and contradiction in metatheoretical positioning is suggested. Thus the conceptual influences which shape this thesis constitute a framework of unmargined possibility grounded in pragmatic consideration. This is a particularly suitable philosophical frame for research that aims to explore lived experience of marginality, in all its shades of complexity and diversity. The next chapter narrows the focus of methodological discussion to the qualitative method choices that shape the study presented in this thesis.

CHAPTER 2

CHOICES AND ISSUES IN RESEARCH DESIGN

Qualitative methods that are founded in non-positivist assumptions include procedures characteristic of traditional scientific inquiry, such as sampling and data collection techniques. However, underlying metatheoretical assumptions influence the ways in which these are conceptualized and carried out, and the terminology used to describe them. This chapter describes and justifies the approach taken to research design, and elaborates upon specific components, such as sampling, data generation and interpretation, evaluative criteria, and ethical considerations. These are discussed at some length, following Hoshmand's (1994) recommendation that:

> The informed choice of any given model of inquiry and its methodology requires descriptive understanding of the paradigm in question and a certain degree of familiarity with its application. Thoughtful evaluation involves an awareness of the criteria we apply and how our judgements are justified. (p. 99)

The discussion is structured according to Kvale's (1996) schema for organizing qualitative interview research (see Table 1). This schema is useful because its structure is related to the traditional sections of a scientific report (American Psychological Association, 1989). This may be helpful where qualitative inquiry is novel or less familiar than traditional approaches. Kvale identifies various stages of a qualitative interview study, which correspond to the standard sections of a scientific report. These stages (with corresponding section headings in parentheses) consist of

thematizing (introduction); designing, interviewing, transcribing and analyzing (method); analysis and verification (results), and implications of findings (discussion). In the traditional context, the sections reflect the scientific experimental process. In the qualitative context, the stages reflect a complex, iterative, "web-building" research process (as described in the Introduction).

Table 1

Kvale's (1996) stages of a qualitative interview study and corresponding traditional report structure.

Traditional report structure	Stages of interview study
Introduction	Thematizing
Method	Designing, Interviewing, Transcribing and Analyzing
Results	Analysis and Verification
Discussion	Implications

Following on from discussion of broader philosophical issues in Chapter 1, these stages are described in some detail to provide a complete methodological background to the present research project. Specifically, they address the importance of prior theoretical work and practical preparation, design issues, the central role of interviewing, interpretive data analysis, verification, and ethical issues, as they pertain to the three-phase study presented in Chapters 5, 6, and 7.

2.1 The importance of thematizing

There is some debate in the qualitative research literature about the role and position of theoretical work in qualitative studies (Becker, 1989). Following Kvale (1996), I adopt the view that prior conceptual work, or thematizing, is an integral part of a qualitative study. Thematizing serves as one of the platforms from which inductive reasoning processes may be launched. This is a departure from research that uses hypothetico-deductive logic in its review of the relevant literature and presentation of *a priori* research hypotheses or questions. Thematizing may have theoretical and experiential aspects and is one of several strands of an iterative research process, interwoven throughout the research process with other strands such as data collection and interpretation. It may be helpful in interaction with interview participants, for example, since a researcher who has a thorough prior understanding of the research topic may be more able to respond more effectively to participants in face-to-face situations, converse with them in a range of ways, and explore topics in greater depth, thus improving the quality of the data generated. In the present study, theoretical concepts are developed, challenged and refined throughout. Theoretical and practical perspectives intertwine, and mutually inform one another. Research questions are developed out of theoretical reading, practice and experience. This serves as an evolving, flexible framework, which guides the study while remaining open to change and development.

2.2 General issues in designing

The research project presented in this thesis is characterized by an emergent design. This type of design develops throughout the research process. It is an

approach characteristic of exploratory studies, and is commonly used in interpretive, qualitative research (Creswell, 1994; Maxwell, 1996). Adopting an emergent design can be likened to embarking on a journey over complex and varied terrain with a flexible map (Merriam, 1998). The map indicates the possible routes that may be chosen. However, it is neither definitive nor detailed. It does not indicate the particular obstacles and opportunities that may be encountered on the way, nor the precise routes that are to be taken. These emerge in the course of the research process, and can only be specified in hindsight (Merriam, 1998).

Some researchers have likened this design approach to journeying without a map at all. As Maracek et al. (1997) observe:

> A qualitative stance invites broad-based inquiry into spaces that are undocumented in other studies ... qualitative workers begin with a period of exploration and immersion, and narrow their focus. Propelled by a desire to know what is unknown, to unravel mysteries, to be surprised and jostled by what turns up, qualitative researchers embark on an intellectual adventure without a map or even a clear destination. This way of working requires giving up control, going along for the ride, not always having hold of the steering wheel – and still taking good notes (p. 634).

Although this analogy expresses the attitudinal and emotional character of research based on an emergent design, it under-emphasizes the significance of broad directional guidelines, which influence the research process from the outset. Every investigation, however exploratory, begins with some idea of topic and approach, since personal and cultural preferences are always present. These include a complex

combination of factors, such as paradigmatic orientation, personal or professional interests, experience and training, researcher attributes, possible audience, and other factors (Creswell, 1994).The flexible map analogy used by Merriam (1998) suggests a design process which is guided from the outset, however roughly, by such factors. Researcher identity, and research culture, focus and framework, are all components of the rudimentary map that affects the evolving research journey, in iterative stages of reciprocal influence, as illustrated in Figure 3.

Of these reciprocal influences in research design, the idea of research identity and research culture have already been discussed in the Introduction. In a qualitative approach to inquiry, the research focus may be a general one that is refined through the process of inquiry, or it may be a specific and clearly defined topic from the outset (Creswell, 1994). Topic selection in the present research project is consistent with the latter, an evolving process which extends from its inception through subsequent stages of the research process. Initially broad interest in marginality and therapeutic psychology was prompted by personal and professional experience, previous research (Jones, in press), theoretical inclination towards alternative epistemological frames (Jones, 2000) and interest in psychological, sociocultural and political dimensions of human diversity. The research focus became more specific as the research progressed.

The framework and focus of a research project mutually influence each other (Creswell, 1994). A researcher's conceptual preferences influence choice of topic, which reciprocally affects choice of paradigmatic frame. Shaped by research identity and culture, the research paradigm or framework comprises the researcher's

philosophical preferences in areas of ontology, epistemology and methodology. As

discussed in Chapter 1, it also consists of particular strategies of inquiry which

connect broad conceptual preferences with methods of collecting materials from the
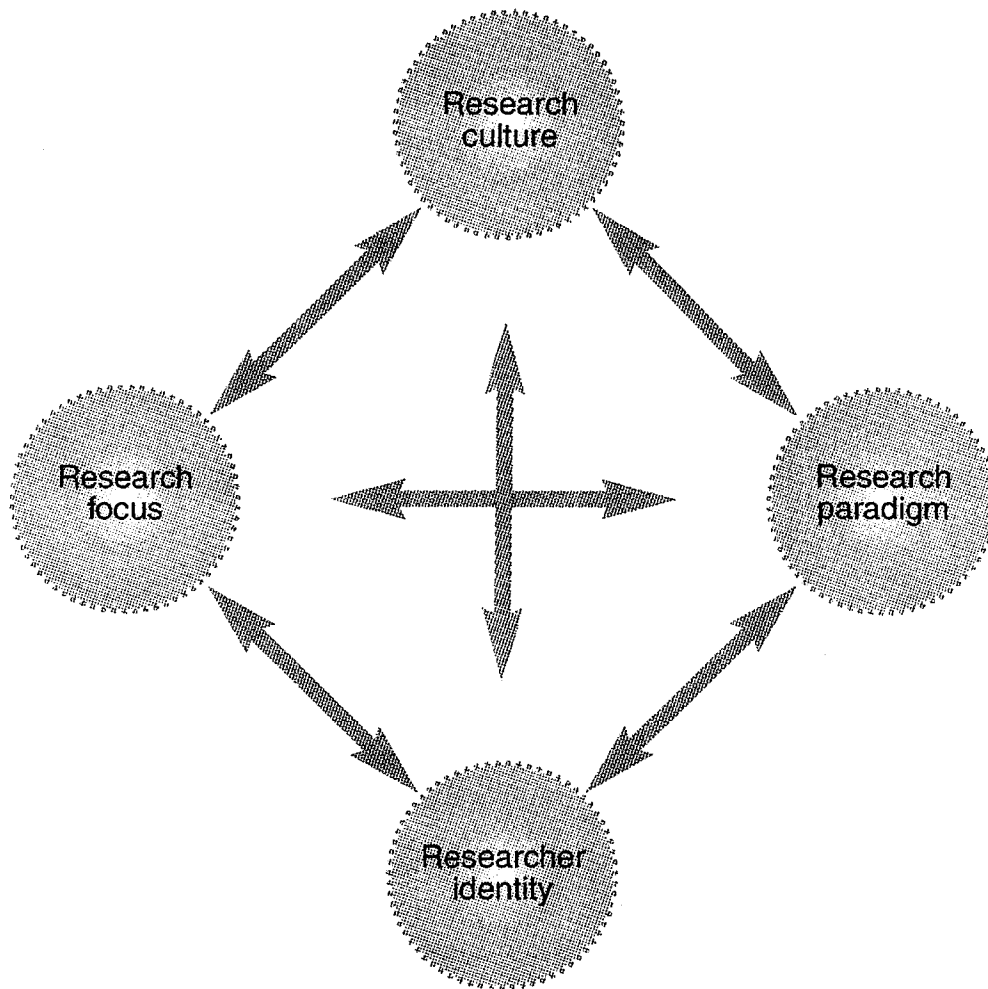
Figure 3. Reciprocal influence of researcher identity and research culture, paradigm

and focus.

empirical world (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998c). The reciprocal relationship between research framework and focus is apparent in the present research. Personal and cultural meanings of marginality are of focal interest from the outset. They are approached as culturally-embedded, multidimensional and intersubjective phenomena. Thus the complexity and subtlety of the topic invite an interpretive, constructionist, qualitative frame. Prior philosophical and ideological preferences shape the selection of the topic, which reciprocally invites particular theoretical, strategic and other methodical approaches to inquiry.

The literature on qualitative inquiry identifies researcher temperament as another significant factor in the shaping of research design (Creswell, 1994; Maracek & Fine, 1997). For example, certain personality traits and abilities are more suited to interpretive or experimental approaches than others (Guba & Lincoln, 1981). Merriam (1998) stresses the need for tolerance for ambiguity in interpretive, qualitative research, because "qualitative research ... places the investigator in a largely uncharted ocean. For some it becomes an adventure full of promise for discovery; for others it can become a disorienting and unproductive experience" (p. 21). She also names as important qualities: sensitivity and intuition, including a sensitivity to context, the information as its being gathered, and one's own biases; a sense of timing; sensitivity to data during collection; good oral and written communication skills, and empathy and rapport-building qualities. Summarizing these, Merriam suggests that good qualitative researchers are "above all, human beings who attend carefully to the social and behavioural signals of others and who find others intrinsically interesting" (Merriam, 1998, p. 24). Researcher temperament was a

factor in the choice of method for the present project. Personal characteristics and abilities that support my method choice are noted in Appendix A.

A further consideration in research design is the anticipated audience of the project (Creswell, 1994). As already noted, interpretive and critical approaches are increasingly gaining ground in psychology, and qualitative methods are more accepted now than they were even a few years ago. Anticipated audience for the present project includes theorist-practitioners who are open to qualitative approaches, interested in becoming more familiar with them, or are committed to expanding the parameters of acceptability and excellence in psychological research.

Finally, it is important to consider sampling and selection procedures in research design. Sampling is a significant consideration in qualitative and quantitative designs. However, their purpose, logic and techniques often differ. Quantitative designs frequently use probability sampling to select research participants. In this approach, randomness and representativeness are key factors, enabling findings to be generalized to larger populations than those under study. A purposive approach to sampling is often (but not necessarily) characteristic of qualitative designs. Its value and purpose lie in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth. Meaning, rather than representativeness, tends to be at issue here: "Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research, thus the term *purposeful* sampling" (Patton, 1990, p.169).

Various types of purposive sampling have been described (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998c; Kvale, 1996; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Patton, 1990). In the present research project, intensity sampling, theoretical sampling and snowball sampling are used to locate and select participants. Intensity sampling consists of "information-rich cases which manifest the phenomenon of interest intensely but not so extremely as to distort the phenomenon of interest" (Patton, 1990, p. 171). Those selected are not unusual cases, but are rich sources of information about phenomena under study. Theoretical sampling involves selecting participants on the basis of their suitability for investigating phenomena that have been identified at a theoretical level. Snowball sampling involves asking participants to refer the researcher to others, thus identifying "cases of interest from people who know people who know people who know what cases are information rich, that is, good examples for study, good interview subjects" (Patton, 1990, p. 182). According to Merriam (1998), 'good' interview subjects tend to have certain qualities in common. They can serve as guides in unfamiliar territory, and are able to express thoughts, feelings, opinions, and offer perspectives on the topic being studied. They often enjoy sharing themselves with an interested person, and the process of clarifying their own thoughts and experiences (Merriam, 1998).

With a total of 18 participants, the present project has a relatively small sample. This tends to be characteristic of qualitative research designs which take an in-depth approach to phenomena under study. However, there are no hard and fast rules where sample size is concerned (Merriam, 1998). The size of the sample depends on "what you want to know, the purpose of the inquiry, what is at stake, what will be useful, what will have credibility and what will be possible, given time and resources (Patton,

1990, p.184). Lincoln and Guba (1985) recommend saturation or redundancy as a main criterion for sample size, leaving the question of sample size open. As Patton (1990) recommends, "the validity and meaningfulness and insights generated from qualitative inquiry have more to do with the information-richness of the cases selected and the observational capabilities of the researcher than with the sample size" (p.185).

2.3 The central role of interviewing

Observation, interviewing and documents are three commonly used means of obtaining data in qualitative studies. From a constructionist perspective, data are not collected but are generated, co-created, or at least selected to reflect the assumption that knowledge does not exist independently of the inquirer (Merriam, 1998). According to Patton (1990), interview data consists of "direct quotations from people about their experiences, opinions, feelings and knowledge" (p. 10). Patton defines observational data as "detailed descriptions of people's activities, behaviors, actions" and document data as "excerpts, quotations, or entire passages" (p. 10)

The primary data generation strategy used in my research was interviewing, supplemented by two kinds of document. There is a sizeable literature on interviewing, which is one of the range of methods which may be approached from a positivist or interpretivist perspective (Brenner, Brown, & Canter, 1985; McCracken, 1988; Metzler, 1977; Mishler, 1986; Seidman, 1991; Silverman, 1993). It has various strengths and weaknesses, although these may be viewed in different lights, depending on paradigmatic viewpoint. Merriam (1998) comments that: "The decision to use interviewing as the primary mode of data collection should be based on the

kind of information needed and whether interviewing is the best way to get it" (p. 72). It is generally agreed that interviewing is a suitable data generation strategy for researching subtle, complex and contextual experience. As Patton (1990) states:

> We interview people to find out from them those things we cannot directly observe... we cannot observe feelings, thoughts, and intentions. We cannot observe behaviors that took place at some previous point in time. We cannot observe situations that preclude the presence of an observer. We cannot observe how people have organized the world and the meanings they attach to what goes on in the world. We have to ask people questions about those things. The purpose of interviewing, then, is to allow us to enter into the other person's perspective. (p. 196)

Further, since marginal voices are often ignored, misheard or misrepresented by others, interviewing is a method that is especially suited to research conducted from an empowerment perspectives, in order that participants may voice their own experiences and viewpoints (Renzetti & Lee, 1993).

Clearly, interviewing is a suitable choice of method for the present project, with its empowerment approach to studying lived experience of marginality. Alternative data sources, such as painting, photography, drama and creative writing, have also been used effectively elsewhere in marginality research (Ferguson et al., 1990). However interviewing is better suited to my personal and professional abilities (see Appendix A), and was therefore chosen as the primary strategy. Given the salience of researcher-as-instrument in qualitative studies, researcher skills, experience, and personality are important factors in the selection of method. This is particularly true

for interview studies, since an uncomfortable or inept interviewer is less able to create the kind of engagement that supports conversational depth and rich data. Recognized qualities of a good interviewer include being respectful, non-judgmental and non-threatening (Merriam, 1998). In addition, despite the differences between research interviews and therapeutic interviews, some of the skills and qualities they require overlap. Research interviewing may therefore be enhanced by therapeutic interviewing experience and skill, as well as by general relational strengths (Kvale, 1996).

Types of interview are generally differentiated according to their degree of structure. They may be structured, unstructured or semi-structured, or a combination of these (Merriam, 1998). In semi-structured interviews, questions are more or less flexibly worded, or the interview is a mix of more or less structured questions. Usually there is a desire for specific information, but the researcher is flexible about how and in what order the questions are asked, and is open to what arises in the interview. My research adopts a predominantly semi-structured, in-depth approach. Each interview is conducted as 'a conversation that has a structure and a purpose' (Kvale, 1996, p. 6), in which the researcher has a recognized role of power in directing the overall framework of the discussion, but is open to pursuing directions that respondents introduce. The structure serves to guide the interview, to acknowledge the interests and goals of the researcher, and to provide opportunity for respondents to discuss topics that are meaningful to them. In my research, an innovative approach to structure is also taken in the use of diagrams as a visual, non-

linear way of focusing and expanding on interview topics. This is discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Structural considerations also concern the use of pilot data in interview studies. Different opinions have been offered for and against the use of pilot data in qualitative studies. Some researchers encourage this (Merriam, 1998, p. 75). Other researchers keep data from a pilot study separate, use this database for early identification of categories, and then start again with the actual study. Still others see pilot data as part of the evolving process of a whole project, and include it as such (Bazeley, 1999). The last mentioned approach is closest to the one adopted in the present project. Substantial prior theoretical and practical preparation, rather than a separate pilot study, contributes to the overall quality of the interview study. Reading, practical experience and theoretical work, as well as prior familiarization with the context of participants' lives, may contribute to this. As Merriam (1998) states, "The value of an interview depends on the interviewer's knowing enough about the topic to ask meaningful questions in language easily understood by the informant" (p. 85).

The strength of interview data can be enhanced through the use of multiple strategies (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998a), such as observation and documents. Documents tend to be underused in qualitative research, but they can "help uncover meaning, develop understanding and discover insights relevant to the research" (Merriam, 1998 p.133). They include public records and personal documents, and may be participant or researcher generated. They "refer to any first-person narrative that describes an individual's actions, experiences and beliefs" (Bogdan & Biklin, 1992, p. 132). These

may include diaries, letters, artifacts and researcher-generated documents. In my research I used researcher-generated documents as supplementary data generation strategies. This type of document is "prepared by or for the researcher after the study has begun, so as to learn more about the situation, event or person being investigated" (Merriam, 1998, p. 118). Journals or logs kept by participants at the researcher's request are examples. Quantitative data produced by the investigator also come into this category. For example, projective tests and attitudinal measures can be treated as documents in support of a qualitative investigation (Merriam, 1989). Two kinds of researcher-generated document feature in my research. The first consists of journal entries, guided by questions from a section of the semi-structured interview. The second is an original instrument, a "web-wheel" diagram.

2.3.1 Guided journal entries

Journal writing has a long history in the arts and humanities. Precedents for its use as a research procedure are found within and outside the social sciences. Outside the social sciences, the application of diary methods in telematic engineering (Kirakowski & Corbett, 1990), for example, is discussed as a procedure which may include the use of various diary structures, including unstructured, open-ended or highly structured formats. Paper and pencil based techniques, tape and video diaries, and on-line questionnaire style entries administered by computer are possible technological styles of use. Kirakowski and Corbett (1990) note the utility of journal entries as ways of capturing the users' interest, involving them actively, obtaining information that may be forgotten in an interview or other method of data collection.

Within the social sciences, there are various precedents for the use of journal writing as method. In sociology, for example, autobiographical statement is combined with an interview or series of interviews (Denzin, 1970). More recently Denzin & Lincoln (1998a) include journal-writing in strategies for collecting and analyzing empirical materials, deeming it a powerful way to give account of experience and everyday life. Zimmerman & Weider (1982) regard diarists as surrogate observers, in that they are requested to record their own behaviour and interactions with others. They recognize the individuality of research designs using this method, and suggest that each researcher devise a set of instructions for participants that fits with specific research interests. In their 'diary-diary interview' method, participants fill out a diary over a period of time, and the diary entries are subsequently used as the basis of follow-up interview or interviews. This basic procedure may be adapted to suit specific research projects, by including giving more structured instructions to diarists, for example, or by administering more standardized questions during the subsequent diary interview.

In psychology, journal writing features strongly in various therapeutic contexts (such as behaviourial, cognitive and Jungian analytic therapy), where journals have been used largely for personal exploration and growth (Janesick, 1998a). However, there is limited discussion in the psychological literature concerning the use of journal entries as a qualitative research procedure, although some researchers are exploring its use. For example C. Stephens (personal communication, March 1, 1999) comments on the use of journal entries in a pilot study, and the desirability of using guided

journal entries compared to unstructured ones. This influenced the decision to use guided journal entries, as opposed to unstructured journal writing in the present study.

In the pilot, we found that women were very good about keeping the journals, and they all kept them to the end. However, they did not like the unstructured nature of the exercise. They kept worrying about what we wanted of them. Overall, we felt that they were doing it for us and weren't personally engaged in the journal. At the end, not one of our eight participants planned to continue the journal. We concluded that the data was potentially very good - we had some interesting insights even from a very small pilot. However, next time we would spend more time at the start involving the participants in setting up the journals, and giving them some structure (even, the days divided into set length and small details like that). But we would do it with them, so that the structure was developed together and hopefully they would feel clearer about how to record their thoughts and what to record.

Journal entries may be used for various purposes, such as to deepen interaction between participant and researcher, facilitate written reflection on experience, and also as a way of checking back with participants. Journal writing may be used as a means of obtaining multiple perspectives on a phenomenon under study (Janesick, 1998a). A comprehensive reflective log or method journal maintained by the researcher is considered critical to qualitative work, given the salience of researcher-as-instrument. Thus journal writing may be used both as a way of generating data and as a contribution to the soundness of research. However, Zimmerman & Weider (1982) observe that many issues relevant to the evaluation of the use of journal

writing as a data generation strategy remain insufficiently addressed. These include such considerations as how to motivate participants to complete their diaries, the suitability of the method for participants with various levels of literacy, ways of analyzing data obtained, and problems generally associated with self-report methods. Janesick (1998a) suggests this method also raises problems of representation, co-construction of meaning, interpretation of data, and issues of race, class, gender and the politics of research. In response to criticism that participants' awareness may change as an artifact of journal writing, M. Q. Patton argues that participation in research as a key informant frequently raises awareness, and that this may also be a research aim (personal communication, February 12, 1999). The context of interpretation and the purpose of the research is therefore particularly relevant. (Denzin & Lincoln (1998) similarly emphasize the importance of contextual considerations in interpreting journal entries.

2.3.2 "Web-wheel" diagrams

As an original instrument, designed in the course of the present research project, the web-wheel has no established precedents for its use. It was developed initially as a means of data reduction and display, and was further developed into a data generating strategy. It serves as a non-linear, visual tool for focusing interviews, for generating data through eliciting self-reflection and discussion, and for interpreting and organizing findings. Since its development is an integral part of the present study's emergent design, a full description and discussion of its use, strengths, limitations, and potential applications are included in relevant sections of later chapters, where the

study and its methodological implications are discussed in detail. However, it will be introduced briefly here.

As shown in Figure 4, the web-wheel diagram features nine spokes, radiating out from a central point in the manner of a wheel. They represent nine areas of cultural influence, as specified in Hays' (1996a) ADDRESSING model: age, disability, religion, ethnicity/race, socio-economic status, sexual orientation, indigenous heritage, national and gender. This model is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4. Adaptations of the web-wheel diagram represent multiple dimensions of power (discussed in Chapter 6). In the diagram, the wheel signifies movement, suggesting that margin and mainstream status and identification may change over time and in different situations. The addition of lateral threads changes the wheel into a web. The central thread represents the mainstream. The thread on the periphery represents the margin. An intermediate thread, between margin and mainstream, represents an 'in between' position.

Originally designed as a means of data reduction and display, the web-wheel serves as a visual representation of the complexity of marginal/mainstream status and identification. As a data generation tool, it serves as a non-linear means of focusing discussion in complex areas. When used in interviews, respondents focus on any area of the web-wheel that they choose, and talk about their experience, self-perceptions and so on. By marking specific points on the web-wheel, corresponding to their perceived status, participants also provide information about their self-perceptions, which can act as a check on interpretations that the researcher may make on the basis

of interview conversations. Responses may be analyzed using qualitative o

quantitative approaches. Responses may be categorized numerically, since each spok

can be treated as similar to a 3-point Likert scale. Data may then be analyzed wit

statistical techniques, such as multidimensional scaling or latticing.
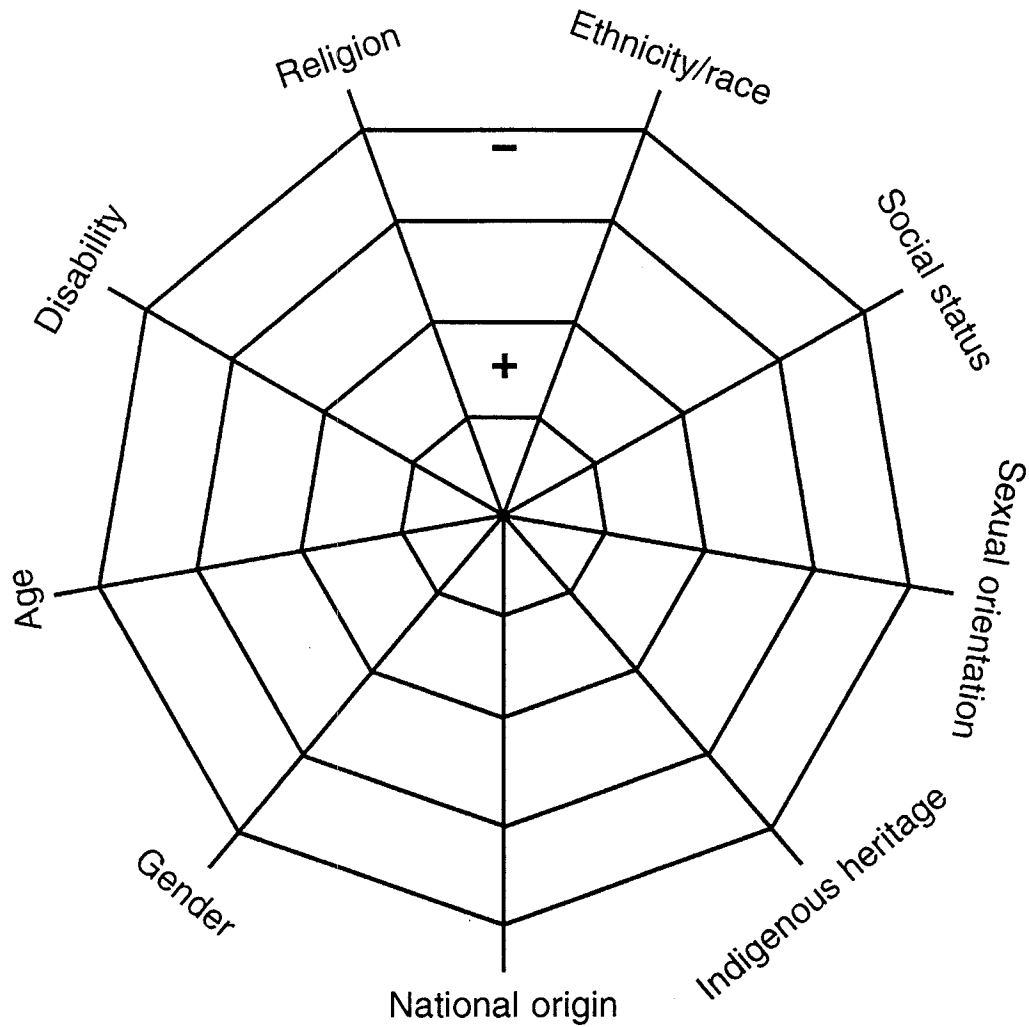
Figure 4. The web-wheel diagram.

In general terms, the value of researcher-generated documents such as the web-wheel diagram, can be assessed on the basis of whether the document contains information or insights relevant to the research question and whether they can be acquired in a practical systematic manner (Merriam, 1998). Documents reflect a person's perspective and reveal inner experience as observation does for external behaviour. They have some of the same limitations discussed in relation to interviewing. For example they are not necessarily reliable accounts of what happened especially if produced at the interviewer's request, and may include purposeful and non-purposeful deception. However, as with interviewing, if these are made explicit and included reflexively in the interpretive process, the impact and significance of this may be diminished. The web-wheel is further discussed in subsequent chapters that detail its contextual development and use (Chapters 5, 6 and 7). Strengths and limitations of the web-wheel diagram, its recent development into a software program, and potential applications and heuristic direction, are discussed in Chapter 9.

2.4 Transcribing as co-creation of data

From an interpretive point of view, the transcription process that renders verbal data into textual form should be considered an aspect of data generation and data analysis. As Kvale (1996) points out, the process of transcribing involves various interpretive decisions. These include decisions about who should do the transcription, how much or how little of the recorded conversation to include, whether to include notation on non-verbal signals, the detail with which speech rhythms and inflections are recorded, and the inevitability of inserting the transcriber's bias and influence into the transcription. Transcription is therefore an aspect of the co-creative inquiry

process, since participants' words are recorded through the interpretive lens of the researcher. The paradigmatic frame of the research, its purpose, and practical considerations such as availability of necessary skills, time and financial resources as well, all influence decisions about transcribing. Decisions made in relation to the present study were influenced by its underlying critical hermeneutic and phenomenological assumptions. Verbatim transcriptions included notations on non-verbal content, and attempted to stay as close as possible to the intended meaning of the participants. However, this was inevitably filtered through the researcher-transcriber's perspective and interest, and therefore constituted a co-constructed account, influenced by multiple contextual factors, rather than a reproduction of actual conversations and meaning.

2. 5 Analyzing and interpreting data

As already observed in relation to transcribing, interpretive analysis is an ongoing process that extends through the various stages of a research project. Filtered through the researcher's viewpoint throughout, it starts with the thematizing process, well before face-to-face contact with participants occurs, and continues through the final write-up. Merriam (1998) defines qualitative data analysis as:

> The process of making sense out of the data ... a complex process that involves moving back and forth between concrete bits of data and abstract concepts, between inductive and deductive reasoning, between description and interpretation. (p. 178)

The substantial literature on qualitative inquiry describes a wide variety of approaches to analysis (Dey, 1993; Hayes, 1998; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Strauss & Corbin, 1997; Strauss, 1987). A particular approach may be determined by a specific theoretical tradition or strategy of inquiry, or by a more general approach that incorporates certain common features. From her review of over 40 types of qualitative research, Tesch (1990) proposes a generic approach to analysis, which, in addition to honesty, ethical conduct, creativity and sound logic, is common to many strategies of qualitative inquiry, from ethnomethodology to phenomenology. Tesch maintains that despite the variations in approach, there is not a correspondingly diverse range of analytical methods. Many analysis techniques are shared, and differences which do exist "are not stark, but fuzzy, almost fluidly merging into each other more or less on a continuum, with a few branches going off into individual directions..." (Tesch, 1990, p. 299). Tesch observes that in any approach, intuition and idiosyncrasy tend to feature. Every analysis is to some degree different from any other, due to individual uniqueness and the salience of researcher-as-instrument. Tesch encourages researchers to go beyond the boundaries of their own methodological tradition, learn from others, and invent their own strategies. Similarly, Merriam (1989) advises that there is considerable room for individuality and creativity in this evolving aspect of qualitative inquiry. Thematic analysis in my research is influenced by this generic, as well as idiosyncratic and creative approach. This is described in detail in the research accounts that follow in Part Three.

Qualitative data analysis is characterized by basic elements of data organization and interpretation, which involve the complementary processes of decontextualizing

and recontextualizing (Tesch, 1990). Decontextualizing involves taking segments of context out of their context, without losing their meaning, in a way that is relevant to the purpose of the study. It occurs simultaneously with the creation of a system of categories, which organizes, stores and progressively arranges the meaning segments, and facilitates their retrieval. Recontextualizing involves re-assembling the data in these new categories, and re-reading them. Each category represents a cluster of meaning and is the new context of a segment of text. All but the most impressionistic researchers use some form of categorization, often referred to as 'coding' in qualitative analysis. There is some debate in the literature about use of this term and what it constitutes. Coding may be interpreted more broadly, extending the term to cover a wide range of activities, which has been criticized for making it less meaningful. Or it may be interpreted more narrowly, which has been criticized for being too reductive. For example, Dey (1993, p. 58) comments on the mechanical overtones of the term, in contrast to the character of the categorization process:

> Qualitative analysis ... requires the analyst to create or adapt concepts relevant to the data rather than apply a set of pre-established rules ... we may retain 'coding' for a term replacing full category names by brief symbols ... we should not confuse this with the analytic process of creating and assigning the categories themselves.

The present research adopts Tesch's definition of coding as tagging text segments with information about the category (or categories) of the organizing system to which it belongs. This occurs at two levels: identifying information about data and developing interpretive constructs related to the analysis, and is both loosely structured and organized into a hierarchical indexing system (Tesch, 1990). Retrieval,

or providing a means to collect similarly labeled text, is a complementary aspect of this process. Both coding and retrieval are seen as aspects of theory building, since deciding on codes or categories implies making conceptual decisions (Richards & Richards, 1994; 1995).

2.5.1 Computer-assisted analysis

Various tools are now available to assist in the analysis process described. Manual and electronic means of data handling, and mixtures of both, are described in various texts (Dey, 1993; Kelle, 1995; Miles & Huberman; Richards & Richards 1994; 1995; Tesch, 1990; Weitzman & Miles, 1995). There has also been a big increase in the number of software programs available to qualitative researchers in recent years. These vary widely in functionality, user-friendliness, and suitability to different theoretical orientations, types of data, types of project, and availability of support and training (Tesch, 1990; Weitzman & Miles, 1955). In the present research, analysis was assisted by the use of two software programs, NUD*IST 4.0 and NVIVO 1.0/1.1 (Gahan & Hannibal, 1998; Richards, 1999). A summary of major features of these programs, and reasons for their use, is included in Appendix E.

Advantages of computer-assisted analysis include their capacity for managing large amounts of data, speed and support for the research process, and the fact that they are more systematic, flexible, and faster than the paper-and-scissors and card indexing systems previously used. However, the use of software in qualitative research has also been questioned and criticized (Dey, 1993; Fielding & Lee, 1991; Kelle, 1995; Richards & Richards, 1994; Tesch, 1990, Weitzman & Miles, 1995).

Concerns are both practical and related to the research process. Some researchers are concerned that such tools may warp qualitative research or change it, for example by shaping choice of methods, imposing sets of procedures, chronology or rigidity. Other critics point to their potential to blur qualitative and quantitative approaches, over-emphasize types of exploration and foster premature closure. Distancing the researcher from the data, introduction of errors, loss of contextuality, abstraction and loss of detail, and the possibility that multiple errors may go undetected are further problems raised. Ethical issues, such as privacy effects on research teams, have also been raised. These problems and concerns notwithstanding, the use of computer software continues to grow, and more programs are being designed to deal with problems where possible, and facilitate a wide variety of approaches. However, it should be noted that some of the criticism of computer aided analysis pertains more to the user than the software itself. As in any research, the careful, appropriate use of tools and procedures, awareness of their limitations and making these explicit, is crucial to research soundness and quality.

2.6 Verifying from an interpretive perspective

Increased acceptance of qualitative methods since the late 1980s has been accompanied by acknowledgment that qualitative inquiry may properly be deemed scientific. As Kvale (1996) comments:

With the breakdown of the universal meta-narratives of legitimation, there is an emphasis on the local context, on the social and linguistic construction of a perspectival reality where knowledge is validated through practice. There is an openness to qualitative diversity, to the multiplicity of meanings in local

contexts; knowledge is perspectival, dependent on the viewpoint and values of the investigator. Human reality is understood as conversation and action, where knowledge becomes the ability to perform effective actions. Today the legitimation of whether a study is scientific tends to be replaced by the pragmatic question of whether it provides useful knowledge. (p. 42)

However, evaluation of qualitative research remains a controversial area. As Murphy et al. (1998)] point out, all good science involves rigour, clarity, and systematicity. Validity, reliability and ethics can be seen as issues for all research (Merriam, 1998). The meaning of these criteria in various contexts and their application to qualitative inquiry is an important area of methodological discussion, which has been addressed in depth elsewhere (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Kvale, 1989; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1998). However, some of its major features are included here, towards justifying the use of verification strategies consistent with an interpretive, qualitative approach.

According to Kvale (1989), the question of how to conceptualize and determine the truth value of qualitative research has various aspects. The first pertains to eternal legitimization, and the degree to which qualitative methods are scientific. Kvale points out that this may be prompted more by academic power struggles than by quality enhancement motives. The second area addresses the conceptual substratum, comprised of a range of philosophical perspectives on truth. Changing perspectives in the philosophy of knowledge, application of concepts and procedures of validation to specific domains, and increasing emphasis on language and pragmatics in the production of knowledge, are at issue here. The third area concerns intrinsic

validation of qualitative research, and involves questions of accuracy, correctness, cogency and soundness of research findings (Kvale, 1989). Given that the scientific standing of qualitative inquiry is now taken for granted in at least some academic areas (Kvale, 1996), the conceptual and strategic areas are most relevant to the present discussion. Returning to Polkinghorne's distinction between Enlightenment (epistemologic) and postmodern (epistemic) conversations about human science, it can be seen that questions of evaluation are approached very differently depending on their differing philosophical foundations. In research based on epistemologic assumptions, soundness is evaluated on the basis of whether specific procedures have been strictly followed, in the interests of validity, reliability, and generalizability (Henwood & Pidgeon, 1992). From the epistemic perspective, 'Valid social knowledge is less a matter of specific techniques and definitions, than lines of questioning, of a search for relevant contexts for inquiry into truth' (Polkinghorne, cited in Kvale, 1989, p.10). From this perspective, quality of research craftsmanship, and communicative and pragmatic forms of validation (Kvale, 1996) are important. These forms of validity are based on investigation, checking, questioning and theorizing on the nature of the phenomena investigated. Kvale (1996) explains communicative validity thus: "Testing the validity of knowledge claims in dialogue approximates an educational endeavor where truth is developed in a communicative process, with both researcher and subjects learning and changing through dialogue" (p. 245). Pragmatic validity rests in the degree to which observations and interpretations have useful application. Rhetoric is also raised as a vehicle for establishing the soundness of research. From this perspective, how the research story is told, also affects its validity.

Verification of knowledge in the positivist tradition includes considerations of reliability and generalizability, as well as validity. Reliability pertains to the consistency of research findings, and generalizability refers to the extent to which findings from a study can be said to have significance in general terms. From an epistemic perspective, reliability is addressed at all stages of qualitative research and involves a balance between counteracting 'haphazard subjectivity' on the one hand and creative innovations and variability' on the other (Kvale, 1996, p. 236). The focus of concern in relation to generalization also shifts within an epistemic frame. It involves issues of contextualization, generativity, and research as a means of transformation (Kvale, 1996).

Various researchers adopt the argument that if qualitative research is based on truth assumptions different to those of quantitative research, it should be assessed differently (Henwood & Pidgeon, 1992). Lincoln and Guba (1985) propose various parallel criteria for establishing the quality of research outside the parameters of positivist science. Criteria such as credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability are suggested as naturalistic inquiry alternatives to positivist criteria such as internal and external validity, reliability and objectivity. Merrick (1999) discusses recent attempts to address the quality of qualitative research, in terms of trustworthiness, reflexivity and representation. These criteria underlie my approach to establishing the quality of the present research.

2.6.1 Reflexivity, trustworthiness, representation

Contrary to traditional evaluation strategies that privilege neutrality and objectivity, interpretive qualitative research is enhanced by subjectivity. It becomes a valuable aspect of research if the values, emotions and relational orientations researchers bring to their work are reflexively acknowledged (Kleinman & Copp, 1993). Thus, Burman (1997) defines reflexivity as "the practice of active reflection on one's own experiences in accounting for the interpretive resources brought to bear in arriving at interpretations, and including the experiences of the process of the research" (p. 796). Maracek et al. (1997) note the political implications of this:

> Psychologists who study social issues are often self-consciously invested in value positions, committed to social change. Although self-reflection and acknowledgment of subjectivity are now intrinsic to scholarship in many intellectual domains, they have not yet become so in psychology. Perhaps among those psychologists who are conscious of their values and unashamed of them, a trend can be set. ... To deny the biases inherent in the privileged position of researcher does not negate them. (p. 635)

The criterion of trustworthiness complements reflexivity, since it is through reflecting on researcher bias and making it explicit that subjectivity becomes a valuable resource. Trustworthiness comprises both a personal belief system and specific procedures which fundamentally affect "how one approaches, collects, analyzes, interprets, and reports data" (Merrick, 1999, p. 31). The interrelatedness of these component aspects is an important factor in research characterized by holism, intersubjective meaning and complexity. An overall strategy for soundness is perhaps, as Merriam (1998) suggests,

to make sense through creating a gestalt.... Unlike experimental designs in which reliability and validity are accounted for before the investigation, rigor in qualitative research derives from the researcher's presence, the nature of the interaction between researcher and participant, the triangulation of data, the interpretation of perceptions, and rich, thick description. (p. 151)

Various strategies are recommended in the interest of trustworthiness (Denzin, 1994; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Strauss, 1987; Wolcott, 1994). Keeping close to the data, the importance of fit, making chosen categories explicit for others to evaluate, integrating theory at different levels of abstraction, and the use of memoranda are all advised (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). Detailed documentation is generally stressed. Lincoln & Guba (1985) for example, advise keeping a reflexive journal, which includes a daily schedule and logistics of the study, reflection on values and interests, and a log of methodological decisions. Negative case analysis is also recommended (Henwood & Pidgeon, 1992).

A further, somewhat controversial, strategy is respondent validation or member checking (Merriam, 1998). This is based on the idea that trustworthy findings should be recognizable to participants as a consequence of good fit. Arguments against the use of this strategy suggest that researcher and participant versions may differ, and that this is therefore not an appropriate way of evaluating the soundness of findings. It may also not be possible, and always takes place within the power relationship that exists between researcher and participant. This strategy is important in the present study, particularly in relation to empowerment and praxis (as discussed in Chapter 7). It is included here with the understanding that even where perspectives between

researcher and participant differ, these may be usefully added to the data as a co-constructed version of the realities the research addresses. In this event, particular consideration is given to the way in which power imbalance in the interview relationship may be exacerbated or complicated by sociocultural differences and inequities.

Finally, triangulation is another controversial strategy that is often adopted in the interests of trustworthy research (Knafl & Breitmayer, 1991). The origin of the term is in surveying and navigation. In qualitative research it refers to confirmation of the accuracy of data through the use of multiple strategies, which may pertain to data sources, investigators, procedures, theoretical perspectives and disciplinary perspectives (Janesick, 1998b). Objections to triangulation as a means to confirm accuracy, on the grounds that this is neither desirable nor possible in interpretive research, are addressed by an alternative approach. This approach, which is adopted in the present study, replaces the goal of confirmation with that of gaining greater depth and breadth of understanding through the use of multiple perspectives (Fielding & Fielding, 1986).

The third criterion of representation, as discussed by Merrick (1999), Denzin & Lincoln (1994) and others, is also interrelated with reflexivity, and with trustworthiness. It refers to how the research process and its findings are written up or conveyed to others, and the assumptions which underlie this communication process. It is a controversial area, and ways of addressing it continue to evolve. The controversy hinges on problems of authority and interpretation, including the extent to

which outcomes are seen as integral to the entire research process, and as reflecting the researcher as much as the participants (Merrick, 1999). Kvale's (1996) narrative approach to interview analysis is influential in the present research in this regard. The underlying assumption here, as noted previously references to Kvale's approach, is that data are co-created by researcher and participant:

> An interview analysis can be treated as a form of narration, as a continuation of the story told by the interviewee. A narrative analysis of what was said leads to a new story to be told, a story developing from the themes of the original interview. The analysis may also be a condensation or a reconstruction of the many tales told by the different subjects into a richer, more condensed and coherent story than the scattered stories of the separate interviewees. (p. 199)

2.6.2 Ethics

Any discussion of effecting quality in qualitative research is incomplete without consideration of ethical issues. Obviously, ethical considerations are not only the province of qualitative inquiry, but are relevant to all research. However, qualitative researchers have addressed ethical issues which have previously been ignored or minimized in traditional psychological inquiry. Maracek et al. (1997) express many of the ethical persuasions that underlie my approach to research:

> From our vantage point we see that many of the distinctions propped up between qualitative and quantitative work are fictions. As we see it *all* researchers − whether they work with numbers or words, in the laboratory or in the field − must grapple with issues of generalizability, validity,

replicability, ethics, audience, and their own subjectivity or bias. Moreover all researchers must engage questions of authority and interpretation. Whether numbers or words, data do not speak for themselves. They acquire meaning only within the framework(s) of theory and representation imposed by researchers. No matter what the method, no researcher can escape questions about selection and interpretation of data, about his or her responsibilities to participants, about the interests and commitments that spawned the project in the first place. A host of such practical, interpretive, and ethical questions have been discussed at length among qualitative workers Although quantitative studies may seem to float free of such concerns, we believe they stretch across the entire domain of psychology. (p. 632)

The ethical dilemmas that have surfaced in qualitative research are not resolved by adherence to standard procedures for informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality. Nor are they necessarily answered in the requirements of university ethics committees, or professional guidelines. Specific issues pertain to data collection, interpretation and dissemination of findings and are not easily resolved or amenable to single solutions. Power inequities and issues of control and benefit are particularly salient, echoing Bertrand Russell's remark that "the fundamental concept in social science is Power in the same sense in which Energy is the fundamental concept in physics" (Russell, 1938, cited in Maracek et al, 1997, p. 639). For this reason, attention to power relations, context and meaning was important in the present research. Particular consideration was given to the way in which power imbalances may be exacerbated or complicated by sociocultural differences and inequities. This is

particularly important in research involving socially marginalized groups, as Ladner (1971, cited in Maracek et al., 1997) points out in relation to research involving African-Americans:

> The relationship between researcher and his subjects, by definition resembles that of the oppressor and the oppressed, because it is the oppressor who defines the problem, the nature of the research, and to some extent, the quality of interaction between him and this subjects. This inability to understand and research the fundamental problem – neocolonialism – prevents most social researchers from being able to accurately observe and analyze Black life and culture and the impact that racism and oppression have upon Blacks. (p. 633)

From the perspective adopted in the present research, in the process of data generation the researcher is also a 'guest in the private spaces of the world' (Stake, 1994, cited in Merriam, 1998, p. 214) and good manners and ethics are significant. The attempt to be as honest and accurate as possible, address issues of power and control, state biases if they can not be controlled, and discuss findings in the light of biases are similarly viewed as essential to the overall quality of the research.

2.7 A model of the present project

It can be seen from the above discussion that multiple considerations contribute to the building of a research process. In order to summarize these, and illustrate their reciprocal nature, Figure 5 shows the interrelationships and influences of worldview, culture and identity, and the various components of the research process discussed in this chapter.
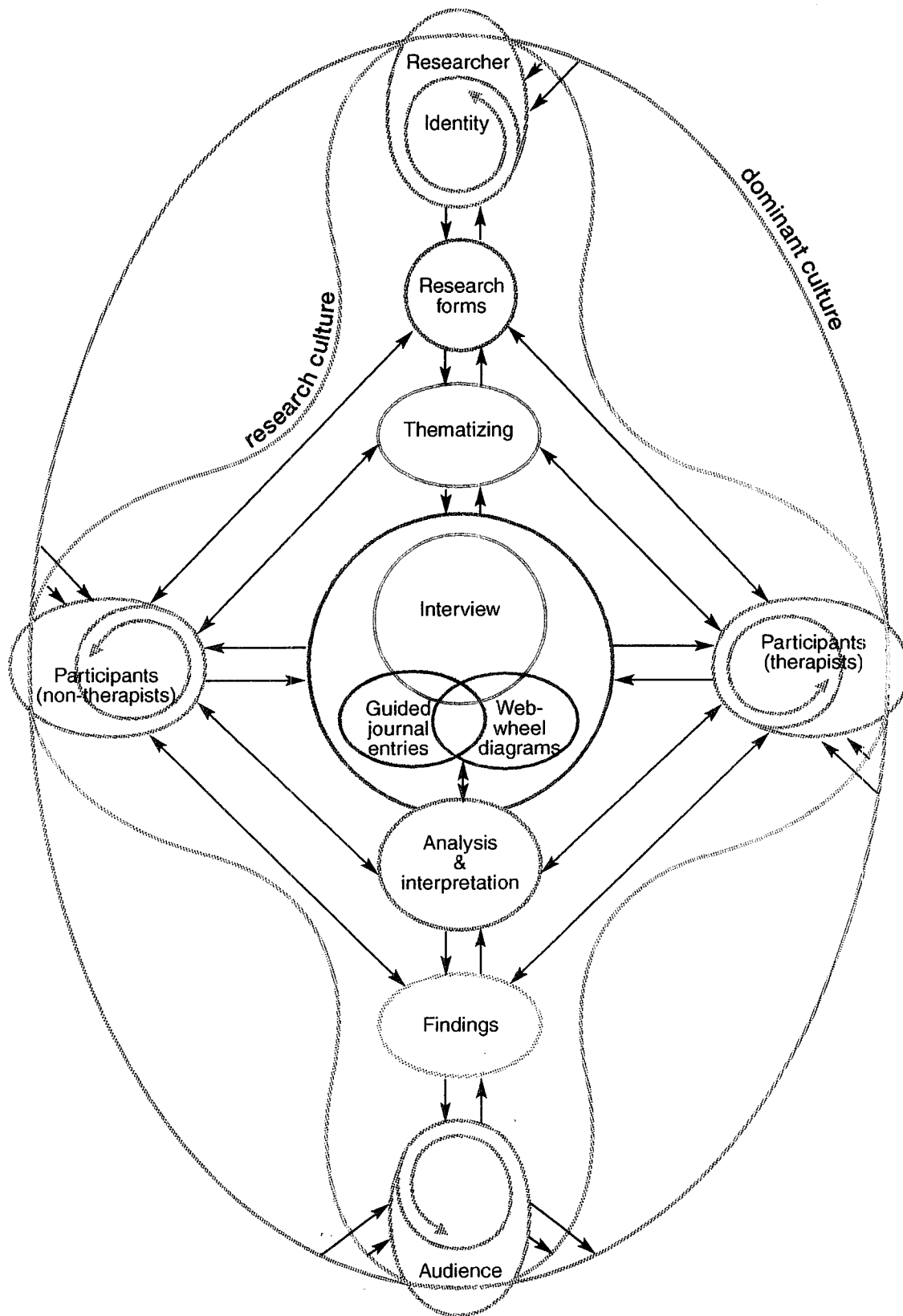
Figure 5. Model of the research method, showing interrelated influences of multiple

components.

As my model of the present research process shows, researcher identity (Ponterotto & Greiger, 1999) is influenced by the research culture and the broader cultural context in which research is conducted. Encompassing philosophical and practical stances towards the sound and ethical conduct of research, a research identity affects the research focus, the kinds of questions asked, and ways of going about answering them, including procedures (interviews, journal entries and web-wheel diagrams in this project), interpretative analysis, and outcomes. The model shows how the various components of the present research project, as well as the researcher, participants (therapists and non-therapists) and audience, are interrelated with each other, as well as their cultural context. In addition, it recognizes how the researcher, participants and audience are influenced by the dominant culture and research culture, but may also be marginal to it.

In this chapter, a comprehensive discussion of method choice and related issues was presented, based on Kvale's (1996) stages of interviewing research. The various components of research design, including sampling, data generation and interpretation strategies, evaluative criteria and ethical considerations, were discussed so as to acquaint the reader with the preferences and perspectives behind their use in the present project. This completes the metatheoretical considerations and discussion of methodical choices that comprise Part One. Part Two goes on to explore meanings and manifestations of marginality.

PART TWO

MEANINGS AND MANIFESTATIONS OF

MARGINALITY

CHAPTER 3

CONCEPTS OF MARGINALITY

Marginality is a relatively new concept in the academic literature and there is little consensus about its meaning (Herbst, 1994). It may be understood in various ways, depending on the physical, psychological, socio-political or philosophical context of its use. In this chapter, I discuss concepts of marginality from an interdisciplinary theoretical perspective. The discussion constitutes an account of processes of thematization (Kvale, 1996) that are intrinsic to my research, and thus provides a theoretical introduction to the study of lived experience of marginality presented in Part Three. Drawing on theoretical work in cultural studies, critical psychology, social psychology, anthropology and quantum physics, I examine various definitions of marginality and focus on two broad concepts. The first hinges on a definition of margin as periphery. In relation to this concept, I discuss sociocultural concepts of marginality, and related considerations of power and process. The second concept of marginality is based on a definition of margin as threshold. In relation to this concept, I consider liminality, paradox, and the innovative potentiality of the margin.

3.1 Definitional issues

The etymological derivation of the term 'marginality' is from the Latin, *margin-margo*, meaning border or boundary (Webster's Third New International Dictionary, 1961). Marginality is defined as the state or quality of being marginal, which has various meanings, including peripheral, passable, minimal and nonessential. In

application, meanings of marginality are various and sometimes complex, depending on the context in which they occur. Dictionary definitions of marginality include meanings related to physical, psychological and sociopolitical contexts. In a physical context, marginality refers to the borders or outer limits of physical entities, such as pages of text, leaves or geographical areas. Marginality has also come to have specific meaning in the terminology of certain physical sciences, for example, continental margins and marginal basins in geology (Taylor & Natland, 1995) and marginal utility theory in economics (Black, 1973). In a psychological context, when used in relation to perception, 'marginal' infers a minimal limit. The expression "at the fringes of consciousness" pertains to limits of perception and awareness, and reflects Freudian structural and energetic conceptualizations of the psyche. Thus marginal awareness, for example, refers to the least amount of stimulus necessary for perception to occur (Gurwitsch, 1985).

In the ways in which marginality has been defined so far, marginality is a neutral term inferring relative location, either literally (as in physical positioning), or metaphorically (as in the spatial metaphor of marginal consciousness). However in contemporary sociocultural contexts marginality is a value-laden term, connoting relative worth or power, as well as relative position. The dictionary includes a sociopolitical definition of 'marginal' as "occupying the borderland of a relatively stable territorial or cultural area" and "characterized by the incorporation of habits and values from two divergent cultures and by incomplete assimilation in either". Thus, marginality has come to refer to sociocultural status and positioning relative to the dominant, normative assumptions and values of a given culture, as "excluded from or

existing outside the mainstream of a society, a group, or a school of thought" (Webster's Third New International Dictionary, 1993).

This concept of marginality may attract different attributions in different sociocultural contexts. Depending on one's standpoint, marginality may be seen as positive or negative, powerful or not powerful, inviting or threatening. A parallel illustration using Middle English and contemporary meanings of marginality is useful here. The dictionary mentions that in Middle English, the term 'marginal' was used to refer to land at the edges of a settlement. From the perspective of inhabitants of the settlement, who relied on their community for security and livelihood, marginal land at the edge of the village might be seen in a negative light, as a place beyond the everyday order of things, where safety was less assured. On the other hand it might also be viewed as an access to sustenance, for example, by those who ventured beyond the boundaries of the settlement to hunt. And from the perspective of others living outside the settlement, like the creatures of the forest, the marginal lands might be experienced as a more congenial place to be, whereas the settlement itself might be seen as an unpredictable danger.

Similarly, in current sociocultural contexts, marginality is viewed differently depending on perspective. From the perspective of the mainstream, marginal groups such as racial, ethnic and sexual minorities may be seen in a negative light, as alien or threatening. Pejorative associations to marginality are often made by dominant groups, who attribute inferiority, non-significance or threat to those outside the mainstream (Moscovici et al., 1994). Marginal groups who have internalized the

values of the dominant culture may make similarly negative attributions to their own group or other marginal groups. Marginality is generally associated with negative experiences of victimization and suffering, as the results of oppression and discrimination by the mainstream. However, as an aspect of its dominance, the mainstream may view areas of marginal culture favourably, often with a view to appropriating them into the dominant culture in some way. Thus, from the perspective of those outside the mainstream, marginality may appear in a positive light. Positive associations to marginality may also be made by marginal groups, whose sub-culture may be a source of affirmation and safety, a focus for reclaiming identity and worth, and a site of resistance and possibility. This is reflected in Hooks' (1990) identification of marginality as "much more than a site of deprivation ... a site one stays in, clings to even, because it nourishes one's capacity to resist. It offers the possibility of radical perspectives from which to see and create, to imagine new alternatives, new worlds" (p. 341).

For those who are oppressed by normative assumptions, marginal identification may be a source of strength and security. From a marginal perspective, the mainstream may be perceived as alien and threatening. For example, a predominantly white, middle class neighbourhood is seen as 'safe' by those who share its values and benefit from them, but not by those who hesitate to live there, or walk its streets, in anticipation of subtle or overt racism. A gay bar is a positive place for marginal groups whose sexual orientation it reflects and affirms, but not for those who see sexual minorities as threatening. Youth and age appear very differently, depending on the age of the beholder. These are overly simple examples. Positive and negative

attributions in relation to marginality are often intertwined, reflecting complex sociocultural, interpersonal and intrapersonal dynamics. However, the examples point to the importance of contextual perspective in considerations of marginality.

Irrespective of whether marginality is understood from neutral or value-laden perspectives, relationship is an inevitable consideration in any discussion of its meanings. Whether referring to the margins of a page, the borders of a leaf, the boundaries of a settlement, the limits of psychological awareness, or sociocultural and political status, marginality is a relational concept. As Ferguson (1990) points out, any consideration of marginality is comparatively meaningless without specifying what something is marginal to. Literally or metaphorically, a margin is positioned relative to something else. It is related to something adjacent, focal or dominant. The nature of that relationship, in its various forms, is the focus of the following discussion.

3.2 Margin as periphery

Some of the most recent academic thinking on marginality comes from cultural theorists, critical psychologists and others in a range of disciplines influenced by social constructionist perspectives and a Foucauldian view of history as "the flow of power mediated through competing 'epistemes' understood as discourses (Shore, 1996, p. 8). From this sociocultural perspective, marginality is defined in relation to centrality or dominance. Power is viewed as an essential element in understanding marginality as a sociocultural construct. However, it is not necessarily conceptualized as monolithic nor as static. The concept of culture power as a singular, dominant

entity is also rejected in favour of an emphasis on diverse viewpoints and interests. As Shore (1996) points out:

> Our conception of culture as a master narrative has given way to a stress on competing voices or discourses. Attention has turned to the political processes whereby certain of these voices marginalize others as they achieve political and intellectual hegemony. (p. 8)

Marginalization, a term coined in the context of political awareness and activism from the 1960s onwards, refers to the act, process or result of privileging certain groups or issues over others. Tucker (1990) defines it as:

> the process by which, through shifts in position, any given group can be ignored, trivialized, rendered invisible and unheard, perceived as inconsequential, de-authorized, "other" or threatening, while others are valorized (p. 7)

Marginality has social, political and economic connotations, as underlined in Trimiew's (1995) definition of marginalization as:

> The process by which certain people are pushed from the centre of the decision-making process that a society employs to distribute its benefits and burdens, goods and services, merits and demerits. This same process assigns meaning to some issues and people while determining that others are not worthy of consideration. (p. xiii)

According to Trimiew (1995) marginality may be experienced as insufficiently secured membership in society or as a kind of sustainable marginality, where

individuals feel privileged in some areas, but insecure when something negative happens to their group. A marginalized person 'often has to deal with two societies, a society of the oppressed as a society of open membership, that is embedded in a society of oppression' (p. 104). As Plummer (1995) notes, a marginal person is one who lives 'at a cultural crossroads', on the edge of cultures, at the margins of social respectability, at the edges of definition:

> Experiencing contrasting expectations as to how he or she should live, the participant becomes aware of the essentially artificial and socially constructed nature of social life - how potentially fragile are the realities that people make for themselves. In this awareness the participant throws a much broader light on the cultural order, the 'OK world' that is routinely taken for granted by most. (p. 51)

Social groups are marginal when normative styles of communication exclude them, and the public media misrepresent, distort or ignore their existence, and "when conventional institutions (or individuals associated with those institutions) attempt to silence them" (Herbst, 1994, p. 11). As King (1992) observes:

> The history of human discourse has been a dialogue between the centre and the margin over the character and quality of modern life...a cycle of emerging, dominant, dying and muted voices carrying on the long struggle over whose voice should prevail and whose rule will be honoured. (p. xii)

This relationship of centre and margin permeates cultural fabric, manifesting in its institutions, laws, customs and language, by means of the many categorizations, such as race, gender, class, sexual orientation, age and physical ability, through which privilege and its lack are established.

3.2.1 Margins and centres: sociocultural concepts of marginality

In sociocultural terms the centre is the mainstream, which as Herbst (1994) defines it, characteristically:

> signifies the norms, conventions and values held by the vast majority of individuals living in a particular cultural setting. Also implied by this word are a society's popular styles of public discourse, and its most widely used communications media. It is difficult to draw a line around "the mainstream" because its boundaries are usually in flux. (p. 10)

The mainstream is not always a numerical majority. For example, the White mainstream in South Africa was in a numerical minority throughout the era of apartheid. The relationship between the centre (mainstream, majority or dominant groups and issues), and the periphery (marginal or minority groups and issues) is essentially a relationship of power, involving processes and dynamics whereby sociopolitical rankings are determined and maintained. The influence of numbers is one source of this power, but other factors, such as normativity and invisibility, are particularly significant. Ferguson (1990) suggests that the power of the centre or mainstream derives significantly from its invisibility, and its denial or unconsciousness of its distinguishing characteristics, abilities and privileges. As the dominant and all-encompassing norm, the centre is not overtly and specifically acknowledged and is generally forgotten, while exerting enormous influence on the culture. Lord (1990) calls this the 'mythical norm'.

> Somewhere, on the edge of consciousness, there is what I call a *mythical norm*, which each of us within out hearts knows "that is not me". In america,

this norm is usually defined as white, thin, male, young, heterosexual, christian, and financially secure. It is with this mythical norm that the trappings of power reside within this society. (p. 282)

Groups, individuals or issues that deviate from the standards implied by this norm are cast as marginal. Thus from a sociopolitical viewpoint, marginality is created and perpetuated by mainstream interests, as well as a complex interplay of sociocultural forces involving both margin and mainstream. For example, it is also maintained by the internalization of mainstream values by marginal groups, who become instrumental in maintaining systemic interests against their own good. For example, where 'White American' or 'heterosexual' are characteristics of the normative centre, those who are marginalized by virtue of their race or sexual orientation may think, feel or behave in ways which value and support the mainstream. Centre-margin dynamics thus operate at both sociocultural and intrapsychic levels.

In recent academic writing, (for example, JanMohamed & Lloyd, 1990) there has been considerable discussion about the relationship between margin and centre, how centres of power maintain themselves, the power of the margins, and the role that marginalized groups and individuals play in bringing about social change. Ferguson (1990) maintains that margin and centre cannot exist alone, and draw their meanings from each other. He describes the way in which the mainstream perpetuates its power:

Too often the alternatives to dominant cultural power have been successfully segregated, so that many different bodies of marginalized creative production exist in uneasy isolation. Such isolation can only contribute to the security of a

> *political* power which implicitly defines itself as representative of a stable centre
>
> around which everything else must be arranged. (p. 13)

Thus the centre is from one perspective all-powerful, and a source of oppression for those relegated to the margins. As Trimiew (1995) observes, marginalization is an oppressive practice that limits freedom to act, and prevents people from meeting their basic human needs. From this viewpoint, the margins are defined as oppositional to the mainstream, as victimized by it, or as reacting against mainstream victimization.

However, other viewpoints contradict the understanding of the relationship between margin and mainstream as a unidirectional process of mainstream dominance and control over the margin. Lerner (1991) for example, suggests that the situation is complex. He proposes the concept of 'Surplus Powerlessness', which he defines as: "The set of feelings and beliefs that makes people think of themselves as even more powerless than the actual power situation requires, and then leads them to act in ways that actually confirm them in their powerlessness" (p. xii). Lerner contrasts this with what he terms 'real powerlessness', where a small minority have vast power, and the majority have little or none, as in the realm of economics. In distinguishing between the two, he emphasizes the importance of understanding both surplus and real powerlessness, and how surplus powerlessness is rooted in the real. He suggests that it is a new development in history that those in power rule by consent, and are supported by the belief or conviction that nothing can or will change. Lerner proposes that "the self that needs help is intrinsically social, and ... the help we can get will be most effective to the extent that it leads us to create a "We" rather than an isolated but stronger "I" (p. xxiii). Compassion, empowerment and community as motivations to

overcome powerlessness are stressed by this portrayal of people as active participants in their own social realities.

> The key here is not to fall into a new victimology in which people are merely passive victims of some externally constructed oppression.... Rather we must understand how people have participated in and constructed a social reality which, in the short run, functions as an objective constraint and reinforces their powerlessness. (Lerner, 1991, p. 17)

3.2.2 The power of the margin

Lerner's ideas point to the complexity of the relationship between mainstream and marginal positions, which involves both systemic and non-systemic elements. His writing suggests that power is neither unidirectional, nor unidimensional, and that marginal positions may be powerful on their own terms. Other thinkers also suggest that while the margins lack the power of the mainstream, they also have powers of their own.

The margins are powerful because they define the mainstream by virtue of their 'otherness' (Champagne, 1995). Thus the mainstream is defined by what it is *not*. By this way of thinking, margins can be seen, not as victims of the mainstream, but as a threat or danger to it. They are powerful because of their existence outside established societal structures and norms, their non-conformity to them, and because "to have been in the margin is to have been in contact with danger, to have been at a source of power" (Douglas, 1966, p. 97). Gallant (1996) suggests that the power of the margin comes from its very existence, as much as from active opposition to the mainstream.

> Those at the margins are not simply existing in a state of vague powerlessness, cast off and rejected by their society. Marginality can be a source of power. This power is not any revolutionary kind of power - that of outsiders who join forces to smash the hegemony. Rather the power comes from the state of marginality itself, and from the dangers that its formlessness poses for the prevailing social order. (p. 77).

Douglas (1966) elaborates on the process whereby those who are outside the dominant norms of a society are threatening to it, by describing the margins in terms of pollution and taboo. She speaks of how marginality vests the tabooed with a power to pollute others who have remained within the structures of society so that they too become marginal. The margins are aware of the places in society where there are contradictions or systemic weakness, as well as being representative of sites of resistance beyond the normative limits of society. From this perspective, marginality is powerful by virtue of its very existence and the challenge and threat this poses to mainstream norms and structures (Gallant, 1996).

In addition to the power that comes simply from their existence, margins can also be seen to be powerful as agents of subversion. They are powerful because of their active capacity to dispute and overturn centres of authority, through increased visibility, open identification and active opposition to established social structures and systems. Okihiro (1994) points out the subversive and transformative powers of marginal groups in his writing on Asians in American history and culture:

> The deeper significance of Asians, and indeed of all minorities, in America rests in their opposition to the dominant paradigm, their fight against "the

power", their efforts to transform, and not simply reform, American society and its structures (p. 155)

Sociocultural and political change occurs through marginal groups becoming conscious of their own oppression and actively working to change aspects of the prevailing social system which are oppressive to their own group or other groups (Fassinger, 1991). Ferguson (1990) notes the importance of identity and visibility in processes of cultural transformation:

> As historically marginalized groups insist on their own identity, the deeper, structural invisibility of the so-called centre becomes harder to sustain. The power of the centre depends on a relatively unchallenged authority. If that authority breaks down, then there remains no point relative to which others can be defined as marginal. The perceived threat lies partly in the very process of becoming visible. It becomes increasingly obvious, for example, that white American men have their own specificity, and that it is from there that their power is exercised. No longer can whiteness, maleness or heterosexuality be taken as the ubiquitous paradigm, simultaneously centre and boundary". (p. 10)

A question raised amongst marginalized groups is whether the group should attempt to transform the dominant culture through processes of interaction and dialogue, or pursue a separatist route. Some uphold marginality through personal and political processes of minority identification, exemplified in the various civil rights movements which have taken place over the last half century. Some have embraced a separatist stance as a strategy in their struggle for empowerment, rights and justice. Some

consider that maintenance of separate and specific marginal identities is neither an effective strategy, nor an ultimate end. As Said (1991) writes:

> Marginality ... [is] not in my opinion to be gloried in, but to be brought to an end so that more and not fewer people can enjoy the benefits of what has for centuries been denied the victims of race, class or gender" (cited in Gallant, 1996, p. 140)

Still others believe that identity, separateness and dialogue are all necessary aspects of processes of cultural and political transformation, regardless of their personal affiliation with one or other of these positions (Lewis, 1998).

Whether through the force of its very existence, or through increased visibility and concerted action, marginality is powerful in its ability to define, oppose and subvert existing power structures and normative belief systems. It is also powerful as a source of creativity and innovation (Moscovici et al, 1994; Mugny & Perez, 1991). Customs and culture change because of innovations that arise outside the mainstream, both in reaction to, and unfettered by, the conventions and norms of dominant culture. This is seen in many cultural areas, where facets of marginal culture are adopted by the mainstream. Aspects of youth culture, feminist culture and Black culture, for example, have had a powerful influence on the normative mainstream, as sources of new trends in fashion or music. Artists of all kinds who live at the margins of a culture and whose work is initially rejected, may subsequently become trend-setters or icons. Sexual behaviours that are deemed outside acceptable standards in one generation, may become commonplace in the next. In recent times, cultural theorists

have explored marginality as a vital element in processes of cultural influence and change (JanMohamed & Lloyd, 1990).

Social psychologists have also researched this area in studies of minority influence, reflecting a parallel process of marginalization within social psychology itself. For decades, marginality was researched as a negative social phenomenon, reflecting dominant monocultural values and concomitant marginalization of ethnic and non-ethnic diversity. As an effect of the civil rights movements in the 1960s and early 1970s, 'minority' researchers increased in number, and there was a shift away from the pathologizing focus that dominated social science research on marginal groups until that time. The positive qualities and contributions of marginal groups, as well as the effects of oppression and discrimination by the mainstream, began to be investigated. Marginality began to be approached as a social phenomenon with power and value in its own right. Moscovici et al. (1994) observe that lack of status and credibility accorded to marginal groups, relative to the mainstream, would appear to make it impossible for them to have an influence on the mainstream. Nonetheless, the reverse has often been seen to happen, since most cultural innovations, such as in politics, religion, science, or fashion, are introduced and spread by small, fringe groups which are subsequently taken over by the larger groups, or the wider mainstream.

Minority influence theory (Moscovici et al., 1994) proposes that the persuasive power of active minorities is an agent of social influence. Research suggests that strength can come from being disliked and underestimated, not only from liking and

status. It suggests that dissent stimulates greater intake of information, divergent thinking, creative thinking, better performance and detection of correct solutions, which otherwise might have been ignored. Difference and conflict impede assumptions of unanimity, agreement and conformity. In so doing they may also stimulate change, creativity and innovation. Research in this area has suggested that social innovation occurs through the conflict created in others and introduced into the social system by marginal groups. Innovations created by minorities often meet with rejection, denial and discrimination against the minority group, but minority ideas take root and give rise to new norms. Despite the denial, and also because of conflict it engenders, marginal standpoints have an impact on the belief systems and behaviour patterns of the mainstream. As Moscovici et al. (1994) comment :

> People are unable or unwilling to recognize the contributions made by minority dissent. The minority is initially ridiculed and derided and influence rarely takes the form of moving to their position. Rather it is characterized by a change in the way one thinks about an issue. In addition, people often view minority dissent as an obstacle to moving forward. Dissent fosters conflict. Minority views create stress, anger and irritation, feelings that people are motivated to reduce. Yet minority views do appear to aid problem solving and decision making processes, mainly by stimulating divergent thought on or about the issue. (p. 12)

3.2.3 Margin and centre as process

As I have suggested, centre and margin are not necessarily distinguished by a clear delineation of power and powerlessness. In sociocultural terms, marginal and mainstream groups are powerful in various ways. Further, the conceptualization of

margin and mainstream as mutually exclusive and distinct states is not acceptable to some thinkers For example, Ferguson (1990) maintains that this way of conceptualizing margin and mainstream is a reification which runs counter to sociocultural patterns and experience as they observe it. Instead, they suggest that mainstream and margin can be conceptualized in terms of process. From this point of view, center and margin flow into and out of each other, and are inextricably related. For example, Okihiro (1994) argues that power differences between margin and mainstream are not clear cut, that the power of the margins is critical to the mainstream, and that margin and mainstream are interrelated processes, not separate and mutually exclusive states. He writes about this in relation to sociopolitical dynamics in the United States:

> Although situating itself at the core, the mainstream is not the center that embraces and draws the diverse nation together. Although attributing to itself a singleness of purpose and resolve, the mainstream is neither uniform nor all-powerful in its imperialism and hegemony. Although casting the periphery beyond the bounds of civility and religion, the mainstream derives its identity, its integrity, from its representation of its Other. And despite its authorship of the central tenets of democracy, the mainstream has been silent on the publication of its creed. In fact the margin has held the nation together with its expansive reach; the margin has tested and ensured the guarantees of citizenship; and the margin has been the true defender of American democracy, equality and liberty. *From that vantage we can see the margin as mainstream* (p. 175, italics added).

Ferguson (1990) observes that conceptualizing mainstream and margin as a dynamic process should not imply the substitution of one set of binary oppositions for another. From this perspective, no useful purpose is achieved if a previously dominant perspective is replaced by one which it has marginalized, or if this is held out as an ideal. Thus, for example, replacing a patriarchal system with a matriarchal one does not fundamentally change dynamics of power, but simply replaces one system of power with another. Rather, as various writers have suggested (Champagne, 1995; Ferguson, et al. 1990; A. P. Mindell, 1995), margin and centre are not mutually exclusive, and do not exist separate from each other. Each are contained, at least in potential form, in the other. They do not describe static realities, but are characterized by changing relations of power and proximity (Ferguson et al, 1990). Thus mainstream and marginal positions may be more or less different from each other. A marginal position may become mainstream, or a mainstream position may become marginal, in a fluid process of change. Each has within itself the potential for the other.

This concept does not accord well with the dichotomous nature of Western rational thought processes. However, it is well represented in Eastern thought, which is an increasing influence in intercultural and interdisciplinary thought in the West also. The conceptualization of marginality and power as process is classically symbolized by the ancient Taoist *yin-yang* symbol (Ferguson et al., 1990), which is now relatively familiar in the West, even though its meaning is not necessarily well understood. The principles of yin and yang are represented by two halves of a circle, separated by a curved line. One half is shaded, the other clear. The shaded portion has

a clear dot in it, and the clear portion has a shaded dot in it. This symbol represents the principle that within any dominant process is the seed of another. Thus yin and yang (and by analogy, margin and mainstream) are not dichotomous opposites. Each can become the other, because it *is* the other, in potential form.

Examples of this concept, and its relationship to marginality can be found in the work of various Western cultural theorists. Champagne (1995) discusses this idea in post-Foucauldian terms, in his discussion of the deconstructionist "logic of the supplement". This logic argues that "in any relation of hierarchical opposition, the inferior term supplies a lack that supplements - both adds something to, and supplies what was 'originally' missing from - the dominant term" (Champagne, 1995, p. xxvi). An illustration can be found in the relationship between mainstream heterosexuality and marginal sexualities. Marginal sexualities represent a diversity of sexual orientations. This diversity is denied by the heterosexual mainstream. At the same time, 'normality' in sexual terms in defined by diversity. Heterosexuality is predicated on difference (male and female) as essential to 'normal' human sexual relationships. Thus:

> The Other functions as an oppositional term for the formalization of a normalized subjectivity. It is not absolute opposition ... no relation between margin and centre would be possible if the margin did not hold something of the centre and vice versa.... In order to function as its opposite, the Other must represent what is lacking in the normal, a lack that paradoxically must have been present at the outset in the normal. (Champagne, 1995, p. xxvi)

Another example is found in Trimiew's (1995) discussion of marginality and ethics. From Trimiew's viewpoint, oppression is not the sole responsibility of one race, sex or class, and the condition of marginality often creates a peculiar perspective and consciousness which has implications for the ethical awareness and responsibility of both marginal and mainstream groups. He argues that an unintended consequence of oppression is the dehumanization of the oppressor, and the moral superiority of the oppressed. Thus marginality is not only a social or political condition, but also an ethical one, where sociopolitical positions of margin and centre are reversed in relation to ethicality.

> Because of their oppression, marginalized people are not on the margins of moral reasoning and ethical living, but rather at their centre. They keep to the centre at least in part by their own efforts in moral living, as well as by oppressors, whose oppression forces them into the moral centre of human interaction while simultaneously forcing themselves to the margins of ethical living. (Trimiew, 1995, p. xviii)

Trimiew's argument introduces the notion that sociocultural power is only one of various possible dimensions in which power may be experienced. A. P. Mindell (1995) describes the complex interplay of various kinds of marginalization, and types of power and privilege associated with them. He defines power in terms of 'rank', as A conscious or unconscious, social or personal ability or power arising from culture, community support, personal psychology and /or spiritual power" (p. 42), which may be earned or inherited, and which organizes communication and behaviour. Rank may derive from unearned sociopolitical and cultural factors such as race, ethnicity,

gender, sexual orientation, religion, caste, socioeconomic status, education, health and physical ability. Similar to Trimiew's thoughts on the ethical power of marginality, Mindell identifies non-materially based dimensions of power, such as spiritual and psychological rank, which may characterize marginal groups or individuals. Psychological rank, according to Mindell, is associated with feeling secure and cared for, with surviving suffering and becoming stronger, more understanding or compassionate. It may be associated with greater self-knowledge, self-esteem and a capacity to interrelate with others. Spiritual rank is associated with the sense of having justice on one's side, or of connection with a divine or transcendent entity which enables the person to remain calm and untroubled in the face of difficulties and upsets. Both of these types of rank fall outside the parameters of the sociopolitical frame within which most discussion of marginality takes place. Consideration of these types of rank is important in relation to sociocultural conceptions of marginality for two reasons. Firstly, they challenge unidimensional perspectives on mainstream-margin cultural dynamics, which only recognize sociopolitical determinants of power. Secondly, they point to a process of marginalization within the culture of academia, where certain dimensions of human experience are denied mainstream acceptability and recognition, or are dismissed altogether (Berry & Annis, 1988; Cohen, 1995; Kim & Berry, 1993; Pedersen, 1997; Trickett et al., 1994; Ward, 1989).

3.3 Margin as threshold

In my discussion so far, I have focused on sociocultural concepts of marginality, based on a definition of margin as periphery, and the relationship between margin and centre or mainstream. Sociocultural conceptions of marginality opened the discussion,

because of their prominence in contemporary academic discourse, and because psychology, as a science founded in positivist assumptions, has tended to marginalize them in its investigation of human behaviour. Initially, I proposed that marginality may be defined in various contexts, in neutral or value-specific terms, but that the term inevitably implies relationship. In my conceptualization of margin as periphery, the relationship implied is between margin and centre. In sociocultural terms, the margin is positioned as 'other' in relation to the mainstream, for example. Margin and centre may be conceptualized as two states in opposition to each other, or as interrelated elements in a dynamic process of mutual exchange. In either case, from a sociocultural perspective, the relationship hinges on differences in power.

In the current climate of cultural criticism, and interpretivist/constructionist influence, the conceptualization of marginality in terms of power relations predominates. The rest of this chapter explores and develops other meanings of marginality, which are not primarily concerned with relations of power, although they may also be applied in the sociocultural domain. These meanings centre on a definition of margin as threshold. Since Western psychological theory has not focused on this concept, and related theoretical work is scattered throughout a variety of disciplines, my consideration of this topic is largely exploratory, and draws on ideas from anthropology, indigenous psychologies, and quantum physics in particular.

In a conceptualization of margin as threshold, marginality is not necessarily related to an (implicit or explicit) centre, as in the hierarchical ranking of status relative to a dominant majority or norm. From this perspective, the relationship

implied is one of alternative possibility, rather than dominance and subordination. By way of initial illustration of this relationship of alternatives, I draw on the simple analogy of a jigsaw puzzle (see Figure 6). A jigsaw puzzle is made up of many shapes, both edge pieces and centre pieces. Every piece is reciprocally marginal to other pieces. All pieces, theoretically and potentially, are significant to the whole. Although the jigsaw puzzler selects one piece or one section over another in the process of assembling the picture, this is a momentary privileging. Neither an edge piece, nor a centre piece has intrinsically more importance than any other. Except for a moment, even the finished picture is no more important than anything else. The puzzle will be broken up into parts and started over.

Margin as threshold - the 'in-between'

Reciprocal marginality
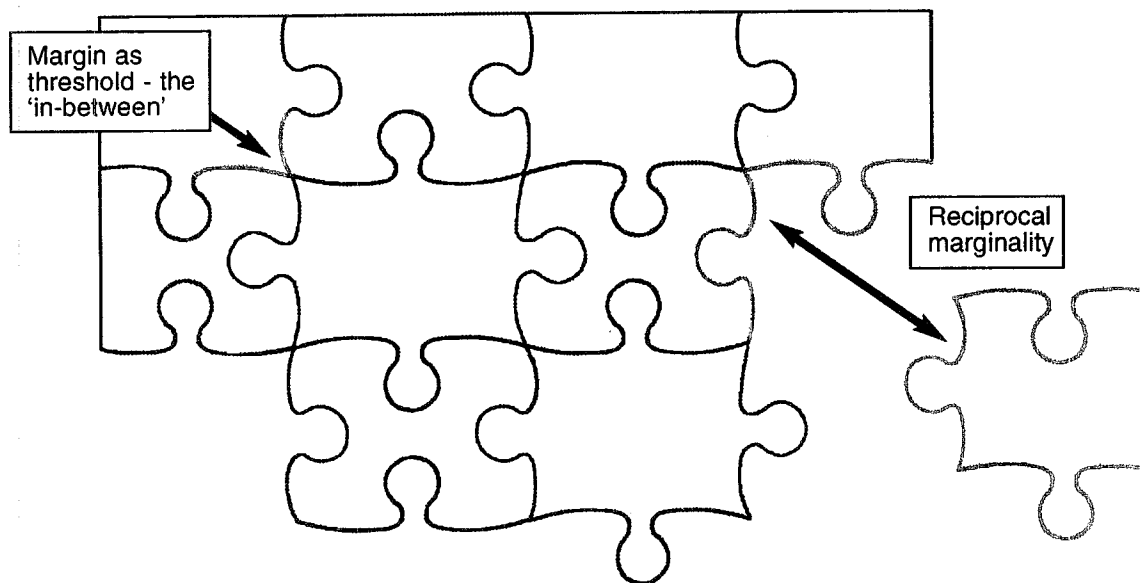
Figure 6. Illustration of margin as threshold in two-dimensional form

A more complex illustration than this two-dimensional figure, is a kaleidoscope, where motion is added to a mosaic-like pattern in three dimensions. The moving figures shift in constantly differing relationship to each other. In this example, not only is there the reciprocal marginality noted in the first figure, but the margin is constantly moving and changing. The margin-as-threshold occurs as one figure, moment, state or process changes into another. Proximity, patterning and transition are again of relevance here, rather than a hierarchical ordering of power relations. Momentary importance may be attributed to any of the figures by an observer, but again, none is intrinsically more important than any other. Another illustration of the notion of margin as threshold can be found in the everyday occurrence of events in the natural world: as in night changing into day and day into night. Dawn and dusk, for example, represent this kind of marginality, as transition points where day and night are neither fully present nor fully absent. Thus, the concept of margin as threshold implies transition and ambiguity, rather than power relations.

Still more complex analogies can be drawn from sub-atomic physics. In the twentieth century, scientific theories of relativity, including quantum mechanics and chaos theory, have challenged Newtonian concepts of absolute space and time, controllable measurement process and deterministic predictability. Patterning is found to occur at sub-atomic as well as atomic levels of physical reality. Abraham & Gilgen (1985) conceptualize sub-atomic reality as complex patterns formed by the interaction of convergent and divergent forces in dynamical systems. In the world of sub-atomic physics, marginality occurs in relation to probability and randomness. For example in quantum mechanics, the universe is theorized as a non-predictable entity. An object

moving through space has position and momentum but, according to Heisenberg's uncertainty principle, both position and momentum cannot be known at once. Knowing one precludes knowing the other. In the actualization of one possibility, another is marginalized. The behaviour of sub-atomic particles, as quanta or tendencies to exist or happen, is not observable, and can only be described in terms of statistical probability. According to quantum theory, a wave function is a mathematical fiction, which represents all the possibilities that can happen to an observed system when it interacts with an observing system. The collapse of the wave function happens when one of those possibilities occurs: all the developing aspects of the wave functions collapse except the one that actualizes. The collapse of the wave function means that at a given point, a potentiality actuates, and the observing system determines which one actuates by virtue of observation.

As Stairs (1991) comments, "reality itself has a richness that, so to speak, 'spills over' when one attempts to contain it within a single point of view" (p. 472). He also says that quantum mechanics speaks compellingly of the mystery and paradoxical nature of reality, suggesting that there are possibilities for relationship between structures of the self, mind and reality that have yet to be investigated. Theorists in this area caution against making facile leaps of connection between sub-atomic physics, and the framing of human behaviour by various Eastern and Western metaphysical systems (Hall, 1982). However, brief reference to quantum physics and the view of reality that it poses is as an illustration of an important point. Discussion of marginality is incomplete if it is concerned only with the known world of

Newtonian physics, and dichotomous relations of power that develop amongst humans living in that world.

These analogies illustrate a transition-centred concept of marginality as threshold, which focuses on process, ambiguity, and the potential inherent in the 'between'. The margin as threshold, or limen, is that which occurs amid two (or more) possibilities. As Shore (1996) comments, "Violating neat categories, the liminal is neither inside nor outside, neither here nor there. Partaking of two discrete worlds, liminal entities belong properly within neither" (p. 106). From this perspective, marginality is about 'in between-ness', becoming and possibility. Potentiality, rather than power relations, is its defining characteristic. A threshold represents a point of change, a transitional situation. It is at once both starting point and point of departure. It is a place in between that which is, or has been, and that which may be. As such it has a quality of non-specificity and ambiguity. Turner (1969) highlights these characteristics in his discussion of the concept of liminality. The word 'limen' comes from the Latin, meaning border, margin or threshold. Turner's (1967; 1968; 1969; 1985; 1986) work on liminality illustrates the concept of margin as threshold in the world of human culture. Turner describes ambiguous situations in the life of an individual or community as liminal phenomena, or 'betwixt-and-between' things. He studied the liminal phase in traditional tribal rites of passage, a phase of social transition for novices during which they are considered symbolically dead as they pass from one stage of life to another. Later, he applied the concept of liminality to modern complex societies, where liminal processes "represent *alternatives* to the

positive systems of economic, legal and political action operating in everyday life"
(Turner, 1985, p. 164).

As Turner (1969) states, "The attributes of liminality or of liminal *personae*
('threshold people') are necessarily ambiguous, since this condition and these people
elude or slip through the network of classifications that normally locate states and
positions in cultural space" (p. 81). The limen is ambiguous and indeterminate, a
transitional state or process, in which the known world is left behind and where the
new world is not yet entered. Liminality is thus the dimension of the unknown, a
place where conventional rules no longer apply. As Turner (1985) notes, "For me the
essence of liminality is to be found in its release from normal constraints.... Liminality
is the domain of the 'interesting', or of 'uncommon sense'" (p. 160). Turner (1986)
also writes about the potentiality of the limen, viewing it as a place where order is
disrupted, and creativity and innovation may arise:

> I sometimes talk about the liminal phase being dominantly in the subjunctive
> mood of culture, the mood of maybe, might, as if, hypothesis, fantasy,
> conjecture, desire - depending on which of the trinity of cognition, affect and
> conation is situationally dominant. Ordinary life is in the indicative mood, where
> we expect the invariant operation of cause and effect, of rationality and
> commonsense. Liminality can perhaps be described as a fructile chaos, a
> storehouse of possibilities, not a random general assemblage, but a striving after
> new forms and structures, a gestation process, a fetation of modes appropriate to
> postliminal existence. (p. 41- 42)

Morawski (1994) also points to the subversive potential of liminality, as well as its ambiguous, paradoxical and generative characteristics. She observes that liminality "furnishes a place not just for momentary inversion or reversal of mundane social reality, but also for its ultimate subversion or replacement" (p. 54). An example of the transgressive and transformative aspects of the margin as limen is found in Shore's (1996) exploration of the concept of marginal play. Shore examines marginality in relation to sport and games, treating play as a simplified version of life, in which some of life's occurrences and complexities are removed, and some important features are clarified. According to Shore (1996), "marginal play is where a game overflows its own constituting boundaries, entering a space and time frame somewhere between that of the game proper and the world of non-game" (p.106). Shore observes that "in sport as in life there is much to be learned from things that do not go quite right" (p. 10), and discusses ways in which marginal play illustrates the way in which marginality may undermine a systemic *status quo,* and also become a source of innovation.

Extrapolating from this, investigation of the concept of margin as threshold may be seen as valuable, both because of what it teaches about what is, and because of what it suggests about what is not, or is not yet. From a place outside rules, norms and conventions, a special perspective may be gained and new potential may arise. Thus the concept of margin as threshold is associated with power, but it is a different sort of power than that derives from socio-political difference and privilege. It is the power of being between worlds, the power of transgression, disruption, transformation, and potentiality. Ferguson (1990) suggests that, in considering marginality and the

existence of a multiplicity of perspectives and voices, power lies in awareness, and thinking processes that emphasize diversity, fluidity and the process of change. What is required is not to try to "create a new centre of authority based on a spurious unity of the marginalized, but rather to open up new ways of thinking about the dynamics of cultural power" (p. 9). I suggest that the concept of margin as threshold is one way of doing so, at sociocultural, interpersonal and intrapersonal levels. When culture is seen as a kaleidoscopic, made up of multiple, constantly changing elements in various dimensions, and individual identity is seen similarly as polyphonic (Shore, 1996), made up of different (inner) cultures, the complexity of the human life world is evident. The concept of margin and mainstream as unidimensional, dichotomous positions is unsatisfying. As Golding (1997) suggests, dichotomous lists of 'otherness' marginalize complexity and subtle considerations of difference:

> Usually in the name of marginality, excess and diversity, but now more frequently still, in the name of otherness itself, we sadly, annoyingly, are often left with a kind of 'shopping list' of so-called subjective 'other' identities – be it woman, Jew, immigrant, person of colour, s/m dyke, whore, etc. – gathered together in opposition to the so-called objective 'dominant power' forms of identities, often named male, white, heterosexual, middle or ruling class.... There is something not quite right with the identity politics, 'shopping list of oppressions' picture.... The bitty, natty, everyday pieces and points of what constitutes 'identity' in all its singular and plural shadings and tones, turns on a very different notion of 'otherness' than that old bugbear of eternal deep divide, of the 'that' and its 'not'. At its most basic understanding, otherness is simply and only a cosmetic wound; a very thin, virtual, and in this sense

'impossible' limit. It can never be a person, or a thing, animal, vegetable or mineral. It is neither violent nor cruel, nor for that matter loving and joyous. For this 'cut' is only and always just a superficial dimension: a surface.... On closer inspection it *is* the 'is' – the '/' – between the either and its or. (p. xii-xiii)

3.3.1 secondary marginality

That which lies between "the either and its or" is what I have conceptualized as margin as threshold. I have called this concept 'secondary marginality'. I define it as a zone of 'in between-ness', existing at the shifting boundaries of margin and mainstream, and characterized by ambiguity and indeterminacy. In a fluid conception of margin and mainstream, in which margin becomes mainstream and mainstream becomes margin, that which lies between the two is a transitional process, a moment or a space where neither, or both, are present. Cultural groupings may not be entirely marginal or mainstream, for example, as their status changes over time. At the level of intrapsychic experience, a person may be both mainstream and marginal in a particular area of cultural influence, or may be neither fully.

The boundaries of self are often indistinct, extending over many different identities. However, in our attempts to understand complexity, we sometimes marginalize it:

The main trouble with the human mind is that while it is capable of creating concepts in order to interpret reality it hypostasizes them and treats them as if they were real things. Not only that, the mind regards its self-constructed

concepts as laws externally imposed upon reality, which has to obey them in order to unfold itself. This attitude or assumption on the part of the intellect helps the mind to handle nature for its own purposes, but the mind altogether misses the inner workings of life and consequently is utterly able to understand it. This is the reason we have to halt at contradictions and are at a loss as to how to proceed. (Suzuki, cited in Muller, 1998, p. 18)

In my research on marginality, I am interested in such exploring such contradictions in lived experience of cultural diversity. Specification of the concept of secondary marginality opens up possibilities for the exploration of non-dichotomous experience, the "in between", and its relationship to sociocultural, interpersonal and intrapsychic worlds. How the concepts of margin as threshold and margin as periphery are reflected in culturally diverse life worlds is the focus of the qualitative study presented in Part III. The rationale for the study, and research questions on which the study is based, are discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

MARGINALITY AND THERAPEUTIC PSYCHOLOGY

Over the past few decades, sociocultural marginality has been a growing focus of research in therapeutic psychology, since culture and diversity issues have increasingly been recognized as significant for psychology as professional discipline. Some psychologists maintain that diversity issues are so crucial to general psychology that multiculturalism should be seen as a 'fourth force' in psychology, as significant an influence in the development of the discipline as psychoanalytic, behavioural and cognitive psychologies have been (Pedersen et al., 1996). In applied fields of counselling, psychotherapy and clinical psychology (broadly referred to here as therapeutic psychology) theorist-practitioners have challenged the homogeneity of professional psychology, in relation to its underlying assumptions, as well as in its practitioner and client populations. This chapter discusses current issues and developments in this area, with a focus on multicultural counselling research. It provides a rationale for the focus and direction of the research project in Part III.

The extent to which culture and diversity are addressed in general psychology has increased over time (Trickett, et al., 1994). Changing stances towards diversity can be discerned, particularly over the past half century. Initially, diversity was marginalized, treated as inferiority through its framing by a 'deficit model'. For example, sexual orientation research and its clinical application were pre-occupied for decades with causes and cures for homosexuality as a mental illness or personality defect (Bullough,

1979). As a consequence, homosexual and bisexual individuals suffered damaging and discriminatory treatment from mental health professionals (Garnets, Hancock, Cochrane, Goodchilds & Peplau, 1991). This deficit model pertained to difference in terms of gender, race and ethnicity, sexual orientation and other areas of cultural influence. It was challenged from various marginal perspectives. In the 1960s, diversity became a major theme of organized psychology, due to increased access to influence of previously excluded psychologists, including women, people of colour, gay men and lesbians, and people with disabilities. A model of diversity as a social deficit emerged, this time explained by environmental factors rather than innate personal deficiency. For example, sexual orientation research framed by this social deficiency model was based on recognition that problems experienced by sexual minorities are substantially founded in mainstream societal response, rather than in personal characteristics related to sexual orientation (Jones, in press; Fassinger, 1991). Critiques by marginalized groups further brought political issues of access onto the psychological agenda.

More recently cultural pluralism and affirmation of cultural identity have been acknowledged by a sociopolitical paradigm that emphasizes concepts of power, powerlessness and oppression. This perspective highlights the positive value of cultural and group identity and the contribution of culture to human experience (Trickett et al., 1994). Recent cultural criticism, both within psychology and outside it, argues the need to "build an account of the world as seen from the margins, an account which can transform these margins into centres. The point is to develop an account of the world which treats our perspectives not as subjugated knowledges, but as primary" (Hartsock, 1990, p. 34).

Theoretical and empirical work on mainstream consciousness is beginning to be recognized as a significant area of interdisciplinary study, challenging the unquestioned standpoint from which psychological research has been conducted until relatively recently. An example of this is found in writing and research on privileged positions, such as White, male and heterosexual perspectives (Ezekiel, 1995; Fine, Weis, Powell, & Mun Wong, 1997; McIntosh, 1998; Roedinger; 1998).

> Scholars of multiculturalism, critical gender and race theory, and subaltern discourses have spent considerable energy centering the voices of those historically excluded and marginalized. Voices of those positioned at the "margins" or "on the edge" are being heard within and across all disciplines, contributing to a reformation of what constitutes "knowledge". (Fine et al. 1997, p. vii)

The significance of diversity issues for general psychology, not just for marginalized groups, is especially emphasized from this viewpoint. Trickett et al. (1994) express one of the guiding assumptions and motives behind the present research project:

> Diversity should not be embraced because it helps the oppressed; we will all be served by affirming diversity. Cultural diversity is part of the nature of human beings, and it should be part of the nature of our science and practice in the social sciences" (p. 4).

Various sub-disciplinary fields represent these political and cultural perspectives to varying degrees, challenging the ethnocentrism and individualistic bias that has characterized western psychology for many decades (Pedersen, 1997). These include

critical psychology, cultural psychology, political psychology, social psychology, psychological anthropology, cross-cultural and multicultural psychology, and community psychology. A psychology of diversity, as proposed by Trickett et al. (1994) emphasizes the importance of understanding people in their historical and sociocultural/ sociopolitical context. Areas of concern include paradigms and conceptual frameworks, key concepts such as oppression, culture and identity, and application to research and academia. Thus the psychology of diversity addresses diversity and commonality in human culture and paradigmatic challenges posed by recognition of human diversity. It attempts to develop ways of thinking that can illuminate the notion of diversity as a psychological and sociopolitical aspect of people's lives. It is less concerned with developing culturally competent psychotherapy and counselling, though this may be a consequence of the development in thinking (Trickett et al., 1994). Indigenous psychologies, which are concerned with "the scientific study of human behaviour (or mind) that is native, that is not transported from other regions, and that is designed for its people" (Sinha, 1993, p. 2) make a further important contribution, in their own right and in their contribution to the transformation of psychology at a global level. Basic elements of this approach include a belief that understanding of human behaviour is rooted in its ecological, cultural, political and historical context, the recognition of multiple methodologies and the non-privileging of any one perspective over others (Berry & Annis, 1981; Duran & Duran, 1995; Kim & Berry, 1993).

All of the above mentioned fields of psychological inquiry address sociocultural marginality and its relevance to psychology in various ways. Their influence is found in

changes occurring in therapeutic psychology, which, like general psychology has been criticized for its ethnocentrism, individualistic bias, allegiance to the theoretical assumptions and methods of positivist science, and neglect of sociocultural and transpersonal experience (Pedersen, 1997). The similarities between white culture and the cultural values that form the foundations of traditional psychological theory and practice have also been investigated by a number of researchers. Western counselling and psychotherapy are seen as aspects of Euro-American civilization. Katz (1985), for example, maintains that in the United States, White Americans share a common set of racial and cultural values and beliefs which derive from the integration of ideas, values and beliefs from the descendants of White European ethnic groups in the United States. These include individualism, egalitarianism, the valuing of social mobility and social change, an overly self-centered worldview, an action orientation measured by external accomplishments, the need to conform to social rules, the privileging of written and standard forms of English, and a view of time as a commodity.

Because psychotherapy and counselling theory and practice developed out of the experience of White therapists and researchers working almost exclusively with White clients, the profession reflects these cultural values. The continued use of a theory base predicated on one world view, one set of assumptions concerning human behaviour and one set of values concerning mental health limits the effectiveness of psychotherapy and counselling cross-culturally (Katz, 1985, p. 619).

Some theorists, such as Carter (1995), maintain that "race is the most marginalized cultural difference and needs to be seen and addressed as such. Everyone belongs to a

racial group from which s/he derives psychological, emotional and behavioural filters through which the self, others and the world are seen" (p. 113). Racial identity filters a person's worldview, with implications for how information is processed, and affecting perceptions, feelings, understandings, values and choices.

> The psychological significance of race varies according to each individual's interpretation of socialization and psychosocial developmental processes. Because race has personal meaning for each individual, it follows that it affects interpersonal relationships. Yet to date, little attention has been given to how one's personal meaning of race affects his or her interactions, roles, and performance as a helping professional (Carter, 1995, p. 65).

Despite the growing influence of cultural perspectives in psychology, many in the profession do not consider cultural issues to be important in the practice of psychology. Culture and diversity are not fully recognized as intrinsic aspects of human nature, despite the growing volume of research in this area. Marginal groups and members of the profession continue to challenge prevailing norms and standards on the grounds that therapeutic psychology does not necessarily meet the needs of culturally diverse clients and practitioners.

4.1 Multicultural counselling psychology – a site of change

Multicultural counselling psychology, as "counselling that takes place between or among individuals from different cultural backgrounds" (Ponterotto, Casas, Suzuki, & Alexander, 1995, p. 3), is a field of research and practice which has influenced the incorporation of diversity issues in therapeutic psychology. It has addressed issues of

sociocultural marginalization theoretically and practically, across various areas of cultural influence, challenging the monocultural paradigm of applied psychological practice. Within this field, a body of research has investigated cultural bias and marginalization in professional practice across a number of ethnic and non-ethnic dimensions. Race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, physical ability and age have been identified as dimensions in which individuals may experience ignorance, discrimination or oppression in psychological contexts, both as clients and practitioners. (Atkinson & Hackett, 1995; Britton, 1990; Fassinger & Ritchie, 1997; Sue & Sue, 1990; Sue, Arredondo & McDavis, 1992; Ponterotto et al., 1995). Much research has been devoted to ways in which the counselling/psychotherapy mainstream may respond more effectively to marginal subgroups (Parham, 1993; Ponterotto et al., 1995) and develop awareness of mainstream identity and privilege (Carter, 1995, Helms, 1990; Ponterotto & Pedersen, 1993; Ridley, 1995). The importance of building cross-cultural competence through the acquisition of knowledge (awareness, information and skills) to assist the therapeutic process and reduce its negative impact on marginalized groups has been well recognized (Pedersen, 1997). Multicultural counselling psychology has begun to consider adopting non-conventional approaches to therapy and counselling that are natural to, and called for by, various ethnic communities (Hanna, Bemak & Chung, 1999). Therapy outside one-to-one settings, the use of spiritual or shamanistic forms of healing, creative approaches to therapy (i.e., not reliant on one to-one-talking therapy), and ways in which culturally appropriate counselling may transgress some mainstream counselling ethical guidelines are discussed in some texts (Willie, Rieker, Kramer, & Brown, 1995).

Within this evolving field, there is also a diversity of opinion on theoretical positions, strategic stances and paradigmatic persuasions. This contributes to its ongoing development, as well as its influence as a force for change in therapeutic psychology generally, at theoretical and practical levels (Ponterotto et al. 1995; Pedersen et al., 1996). Multicultural counselling psychology has encountered criticism of its goals and approaches from various quarters. Initial criticism came from outside the field, and included hostility to the significance attributed to culture and diversity. In recent times, critiques also come from theorists and practitioners within this still developing field (see for example, Weinrach & Thomas, 1996; 1998), which has reached a level of sufficient maturity to encompass reflexive questioning and criticism. Problems with current research and practice have been identified in various ways (Pedersen, 1997; Lee, 1997), and include the criticism that multicultural counselling remains outside the mainstream. Criticism points to the lack of qualitative research, and research designs and measures developed for use with diverse populations. In addition, insufficient examination of within-group as well as between-group differences has been pointed out. Criticism has also been directed at the marginalization of relativist perspectives, such as social constructionism, in multicultural research (Steenbarger & Pels, 1997).

A particular tension has arisen between culture-specific and universal aspects of multicultural counselling. Culture-specific models of counselling have been recognized as suitable for conceptualizing and treating emotional problems within a specific culture, thereby lessening the possibility of cultural bias. However they have also been criticized because this approach can lead to the separation of cross-cultural counselling from

'regular' counselling, the need to memorize cultural variables, and consequently to develop different counselling approaches for each group. In response, Pedersen (1997), amongst others, has discussed the idea that various interrelated components affect a multicultural counselling dyad. Thus, for example, an intercultural interaction is a meeting of universal human components, culture-related components, and unique components particular to each individual (Speight, Myers, Cox & Highlen, 1991). Much multicultural counselling research has ignored the universal and unique aspects (within group differences) and has not focused on areas of similarity and difference other than those associated with ethnic and non-ethnic group membership and identity (Pedersen, 1997). Differences and similarities in relation to communication patterns (both verbal and non-verbal), attitudes and worldviews, cognitive styles, adaptation processes and problem-solving approaches have been less addressed, even though these have been proposed as sometimes the more salient differences in intercultural interaction (Lyddon & Adamson, 1992). The influence of within-group differences such as these, including acculturation and stage of racial identity and cultural identification, as well as many other factors which contribute to individual uniqueness, have begun to be recognized.

Problems related to the emphasis on 'cultural literacy' that has characterized much multicultural research and training have also been noted recently. This approach stresses the importance of knowing about the 'other' in multicultural counselling theory. Concern has been expressed that over-emphasis on gaining information about various cultures as a way to develop intercultural competency may lead to over-simplification, generalization and stereotypic assumptions.

Counselors who are open and able to relate to their client's host culture are better equipped to function in an effective manner. Sometimes prior knowledge is an impediment; counselors may think they know more than they do and the result is a less individualized approach. (Pedersen, 1985, p. 335)

Various suggestions have been made with regard to ongoing developments in the field of multicultural counselling. The scope of these suggestions is dealt with in detail elsewhere (for example, Lee, 1997; Lee & Richardson, 1991; Ponterotto & Casas, 1991; Ponterotto et al, 1995; Sue & Sue, 1990) and is beyond the scope of this review. However several of these suggestions and directions are relevant for my research, providing substantial rational for the focus, direction and approach taken in the present project. Areas relevant to my topic, which are yet to be addressed or dealt with more comprehensively in diversity research, include the following.

4.1.1 Interdisciplinary perspectives on power and culture

Various multicultural psychologists note the impact of worldviews on research and practice (Pedersen et al., 1996; Ponterotto & Grieger, 1999). They emphasize the importance of questioning worldviews and making them conscious and explicit. They also emphasize recognition of cultural frameworks and acknowledgment of environmental differences. They suggest that counselling theory needs to relate to the body of knowledge about culture in general. There is a need to look at the underlying problem of how the theoretical framework of the counselling model as a whole reflects particular paradigmatic perspectives and cultural worldviews. Counselling has developed out of positivist and humanistic paradigmatic frames, which favour a mechanistic

worldview, ignore culturally constructed, non-rational, fluid aspects of reality, and focus on practical helping (Sexton & Griffin, 1997). As alternatives, Pedersen (1997) discusses the influence of constructivism, social constructionism and the post-Newtonian view of physics, complexity and chaos, on the development of culturally responsive professional psychology. Pedersen suggests that this kind of paradigmatic approach may hold promise as a new paradigm in counselling that can facilitate change through the apparent chaos of cultural context, and may be more suitable for research that is focused on complexity.

One promising movement in counseling is based on concepts of chaos, nonlinear dynamics and self-organization, as expressed by Barton (1994): "In recent years, a new paradigm for understanding systems has been gaining the attention of psychologists from a wide variety of specialty areas. This paradigm has no single name but has been described in terms of chaos, nonlinear dynamics (sometimes called nonlinear dynamical systems theory), and self organization" (p. 5). These concepts can be considered a metaphor for the qualitative functions of counseling and therapy reflecting the inherent complexity of individuals and systems outside the laboratory....The convergence of hard and soft sciences toward complexity rather than simplicity, toward subjectivity rather than objectivity, toward constructivist rather than "discovered" reality, and toward a contextual rather than abstract description of human behaviour demands a new paradigm for counseling and psychotherapy. (Pedersen, 1997, p. 59-60)

4.1.2 Complexity of margin-mainstream dynamics

Recently, cultural commentators and critiques of multicultural counselling have increasingly recognized the multiple and complex ways in which margin-mainstream dynamics manifest in therapeutic interactions. Noting the heterogeneity and temporality of cultural experience, they have indicated that, in an increasingly complex world, there is a need for a complex, multidimensional approach to cultural diversity. As Tucker (1990) observes, "identity is not singular or monolithic, instead it is "multiple, shifting, and often self-contradictory ... made up of heterogeneous and heteronomous representations of gender, race and class" (p. 7). In this vein, Hans (1995) comments "there is always something between identity and complete heterogeneity, and that is multiplicity" (p. 338). In terms of ethnic diversity, marginal groups are distinguished from the mainstream on the basis of racial characteristics, national heritage and language background. They may share institutionalized oppression, and social, political and educational and economic disadvantage, or they may differ from each other on these grounds as well. In the United States, four major ethnic groups are identified: African-American, Native American, Latin American and Asian American. However, there are also many Americans whose ethnic identity derives from European cultures, various generations of immigrants from over one hundred groups. In addition, people may be sojourners (students or guest workers), temporary residents, and refugees from countries anywhere in the world (Pedersen, 1997). Thus, a multiplicity of combined influences come into play in therapeutic interactions. Different combinations of socialization, heritage, expectations and worldviews, religious affiliations, and many other non-ethnic

factors, such as age, health, physical ability, and sexual orientation, may differentiate participants in a therapeutic interaction.

Recognition of the complexity of cultural difference has been accompanied by a call for research to include focus on intra-group differences and personal uniqueness. Lee (1997) calls on practitioners to address the challenge of client diversity and stresses the need for new research direction. He emphasizes the need for skills training as well as awareness and knowledge, for experiencing cultural diversity in vivo and for going beyond stereotypes and myths by discerning levels of acculturation and cultural/racial/ethnic identity. In relation to research developments, Lee says that the primary goal of future research should be the empirical validation of the continuously evolving theories and concepts about multicultural counselling and human development. Ideas important in establishing multicultural counselling research agenda include the idea that all research efforts should be structured to investigate intragroup differences among people. Lack of recognition of the complexity of cultural difference may lead to simplistic over-generalizations and stereotyping. As Turner and Kramer (1995) emphasize:

> One danger is that our well-intentioned emphasis on being sensitive to diverse groups will lead us to reinforce stereotypes. Groups and cultures are not static; just as individuals constantly change, so does social ecology. Ethnic behaviour and beliefs shift, both between generations and across individual life spans. (p. 22)

Studies of cultural diversity have tended to focus on one or two dimensions, and how to effectively flip value systems so as to appreciate and value that which has been 'othered'. This may lead to an emphasis on political correctness which in recent times has also become a source of reaction and rejection (Pedersen et al., 1997). There have been very few studies that have looked at marginal and mainstream identity/status, rather than one or two culturally specific areas of experience, such as race, gender, or sexual orientation. Some researchers therefore suggest that focusing on margin and mainstream as broad, inclusive categories is an important direction for future diversity research (Pedersen et al., 1996). They suggest that research should

> broaden the notion of intercultural status to include the category of marginal clients compared with mainstream clients. Marginal clients might include all those with characteristics and backgrounds that are different from the dominant, majority society, such as minority members, gays and lesbians, handicapped students, lower-income citizens, and people who do not speak the main language of the society very well. (p. 345)

Various models have been put forward in recent approaches to multicultural counselling theory (for example, Falicov, 1993; Hays, 1996a, 1996b; Wehrly, 1995) which provide a transcultural specific perspective. Hays' (1996a; 1996b) model uses the acronym, ADDRESSING (initially ADRESSING) to specify nine cultural factors that need special attention in counselling and psychotherapy. These are: Age and generational influences, Developmental and acquired Disability, Religion, Ethnicity and race, Social status (including socioeconomic status, formal education, urban-rural origins, family

name and other factors), Sexual orientation, Indigenous cultural heritage, National origin, and Gender. The model adopts a 'transcultural specific' perspective that "places high value on culture specific expertise regarding minority groups but it also considers a range of issues that crosses many cultures" (Hays 1996a, p. 334). Hays notes that the salience of each factor depends on individuals and context and requires culture-specific knowledge and skills. Research had tended to focus on one of these specific areas, and neglect more complex considerations. For example, it has hardly addressed the people of colour who are members of more than one specific population. Hays suggests that the model be used as a framework for early stage multicultural training, to stimulate discussion and awareness of biases and areas of inexperience, to broaden and deepen understanding of racism, ethnocentrism and other forms of oppression that affect people of colour, and to challenge biases and reduce generalizations by highlighting within group differences (Hays, 1995, 1996a; 1996b, 1996c). As Hays (1996a) comments:

> Becoming a culturally sensitive and responsive counselor is best conceptualized as a process. The ADRESSING model facilitates this process by providing a framework for addressing one's personal biases and for organizing information on diverse cultural influences and specific minority cultures. The model draws attention to cultural influences and groups that have been ignored, discounted and dismissed by the dominant Euro-American culture and by the counselling field. It also highlights the complex, overlapping nature of cultural influences and identities. In summary it works toward the inclusion of diverse perspectives and the elimination of the oppressive category of "the other" (p. 337).

4.1.3 Focus on the therapist as a person

The marginal and mainstream experience of therapeutic practitioners themselves is another neglected area of inquiry. Emphasis tends to be placed on the experience of the marginal client, and the need for therapists, whom it is assumed come from the majority or dominant culture, to be able to understand minority clients' particular experience and needs. Thus there is considerable emphasis on the client's experience as a minority or marginalized person and a lack of research on the counsellor's experience, status and identifications, with some exceptions, (for example, Robinson & Ginter, 1999). Paisley (1997) in a call for contributions to an issue of the Journal of Counselling and Development, which focuses on personal aspects of psychologists' professional lives, comments:

> How we make meaning from our experience is both instructive and dynamic as well as filtered through a personal lens. Embracing rather than ignoring the importance of personal perspective within a professional context enriches our body of knowledge and honours yet another way of knowing (p. 5).

Some researchers have investigated within-group differences among counsellors as well as clients, for example Tinsley-Jones's (1997) study of counsellors' awareness of their own background and predispositions. However, research focus has not been directed to the salience of the therapists' marginal and mainstream identity in multiple dimensions. The literature suggests that psychotherapeutic practitioners are predominantly mainstream in terms of their racial/ethnic status and their sexual orientation and that minorities are poorly represented in the profession as a whole. However, this is changing in recent years, and the observation also tends to be made without consideration of

multiple domains of cultural influence, and their various influences on the perceptions and approaches of individual therapists. The complex experience of therapists who are members of marginal and mainstream groups has hardly been explored.

A lack of research interest in counsellors as people is also evident in the literature. The counsellor as a person in the world is not often focused on, perhaps reflecting the professions' roots in the Freudian tradition of hiding the professional's personal identity and experience, which persists to a greater or lesser extent in various approaches to therapy. The findings of a study of prominent psychologists' ideas and lives by Cohen (1995) include the tentative conclusion that therapeutic professionals are not very interested in "the psychology of the psychologist" (Hoshmand, 1998, p. 18). Hoshmand also notes that: "Surprisingly, the literature on the history of psychology seldom includes biographical and narrative studies of individual careers and lives" (p.19).

Some researchers emphasize the importance of viewing the therapeutic dyad as a relationship (for example, Patterson, 1996). In any relationship between two people, experiences of power and privilege, marginal and mainstream status and identity, may differ across various areas of cultural influence. The lack of focus on the therapist as a person in relationship, and the emphasis on counsellor as helper, may contribute to power imbalance in the therapeutic relationship. It may simplify complex power relationships that operate in the therapeutic dyad, and obscure important diversity issues which are relevant to both therapist and client (Pedersen, 1997). Thus therapists' personal

experience of cultural diversity can be seen as an important factor, requiring more attention in research on cultural difference and the therapeutic profession

4.1.4 Attitudes as an important component of intercultural interaction

Any interaction between individuals can be seen as a meeting of different worlds, made up of all the complex identifications and experiences that constitute a human life. Das (1995) suggests that in order to develop a psychology that is relevant and useful for people across cultures, it is important to research, teach and develop awareness and attitudes, not just impart information. Non-specific attitudinal and relational factors, such as flexibility, curiosity, readiness to adapt and experiment, rather than particular techniques, have been noted as especially important (Dyche & Zayas, 1995). Thus, as Turner and Kramer (1995) suggest:

> Because those who aspire to help others cannot know the significant cultural elements of all cultural groups they will encounter nor everything important about even one group, the indispensable thing to teach is an attitude, a stance, an open-minded way of approaching the helping process with humility and a willingness to learn. (p. 22)

As this review of research on marginality and therapeutic psychology has indicated, participants in any human interaction may differ in a multitude of ways. In a therapeutic interaction, the therapist, in the role of helping professional, has a position of power relative to the client. In addition, the therapist and client may hold differing positions relative to each other in terms of their cultural status in a range of areas.

Therapy takes places within the various cultural contexts in which therapist and client live, work and interact, including the dominant culture, various sub-cultures, and the culture of psychotherapy. In all of these cultures, margin and mainstream dynamics play out, within and between the participants in a therapeutic interaction. Multicultural counselling research has not focused on marginality as a complex phenomenon spanning multiple areas of cultural influence. Nor has conceptual thinking on marginality and culture (amongst cultural theorists and critical psychologists, for example) carried over to inform research in psychology's practically and professionally focused sub-disciplines. The concept of margin as threshold has scarcely been addressed, although the innovative potential of marginality has been investigated by social psychologists.

In the following chapters, the study of marginality in the life worlds of two culturally diverse groups of participants (therapists and non-therapists) responds to some of these concerns. The three-phase study to be described in detail in Part Three, sets out to address the complexity of status, identification and experience that characterize individual life worlds and intercultural interaction. Figure 7 shows how the central concepts and concerns of the study are focused in its central research question: how do culturally diverse therapists and non-therapists perceive, experience and understand marginality. In exploration of this question, the interrelated domains of conceptual and experiential knowledge are represented. The study aims to explore the concepts of margin as periphery and margin as threshold, in the everyday experience of individuals who identify as marginal in one or more areas of cultural influence. Its focus is on the experience of therapists, since the rationale for the study is founded in the lack of

research that addresses marginality as a complex phenomenon in the life worlds of therapeutic professionals. As actual or potential clients, the sample of non-therapists who also participate in the study is included in order to recognize the parallels and distinctions

Theoretical constructs

Margin as periphery   Margin as threshold

How do culturally diverse participants perceive, experience and understand marginality?

Non-therapists   Therapists

Lived experience
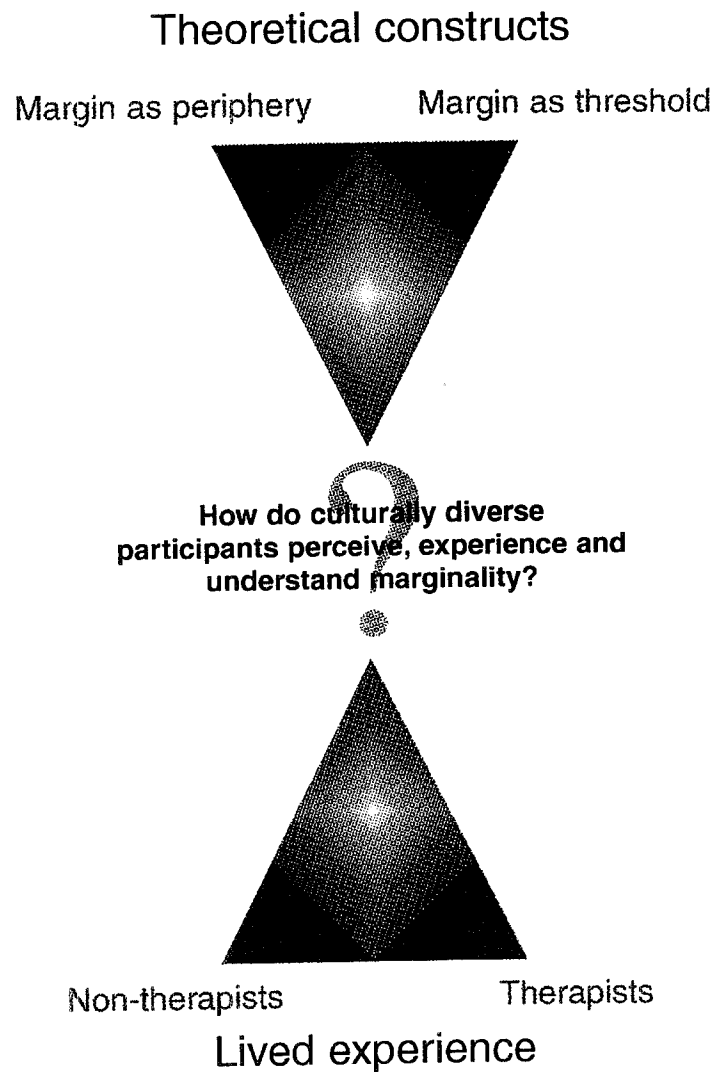
Figure 7. Conceptual and experiential knowledge components in the exploration of marginality in diverse life worlds.

between therapeutic professionals and non-professionals. Thus, I adopt the stance that psychotherapists are people first and foremost, as well as professionals with particular roles and responsibilities. The significance of this in intercultural therapeutic interaction is an underlying assumption that is explored in the course of the study.

A narrative account of the research process is presented for each phase. Phase I, presented in Chapter 5, addresses these concerns with culturally diverse residents of an inner-city urban neighbourhood. In the second phase, presented in Chapter 6, they are explored with a culturally diverse group of psychotherapists. The third phase, presented in Chapter 7, is concerned with verification, praxis, and the empowerment agenda of the overall research project. This phase is interwoven with Phases I and II, in attempts to make the research useful and meaningful to participants, and develop tools for personal and systemic change. The structure of each chapter is based on Kvale's (1996) organizing schema for qualitative research interviewing, which was presented in Chapter 2. Reviewed briefly, this consists of various stages: thematizing, designing, interviewing, transcribing, analyzing, interpreting, and reporting. Thematizing has been described in Chapters 3 and 4. Questions specific to each phase of the study are formulated from this. As already noted, the process of research design, data generation and interpretation has linear and non-linear aspects, which may be likened to the building of a spider's web. Phases and stages overlap, and the various processes of inquiry crisscross each other to give shape to findings that are both definitive and subject to reconstitution. The account presented in the following chapters attempts to convey this non-linearity, as well as details of the various phases and stages though which it evolves.

PART THREE

LIVED EXPERIENCE OF MARGINALITY

– A THREE PHASE STUDY

CHAPTER 5

PHASE I - MARGINALITY IN EVERYDAY LIFEWORLI

The first phase of the research project reflects the overall purpose of the study, described a the end of the previous chapter. It investigated marginality in everyday life worlds, and explored the concept of secondary marginality at the level of lived experience. Phase I was guided by four specific research questions:

- How do individuals experience marginality in their life worlds, across multiple areas of cultural influence (age, disability, religion, ethnicity and race, socio-economic status, sexual orientation, indigenous heritage, national origin and gender)?

- Do their experiences change over time, in relation to context and in relation to personal factors?

- Do participants talk about power and in what ways?

- How do participants describe any experiences of 'in between-ness' that feature in their accounts of personal and interactional experience?

5.1 Practical preparation for the research journey

As already discussed in the preceding chapters, I prepared for the exploration of marginality in lived experience by substantial theoretical work. In addition, as with any journey, practical preparation was also required. This involved taking steps to gain more awareness of marginality at a practical, experiential level, as well as at the level of ideas. This was in the interrelated interests of research soundness and ethics.

By prior preparation, I hoped to be able to relate well to participants, ask meaningful questions, respond sensitively, be open to learning in interview interactions, and be able to provide participants with sufficient information when asking for their consent to participate. Towards this end, prior preparation included participation in large groups and forums where diversity issues were processed at both emotional and intellectual levels, involvement with a multicultural, international therapeutic community, and my professional work as a psychotherapist with clients of diverse cultural backgrounds. I also discussed my plans with culturally diverse colleagues. Since I was living in the neighbourhood where the study was conducted, I made a point of getting to know people on a neighbourly basis. In this way I acquired a relational sense of the community in which the participants and I were living. Aware that my own marginal and mainstream status and identification would bias me in certain directions and blind me to the perspectives of others, I studied in areas where this was particularly likely to occur. For example, as a White Australian, I had no personal experience of being a person of colour in the United States. Exposure to the effects of racial marginalization in experiential forums, in which African-American, Asian American and Latin American participants expressed their pain and their perspectives on issues of race and ethnicity, was particularly helpful in this regard, heightening my awareness of racial issues, privilege, and intended and unintentional racism (Ridley, 1995).

Thus, once the interviews began, I was already immersed in the interview topic, both personally, relationally and theoretically. The effect of this preparatory work was to challenge and change my perceptions of marginality and mainstreaming, by

increasing self-awareness, and educating me about identifications and experiences that differed from my own. It underlined the culturally and historically embedded nature of individual experience and the different levels of understanding and identification with marginality that different participants might have. My commitment to treating marginality as a multidimensional phenomenon grew as a consequence. I was also better prepared for in-depth discussions, and open and honest encounters, should participants wish to engage in them. The possible disadvantage of being overly prepared at a conceptual and intellectual level, was countered by attempts to get to know participants a little beforehand. This was facilitated by our sharing a common neighbourhood. It established styles of relating and communicating which were shaped by our interactions as people, before we encountered each other as participants in a research process.

5.2 Site and sample selection

Time spent getting to know the local area, its history and sociocultural composition, and becoming acquainted with other residents, were also important aspects of the sampling process. Choices about where to conduct the first phase of the project, and whom to invite to participate, were made partly on the basis of practical opportunity. As an Australian living temporarily in the United States, I had developed something of an 'inside-outsider' relationship to other residents of the neighbourhood in which I was staying. I did not have long-term or deep personal involvement in their lives. However, being on neighbourly terms meant that I was known to a degree, and helped create a sense of familiarity and trust. Those whom I had already met appeared to accept me and expressed interest in me, at least in part because of my being

Australian. Those whom I had not met, had at least seen me in the neighbourhood or knew of me from others with whom I was already acquainted. All of this was potentially conducive to engaging in in-depth conversations about potentially sensitive topics (Lee, 1993).

The neighbourhood in which the interviews were conducted was an inner-city area of Portland, Oregon, in the Pacific North West of the United States. The city has a medium-sized population and may be characterized as relatively lacking in cultural diversity, compared to larger, more cosmopolitan or racially diverse cities. However, the neighbourhood was one of the most culturally diverse parts of the city. Previously a predominantly African-American and socio-economically disadvantaged area, the neighbourhood had been undergoing demographic change. More White Americans and more financially affluent residents had moved into area, and the area had a diverse population in terms of socio-economic status, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation and other factors. It was an appropriate site to explore experiences of marginality, both because of the diversity within the neighbourhood, and the relative lack of racial and ethnic diversity in the city as a whole.

Initial contact with participants took place through personal acquaintance and a process of snowball sampling, in which participants were recruited for voluntary participation through personal recommendations. The purposive sampling strategy was partly theory-based, since participants were selected on the basis of their potential for manifesting particular theoretical constructs of marginality. For example, prior theoretical work identified marginality as a plural phenomenon, related to many areas

of cultural influence (Hays, 1996a), and often mixed with mainstream status, identification and experience (A. P. Mindell, 1995). Through intensive sampling, I chose participants on the basis of their ability and willingness to talk in depth about their experiences of marginality in one or more areas of cultural influence. The primary criterion for participation was that participants should identify as marginal in one or more areas of cultural influence. Each of the areas in Hays' (1996a) ADDRESSING model, was to be represented. A form of sampling for disconfirming cases was also carried out, with the inclusion of one participant whose sociocultural status was mainstream in all of the cultural areas investigated.

5.2.1 Participants

I approached five potential participants and invited them to take part in the study. All agreed to take part, and subsequently suggested others who might be suitable and willing to take part. Four more participants were included as a result, until a sense of saturation was reached (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Participants expressed interested in talking about their experiences, and all readily agreed to participate. The sample therefore consisted of nine people of mixed mainstream and marginal status, with each participant having marginal status in at least one of the ADDRESSING areas.

All of the nine areas of the ADDRESSING model were represented in the sample, as shown in Table 2. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 57. They had various religious affiliations (Christian, atheist, humanist, Jewish, and non-religious spirituality). African-American, Native American, Asian American, and White

American heritages were represented. Various factors which contributed to socioeconomic status were included, namely class background, current financial status, educational attainment, rural-urban origins, and family name. Participants

Table 2

Sociocultural status of Phase I participants in 9 areas of cultural influence

Name	Age	Disability	Religion	Ethnicity	Social Status	Sexual Orientation	Indigenous Heritage	National Origin	Gender
Esther	38	No	Jewish	Jewish American	Upper-Middle	Lesbian	No	USA	Female
Marie	32	No	Non-religious	White American	Working	Bisexual	No	USA	Female
Geoff	25	No	Non-religious	White American	Working	Bisexual	No	USA	Male
Nancy	40	Develop-mental	Mormon	White American	Working	Heterosexual	No	USA	Female
José	47	Acquired	Atheist	Latin American	Middle	Heterosexual	No	Chile	Male
Chandrika	18	Acquired	Christian	Asian American	Middle	Heterosexual	No	India	Female
Teresa	40	No	Christian	African-American	Working	Heterosexual	No	USA	Female
Tony	39	No	Christian	White American	Middle	Heterosexual	No	USA	Male
Ron	57	No	Christian	African-American/ Native American	Middle	Heterosexual	Yes	USA	Male

came from working, middle and upper class backgrounds. Their financial status ranged from very disadvantaged to financially secure. Some came from rural backgrounds and some had urban origins. Three participants' had family names that were known in their communities. Levels of educational attainment included elementary school, high school, trade and tertiary education, and self-education in adulthood. Participants' sexual orientations included heterosexual, bisexual and lesbian. One participant was of indigenous heritage. Both immigrant status and native-born status was included. Four men and five women took part in this phase of

the study. Each participant was identified by a pseudonym, which was chosen by the researcher.

5.3 Interviewing

In the first phase of the study, I used interviewing as the sole data generation strategy. The interviews took place over a nine-month period, from May, 1998 to February 1999, although most interviews were completed by November, 1998. As already discussed in more detail, my approach to interviewing was influenced by Kvale's (1996) concept of the interview as a purposive conversation and Hagan's (1986) hermeneutic phenomenological approach to interviewing as a social encounter. Each interview was therefore conducted as a conversation with a structure and a purpose, in which I recognized that the researcher-defined and controlled interview was a relationship of unequal power. Within this frame, respondents were invited to talk about experiences and to lead the interview in directions that were meaningful to them, rather than follow a strict agenda.

A semi-structured, in-depth interview format addressed the research topic, while remaining flexible and responsive to the flow of the conversation. Pilot interviews were not conducted, since the interview format was non-standardized and open-ended. Instead, interview questions (see Appendix B) were checked informally with various friends and colleagues from culturally diverse backgrounds, to assess their clarity and suitability. The first interview was conducted with someone I knew, so I could direct some focus to the structure of the interview, instead of having to establish a relationship with someone new. Prior theoretical and practical preparation also

contributed to the quality of the interviews (Merriam, 1989). All the interviews conducted were included in the study, and each one was seen as contributing to the emergent design of the research.

The interview was based on the four research questions presented at the beginning of this chapter, phrased in conversational terms. It was partly structured around Hays' (1996a) ADDRESSING model, and was divided into two sections, usually with a break in between. In the first part of the interview, I invited participants to describe themselves in general terms and to talk about their experiences of power, privilege, advantage, disadvantage, and marginal and mainstream status and identifications, in each of the nine ADDRESSING areas. The questions I anticipated asking were provided on a printed sheet for participants who wished to read them beforehand or refer to them during the interview. I also made it clear that if participants did not wish to respond in any area, or wanted to talk about something else, that this would be acceptable too. Discussion of status, identity and ways in which participants identified as powerful or not, was welcomed, along with other kinds of subjective experience, such as emotional and relational experience, physical sensations, thoughts, ideas, beliefs, values, and opinions. Stories and anecdotes were encouraged. I invited participants to spend as little or as much time as they wished on each ADDRESSING area, and to cover them in any order they chose.

The second part of the interview solicited stories of intercultural interaction. Participants were asked to talk about an interaction with someone who differed from them in at least one of the ADDRESSING areas, and who was therefore unfamiliar to them in some way. Otherwise, this part of the interview was unstructured. The

interviews lasted between 1 and 2 hours, and were tape-recorded. Throughout the interview, I tried to create a comfortable interview environment, took care to establish rapport with the interviewee, and watched for verbal and non-verbal feedback to questions, in the interests of free and full participation throughout. After the interview ended and the tape recorder was turned off, participants were invited to take time to debrief if they wished. I also gave them my telephone number for subsequent contact, if needed.

5.4 Transcribing

The interviews were recorded on a professional quality (Sony TC D5 M) tape-recorder. I also made notes briefly and occasionally during the interview, and in more detail immediately afterwards. I avoided taking a lot of notes during the interview, as I found that this interrupted the conversational interaction. I transcribed each interview myself verbatim, and as soon after the interview as possible. To do so, I first listened to the entire interview, then transcribed it as accurately as possible, with the aid of a transcribing machine (Dictaphone 2600). A third pass corrected errors, and included any previously missed notes on tone, emotion, and other non-verbal information. Going over the interview at least three times was important for rigour and accuracy, for familiarizing myself with each interview in both feeling and content, and staying close to participants' expression and meaning. This also served as an initial means of reflexive interpretation, since it provided opportunities to make notes on the interview, my own participation, and the interview relationship, from a perspective removed from the interview setting.

5.5 Interpretive data analysis

As many writers on qualitative analysis advise, analysis begins early in the research process (Ely, Anzul, Friedman, Garner, Steinmetz, 1991; Kvale, 1996; Lofland & Lofland, 1984; Rubin & Rubin, 1995; Strauss, 1987; Wolcott, 1994). Accordingly, even before interviews were conducted, it began with thematizing. Exploration of theoretical concepts, clarification of preconceived ideas, expectations, and biases, and formulation of research questions, all helped to focus the interpretive process as it progressed in iterative spirals through data generation, transcription and specific interpretive tasks. In addition, prior conceptual work helped to organize and display findings in later stages of the interpretive process (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

In Phase I, strategies of analysis and interpretation were influenced by Tesch's (1990) generic approach, and are best described as an 'ad hoc' (Kvale, 1996; Miles & Huberman, 1994) or 'hybrid' (Boyatzis, 1998) approach to thematic analysis. Guided by Tesch's (1990) metaphor of analysis as an artist's palette, my approach constituted a 'unique shade' of strategies that blended theory-driven and data-driven analysis. It combined theory-driven (etic) and emergent or data-driven (emic) approaches, in order to distinguish themes in textual data. Theory-driven themes were prompted by prior theoretical considerations, and reflected the research questions and interview structure. Data-driven themes were derived from careful and thorough readings of the transcripts and the development of an hierarchical indexing system. Various strategies were used to elucidate and interpret meanings, including broad-brush and fine-detail techniques. Broad-brush techniques included compiling a summary of each interview, thus reducing the transcript to two or three pages of text, and reducing this summary

to a single word or phrase which captured a distinctive flavour of the conversation and the life world described. Often this was touched on at the beginning and/or end of the interview, and sometimes re-appeared in the body of the conversation. This helped to make some overall interpretations explicit, and thus enabled me to review interview texts with these in mind. Fine-detail techniques involved line-by-line coding of the transcripts, in order to build a hierarchical index of categories, and identify themes and patterns in the textual data. This was seen as a process that produced a version of lived experience, several times removed from the original experience, and filtered through the researcher's perspectives and biases. However, throughout the interviews and the analysis process, staying as close to the respondents' meaning as possible, was a primary intention.

Various tasks contributed to the coding process. With my research questions in view, I read and re-read each transcript, noting broad areas of meaning and making marginal notes on the hard copy and/or word processor file of the transcript. Transcript files were then imported into NUD*IST 4.0 and line-by-line coding was used to build a combination of loosely pre-determined and data-emergent categories. NUDIST 4.0 (see Appendix E) was used here as a retrieval and organizing device that facilitated observation and clustering of meaning segments and set the stage for further interpretive analysis. I started out by coding to broad categories based on the conceptual framework of research questions and theoretical concepts that I brought to the study. Use of non-hierarchical coding categories ('Free Nodes' in NUD*IST 4.0) were useful at this stage. However, it became evident that keeping too close to prior concepts left insufficient room for anything outside their frame to emerge. Having

moved prematurely to interpretive and explanatory analysis, neglecting its descriptive phases (Miles & Huberman, 1994), I made my ideas more explicit, in the form of memos and annotations, and attempted to put them aside temporarily, in order to approach the data with a more open mind and develop data-driven categories.

Towards this end, I drew up a two-level coding system. Level 1 was a compilation of general categories, suggested by Lofland & Lofland (1984), Bogdan & Biklin (1992) and Richards & Richards (1995). Miles & Huberman (1994) refer to this as an 'etic' approach. This was helpful because it included basic categories that I might otherwise have overlooked because of inevitable biases, interests and inclinations. Level 2 was an 'emic' level, drawn from participant conversation, and nested in the 'etic' codes. Thus, in an evolving process, categories were developed directly from the data, as well as from prior concepts and questions. Basic categories were: Base Data (demographic), People, Relationships, Events, Activities, Place, Time-Life Stages, Cognitive Experience, Affective Experience, Physiological Experience, Dreaming-Future Experience, Cultural Influence, Power, Process, Frames of Self-Reference. Two further categories, Interview and Study, related to the method and conduct of the study. These categories formed an hierarchical indexing system (called an Index Tree in NUD*IST 4.0) which was used in the process of thematic development. The Index Tree is included in Appendix F.

5.6 Verification and ethics

Verification strategies in qualitative inquiry, and the philosophical assumptions that underpin them, were discussed in Chapter 2. A number of these strategies were

employed in this phase of the study. Detailed documentation was carefully maintained. I kept a reflexive method journal throughout. This included my own notes on the research process, as well as email correspondence with my supervisor. Thus the journal recorded both personal and interactional comment on the research process, and included a perspective other than my own. I made extensive use of memos and annotations during the analysis process, recording questions and issues, choices and decisions, self-reflexive and interpretive comment, and methodological observations, thus establishing a paper trail for external audit. Keeping close to the data, the importance of fit, and making categories explicit were important considerations throughout. Inclusion of a participant with mainstream status in every ADDRESSING area was an attempt to take account of experience which might run counter to the emerging findings. In a basic form of respondent validation, participants were offered a copy of their interview transcript, and invited to make corrections or changes. At a later stage, I discussed the outcomes and procedures of the whole project with participants. This is described in detail in Chapter 7.

As noted previously, qualitative researchers have been reconsidering traditional ethical standpoints in psychological research, and their overlap with verification strategies has been well recognized. For example, how the researcher relates to participants is both an ethical consideration and a determinant of research quality. My approach to participants and subsequent interaction with them prioritized the quality of the research relationship, and researcher reflexivity, as key ethical criteria. Towards this end I paid close attention to both verbal and non-verbal feedback to my requests to participate. I discussed the nature of my research, its aims and anticipated

procedures, and engaged in conversation with participants in person beforehand in the interest of establishing a connection with them, exploring doubts or questions, and answering any questions they had as openly and fully as I could. I tried to be aware of power differences between us, both as researcher and participant and in terms of our cultural identities, and discussed these where appropriate. In relationship with each participant, I showed myself as a person, as well as a researcher and student, in various ways, depending on the context and conversation: as a somewhat shy but friendly and enthusiastic person, someone relatively new to the neighbourhood, a non-American, a psychotherapist, a client, a woman in an intercultural relationship with another woman, and so on. I was open to discussing my own mainstream and marginal experience, or other areas if called for. I tried to be aware of the specificity of each relationship, and to attend to issues as they arose in interview conversations. I made my interest in particular topics explicit, while simultaneously encouraging participants to follow or introduce topics of interest to them. Acknowledging my role and interest was intended to give participants greater freedom to participate as they chose. I was also aware that each interview relationship itself constituted lived experience of marginality in intercultural interaction. Reflexive interest in this, including my own experience as a participant in an intercultural encounter, also contributed to the study.

This relational, reflexive approach to the ethical conduct of the inquiry, was augmented by the observation of specific procedures required by the University of Wollongong Ethics Committee. These related to confidentiality, voluntary participation, withholding of relevant information, deception and data storage.

Participants were given the required information sheets about my research and a consent form (see Appendix B), during face-to-face invitations to participate. My written undertaking of confidentiality was re-iterated in the context of the interview, and consent was re-checked after participation, when the outcomes of the study were discussed. At the outset, participants were offered access to their transcripts, a summary of research findings, and copies of any published articles. No financial payment was made participants. They said that they took part because they hoped that information they valued would potentially be shared with a wider audience, or they wanted to help me or were interested in what I was doing. Discussing these considerations with participants and making motivations explicit was also important to the overall ethical conduct of the study.

5.7 Outcomes and interpretations

The complexity of the phenomena investigated presented a challenge in the representation of outcomes. Their multidimensionality, non-linearity and fluidity were not particularly amenable to linear description, and did not accord well with the imperative to focus on one thing at a time for the sake of intelligibility and clarity. Statements of findings might all too easily be taken as a rendering of actual fact, rather than as interpretations of changing realities, made through personal, relational, cultural, situational and temporal filters. With this acknowledgement, outcomes of Phase 1 are presented in two forms: web-wheel displays, and thematic threads, which identify themes and patterns in the data. The web-wheel displays show overall patterning of status and identification (identities and self-perceptions in external and subjective dimensions of power) in each of the nine ADDRESSING areas. Six

'thematic threads' were produced, describing patterns in the data (Luborsky, 1994) that pertain to participants' personal and interrelational experience. These are illustrated with textual references, distinguished by a smaller font size for clarity of presentation.

5.7.1 Web-wheel displays

As an initial means of data reduction and display, the sociocultural status of each participant was mapped on a web-wheel diagram. Figure 8 shows the result of this mapping. It represents the cultural complexity of the group of people (including the researcher) who took part in Phase I. Each person is represented by a different coloured or dashed line, which links their status designations for each area of cultural influence, and encloses an area within the web-wheel. Thus, for example, marginal status in more areas is represented by a larger polygonal shape, mainstream status in more areas is represented by a smaller shape. The visual impression created by this mapping of sociocultural status is one of complexity and interconnectedness. In order to distinguish each participant, one must carefully attend to the particular configuration that distinguishes him or her from others in the group. This represents the ways in which sociocultural status varies, when different areas of cultural influence are considered, and therefore suggests the importance of not making generalized assumptions about a person on the basis of one area of cultural influence. As can be seen in Figure 8, one participant (Tony) was categorized as mainstream in all of the nine areas. Others had mixed marginal and mainstream status, or marginal status in a majority of areas (for example, José). Also, sociocultural status was not
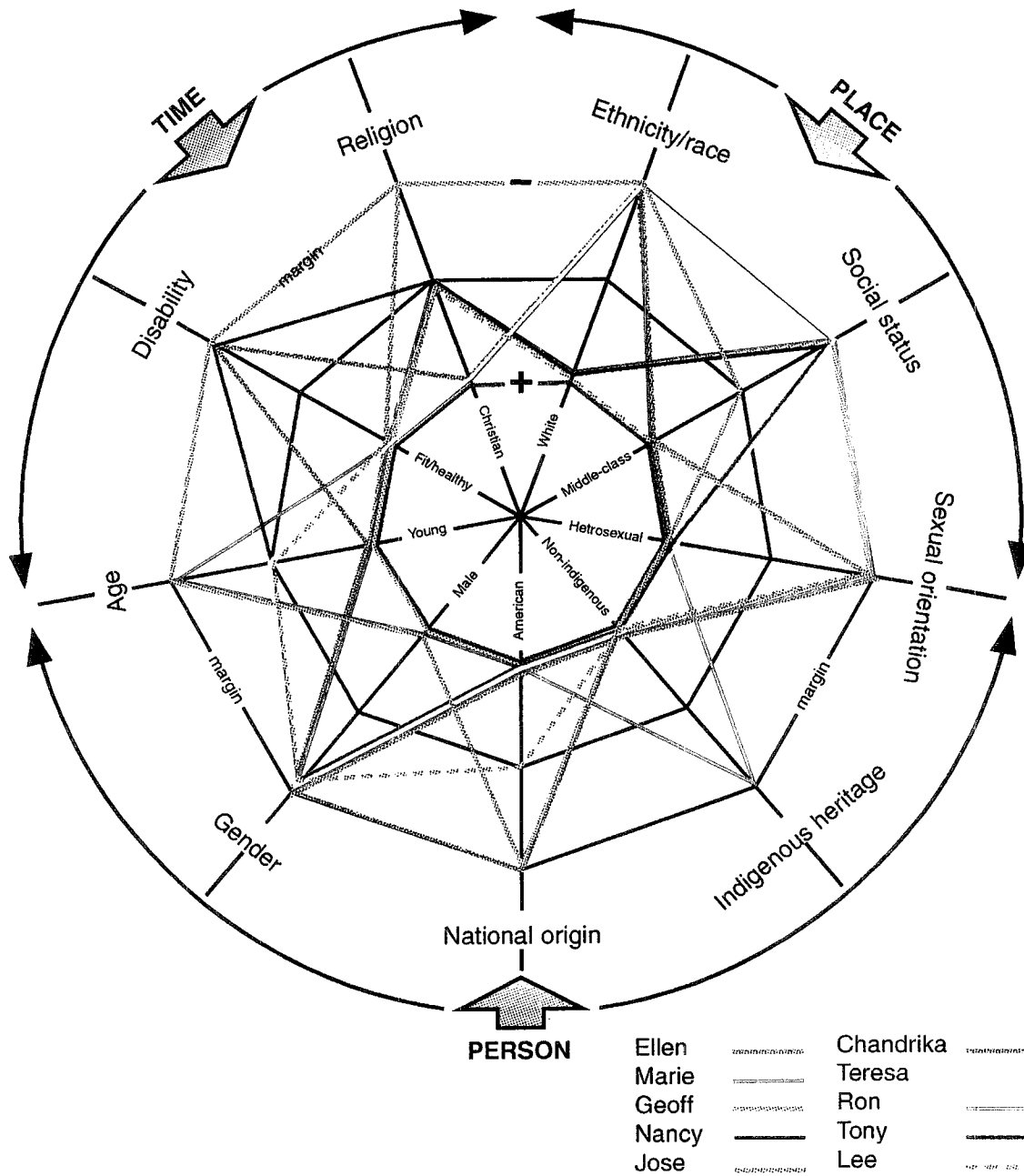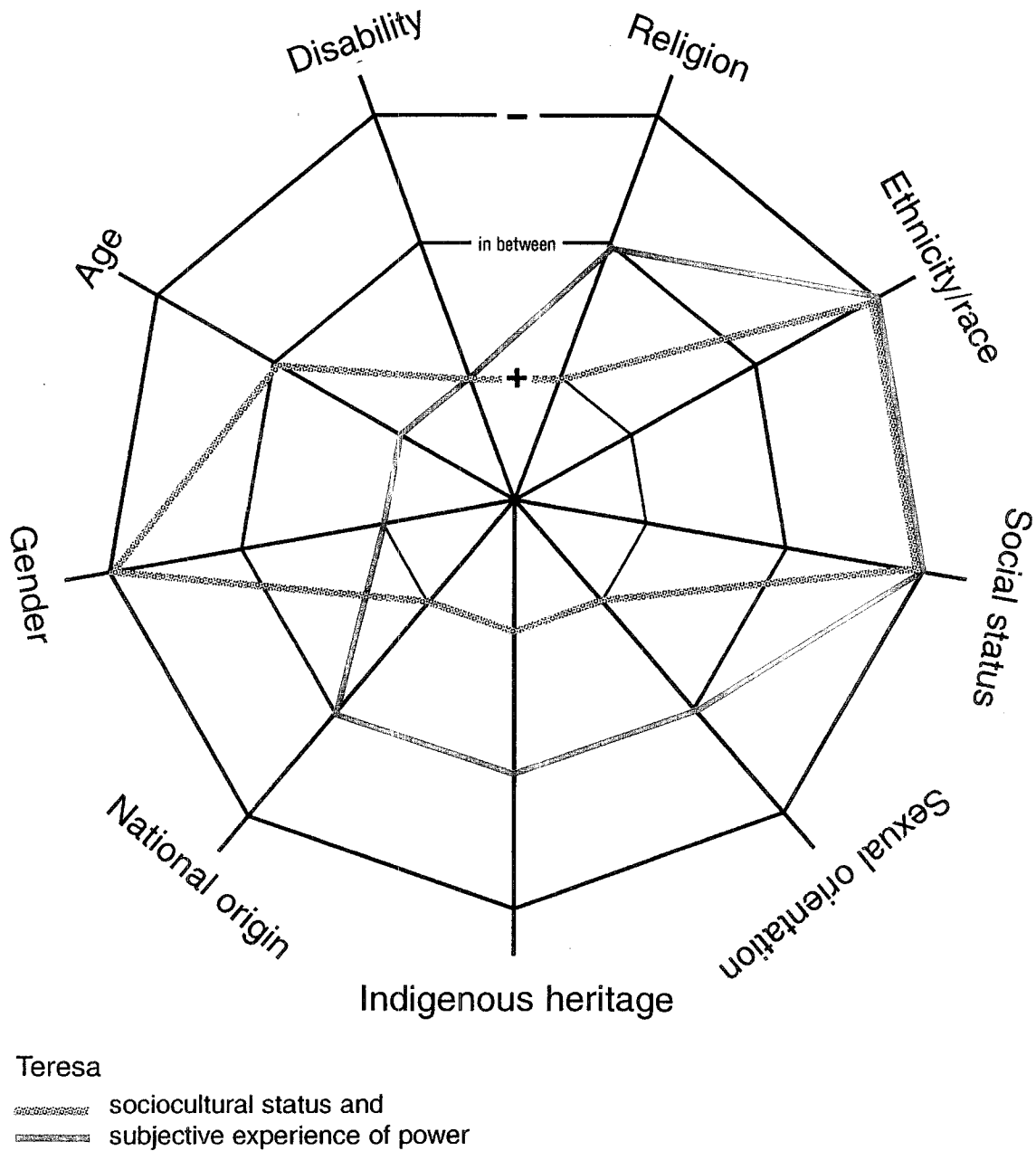
Figure 8. Sociocultural status designations for nine participants and researcher (Phase 1).

necessarily clear cut, with some participants designated 'in-between' margin and mainstream on some spokes.
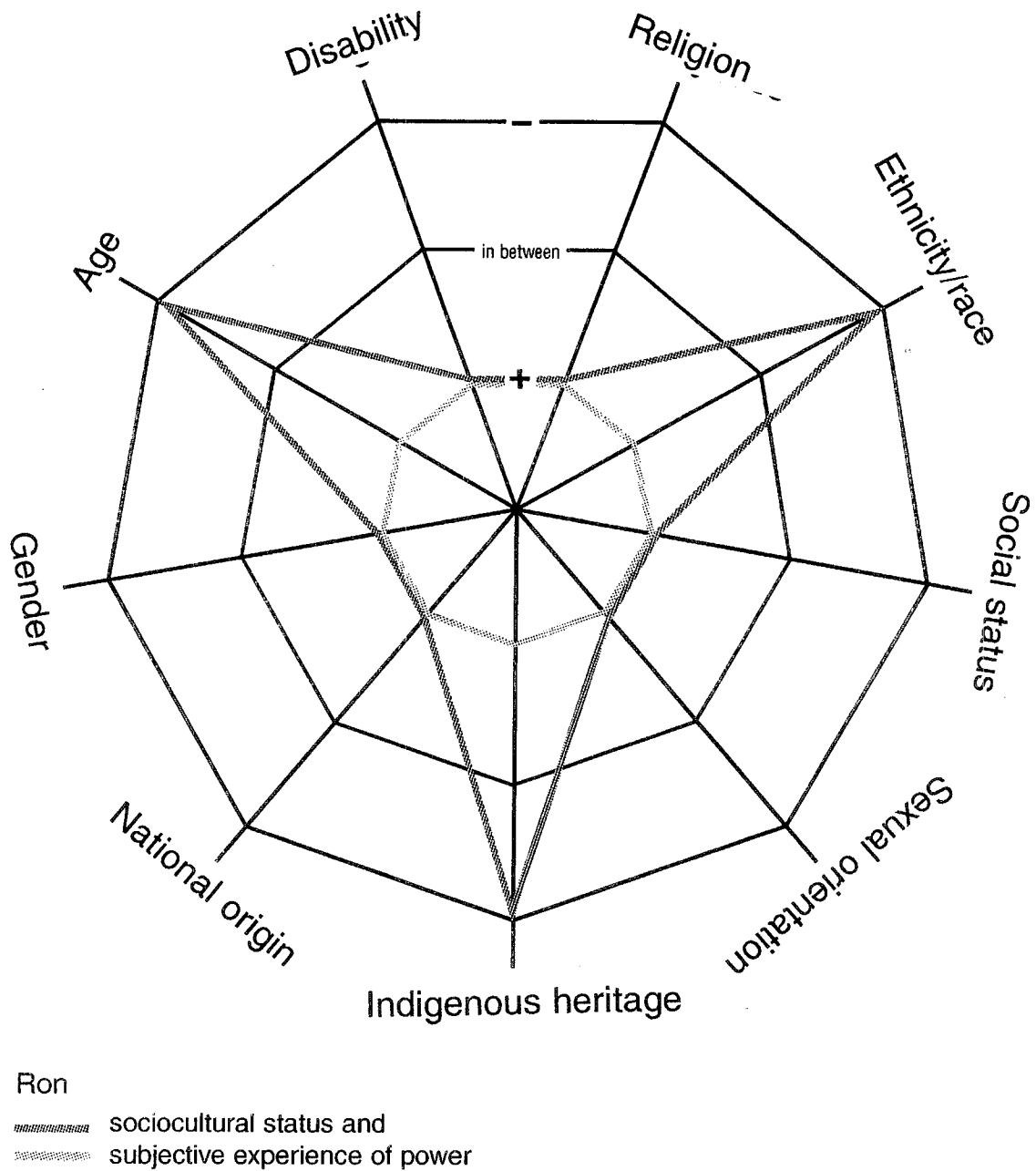

Figure 9. An interpretive mapping of Teresa's sociocultural status and subjective experience of power in nine areas of cultural influence.

Web-wheel displays also contrasted external status categorization (margin, mainstream or in between) with subjective experience (more or less powerful, or in between) in each of the nine ADDRESSING areas. Figures 9 and 10 present interpretive mappings of sociocultural status and subjective experience for two participants, Ron and Teresa. From careful readings of the transcripts and examination of emergent coding categories, an interpretive rendering of each respondent's description of their subjective experience of power was mapped on the web-wheel diagram. Outer, sociocultural classifications, and inner identifications suggested by participants' discussion of themselves, were represented in contrasting colours. The points on the various spokes were again joined to create two polygonal figures. The differences between the shapes on the diagrams illustrate the way in which external status and inner experience of power may differ. The contrast between the two suggests that in different areas of cultural influence, inner experience of power does not necessarily correspond to power associated with sociocultural status. The illustration of these differences in the form of web-wheel diagrams recommends further exploration of power as a multidimensional phenomenon.

5.7.2 Thematic threads

The web-wheels discussed so far display textual data in the form of visual representations of the composition of participant groups (Figure 8) and the contrast between outer and inner experience of power (Figures 9 and 10). The data generation and interpretation process also produced six thematic threads. These were complexity of sociocultural status and identification, multidimensionality of power, hardship and

suffering, process, margin as limen, and uncertainty. Each theme is described next, with illustrative quotations from interview transcripts.

Figure 10. An interpretive mapping of Ron's sociocultural status and subjective experience of power in nine areas of cultural influence.

THEMATIC THREAD 1: *COMPLEXITY OF SOCIOCULTURAL STATUS AND IDENTIFICATION*

Complexity was evident as a major theme throughout participants' accounts. The mix of marginal and mainstream status and identification, differing degrees of marginalization associated with different areas of cultural influence, ways in which these combined and overlap, and the effects of temporal and situational context and idiosyncratic perspective were all aspects of this complexity. The web-wheel diagram in Figure 8 reflects the complexity and inter-relatedness of sociocultural status and identification described in interview conversations. The figure looks something like an image in a kaleidoscope, a complex pattern of shapes and colours, requiring careful focus to determine individual elements. This analogy serves as a reminder that the pattern of status and identification represented is not a permanent and fixed reality: like a kaleidoscope image, it changes over time, in different places and in relation to personal factors.

Figure 8 shows that when multiple areas of cultural influence were considered, participants were mixed in their identifications as mainstream, mainstream or in between in the nine areas explored. For example, Nancy (represented by a green line on the web-wheel) was a working class, heterosexual, White, American-born, Mormon, female participant in her mid 40s, who had a developmental disability. According to the margin-mainstream designations defined by dominant cultural values in the United States, she was categorized as marginal in 4 areas (disability, religion, socio-economic status and gender) and as mainstream in five. With the addition of the third category, 'in between', she was categorized as 'in between' in

relation to her age (since she was neither very young nor elderly). Teresa (represented by a yellow line on the web-wheel) was a 40 year old, Christian, heterosexual, non-indigenous, African-American, female participant, with no disabilities. As a working-class, self-educated, financially disadvantaged, single parent, she worked to support her child, grandchild and surviving parent. She had marginal status in three areas: ethnicity/race, socio-economic status and gender. She had mainstream status in seven areas of sociocultural status: age, national origin, disability, indigenous heritage and religion. José (represented in Figure 8 by a pale blue line) was a Latino, heterosexual, male participant in his late forties, who had an acquired visible disability (his leg was amputated in childhood). He came from an upper class, well known, but no longer wealthy, family. He was tertiary educated. Since immigrating to America, he had suffered racism, age-related and language-related discrimination in the workplace, and occupational and financial disadvantage. He was an atheist and a humanist. José was designated marginal in six areas: religion, ethnicity/race, socio-economic status, national origin, age, and disability. At the other end of the spectrum of possible combinations of mainstream-marginal status, Tony (represented in Figure 8 by a dark blue line) had mainstream status in all areas. He was a young, fit, professional, White American, heterosexual, male participant, from a Christian (Protestant) middle-class background.

The degree of marginalization associated with different areas of cultural influence varied in participants' accounts. Some had marginal status in one or two areas, but had experienced a great deal of victimization, discrimination or oppression (as in Teresa's case). Others had marginal status in a majority of the nine areas and

had experienced marginalization to varying degrees (as in José's situation). Participants also varied in the degree to which they identified as having marginal or mainstream status. For example, Teresa identified strongly with being African-American, and emphasized the salience of racial factors in her experience of marginalization. Chandrika, an 18 year old woman of Indian heritage, with an adoptive White American family, described her shifting identity as a person of colour as she grew up. Further, different levels of political awareness also featured in participants' conversations. Some participants had thought a great deal about discrimination and oppression at a political level, some had studied or worked in certain areas of marginalization, and some had not thought much about marginalization at all.

Some types of marginalization were very concrete, others less so, and presented different kinds of challenge, according to participants' accounts. José compared the challenges that marginalization based on ethnicity and disability presented to him:

> José: It's *real concrete* [having a physical disability]. There is a hill there, you go and you either climb it or you don't. You ski and either you learn it or you don't, and you do all these crazy activities. And they're very tangible. With ethnicity it is *not* the same, because it is very intangible. You don't know, at least I don't know all the time what is expected from me ... and it changes you know, and it's a very different thing. *You can not win.*

Some participants commented on the interrelationship or blurring between areas of cultural influence in their experience of marginality. For example racial and religious cultural identities were not entirely separable in the experience of Esther, a Jewish American woman:

> Esther: For me being White, when I hear the word White, I think of Christian, so I don't feel very White, because I don't feel I have been accepted in the world as a Jew. But I am also white-skinned so I have the privileges of having white skin, and I haven't had to encounter things that on a daily basis people without white skin encounter ... but then again being

> Jewish I'm not really noticed as Jewish so I'm still white. I think I struggle with the concept of White, because I feel that it's really lumping together a bunch of very, very disparate ethnic groups for the *purpose* of perpetuating a racial apartheid world.

Geoff's experience of the mixing of class and race in his experience of marginality was another example. He grew up in a poor family in an area where 75% of the population was Hispanic or Asian. His family was one of the four White families in this area. He described his lack of identification with his racial origins due to the mixing of class and race in his experiences growing up.

> Geoff: On a general whole it seems to me the least educated of the people in the world on the things that are important in life, are White people, are Caucasians in my opinion... though they've got all this educational equipment basically at hand , and tons of money that they can go to these expensive schools. But most of these places teach you to be *ignorant* of the world as a whole ... I remember there was families I wasn't allowed in their house, because I was dirty, basically, I was *poor* and I wasn't as clean. My clothes were ripped and I had cheap sneakers and so I wasn't allowed in their house. And this *never* happened in a family - like I'd go to my Hispanics friends' house whose parents weren't necessarily any nicer or kinder people, but I could come in their house all I wanted, and they would treat me very *well*, and not even because they necessarily even liked me. And specially in the oriental cultures, like my Vietnamese friends, they would just be like, "Come in, *oh please come in!*" and, you know, and feed you and be totally nice and their parents would talk to you. And this wouldn't happen in [the White families].

Some participants also referred to the context-dependent nature of their experiences of marginalization. In one place or situation, they felt marginalized, in another they did not. At various times in their lives they experienced marginalization to a greater or lesser degree. For example, José commented on the advantages of receiving special consideration (such as designated parking spaces) as a person with a disability in the United States, compared with his home country, because of the effect of different political ideologies:

> José: I started to work as a humanist before I left Chile, so the only thing that would be clear at that point was that I was handicapped, right, and actually that worked *totally* against me,

> because at the very beginning of the humanist movement in Chile, everybody was considered *so equal*, yeah, that I was stuck there! You know "Walk five kilometers!" "Oh no, forget it!" "Eh, we're here all equal". So it did not work really *good* you know to be handicapped in *those* conditions...Too much equality can be ... it *is* a disadvantage!

Overall, the theme of complexity of marginal status and identification was evident throughout the interview conversations. All the participants interviewed had a mixture of marginal and mainstream identifications, since even Tony, designated as mainstream in all areas, did not identify strongly with the religious beliefs of his upbringing, and felt disadvantaged in this area, relative to the Christian mainstream.

THEMATIC THREAD II: HARDSHIP AND SUFFERING

The psychological, emotional, relational and social burdens associated with socio-cultural marginalization featured in many conversations. Respondents described the many difficult and painful experiences they had suffered. They talked about traumatic experience, pain, denial, and "the wreckage" of the past. For example Esther talked about her experience of anti-Semitism in a professional context:

> Esther: It was the lack of treatment, it was the denial, it was a classic, ignorance, suddenly they turned dumb. Suddenly they became this stupid, unconscious mainstream. But the *hatred*, I think it was the hatred, that hatred, I saw the hatred on her face. I felt *hurt*. I just felt like at the bottom of the heap, you know, *rejected, despised.*

Chandrika described her feelings of pain and fear, and aversive reaction to the city where she was born and abandoned as a baby:

> Chandrika: We rented "City of Joy" which is a movie that's actually based in Calcutta. And we watched it and I had like nightmares for a week I guess, and it's - and that just like "Oh my God, I don't want to, you know - the movie was enough, I don't really want to see it". What was hardest about that maybe was seeing such poverty and saying, "Wow, so that's where I came from.

Other negative experiences included being scrutinized, judged, labelled, disempowered; feeling constrained, not free; feeling unable to fit in, relate or

communicate; being hurt, discriminated against and oppressed, and powerless to change things.

> Teresa: It's hard because being Black doesn't afford us the opportunity to ever feel like we're in a place to take advantage of anything, so just by the very nature of my race, you know, I mean it's inherent that you become subservient in some ways, in a *lot* of regards, actually.

> José: It's really like being in a *cage*, sometimes, you know, you're subject to *scrutiny* from the people. I mean if they're all Americans, or they're all Canadians they don't do that amongst themselves, they're *all equal*. As soon as somebody different comes in, the person gets analyzed with a magnifying glass, it's *not* a nice situation to be in.

The problem of facing "unclear and shifting goal posts", experiences of being stereotyped, of being marginalized in the past and not being able to break free of that identity, not being able to relate to others, feeling "stupid" or "no good", not belonging or fitting in, and being "a square peg trying to fit in a round hole", were other ways in which respondents described difficult and painful experiences of marginality.

> José: With ethnicity you'll *never* get recognition and besides you cannot change it. That's the *worst* part , even though now, I don't know people can dye their hair, yellow or green, but the way the stereotyped part, you cannot change it. I cannot change my accent ... I gave up on that one.

> Geoff: I guess I was in third grade I had really long hair and well, my Dad was in a rock-and-roll band and I would wear a tie-dyed T-shirt, you know, with my Dad's band name on there ... and come to school but I also scored in the *top three people* in any of my classes on all the test scores and all the reading, and I taught myself to read when I was five years old and had just been doing it for *ever*... You know the teacher's aid was usually somebody's mother who does it voluntary and there was her daughter who was a grade below had a crush on me. I heard one day she came and she was finding an excuse to talk to me was what she was doing and she said that her mother she was at home grading papers and exclaimed when she got to my paper she's like "My God! that's *so incredible*, he doesn't *look* smart!"

> Geoff: [talking about being on the job as a foreman, talking with other house painters, about having sex with men] ... You can't do it, it's just not done you know, especially you can't tell

them that their foreman has had a D-battery in his ass or something, you know (laughs) *you don't tell that to just anybody* ... because people would treat you *entirely* different. Yeah, like the macho male is not going to be comfortable with you standing there painting a wall, because as a man they're going to think the whole time that you're looking at his *ass* or something.

Participants' descriptions of hardship and suffering also included trauma that was not necessarily linked to a particular area of sociocultural status. For example, Nancy experienced considerable trauma in her childhood, and referred to this as "the wreckage of the bullshit ... and I can't say wreckage of the past because I'm not sure if it's all past yet". Teresa suffered domestic violence in adulthood. From both accounts, it was evident that trauma and abuse in childhood and adult life further compounded the hardship of sociocultural marginalization. It was also not necessarily associated with marginality, since personal pain and trauma occurred in participants' lives irrespective of their marginal or mainstream status.

THEMATIC THREAD III: MULTIDIMENSIONALITY OF POWER

Participants' conversations therefore reflected many difficult and painful experiences of disadvantage, lack of power, and privilege. They described how this affected their sense of themselves psychologically, their relationships with others, and their experiences in the world. However, the experiences of marginality described were not only painful or burdensome. They also included advantages and strengths related to marginal status. Most participants had mixed mainstream and marginal status and therefore had mainstream privilege in some areas. The mixing of power, privilege, advantage and disadvantage, is broadly suggested in Figures 9 and 10. Participants did not necessarily experience marginal status as having a lack of power.

Sociocultural status, in participants' accounts, was only one of various sources of power in a person's life world. In some participants' experience, sociocultural status was less salient in their overall sense of themselves as a more or less powerful person. For example, as shown in Figure 10, Ron had marginal status in three areas (race/ethnicity, age, indigenous heritage). However his sense of himself was as a powerful person overall, which he attributed to relationships in his childhood and adult life, and to his spiritual and ethical beliefs.

Thus, respondents did not only describe marginality as a negative, powerless experience. They talked about experiences of power in a number of different ways. The different types of experience they described were divided into five sub-themes, which distinguished between different dimensions of power. Definitions for each of these five dimensions of power are presented in Table 3. The five dimensions are sociocultural power, psychological power, relational power, activist power, and transpersonal power.

Sociocultural power was defined as status or rank bestowed on a person by societal values and distribution of benefits and privileges. In this study it pertained to mainstream status designations in the nine areas defined in the ADDRESSING model. It referred to unearned privilege or rank, which was conferred on a person by birth, family heritage, cultural heritage, and by societal valuing of certain characteristics or assets. Examples of this type of power included social status, education, money and other types of material privilege, physical appearance, family name, mobility.

> Tony: Because of the good luck that I have had, I have a good job, I don't have a tremendous amount of financial obligation so I have more freedom to travel, I have more freedom to spend

time exploring the world on leisure time, and I probably have the luxury of spending more time thinking about things like the environment and other things that I think are *important* because I am not having to constantly worry about there my next meal is coming from or whether my kids are in juvenile detention or whatever someone else's problem might be, and I'm fortunate that way and I think it does give me some opportunity to do things and experience things that other people don't have.

Table 3:

Definitions of five dimensions of power, identified from Phase I interviews

Dimension of power	Definition
Sociocultural	Having social status, rank and privilege associated with normative cultural values, systemic structures, and sociocultural factors (e.g. ADDRESSING factors).
Psychological	Feeling powerful, strong, or having a sense of ease, freedom or well-being in life because of having positive qualities, skills or abilities, self-esteem, confidence; learning or developing as a person.
Relational	Feeling powerful, strong, or having a sense of ease, freedom or well-being in life because of being able to relate to people easily, having friends, support networks, strong relationships with partner, spouse, children, family, colleagues or community.
Activist	Feeling powerful, strong, or having a sense of ease, freedom or well-being in life of awareness of social justice issues, working for social change, fighting against discrimination and oppression.
Transpersonal	Feeling powerful, strong, or having a sense of ease, freedom or well-being in life because connection with something spiritual, divine, ancestors, Nature, creativity, community, something greater than yourself. Having a sense of inner strength from surviving hardship, suffering or oppression, or having a sense of leadership, care and responsibility for the well-being of the wider community.

Psychological power was defined in terms of feeling good about oneself, having positive attributes and attitudes, psychological strength. Participants talked about this in various contexts. Some, like Ron, spoke about positive messages that they received

in childhood, from parents for example. They also spoke about psychological strengths developed from life experience, as well as qualities and abilities that they had been able to identify in themselves for as long as they could remember.

> Ron: My mother was a very *strong* influence in my life. She prepared me for my adult years … and at the time I didn't understand because I was one of those kids who was *physical* and a lot of times I wanted to *beat* somebody up and she would say, "No, honey, you don't have to beat up somebody because they're *less* than you are.
>
> *Attitude is everything!* … it's just like if you go to the store - I like Black Walnut ice-cream. And I go to the store and I say to the person, "Do you have black walnut ice-cream? (imitates store person) "We have maple-nut, we have pecan". "That isn't what I *asked you*! (imitating himself). If you go to the gas station and ask for gas and they put water in your tank, isn't that kind of stupid? Now why would I want these other things when *this* is what I want." That's what I hate at the store. If I have a taste for something, if you have a taste for something and they try to give you a substitute, you don't want no substitute, *you want what you want* (thumping the table) Don't *tell* me about those other things… *yes*, if you say "O.K., I'll take that", that isn't what you want! *You go for what you want*, you don't go for a substitute!

> Nancy: I'm a square peg, not a round peg and I'm *not* going to fit in that round hole and no matter how many times we've sheered off the sides, I still end up being oval, O.K.!! Does that make any sense to you? I am *not* going to fit in that damn hole! And I don't want to fit in that hole either … It's like I don't *want* to be like everybody else, I mean this would be the most *boring* world in the *world*, in the *universe*, it would be extremely boring if we all were the same!

> Teresa: [reflecting on her journey out of domestic violence] I think as *women* we always have a tendency to want to look within, and we want to *find* the problems within ourself and want to *fix* it, and it takes us a long time to realize that, honey, the reason you're not fixing it is it's not *you*, you're not *broke*, you're *OK*!

Skills, learning, self-reflexivity; self awareness, and self confidence were included in this dimension. Participants often talked about the importance of life experience and self-education in connection with self esteem, particularly if they had not had a formal education.

Geoff: ... in the house that I grew up in, things weren't kept secret, I wasn't *told* any certain ways to believe things and I was fed as much information as I could take in, so I think, that way, culturally I've got a broader idea of what's going on in the world than, say, a lot of people that hold a lot of things true that might not be.

Nancy: I feel that I make *good* choices. Even when I was ... a strung out junkie, even when I was involved into crime and everything else up to my eyeballs which was many moons ago, I still made good choices, because I would be presented with two things, one would be much worse than the other and I would opt for the better of the two, until I figured out, 'Well, I don't like any of these choices, I need to move on'.

Relational power was defined as having positive relational and communication skills, liking and being liked by others, having friends and support networks, enjoying sharing perspectives, sameness or difference in relationship. Various participants talked about relational skills and abilities and the strengths that they derived from family, kinship ties and community. Ron, for example, spoke at length about his family, his parents and 13 brothers and sisters, and his children and grandchild, all of whom were tremendously important to him. For some, relational strength was found in skills and relational capacities. For others, it came from familial and social networks:

Esther: I feel that I've somehow grown up socially *skilled*, I don't know where that comes from, so I feel that that opens me up to *people*, so I feel as though I am incredibly benefited by interactions with others... my neighbours, everybody ... I just feel like maybe it's luck and maybe it's like a *social* - partly something like social abilities make me friendlier ... I can't trace where it comes from but a certain friendliness on my part opens me up to being *available* for such encounters.

Tony: Well, I feel extremely lucky and I'm well aware of the advantages I have ... and that's something I'll never take for granted. I am mostly advantaged because I come from a loving family and parents that I am very close with that are still very supportive and have always given their love unconditionally.

Activist power was defined in terms of having the capacity to fight for justice, strength from working against oppression, and a sense of rightness or justice being on one's side in the face of oppression or disadvantage. It included an awareness of privilege and of using this to oppose oppression. Some identified this as a quality that was an essential aspect of their personality. Others saw it as coming from experiences in life, or as something they developed in response to marginalization.

> José: From my earliest memory. It was really interesting to find out, that it almost went through everything I did, that search for justice, so I think that determined almost my entire life. I have no idea where it came from though. ... I am automatically classified in Chile as high class. So I have to make an extra effort to integrate myself with any other classes. ... In the case of the classes, there is *not* the movement up - the lower class can not go *up*, because they are being held. It is the upper class that has to, you know, go down. Because it is a situation of *power*, ultimately. I guess that people have to go through some sort of a struggle to realize. If they don't have some sort of experience they will *never* see it. I don't know how to produce that.

Transpersonal power was defined in terms of spiritual, religious or inner strength, creativity, equanimity, joy, equilibrium, transformation through hardship or suffering, and connection with a wider whole. For example, Geoff described a particular talent that he had, which connected him with others and something greater than himself.

> Geoff: ...I feel powerful and privileged that I have talent to play music, and that music has a profound effect on people. It's because of the nature of it, of vibration and the fact that everything in the whole entire universe is made up of vibration and sound ...so *that* makes me feel at an advantage because I can go to any culture in the world and not necessarily understand, but I can have a glimpse more of an idea about something, and if I can't speak with somebody I can play music with them all night long ... And it also it makes me feel *empowered* because you can have control over people's emotions, not only in the content of a song but the structure. You can do it *right there*, you can take a group of people in a room that don't necessarily have any of the same feelings and bring a common ground, yeah!

In the experience of some participants, greater access to transpersonal power was intrinsically related to sociocultural marginalization. Coming through hardship and suffering brought strength, a deeper connection to life, meaning, and spirituality. As Nancy commented:

> Nancy: I'm finally at the stage where I'm not dealing with as much pain and there's a lot more good stuff coming in, and I'm kind of feeling like I've *arrived* to living.

Nancy had suffered most of her life from discrimination and oppression in many areas, both in her family and in broader social contexts. She had experienced marginalization in relation to her gender, poverty, health, religion and spiritual beliefs, and life-style factors such as drug addiction and crime. She had suffered abuse and trauma in her family. She spoke of how she experienced her weight as a disability, and she mostly felt bad about her size.

> Nancy: My dad doesn't like me because I'm overweight. My husband and I have been together 18 years, and his mother, she died 2 years ago, she has never been in my home. Her whole reason she cited was because I was fat . Being overweight I personally feel like a lot of people look down on it and a lot of people *do*, and I think it's getting a little bit better, but it's kind of like a hard thing, because at first, when people see me, the first thing they see is a *huge woman* or a *big* woman. And we all know that 'people who are *fat* are lazy and they eat too much', and you know, I'm just talking abut the stereotype and all we do is 'sit around and eat bonbons and watch soap operas' and I don't know what else we do, but it's not much. But I *don't do any of that* and I'm *still big*.

However, Nancy also said that this same factor, which caused her so much pain and difficulty in life, was in certain moments and particular situations a source of transpersonal power. For example, when she worked in a hospital labour ward, physically supporting a woman who was about to give birth, she felt just the right size.

> Nancy: I do a lot of labour support up in the hospitals and the one and only time in the world I ever feel like being my size is *exactly* what I'm supposed to be, is when I've got my arms around this very *huge* belly and a mommy and I'm holding her and rocking her, and getting her through the bad parts of labour. Then, the size I am is what surrounds her and takes care of

> her, you know, and that's where I *like* being my size, that's where I don't mind being my size. Because without my size I don't think it would have the same effect to them, either.

Nancy's account of this was a metaphor for her way of being in the world, since, in addition to her large family, she supported many people who were in difficulty, on a daily basis. Despite her own financial struggles, her home was a shelter for various friends, acquaintances, and especially teenagers, who would otherwise be homeless.

Similarly, as another illustration of transpersonal power, Teresa described her experience of multiple social oppressions, such as racism, sexism, poverty, family violence, and other difficult experiences. In the face of hardship, she derived strength from her religious faith and a relationship with Christ, which made her strong in the dimension of transpersonal power.

> Teresa: If I could write that book [about her life's journey through poverty, racial and gender discrimination, domestic violence, to happiness, self sufficiency, a job and a life she is proud of] in a couple of sentences, I would say there is hope. There is hope, in this world, and you gotta look *within*, you gotta look within yourself and know that. You know, for me, Jesus He lives in me, He's not out here, He's not a myth, He's here (points to her heart), all the time He's with me, and so I can take *courage* and I can be *strong* and I can be diligent in who I am and I can be *any person* that I *choose* to be. Yeah, *take hope*, you know, because there is hope. You know, in every situation there is hope.

THEMATIC THREAD IV: *MARGIN AS PROCESS*

Marginal and mainstream status and experience were described by participants in both fluid and static terms. Static descriptions referred to status and identity as unchanging or permanent. They included statements of fixed identity, perceptions of objective fact and statehood. Statements about gender and race, for example, indicated perceptions of unchanging elements in identity. Static identifications included "I am a woman", "I am non-indigenous", "I am White", "I am African-American", "I am

Chilean". Participants also talked about how their status and identification changed over time and relative to place and other people. Even if sociocultural status and outer identifications were described as static, inner experiences of power were described as changing over time or in different circumstance. Process descriptions of margin and mainstream identifications included statements of change, transition, transformation, comparison and contrast. Some areas of cultural influence were described in more fluid terms than others. Age and physical health identifications were areas of cultural influence that were described as particularly subject to change. For example, José commented on his changing relationship to age at the age of 47. Esther commented on the changes she experienced in relation to physical ability, during a health crisis she went through some years ago.

> Esther: ... I feel that as long as you're healthy you never, ever, ever think of what it's like to be sick, and that once you get sick you like - it's like there's a collapse, it's like people really don't know, until they get sick, how frail it is to be human and what a *thin thread* we hang on, and it's like *awesome*, I mean I haven't really been that sick, but the few times that I've had scary things happen or I've gotten sick I've gotten really aware of it.

Marginality was described as a process affected both by circumstances and by internal identifications, personal changes and developments. Several participants talked about ways in which they were currently in transition. For example, the sociocultural status of Marie and her ex-husband differed in terms of class, race/ethnicity, physical disability, and gender. In separating from her husband, Marie's marginal and mainstream status and experiences were changing, shaped by the changes in her intimate relationship and family life. Chandrika's experiences of discrimination in relation to ethnicity and disability were changing as she had just left high school. Her experiences of marginalization varied a great deal, depending on

where she was, and whom she was relating to. For example, Chandrika told two stories about how she felt comfortable in some places but not in others. She felt comfortable, accepted and valued in her church youth group, and her family. At school and in the world at large, she faced painful, marginalizing experiences, in relation to her disabilities and ethnicity.

> Chandrika: I see myself as a person who has tried to fit in in some ways, and has never been able to, and has been able to fit in in other ways, and been just fine with it, and not been able to and been upset and finally figured out O.K. that's not me and been able to move on. That was a *lot* of what high-school was about, was learning that part of it. ... The first two years of high school were the hardest and it got easier as I finally found groups of friends that I could relate with. But it took about two years before that happened, and so, it's been interesting seeing personally how I've changed. ... When I am with my friends that don't have anything to do with school, like when I'm at like church with youth group, I'm just one of the youth group members, or when I'm hanging out with my best friend, I'm just her best friend, but like when it came to school, I always felt kind of *singled out*, even though maybe I wasn't. Like if you put me in a whole group of people maybe I wasn't so much, but I sure felt like it, because I always felt like getting good grades was really important to me, and the fact that I'm dyslexic and I have cerebral palsy so I walk with a limp and various things like that, that always made me feel like whoo, I stick out!

> I was going to a conference with my youth group and everyone else in the car was White, and I personally don't see myself as a colour, you know. Maybe I did when I was younger but now I see myself as a person. And so we were in the car, in this big van, and everyone else was like White and the conference was like on the edge of the border from Canada and Washington ... We got stopped, well we got through the Canadian border, but on the way back we got stopped and I was asked like thirty questions, well not thirty questions but was interrogated by this white male who was like, "Where's your passport?" you know, and we tried to explain that you know, it wasn't planned, we just did it on a fluke, no-one even thought abut passports, especially I mean - here I am, just a person in a car and I don't think about Oh, you know, and that really upset me. It was just like - I was really shaken up because everyone else in the car was White and they could have been from Germany or any of the European countries and if they didn't speak, you couldn't tell, but I was the only one interrogated because of the colour of my skin and that really like ooo my God!

Ways in which margin and mainstream experience were interrelated, and flowed into and out of each other, also featured in participants' accounts of how being marginalized led to their oppressing others. Suffering over being oppressive themselves subsequently made them change further over the years. Geoff suffered as a child from prejudice and stereotyping: because he was poor, people assumed he was stupid. He described how his pain, anger and powerlessness found expression in his 'being a jerk', especially towards women:

> Geoff: What happened at that point though, was that I became a real *jerk* ... All these people have this idea that I'm this way. Well they can just screw off and think whatever they want, and I'll use that to their disadvantage basically. And I treated people kind of poorly, just did what ever I wanted because it didn't *matter* to me, because these people were *stupid*. Because that's how I felt about it and somewhere in high school I figured it out, I realized I was just being mean to people for absolutely no reason and I didn't *need* to be a jerk you know, to make myself feel better about the world. ... I realized it pained me more to carry around the fact that I was an ass-hole as I continued to be kind of a jerk for years ... mostly just with women like saying "I won't sleep with anybody else and then doing it. Yeah, and then lying about it continuously.

THEMATIC THREAD V: MARGIN AS LIMEN

The theme of liminality was evident in participants' descriptions of themselves as 'in between'. In their sociocultural identifications and personal experiences, participants described experiences of being 'in between', in transition, as neither this nor that, or paradoxically as both this and that. Examples included experiences of being between worlds, living in two worlds, and fitting in with some but not all aspects of a sociocultural category. Participants also talked about alienation from their own sociocultural status in any of the ADDRESSING areas, identification with the 'other', fitting in with some but not all aspects of a sociocultural category, and 'passing'. For example, Marie described experiences of passing, in relation to class:

Marie: I never grew up with money and I was always *extremely* uncomfortable around people that had a lot of money . I am a reader and I have traveled quite a bit so I know things like which fork to use and I mean I have taught myself a lot of skills that can make me merge socially. But when I married Louis, he had a lot more money than anyone I had ever been around, yet *myself* didn't change. For example, even when I get dressed up - there's certain things that wealthy people, or people who have more money learn, things like how you carry clothes on yourself, the kind of clothes you chose or buy - I feel very *false*. Same thing with shopping. Like I grew up going dumpster diving and getting all my clothes from the Goodwill when I was a kid and stuff, so going to the department store makes a sweat break out on the inside of my palms and I feel completely *false* and uncomfortable even if I have changed my clothes.

Metaphors featured prominently in participants' descriptions of themselves as 'in between', particularly metaphors of not having a map, being a wanderer or traveller, journeying, being between worlds, and living in two worlds. Liminal experience of marginality pertained to sociocultural, interrelational and intrapersonal contexts.

Nancy: I look at where I was and I look at where I am and I'm totally different and I'm still not sure how I got to where I am and I don't have a clear map as to where I'm going and (laughs) like you know ... I feel kind of like a wanderer.

J: It is *totally* something very *nice*, the ability to relate to my own people that I had lost, you know...and I went there [to Chile] this year and there was no comparison, I realized that they were totally different, and it was almost like I had a switch internally that I can turn and be totally Chilean and you know love the food and say all the jokes the way that they say and realize that that was me. And then I have to come here and be American and behave like an American. So I am right in between now, so when I have to work I can be kind of one way, and I am trying to be myself (laughs) I guess it never ends, the discovery, eh? ...

THEME VI: UNCERTAINTY

Participants' experiences of 'in between-ness' in relation to status, identity and relationship, suggested the theme of uncertainty. Uncertainty featured in relation to mainstream privilege, advantage or power, where participants often had difficulty knowing or saying much about themselves. They spoke more easily and at greater

length about marginalization. Where participants had mainstream status in a particular area, and had not given much thought to it, hesitance, unsureness, and 'not knowing' characterized their responses. For example, Esther commented on her experience of advantage:

> Esther: Well, I probably don't *feel* it every day, it would be a good idea if I did actually. I'm talking about these benefits but I don't think I feel them everyday. I think it would be good if I did. I think I feel them sometimes and I think it ... ((long pause, thoughtful)) I don't know if I can answer more, that's a hard ...I don't think I'm *in touch* with it. I think I'm more in touch with a sense of *inability* even though I have great abilities.

Indigenous heritage was an area about which participants of non-indigenous heritage had particularly little to say, expressing uncertainty or perhaps joking and changing the focus of the conversation, as Geoff did: "Right, totally, I'm definitely indigenous to California, dude!"

Uncertainty featured particularly in participants' stories of interacting with others who differed from them in one or more of the ADDRESSING areas. They sometimes described this using metaphors of travelling or journeying. Reactions to uncertainty were both negative and positive. Some focused on discomfort, confusion, and difficulty. Emotions they experienced in relation to not knowing included frustration, helplessness, anger, stupidity and worthlessness.

> José: I can tell you about frustration, and I can tell you about anger, and *definitely* an amazing amount of resentment because it's feeling, you know, why should I have to put myself into this situation you know? and so it is the sensation of also being stupid Oh, totally stupid, *dumb*... Yeah, self-degradation, whatever you want to call it. And physical tension, especially over the shoulders and in my case, the stomach. I know where my tensions go, yeah and it's really on here (indicates shoulders) and you know on my stomach always. It gets totally tight and sometimes I cannot eat, things like that.

> Nancy: I do think it's a painful place for people to be, because it's uncharted and because ... O.K. it's easier if we're going to go to New York, it's a *whole lot* easier if you're looking at

time as being a limit, is to have a map, and map out how you're going to go there. But yet at the same time it's more adventurous *not* to have the map and get lost and do whatever it is, but you still get to point B, but the problem is that most of us human beings get *lost*, long before we hit New York, and then we become extremely confused and then we panic and then of course we're not any good, you know I mean it's you know because we all kind of want a *direction*, because we're not so good at being lost and *that way*, when you *do* get lost, you know you'll find you're way out.

Tony talked about a kind of existential uncertainty that was provoked in him in interaction with people whose religious views were very different from his own, and tried to convert him:

> Tony: Well I think it's a very *scary* feeling to have ... you really don't know, and coming to grips with your limits as a person is always a little uncomfortable... I find myself thinking about it more when I am alone than when I am engaging in a conversation with someone on religion. I think back to people in history who have been important figures, things that have happened, where are these people now? And you realize there's *gaping hole* in our knowledge, and are we just floundering along, are we just blowing in the breeze like so many specks of dust, or is there some *structure* to this, is there an ultimate reconciliation of all this unknown. I mean those are the kinds of things you think about, but you can't dwell there too long. It's too uncomfortable, it's too paralyzing to focus on that, and that's why it's much easier when you wake up to go brew a pot of coffee, go look at the newspaper and things that are in black and white that you can compartmentalize and deal with as a human being.

Others had a positive orientation to not knowing. They described their interest, curiosity, and excitement in relation to this. They also talked about having a mixture of positive and negative responses. Initially they were uncomfortable in the face of the unknown, but enjoyed subsequent discovery, learning, or changing in some way.

> José: [talking about building a shack in a slum area, where he chose to live with people from a very different class background] ... It was even a *joy* in doing it, there was an *interest*, it's not, "God, I have to do this". There was an *interest*. I don't know how to explain it any better. ... That is *not easy* to do, but at the same time it is not that difficult, you see what I'm saying, and it's do-able.... It's an emotional openness ... it is not an intellectual thing, it's very emotional, that you agree that this is an interesting thing to open yourself to.

> Esther: You know, in one way you *don't* want to do it because you're going to *lose* that sense of ability that you have, you're really like *comfortable* and then you're going to be

uncomfortable because your currency doesn't have value in that other system, let's say, you're not understood or something, you can't understand them. On the other hand, by constantly doing it, a *broader* ability, a more *deep* or fundamental ability is being encouraged and being developed and that's the ability of being human! ... So I think that what's enjoyable for me is just that sense of expanding myself, I feel like I learn a lot, I feel like it really it changes me dramatically to interact with people who are very different.... The enjoyment partly comes from being *toppled*, getting out of your own territory and into something that's different

Many expressed ideas about what helped them when they encountered the unknown in intercultural relationship. Some participants emphasized being aware of their own power and position, and being willing to take responsibility, be a bridge or make the first move. Marie mentioned the importance of sharing marginal identification in at least one area:

> Marie: All people need is one otherness for me to be comfortable with them. You have an otherness and I'm comfortable with you being gay. Yup - class-wise we'd be different. Classwise I would be less comfortable with you if you were not gay but because you are I'm comfortable with you even though we are of different economic classes. You assume some compassion or some empathy or some mutual understanding that may or may not be there.

The importance of 'feeling attitudes', or 'metaskills' as A. S. Mindell (1995) terms them, featured frequently and strongly in participants' accounts. These included openness, interest, curiosity, generosity, courage, acceptance and non-judgment, and willingness to be challenged and learn from mistakes. Some participants stressed attitudes towards themselves, such as personal integrity, self-determination, trust in one's own abilities and qualities, 'not letting go of yourself', and maintaining one's own center while being open to the other.

> Chandrika: ...I try not to judge people, I mean everyone judges people but I try *really hard* not to judge people, and especially my friends, and (sighs) that's hard. I've been judged my *whole life*, so I to try and see people as not so much the same as me, but just as people who have different interests, different beliefs, different ways of thinking about things.

> Jose: I think that acceptance has a lot to do with it. That you can go really far with that, that's the problem, that at one point you accept without losing yourself.

Also mentioned as helpful were love and acceptance towards other people, recognition of another person's humanity, and sharing a common goal. Strengths such as the capacity to feel emotions fully, and the capacity to let go, were also noted. Several participants saw spiritual factors as important, and talked about intuition, faith, hope and their relationship with God. Overall, there was little mentioned about the importance of knowing about another person's cultural heritage. More was said about personal qualities, attitudes, relational processes, and instinctive feelings that participants had about another person and whether they could be trusted to engage in the process of journeying together as human beings. Small things, as well as big things could make a difference in this:

> Teresa: Stories are important to be told, because you never know how you could affect somebody else's life, and I remember sometimes it's the *small things* that people have said to me that have made *such* a difference in my life. You know, and they don't even know what they said or what they did, you know. You know, just meeting an older woman in the grocery store and she'd say, you know, on those *low* days when I *hated* to even *go* home, and she took my hand and she said, "You sure are a lovely girl". I mean it just *touched* everything in me and I *needed* it, I *needed* to hear that, I *wanted* to know that I was O.K. you know, and here's this woman she doesn't know me from anybody, she doesn't know me, and she just takes my hand and makes me feel *so good*, so you thank God for things like that, I thank God for all those experiences because *truly* they make up who Teresa is and what I am all about.

Finally, the importance of being willing to engage in conflict, go through difficult or painful relational experiences, face one's own prejudice, acknowledge privilege, and be challenged and changed by an interaction, was emphasized in some accounts. Nancy's story of a conflictual intercultural relationship highlights many of these considerations. Unlike most participants, she described her own prejudice in response to difference and not knowing:

Nancy: I remember fighting with the guys next door, a gay couple ...What they were saying was they were concerned because [my husband] and I were fighting a lot and we're very loud when we fight and they would be in their yard and they wouldn't have any other choice but to hear us and so ... and then when he finally turned around and he said, "Look, do you have any support", then I felt like a *horse's ass* ... Because I had assumed that he was just condemning the whole lifestyle of fighting and family and kids and I thought he was putting me *down* and he wasn't and I felt *so bad*, but I had to go upstairs and *vent* about it first before I could figure it out ... That was so weird, because *I judged him as different* rather than as a person and he's *not* a different, he was a person. ... It's real confusing... it's an *emotional turmoil* because it's like none of us have a map. ... When I get really *angry* and I do stupid stuff, I call that getting *ugly*, O.K., it's like if I stoop to the point where *race* is an issue, or someone's sexual orientation is an issue and every once in a while I'll get angry at someone if they're Black or Chinese or whatever... and I'll have a racist comment fly out of my mouth. I get *so angry* at *myself* for doing that, because I just don't think I should do that, it's *wrong*, it doesn't *feel* right, it feels uncomfortable, it *hurts*, it's hurt*ful*. I don't like being treated different because I'm big, why on earth would I want to treat somebody different because their skin colour was different or their sexual orientation was different or their ethnicity was different or their social *ladder* was different from mine. I mean, why would I *want* to deliberately *hurt* someone. And that's *all* that crap does is it just hurts people. When you assume that somebody some way you're hurting them, ever so smally, ever so slightly, you're chipping away at that person's being and that's not O.K. and but we all do it from time to time and I don't like it, it still happens, I'm still human, *bummer*!

To recap, the first phase of the project revolved around two main questions. These asked how culturally diverse participants perceived, experienced and understood marginality, across multiple areas of cultural influence, and explored how 'secondary marginality' manifested in participants' life worlds. Data generated through researcher-participant interaction in interview conversations provided a rich source of information and reflection. The six themes distilled from the data pertained to complexity of status and identification, hardship and suffering, multiple dimensions of power, margin as process, margin as limen and uncertainty. Five dimensions of power identified both outer and inner aspects of power as salient in participants' lived experience. Participants' stories of relating across cultural difference elaborated on

the theme of uncertainty at the level of interpersonal interaction. Positive and negative responses to uncertainty were described. Feeling attitudes, rather than prior information, were emphasized as particularly important in culturally diverse encounters with difference. In the next chapter, Phase II of the study takes these considerations further, in its exploration of marginality in the life worlds of psychotherapists.

CHAPTER 6

PHASE II - MARGINALITY IN

PSYCHOTHERAPISTS' LIFE WORLDS

The purpose of the second phase of the research project was to extend the first by focusing on the experience of culturally diverse psychotherapists. Its aim was also to strengthen the overall investigation through method development. Revisiting the metaphor of the research process as web-building, it was apparent at the end of the first phase of the study that some structural limitations might usefully be addressed. Gaps needed to be filled, and threads strengthened. The second phase of the project, therefore, included new sites, with a different sample and an extension of the method used so far, including the use of multiple data generation and interpretation strategies.

The focus of the second phase of the project was again a mapping of the qualitatively different ways in which participants experience, perceive and understand marginality, and exploration of their reflection in the theoretical concepts discussed. Therefore, primary research questions echoed those of the first phase, in investigating how participants experienced marginality across multiple areas of cultural influence, and how the concept of secondary marginality might manifest in lived experience. Research questions that connected these central concerns with the particular experience of psychotherapists were as follows:

- How do participant psychotherapists experience marginality in their life worlds, across multiple areas of cultural influence (age, disability, religion,

ethnicity and race, socio-economic status, sexual orientation, indigenous heritage, national origin and gender)?

- Do their experiences change over time, in relation to context and in relation to personal factors?

- How do participant therapists describe their experience and identification in five areas of power: sociocultural, psychological, relational, activist and transpersonal?

- What experiences of 'in between-ness' and 'not knowing' feature in their accounts of therapeutic interaction with culturally diverse clients?

As discussed in Chapter 5, the focus on psychotherapeutic practitioners' experience was prompted by critiques in the multicultural counselling literature. Research in this area has tended to focus on the marginal status, identity and experience of the client rather than the therapist, and to adopt a unidimensional approach to the study of minority experience. It has focused on the particular needs and interests of specific minority groups, mostly identified in terms of ethnic or racial difference, sexual orientation, and gender. Although other areas of cultural influence are increasingly addressed, such as disability and age, research has not focused simultaneously on multiple areas of sociocultural marginalization. In addition, no study that I am aware of has taken an in-depth, multidimensional approach to the study of therapists' marginal and mainstream status and identification, and the exploration of their lived experience as people, as well as in their professional roles. As discussed previously, the therapist constitutes half of the therapist/client relationship and contributes substantially to it. Sociocultural status and identification,

personal qualities, beliefs, experiences, as well as professional expertise, inevitably affect the relationship. Despite a growing awareness of the importance of reflexivity in psychological theory and practice, the personal experience of psychotherapists has been neglected in the literature. These concerns prompted the present study.

6.1 Sampling and site selection

As in the first phase of the study, a purposive intensive sampling strategy was adopted. Again, snowball sampling was used to build the sample, which was also partly theoretically driven. In addition to the criterion that each participant should identify as a member of a marginalized group in at least one of the areas defined by the ADDRESSING model, several other criteria were adopted. Participants were to be working as therapeutic practitioners (counsellors, psychotherapists, and psychologists), with a Masters degree or higher, and have experience working with a culturally diverse clientele. The sample was to represent a range of theoretical orientations. In addition, I sought participants who were willing to talk openly about themselves and their experience in both personal and professional domains. The adoption of an inclusive approach in the definition of 'psychotherapeutic practitioner' was intended to avoid limiting its composition to a narrow range of professional and socio-economic status. Interest in the everyday, personal and professional experience of a range of practitioners, whose backgrounds and current circumstances vary, guided the selection of participants. Diversity was a particularly important characteristic of the sample. With the underlying assumption that all human interaction is to a degree a meeting of different cultural identities and experiences,

attempts were made to involve participants with a broad range of cultural, professional, and personal characteristics.

This second sample, like the first, consisted of participants of mixed marginal and mainstream status. Each participant was of marginal status in at least one of the ADDRESSING areas. A rich diversity of status and identification was represented (see Table 4), with inclusion of marginal status in all nine areas of the ADDRESSING model. Participants' ages ranged from between 33 to 55 years. Participants had a range of religious affiliations (Christian, Pagan, Jewish, Buddhist/Shinto and non-religious spirituality of various kinds). African-American, Native American, Asian, White American, European and Australasian heritages were represented. Participants were of working, middle and upper class backgrounds and/or current status. They were variously financially disadvantaged, financially secure, and independently wealthy. Their sexual orientations included gay, lesbian, bisexual and heterosexual. Two participants who were born in colonized countries had an indigenous heritage. One had Native American heritage, and one had Maori heritage. Immigrant and alien (non-resident) status, and U.S. citizenship, were represented in the sample. Six women and three men took part in this phase of the study.

Other characteristics of the sample pertained to professional status and experience. All participants were psychotherapeutic practitioners (counsellors, psychotherapists and psychologists) working with clients in individual therapy and/or group therapy settings. They all had a Masters degree or higher, and were experienced in working with a multicultural clientele. Their training in working with diverse

populations varied. Some had received specific cultural sensitivity training. Others had not, but had gained experience from their work in the field. Their different theoretical orientations included cognitive-behavioural, psychodynamic, experiential and eclectic approaches. Participants worked in a variety of settings, including private practice, government agencies and community-based projects.

Table 4

Sociocultural status of Phase II participants, in 9 areas of cultural influence

Name	Age	Disability	Religion	Ethnicity	Social Status	Sexual Orientation	Indigenous Heritage	National Origin	Gender
Earlgrey	47	Acquired	Pagan	Pakeha/ Maori	Working - middle	Lesbian	Yes	New Zealand	Female
Kiki	40	No	Non-religious spirituality	White European	Upper-middle	Heterosexual	No	Swiss	Female
Mr. America	44	Acquired	Non-religious spirituality	African-American	Working - middle	Heterosexual	No	USA	Male
Laura	55	No	Subud Spirituality	White American	Middle	Bisexual	No	USA	Female
Sumiko	34	No	Buddhist/ Shinto	Asian	Middle	Heterosexual	No	Japan	Female
Phil	35	No	Catholic/ Atheist	White American	Middle	Heterosexual	No	USA	Male
Vindaloo	45	No	Jewish/ Buddhist	Jewish American	Middle	Lesbian	No	USA	Female
Black Bear	45	No	non-religious spirituality	Asian/ Native American	Working	Heterosexual	Yes	USA	Female
Alonzo	33	Acquired	Christian	White American	Working	Gay	No	USA	Male

6.2 Data generation strategies

The second phase of the study adopted a three-way approach to data generation, consisting of in-depth interviews, and two types of researcher-generated document: web-wheel diagrams and guided journal entries. Data generation took place over a period of six months, from April to September, 1999. The complete data generation package is included in Appendix C.

Two interviews, each approximately 2 hours in length, were conducted with each participant. Two to three weeks elapsed between the two interviews, to fit in with therapists' often busy schedules, and allow sufficient time for journal entries to be completed. Participants chose the pseudonym by which they would be identified, and the place where the interviews would take place. Interviews were held at respondents' workplaces and homes, and at the researcher's home.

As can be seen in Appendix C, the interview structure was partly based on questions used in Phase I, which inquired into therapists' general perceptions of themselves as advantaged and disadvantaged, powerful, privileged, mainstream and marginal. However, it was also modified to include some more structured components, and to address the particular experience of psychotherapists in interaction with clients. Use of "web-wheel" diagrams in both interviews provided an additional perspective on the data, and added structure during the interviews.

As described in Chapter 5, the web-wheel diagram was initially developed in Phase I, as a means of data reduction and display. Modified forms of the web-wheel were used in the Phase II as data generation tools. They served as a non-linear way of focusing interview conversations in complex areas, by visually representing the complexity of margin-mainstream status and identification, and multiple dimensions of power. Five versions of the web-wheel were used, each one representing a different dimension of power. These dimensions, defined from Phase I descriptions, were: psychological power, relational power, activist power, transpersonal power and

sociocultural power (see Table 3). During the two interviews, participants were invited to use the web-wheels to describe their status, identification and experience, and to locate themselves at appropriate points on the web-wheel (more powerful/less powerful, mainstream/marginal, or in-between) as they talked about each area of cultural influence.

The first of the two interviews was very similar to the one conducted in Phase I, in that participants talked about their self-perceptions and experiences in relation to each of the nine areas of the ADDRESSING model. In addition, as they did so, they completed the web-wheel relating to sociocultural status (for examples of completed web-wheels, see Appendix D) The second half of this interview focused on therapists' experiences of interacting with someone who differed from themselves culturally. This section was similar to the interview with non-therapists, but was more detailed, and focused on professional rather than personal interaction (see Appendix C).

Guided journal entries written by participants as a take-home task in between the two interviews provided additional perspective on the interview data. This was included as way of obtaining self-reflective data away from the interview setting, where participants had time by themselves to think and write about an event that occurred close in time to their reporting of it. Participants were asked to record their experiences of relating to a client from whom they differed culturally in one or more ways. Participants were provided with a folder, containing guiding questions, and lined and plain paper to write on. The questions were already familiar to participants, since they formed the basis of the second part of the interview that had already taken

place. A minimum of one and a maximum of four journal entries were requested. The take-home task was de-briefed during the second interview. I invited participants to go more deeply into their account of an interaction if they wished, to talk about their experience of doing the take-home task and to comment on their experience of participation up to that point.

The remainder of the second interview focused on exploration of participants' self-perceptions and experience in four dimensions of power: psychological, relational, activist and transpersonal. The web-wheels were used to focus the interview and to probe areas of experience that might otherwise have gone unexplored. I invited participants to discuss their experiences in relation to the dimensions of power represented by the four web-wheels, and the nine areas of cultural influence depicted in each web-wheel, in any order they chose and in any way they liked. They were encouraged to follow their own interests and to speak about whatever they wanted to within this guiding framework. The style of the interview offered a flexibly structured approach to the topics at hand. For example, participants might elect to focus on marking themselves on the web-wheels, and talk about whatever prompted this self-positioning. Alternatively they might choose to talk first about their experiences, with little focus on the web-wheels, and later locate themselves on the web-wheels.

6.3 Transcribing

As in the first phase of the study, I conducted and transcribed the interviews myself, verbatim. I listened to each tape-recorded interview several times, and made

notes on non-verbal information, tone and atmosphere. These were written down after each interview, and built on through the transcription process. Again, I did not take many notes during the interview, but spent time on this directly afterwards. These were added to notes made during transcription and included observations and impressions about the interview relationship, and my own participation as interviewer. This allowed me to remain close to the data as well as to gain perspective at a distance from the interview encounter.

6.4 Interpretive data analysis

An iterative or cyclic process of analysis occurred, concurrent with data generation. I used Phase I outcomes to guide analysis and interpretation in the second phase of the study. As Tesch (1990) suggests, the analysis process was systematic and comprehensive, but not rigid, and included reflective activity that resulted in a set of analytic notes (memos and annotations) that contributed to the process. Data was divided into units of meaning, while maintaining a sense of connection to the whole. A flexible system of data organization, derived from Phase I, was also used in Phase II. It evolved as data from the new sample was explored, and incorporated previous hierarchical indexing (Richards & Richards, 1995) and constant comparison in a generic (Tesch, 1990), ad hoc (Kvale, 1996) approach to thematic analysis. Use of visual display, metaphor, and summaries were expanded in this phase. The use of vignettes in the interpretation and reporting of data was a key component of these additional analytic techniques. In this phase of the study, the qualitative analysis software program, QSR Nvivo 1.1 (Richards, 1999) was used as an analysis tool (Appendix E).

Early stages of analysis included making notes after each interview was conducted, transferring typed or handwritten journal entries into a word processor, reading and transcribing each interview as it came in, and making memos and analytical notes. Completed interview transcripts and journal entries were imported into Nvivo 1.1 for further analysis and interpretation. Following Tesch's general system for organizing unstructured qualitative data, I then began by getting a sense of the whole. I re-read all the available transcripts, and continued to do so as each interview transcript was completed. Analysis was again carried out using broad-brush and fine-detail analysis. Broad-brush analysis consisted of reading the entire data set for each a participant, and making a textual reduction of each transcript. I found it useful to 'clean up' the text (for example, by cutting out hesitations, repetitions) so that the content was clear. Although I retained and interpreted the unreduced text also, it was useful to have a parallel set of text reductions for each participant, which made it easier to discern meaning units. The full transcripts of the interviews were retained for interpretations of the interview relationship, process, contextual meaning, and so on. Other broad brush strategies included noting the frames of reference which participants used to describe themselves (such as psychological, political, relational, professional), noting central self-descriptive metaphors or comments on their chosen pseudonym, and compiling vignettes of participants' self-descriptions. I also made summaries of participants' descriptions of themselves in relation to the five web-wheels and included some of this material in the vignettes. Finally, I made summaries of therapists' stories of interaction, based on a central metaphor used by the participant to describe their experience of 'not knowing' in intercultural interaction.

In the fine-grained analysis, I built on the coding system developed in the first phase of the study. Tasks included: re-reading text reductions, marking up meaning units (based on switches of topic; and specific interview questions); and building on the existing index system. Allocating meaning units to categories and sub-categories, adding new categories as they developed, making memos and analytic notes throughout, and recording questions posed to the data, were additional interpretive tasks. Beginning with the first interview with 'Earlgrey', which provided a particularly rich and detailed exploration of personal and professional experience, I coded the transcript using previously developed and new categories. I repeated this for the remaining transcripts, reworking and building the index tree as I went, and making memos, annotations and method journal entires. After this, I reviewed the data collected in specific categories ('Free' and 'Tree' nodes in Nvivo 1.1), looking for commonalties uniqueness, and contradictory or missing information, and with an eye to the research questions to maintain analytic focus. 9 broad areas of categorization, (termed 'trees' in Nvivo 1.1) were created: Setting, Contact, Self Description, Advantage, Disadvantage, Power/Privilege, Cultural Influence, Most Knowledge, Least Knowledge, Mainstream/More Powerful, Margin/Less Powerful, In Between, Emotion, Relationship.

6.5 Verification

All of the evaluative criteria which were employed in Phase I were also applied in Phase II. Also, multiple perspectives on the data were obtained through the use of various data generation and analysis strategies. The process of respondent validation, or checking back with participants, and involving them in the production of outcomes

was another key strategy. Checking back with participants and making raw data and interpreted findings available to them occurred at various stages. For example, at the end of their second interview, if this had not been discussed previously, participants were asked about their overall experience of taking part in the study. They were given copies of their interview transcripts and completed web-wheels, and research findings were made available to them in the later stages of the project. These procedures will be described in detail in Chapter 7.

6.6 Outcomes and interpretations

Outcomes of Phase II built on foundations established in the first phase. They are again presented here as thematic threads. They elaborate on and reinforce the thematic threads described in Phase I, focusing on more detailed exploration of psychotherapists' experience in relation to different dimensions of power. The thematic threads were drawn from the transcribed interview conversations, textual reductions in the form of narrative vignettes, key metaphors, and accompanying web-wheel displays. An example of a vignette, entitled "Secret Agent Alonzo" is presented in Box 6.1. The accompanying web-wheels are presented in Figure 11. For the sake of textual clarity and economy, the full set of vignettes and web-wheels for all nine participants is presented in Appendix E. The title of this compilation, "Diamonds in the Rough", suggests the way in which these textual and visual summaries represent the complexity and uniqueness of lived experience. It comes from a participant, Black Bear, who commented on the idea of superimposing the five web-wheels one upon the other, to display status and identification in different dimensions of power. She
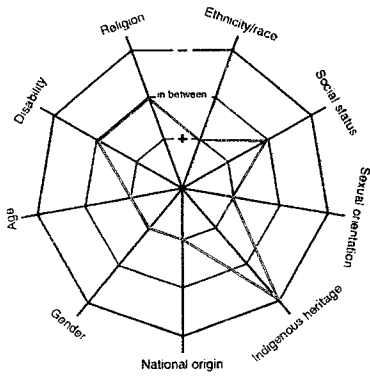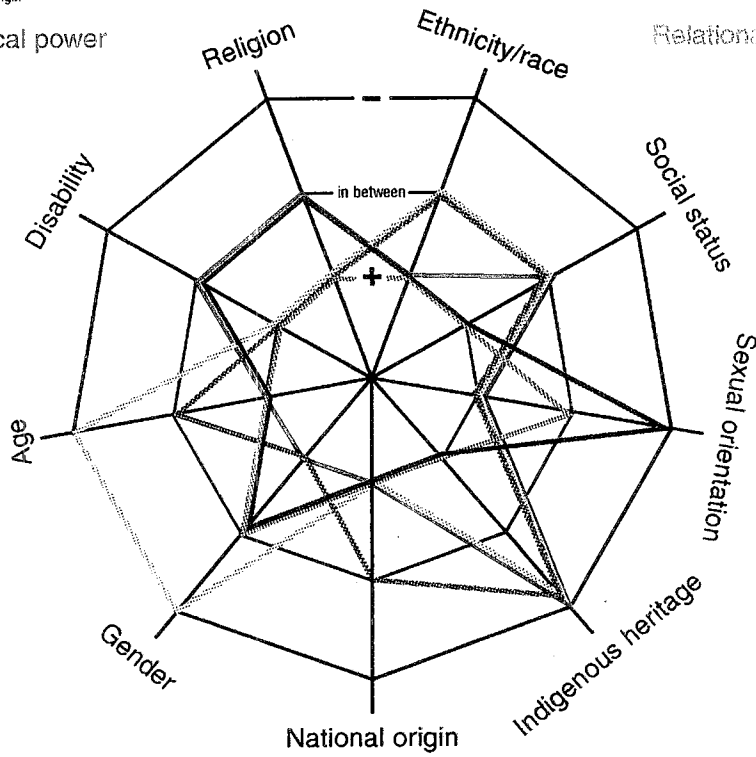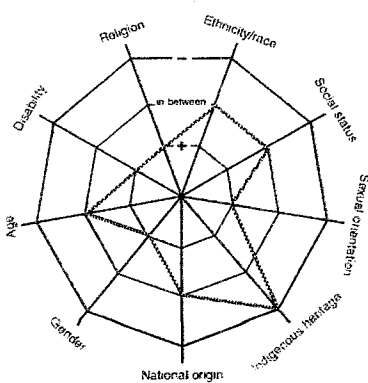
'Alonzo'
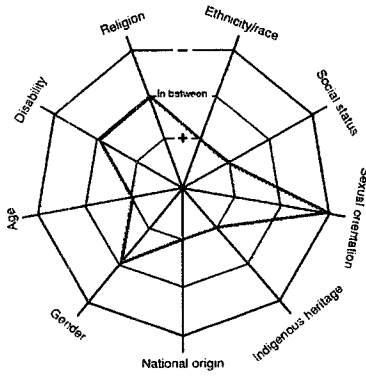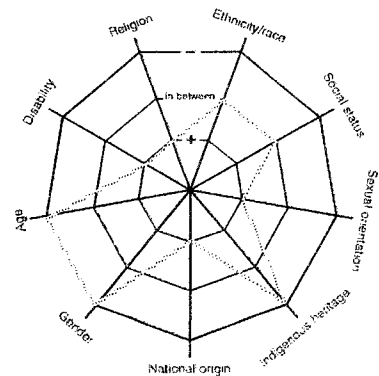

Sociocultural power
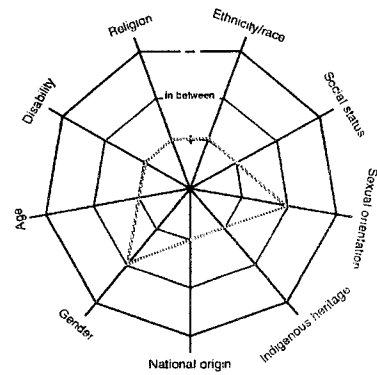
Psychological power

Relational power

Composite of 5 web-wheels

Activist power

Transpersonal power

Box 1

Alonzo: Secret agent

I'm a 33-year-old person with AIDS, gay man, in a relationship, been in a relationship for five years. My life is unusual and interesting in that I don't believe I've taken the path that was sort of set out for me. Partly because of being gay, and then being HIV positive, and by way of just being who I am. I like working with people and working on issues of community. I believe in it. I think it's really important. So I think that's a big piece of my life, it's working on that stuff.

This is a piece that I don't really like to talk about. A big piece of my income is from my family. So, I feel privileged in that I really don't have to worry a lot about money. I don't live extravagantly, but, I will always have my food and shelter and clothing taken care of in some way. So, that's really nice. It's a great luxury. And it has also allowed me to be able to work here for five years, 'cause this place has almost no funding. So, it allows me to do the work that I love to do and be able to live. But I still feel a little funny about that. Like I should be getting a source of income from my job or ... But I don't. I feel a little shame about it, and I'm a little embarrassed, too. It's personal shame, but then there's also like, I don't want people to know that my family has money. It's not, it didn't seem always fair.

I'm a white, blond person, that gives me a lot of advantages and I'm somewhat aware of those, partly because my partner is from Mexico and I've spent time there and I realize on an international level what it means to be a part of this culture. And how it gives me advantages that not everyone has.

I don't think a lot about disadvantages 'cause I don't think it's helpful. I just tend to think more about how I'm advantaged than disadvantaged. The people who've seen me from the outside probably see a person with AIDS and think that's a big disadvantage, but I think it's sort of a strength. I think I've learned a lot with this disease and have gotten a lot out of life, and if I died, you know, in a month, I've gotten a lot more out of life than most 33-year-olds, so I'm not really looking at it that way. And we're also at a disadvantage being gay, some people would see that, and that is like I don't live a typical lifestyle, don't have access to typical resources, but that doesn't bother me either. I like that. I don't want to be normal. How *boring!*. I mean I just don't think life is about going through without a struggle. There's supposed to be stuff to figure out and stuff to be challenged by, and learn all you can from it. That's what it's about, so I don't think in that terms. I know that when I am thinking in those terms that something's wrong. That's how I think of it. You know, that's usually a sign to me that I need to get my butt into therapy right away. 'Cause I don't like playing victim.

I can connect with just about anyone. I think that's one of my gifts is that I'm exceptionally skilled at helping people to feel comfortable and safe. In most cultures that I've come across, I can usually figure out some sense of commonality or some sort of common ground to work from, or some way of connecting. Not always, but most of the time. I think I'm easy in that way, 'cause I am sort of soft spoken, and people don't see me as harmful usually. It's the first thing that came to mind. I can't think of anything other powers right now. There's probably others.

Key metaphors of identity:

On a path that was not set out for me
Off the white yuppie path
Secret agent Alonzo

likened this visual display to an uncut diamond, seen from above, each with many facets and its own uniquely irregular shape:

> Black Bear: I was just wondering when you start to plot these things ... I am thinking if you look at a diamond cut from the top, and then how that comes down to the point, [it's like a] diamond in the rough. Just that, you know, it's not going to be a perfectly cut diamond. There are going to be big wobbles as it goes through the dimensions.

The vignettes and web-wheels add richness, depth and visual effect, to the thematic threads presented.

In the process of compiling the vignettes, I reduced text pertaining to participants' self-descriptions of power, privilege, advantage and disadvantage, to a form which reads like a continuous narrative and presents a glimpse of the person. In the same way that a snapshot is not a living, breathing person, these vignettes do not represent realities of actual experience. Each one is a co-constructed version of a moment in a conversation, in which descriptions of experience and identification are conveyed. Thus, while all the participants read their vignette, confirmed that it did not misrepresent them, and gave permission for its use in the thesis, the vignettes should not be taken as concrete renderings of reality. However the vignettes do speak compellingly of the variety, complexity and uniqueness of lived experience.

The thematic threads identified in the non-therapists' interview conversations were also evident in the interviews with therapists. The complexity of mixed marginal and mainstream identification, experiences of hardship, power as a multidimensional phenomenon, process, liminality and uncertainty, all featured in therapists' accounts. Two additional themes were identified: awareness and margin as teacher. These are described here, with illustrative quotations from Phase II participants.

THEMATIC THREAD I: COMPLEXITY OF SOCIOCULTURAL STATUS AND IDENTIFICATION

As in Phase I, the complex mix of sociocultural status and identification was reflected throughout the findings. Similarly, differing degrees of marginalization associated with different areas of cultural influence, ways in which these combine, overlap, and change over time, and the effect of context, were all aspects of this complexity. It was particularly reflected in the various dimensions of power which were explored in this phase of the study. Since these threads overlap, this will be discussed in more detail in relation to Thematic Thread II.

THEMATIC THREAD II: MULTIDIMENSIONALITY OF POWER

In Phase II, multiple dimensions of power were again evident. The kaleidoscope analogy used previously to describe the complexity of sociocultural status and identification is even more applicable when multiple dimensions of power are considered. This is illustrated in Figures 12 and 13, which present composites of the 'web-wheels' completed by two participant therapists, Black Bear and Phil. They show the two participants' self-representations in relation to five dimensions of power. Each colour in the composite web-wheel represents a different dimension of power: sociocultural, psychological, relational, activist, or transpersonal.

Figure 12 shows the web-wheel composite completed by 'Black Bear', a working class, financially disadvantaged woman, of South East Asian, Irish and Native American heritage and non-religious spirituality. Black Bear identified as having mainstream status in the area of age, sexual orientation, national origin, physical
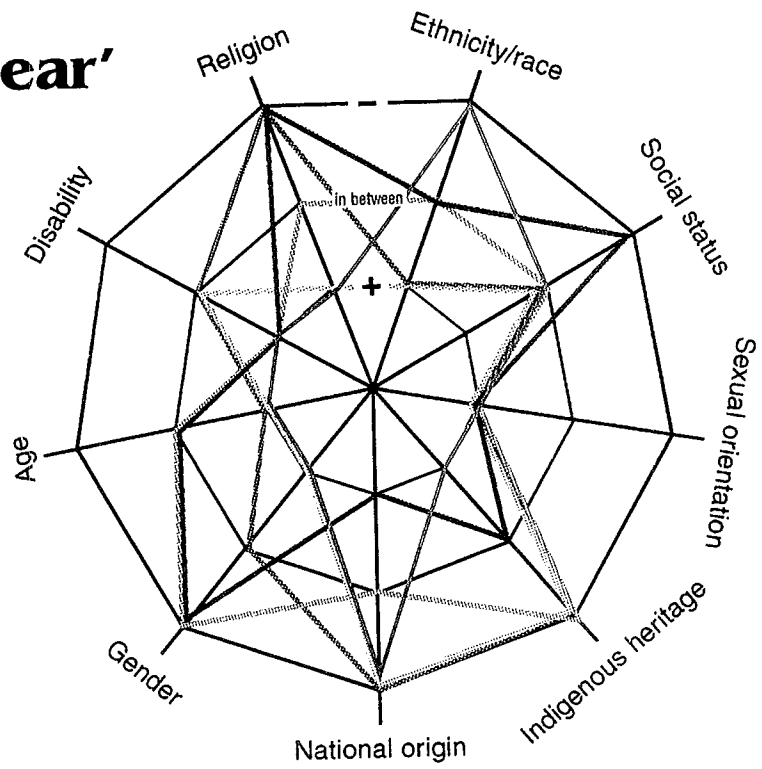
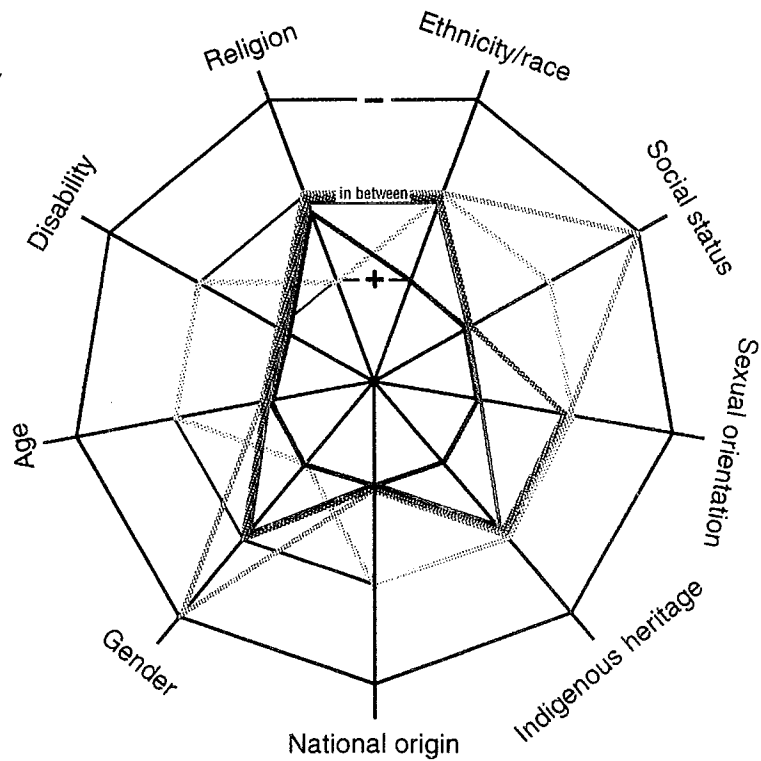*Figure 12.* Black Bear's web-wheel composite

Figure 13. Phil's web-wheel composite

ability, and marginal status in the areas of ethnicity, indigenous heritage, gender, socio-economic status and religion. Her experience of herself as more powerful, less powerful or 'in between' in the other four dimensions of power varied, and did not necessarily correspond to power accorded by mainstream sociocultural status. Figure 13 represents 'Phil', a 35 year old, White American man, born in the United States, heterosexual, middle class, with no disabilities, and no current religious affiliation, although he was raised Catholic. He was therefore mainstream in all of the nine ADDRESSING areas by background. Like Black Bear, the ways in which Phil experienced himself as powerful did not necessarily correspond to the sociocultural power that mainstream status bestowed. When the web-wheel composites are examined, it is not easy to discern how these participants experience themselves as powerful (or not) without paying careful attention to the different colours and what they represent, and specific tracking of similarities and differences. This illustrates that that when sociocultural power is not the only dimension taken in to account, it is not evident which of the two participants might be perceived as more powerful, irrespective of their differences in sociocultural status.

THEMATIC THREAD III: HARDSHIP AND SUFFERING

As with the first group of participants, therapists related many stories of suffering and hardship associated with marginal status in the various areas of cultural influence.

> Black Bear: In church or in the Christian faith or organized religion, people, women might meet me and they say, "Oh, we want you to work in our Sunday school. We would *love* it, our young people *need you*, you know you have so much to *offer*". But, *don't* become involved with our sons, because of the colour". So that - and it's *very real*. "Come shop in our stores

and spend your money, come to the sale, but because of your colour, you'll be the one that will be followed around the shopping store".

Painful and difficult experiences were often accompanied by expressions of anger, and pertained to experiences both within and outside therapists' professional training and work environment:

> Vindaloo: ... I just don't want *shame* to be a dominant issue with who I am or who other people are struggling to be. So I was angry about having to privilege the shame over years because of the way things were set up. The hierarchies and the power in different training situations. I mean, I could tell you stories of how that was. Like when I was at university ...one of our professors made a big deal about this woman who was *very* well qualified, but she was an out lesbian at the time (and I'm talking about 1984 or 1985), and the professor said this is *exhibitionist*. And she was not accepted to the program. Which, you know, encouraged more *closeting* of the people in the program who were gay and lesbian. *That enrages me.* And that woman is still dominant [in a number of professional associations].

In addition, some therapists talked about a kind of suffering associated with mainstream status. This kind of suffering was different to the pain of marginalization. Participants described how privilege is accompanied by the pain of ignorance, lack of awareness, insensitivity, being cut off from others, being oppressive, and feeling guilty, not free internally, or spiritually compromised.

> Kiki: ... I'm not always proud or happy about being mainstream. Having to identify with the oppressive mainstream is not always a joyful thing to do. Just it creates a lot of painfulness ... and I'm creating it, I guess I am unconscious of my privilege around those things, I guess sometimes being less mainstream would make you more awake in that area... [there's] a certain amount of stupidity that comes with mainstreamness. ... Not being aware is sort of a function of being privileged.

The relationship between surviving hardship and the development of personal power, especially transpersonal power, was noted by various participants. For example, 'Mr. America' a 44 year old, African-American therapist had experienced a great deal of marginalization, especially in relation to race/ethnicity and class.

However he had a strong sense of transpersonal power, or inner strength, coming from surviving hardship, both in his personal life and as a member of an oppressed group.

> Mr. America: Coming from an excluded group, for so long having *historical exclusion*, segregation, prejudice and discrimination, heaped upon you – as a group, as an identity, created a lot of collective problems in terms of *surviving* hardships and a lot of suffering and even oppression But out of that it did create some leadership, care for the whole, and responsibility for the wider collective of Africans in America, and I think that *definitely* has had a big influence this transpersonal power that I have collected from the group identity, yeah, mhm.

Participants who were marginalized in areas of the sociocultural domain described themselves as powerful in other dimensions, such as psychological, relational, activist or transpersonal dimensions. Alonzo, a 35 year old, gay man, marginalized because of his sexual orientation and his HIV status, commented that he drew strength from his difficult life experiences. He felt powerful in his spiritual life, in his work as an activist, and in his gift for relating with a wide range of people. Earlgrey, now in a relationship that has brought financial security, described the sense of strength she derived from coming through economic hardship, abuse and substance abuse.

> Earlgrey: [I feel] *very powerful*, because I just feel like I have always had this sense that whatever happens, I will land on my feet economically, even though when I first came here [to the United States] the sound of homeless people pushing those carts really opened up a whole thing of terror. [I was afraid] that *I could end up just like them*, that if this relationship went *sour*, bang I could be on the street, you know, that's forgetting who my partner is, but I had *no trust* or very little trust. I'd been homeless when I was drunk , when I was a drug addict and I was drunk. So it was a *real possibility*.

THEMATIC THREAD IV: AWARENESS

Although awareness was referred to in Phase I interviews, it was more evident in therapists' conversations. Awareness featured prominently in their discussions of the various inner dimensions of power, particularly psychological and transpersonal power. In Phase I, awareness was included in the theme of power as a multidimensional phenomenon. However its salience in therapists' conversations warranted its inclusion as a separate theme in Phase II.

Participant therapists revealed an ease with self-reflection and elucidation of experience and perspectives, which provided rich illustrations of the theme of awareness. The therapists also reflected on the relationship between awareness and marginal and mainstream status. Many commented on the awareness that marginalization brought:

> Vindaloo: I think there might be a way in which I have come to see being a lesbian as being an advantage, though for many years I thought it was a harsh disadvantage. Now I see it as sort of an access – kind of the mythological tradition of the seer, the gate-keeper, or the one who can play a role that is not in the mainstream, that has an observing point from the edges and can look at what goes on.

While some saw awareness as heightened by marginal status and experience, others commented on the degree to which awareness was compromised by mainstream privilege. Different levels of awareness were experienced in different areas of cultural influence. For example, Sumiko, a young Japanese woman, a recent immigrant, married to an American man, described a keen awareness of racism because of her experience of racial marginalization. However, she did not have strong political identifications, and had not thought much about many of the areas explored in the interviews, including her mainstream privilege. Kiki, by contrast, described

herself as person with mainstream privilege in many areas, as White European, able-bodied, 40 year old, highly educated and upper middle-class. She had developed a lot of awareness about privilege from her life experience, her intimate relationships (she had an African-American husband and child), from her professional training, self-education and community involvement. Along with her experiences of marginalization as a woman, and as a non-English speaking immigrant in the United States, these all contributed to her 'awareness of lack of awareness', or ability to identify and comment on her mainstream privilege and its effects.

THEMATIC THREAD V: MARGIN AS TEACHER

Many commented on the new perspectives that accompanied their marginal positions in society. Awareness could be a powerful teacher. For example, being a woman in her late forties brought freedom from normative thinking in Earlgrey's experience:

> Earlgrey: I feel *pretty powerful* being 47, because I feel less *seducible* by the mainstream values. You know, like I watch the TV or read something, for example ... I look at people struggling with their personal appearance and at 47 I'm chuckling about that because it doesn't really matter. So in that way I feel like I have a *lot* of freedom.

In general, participants talked less about power in relation to mainstream experience. Participants who had mainstream status in a particular area tended to be less aware of their privilege and related issues in that area, unless they had made deliberate efforts to become more aware of these, through training or as a result of life experience. As in Phase I, this was most evident in the area of indigenous heritage. Few participants were able to say what it was like to be non-indigenous. This was so much taken for granted, since the marginalized group (Native Americans, in the United States) are

rendered so invisible by the dominant culture, that few had given much thought to the specifics of this.

As Trimiew (1995) observes, the mainstream tends not to be aware of itself, and to be ignorant of things that are very obvious to the margins. Marginal groups must learn about the mainstream for their own protection and survival. They must be aware of, and knowledgeable about, the dominant culture and their own sub-cultures. This was reflected in participants' self-observations. Some participants saw this as another form of power, different to sociocultural power, and very valuable.

> Alonzo: Being a person on the margin and being a person who's gay, gives me a different *perspective*. But I really think that most people on the margin have more to say about the norms of society than people in the norm...I look at the world with a different eye than lots of people. So I think that that gives me a sense of spirituality, being able to see things differently. When you're experiencing the world differently than others ...things stick out.

Participants also noted that this kind of awareness comes at a price, however, and that for some the price may be too great.

> Nancy: I think adversity is a great teacher. However I think adversity can chew a lot of us up and spit us out and we're nothing. There's a lot of people that suffer from that and I don't really think that's a self-esteem issue, like everybody wants to call it a self-esteem issue, and it's not that society made you what you were, it's because nobody's listening to anybody, nobody's listening.

The awareness that marginality provokes may become a teacher for the mainstream, whether this is an aspect of a person, or a group in society. For example, some participants talked about transferring awareness gained from their marginalization in one areas, to other areas in which their experience has been mainstream. Kiki spoke of how she had been marginalized due to her interracial relationship with her husband, and that that had prompted her be more aware of

racism and other forms of oppression, and to act against them. Similarly, her personal experience of sexism had made her inclined to support others, in situations of victimization or injustice due to homophobia and racism.

THEMATIC THREAD VI: MARGIN AS PROCESS

Phase II participants described both state and process oriented identifications of mainstream and marginal status. For example, therapists identified themselves in static terms such as 'I am a man', 'I am non-indigenous', 'I am Japanese'. They also talked about how certain identifications changed over time, and in relation to place and other people. As noted in Phase I outcomes, even if sociocultural identifications remained static, inner experiences of power might change over time or in different circumstances. In therapists' experience also, marginality was sometimes a process affected by circumstances and internal identifications, personal changes and developments, and so on. Several therapists talked about this in terms of the ways in which they were currently in transition. For example, Earlgrey grew up in a working-class, economically disadvantaged family, but became wealthy in later life. Sumiko experienced her ethnicity, age, relational status, gender and physical disability very differently depending on whether she was in Japan or in the United States.

Political perspective also affected the way participants perceived their sociocultural status. For example, Mr. America described his status as an African in America as mainstream rather than marginal, due to the centrality of race in societal and personal responses to him:

> Mr. America: Ethnicity and race. Well, I feel I'm probably in the mainstream. I'm *so marginalized* because I'm black and in America that I can't be anything *but* that, you see, and

so I'm *known* by that. When you're *marginalized* I would think that you don't really know who you are, you see, and people don't know who *you* are, so it's marginal. What your ethnicity or race is, it doesn't really matter. I'm so *Black*, I'm so *out of bounds* in that, that I've come back to the mainstream, so wherever I go, really it's *known*, he's Black. So how much more mainstream can you get? ... And maybe what's marginal is the fact that I'm maybe an American, or maybe the kind of work I've done or my personal history, or how I identify myself. Yeah. So I know mainstream we like to think of it as something else but it depends on how you see mainstream.

Meanings of the various areas of cultural influence also varied from place to place. For example, for some participants, indigenous heritage meant different things in different countries. As Kiki noted, being indigenous in Switzerland brought mainstream status, whereas in the United States being non-indigenous brought mainstream status. She was therefore mainstream in both countries, but the meaning of this was different due to the different histories of colonization of Switzerland and the United States. Marginality was also experienced variously depending on personal and relational factors. For example, Earlgrey spoke of being marginalized in the dominant culture but more mainstream within her own subculture, with regard to sexual orientation. As an established and respected member of a community that had pluralistic values in relation to sexual orientation, she had more mainstream status. But in the world at large where she had to justify or explain her sexual orientation, she often felt marginalized, and severely so at times. By way of example, Earlgrey recounted experiences that ranged from filling out forms which did not include a 'partnered' category that recognized her relational status, to having had her life threatened because of being a lesbian.

THEMATIC THREAD VII: MARGIN AS LIMEN

Participant therapists, like non-therapists, experienced themselves as in between margin and mainstream: as both, as neither, or as in transition, in the various areas of cultural influence. Their descriptions further supported the proposition that margin and mainstream are not clear cut and may move into and out of each. The theme of margin as limen was explored in more detail in Phase II than in Phase I. An investigation of the reasons therapists gave for locating themselves as 'in between' on the web-wheels, yielded a rich variety of comments and interesting findings (see Table 5). These were categorized as sub-themes of paradox, conflict, complexity, not knowing, contextuality and change.

Paradox was the strongest of these sub-themes. Some participants strongly rejected the dichotomous splitting of identity and experience into discrete categories, commenting on their self-perception as both margin and mainstream in various areas. They spoke of contradictory self-perceptions as simultaneously powerful and vulnerable, strong and weak, advantaged and disadvantaged, constrained and free, burdened and empowered. They spoke of being neither one thing nor another, as in not fitting with mainstream or conventional views, nor having a firm marginal identity; neither being silent nor having a voice; neither being disabled nor able-bodied. Being between two worlds also featured as a liminal experience of being 'both and neither'. In this regard, participants described being caught between worlds of experience, the influence of different cultural values and mixed blood, and of trying to live in one world but belonging fully in neither.

Table 5

<u>Sub-themes derived from therapists' self-description as " in-between".</u>

Sub-theme	Characteristics	Examples
Paradox	Both this and that, neither this nor that, between worlds	Strong and weak Advantaged and disadvantaged Pros and cons, Yes and no Pleasant and unpleasant Both marginal and mainstream Both powerful and not Positive and negative Burden and empowerment Visibility and non-visibility Neither good nor bad Not mainstream nor marginal Neither silent nor vocal Not healthy nor unhealthy Disabled and able-bodied
Conflict	Dissonance, conflict	Conflict between inner experience and outer perceptions Mixed feelings Stereotypes and political correctness Dissonance between values and lifestyle Dissonance between external reality and inner experience, benefits and disadvantages
Complexity	Complexity, multidimensionality, plurality	Participating in and enjoying range of options or experiences Different kinds of power
Not knowing	Ignorance, uncertainty, questioning,	Don't know Unsure Unplumbed depths
Contextuality	Situational, temporal, personal contexts	Different experiences over different times, in different places, with different people Depends on culture, subculture Depends on issue
Change	Growth, process, fluctuation over time	Past and present Childhood and adulthood Identity and value shifts Changes day to day

Complexity and contextuality also featured in participants' self-categorizations as 'in between'. In a plural and complex world of experience, the difficulties of assigning oneself to specific categories were evident. Participants spoke of participating in and enjoying a range of options or experiences, of different kinds of power, such as having mainstream status but weak personal power, or valuing marginality as well as recognizing its negative consequences. Similarly, changes over time, such as the changes between childhood circumstances and adulthood, and day to day fluctuations in experience led to participants' self-descriptions as 'in between'.

Conflict was a major experience discussed in relation to the 'in between' category. Participants described conflict between what they felt and knew about themselves and how they were seen from the outside, as well as inner conflict between what they actually thought or felt and what they thought they should be like. Stereotypes and political correctness figured in these conversations. Dissonance between values and lifestyle, between inner experience and outer appearance, and benefits and disadvantages of margin/mainstream status were also discussed. Emotional dissonance featured in descriptions of having mixed feelings about a current status, such as positive feelings about a status perceived as negative, or having negative feelings about a status perceived as positive. Guilt about, and enjoyment of, unearned privilege was one of the examples given. Therapists also talked about the constraining effects of inner criticism and/or outer circumstance, which produced inner tension and conflict. Examples included experiences of being 'in the closet', guarded, not open to full dialogue, being self-compromising, and being aware of oppression but not actively working against it.

Not knowing was frequently given as a reason for self-categorizing as 'in between'. Sometimes, this referred to ignorance or lack of experience in a particular area. Participants also expressed inability or unwillingness to categorize themselves, due to the fact that they had never thought much about the area concerned, or did not have any relationship to it. This response occurred in relation to marginal and mainstream experience. However it was differentiated by virtue of the fact that mainstream 'not knowing' tended to be about ignorance. Participants had not thought about an area because of mainstream normalizing, whereas not knowing about marginal status tended to relate to not having access to information. Examples of the latter included not having access to personal and cultural history, and not fitting in or belonging. Different affects also accompanied participants' statements about not knowing. For example, curiosity about what was not known, anger about what had been hidden or taken away, disinterest and detachment, and fear about what might be discovered, all featured in conversations in this area.

THEMATIC THREAD VIII: UNCERTAINTY

This thematic thread was explored in depth in therapists' accounts of 'not knowing' in intercultural interaction. Therapists' accounts described the particular difficulties, challenges and rewards of not knowing in therapeutic settings, and what was helpful to them in such situations. Their experience was explored in more detail than in Phase I, through interviews and guided journal entries, and included physical sensation, emotional experience and cognitive components such as beliefs and worldviews. Like participants in Phase I, therapists had both negative and positive orientations to not knowing. Feeling attitudes and relational factors were again

emphasized, although therapists tended to speak more about concerns over appropriate intervention and their therapeutic role. Therapists' beliefs and value systems reportedly shaped their experiences of not knowing, particularly in the context of their work. Their experience tended to be influenced by whether they believed that not knowing was a disempowering and negative experience in the context of their professional practice, or a positive one.

Negative experience of not knowing

As with non-therapists, therapists' accounts suggested that uncertainty could be a difficult and negative experience. Fear of the unknown, and fear of going into unfamiliar territory were mentioned by many. Insecurity and discomfort about going "off one's known path", fear of what might happen, and of whom or what might be encountered were noted. Some therapists mentioned difficult and stressful conflicts they had had in situations of not knowing in therapy sessions. They described the discomfort or other unpleasant feelings associated with not being able to resolve conflict, resulting in referral or in the client terminating therapy. Most of the body sensations that therapists described in relation to not knowing were not pleasurable. Tension, tightness, and general physical discomfort were most often noted. Specific examples included general stiffness, stiff neck and shoulders, 'sitting on the edge of my seat', a hot face and head, 'my stomach in an uproar', 'my blood boiling through my temples and legs and arms ready to fight', shaking in the spine, and slight shuddering. Earlgrey described the strong emotion that could be provoked in such situations where there was conflict between her inner experience of not knowing, and her outer behaviour. She described how she sat and spoke quietly in a culturally

unfamiliar interaction, while inwardly fuming. After the session, she could express her feelings and became less emotional and more thoughtful.

> Earlgrey: After he left the room I swore under my breath in a manner most colourful, opened a window and shook my arms and legs. Presently calm descended and I was able to think about what had just happened.

In a therapeutic context, for some participants, discomfort with not knowing was exacerbated by the pressures of personal and professional expectations and normative assumptions. This pertained to situations where either the therapist's marginal or mainstream status was at issue. For example, therapists' dilemmas about how to deal with situations where they were themselves targets of clients' cultural prejudice, sexism, anti-Semitism, heterosexism, featured in their conversations. In describing negative experiences of not knowing, therapists repeatedly raised issues of competency, adequacy and sufficiency. At both a cognitive and emotional level, there was a sense of restriction or lack of freedom due to personal or professional expectations. Beliefs and expectations about power and control featured in particular. Self-expectations, including the pressure to know, understand, do the right thing, and be professionally competent, were frequently mentioned. Some participants said that they found it difficult, uncomfortable or distressing when they could not do what they (and/or their clients) expected them to do. High premiums were set on knowing how to help, how to develop a relationship with someone, how to build trust. Therapists talked about their feelings of frustration and irritation when they did not know how to accomplish these things, and how they could become critical and judgmental towards themselves or the client as a result. Therapists also expressed concern about how much to reveal of themselves, and how much to follow the client in situations where they experienced uncertainty. Negative feelings were associated with letting go of

power or control, giving way to the client, or something happening in the session which was outside normal frames of reference.

In situations of uncertainty or not knowing in intercultural interaction, tension also arose from conflict between ethical or practical guidelines of the therapist's workplace (such as agency rules or professional guidelines) and what was perceived as most beneficial for the client. Some participants described the way in which limitations imposed by professional guidelines exacerbated existential difficulties of confronting the unknown, power issues between client and therapist in relation to culturally-derived differences, internal struggles about power and control, and the challenges of letting go. Some spoke of how agency guidelines and rules limited the relational and creative possibilities of interactions between therapist and client. They also talked about professional conventions and expectations that did not fit with cultural or personal demands of the situation. These were all perceived as obstacles to interacting with clients from an open or unknowing stance, affording clients more control, and allowing clients' experience to unfold in ways that were culturally appropriate to them. Black Bear spoke of this when she described the disparity between agency guidelines and the ways of Native American culture and community, which was accentuated for her when she was invited by a client to attended a Native American community ceremony:

> Black Bear: Agency expectation and the specifications of how relationships and roles will be governed ... this comes up in therapy, that we always have to pay attention to the dual role. And they're there for a reason, but there are ways that when we come through an agency that it *isn't just our path*, that we have to hold the laws of the land in this hand. ... And then to experience this community, that *this is where they lived out their lives* ... and that there is this *barrier* there.

Positive experience of not knowing

Like Phase I participants, therapists also described positive responses to not knowing in intercultural interaction. These were usually associated with enjoyment of challenge, discovery, learning and exploration. Therapists talked about not knowing as exciting, comfortable, interesting, intriguing, stimulating, freeing and relieving. The pressure to know and to be in control was felt as a burden, or as one therapist said, 'a tyranny'. Not knowing was a release from this. Using awareness of privilege to give up power and control might be difficult at first, but was ultimately rewarding, as Earlgrey commented:

> Earlgrey: I'm more pleased to be *aware* of the white privilege I have and use that, through being uncomfortable and not knowing, than to have a compliant client who's jumping through the hoops just for *you* or a momentary sense of getting my own way.

Although positive physical sensations were not much mentioned in participants' conversations, those that were noted centred on energy, alertness and wakefulness. These were mostly associated with excitement, curiosity and the pleasure of discovery and learning.

> Kiki: It was exciting to meet something new and get a chance to really *ask* him about it, how is that like, and *hear* it. I never had a chance to talk to anybody in that depth about that experience.

As with negatives responses to not knowing, positive responses were influenced by personal and professional belief systems and worldviews. Some participants found it easier to enjoy not knowing if this was supported by personal spiritual beliefs or practices.

> Laura: It's like being in a Tibetan-Buddhist retreat in the process of meditation for hours and beginning to open to a different reality where I begin to have visions and experiences of a different sort. *I like that* and it interests me. I love to *dream.* It *excites* me and it's unknown and I don't know where the dream's gonna go.

Earlgrey: There are just some things in life that are absolutely mysterious, and that's just right, I don't have to know everything, I don't *have* to work everything out.

Therapists' positive experiences of not knowing, like their negative ones, were affected by professional assumptions and expectations. If not knowing was framed as an important therapeutic stance or intervention, it was perceived more positively. Several participants noted that this orientation helped them to open up to experiences of not knowing and believe in its value or efficacy. Being comfortable with not knowing came from belief that there would be a way through, and that client and therapist would find it together. The importance of relationship, and attitudes such as trust and being true to oneself were also discussed in this regard:

Laura: I mean I think that there is a place with another human being where everything can be unknown and unfolding, if we have a sense that we will go through this and I'll be able to hear what you have to say, I'll be able to be with it, I'll be able to honor it, no matter what it is and be compassionate and present with you. I am in the power position as the therapist ... [but] I need to trust the person I'm working with too, that place of trust and the resonance of it, is what allows for the unknowingness to be just fine.

Even where therapeutic beliefs included an openness to not knowing, therapists also acknowledged that this was not always an entirely comfortable or pleasant experience.

Vindaloo: I think I've worked a lot professionally on it being OK to not know, so it's not that I felt my incompetence threatened, because I could just say 'I don't know what I'm doing', and I'd say 'well, you know enough about other things to stay open and spacious and get us to there'. But it was uncomfortable.

However, discomfort and difficulty was not necessarily viewed in a negative light, because it was accompanied by the belief, usually derived from past experience, that the difficulties of not knowing might ultimately result in positive and rewarding experiences. Some talked about the way in which relationship might be deepened and

made more 'real' as a result of going through discomfort and difficulty, including conflict, engendered by not knowing. Earlgrey likened this to the mythical descent of Inana. She described interactions with clients, where she entered the unknown, experienced fear and discomfort, was stripped of something she knew or owned, and then found that "getting out of the way and appreciating yourself for it" was a reward in itself. Similarly Black Bear used the metaphor of "stepping off my known path" to describe an experience of not knowing in therapy, where she was at first uncomfortable, but then came through this to enjoy a transformational experience and new awareness. She commented emphatically on the nature of this experience: "It's most always magical, it is almost *always* magical!"

In their responses to not knowing, therapists also described a range of internal and external behaviours. Behaviours perceived as negative included passively following the client, accommodating, accepting, or deferring to the client, falling back on old habits and not responding to the uniqueness of the situation and interaction, judging themselves or the client, and dealing with conflict poorly. Behaviours they perceived as positive commonly pertained to ways in which they had paid attention to the client, listened more closely, made less assumptions and checked back with the client more often when they were uncertain. Asking more questions, "witnessing", believing in the client's experience, following the client and being "careful that we're respecting the course they're in and not setting that course for them" were all named as important. One therapist also talked about the difference between not knowing in a situation where he and the client differed in terms of cultural factors, and not knowing

because therapist and client differed in terms of psychological or interrelational style, or worldview. He found the latter more difficult to deal with than cultural differences.

> Phil: I try to be vigilant , aware of our *influence* with our clients, careful and conscientious about how we use that influence. When I'm more in that not knowing place, I'm more concerned about that. I'm concerned I may be *more out of sync* with the client, because I'm not really sure where to go, and to some extent they're not sure where to go, that's why they're meeting with me .... I deal with [not knowing due to cultural difference] primarily by listening more closely, asking more questions, ... just being more sensitive and tuned in to his reactions or the space that *he* is in. So even more *deferring* to him. ... Now with regards to the personality style of interaction and that 'not knowing', I deal with that a little bit differently ... that's more of a *psychological* difference. I'm more prone to trying different styles of intervention, that rather than staying with one ... and the stronger the not knowing is in this area, the more likely I am to staff the case with other clinicians. ... You know one of the things that's harder for me to do, in that not knowing, is *put myself in their shoes.*

In addition to describing feelings, sensations, thoughts, beliefs and behaviours relation to uncertainty and not knowing, therapists also talked about what helped them such situations. These are summarized in Table 6.

What helped therapists with not knowing?

Therapists responded to this question indirectly, as well as directly, by talking about things they regretted or wished had been different in situations of uncertainty. These included ignoring gut feelings, letting themselves be confined by their own worldview, pressuring themselves, ignoring their own discomfort and not using it to inquire about the client's experience, holding on too long, not making appropriate referrals, not helping with practical resources, and not recognizing the learning they gained from the client.

Table 6

Therapists' experience of 'not knowing' in intercultural interaction

Responses to 'not knowing'	
Negative	**Positive**
Feelings	
Frustration Pressured Uncertainty, hesitant Irritation, anger, disgust Self criticism Shocked, stunned Hurt Upset Out of control, disempowered Helpless	Enjoyment Excited, stimulated Comfortable Interested, curious, intrigued Free Relief Open Rewarded Just right Magical
Physical sensations	
Tightness, tension, Physically uncomfortable Stiffness, stiff neck and shoulders Sitting on the edge of my seat Face and head hot My stomach in an uproar My blood boiling Ready to fight Shaking, shuddering	Energy, Alertness Wakefulness, Excitation, Relaxation Sharp concentration, Heightened attention
Beliefs	
Not knowing as a negative High expectations of self Pressure to know, help, be useful	Not knowing as a positive Association with discovery Welcomes challenge Freedom from pressure to know and to be in control Spiritual belief system or practice
Behaviours	
Adapting, accommodating Passive acceptance Judging self or other Relying on old habits Conflict ending therapy	Attention to the client, listening closely Less assumptions Checking back with client Asking more questions Setting limits Knowing own limitations Referral Consultation Conflict deepening interaction
What helped?	
Consultation Drawing on own experience of being a client Prior knowledge, training and experience Momentary awareness Attitudes A spiritual or existential approach	

Consultation was most frequently mentioned amongst therapists' direct responses to the question. Talking to others, including peers, supervisors, experts, mentors and others with more knowledge and experience was emphasized. Asking questions, and checking in with the client as an expert on their own experience, was also mentioned often:

> Laura: Talking to peers first, psychologists who are really compassionate and loving and wise. They helped … in trusting myself and where I was coming from. And coming up with a good plan so that I could handle it appropriately.

> Phil: Have colleagues or others *talk to me* about their experience in an articulate way, somebody else who has been much more in the kind of a personality space, who can articulate more what's likely going on, what was going on for them, how they dealt with it, what it was about. Somebody educating me further about what it's like to walk in that kind of space.

Prior knowledge, training and experience were also named as helpful. Knowing their own strengths and limitations was an important aspect of this. Some described the influence of their professional training:

> Kiki: I feel my *training* helped me, just knowing [what it's like] to be marginalized and needing the permission or the power or support or whatever for somebody who is *different*. So I think that was helpful .

> Vindaloo: What was useful (but not exactly enjoyable) was to have my analytic training come in handy at a time when I sorely needed it. Had I not been able to *think symbolically* I fear I may have only been able to respond to this man's behaviour as an affront to me and therefore relate only in the relationship channel. Clearly this would have been disastrous at that particular time.

Therapists also named their own experience of being a client, and their personal experience outside of therapeutic settings as also helpful:

> Vindaloo: Another thing I guess would be my own experience as a client … I learn from that so much about the process of unfolding, respect for that, so I bring that into the work. And I realize also that my analyst/therapist for many years was pretty comfortable with not knowing, so I think I ended with that.

Earlgrey: I thank the stars that be for years of criticisms that I can now, on a good day, pick up what first appears as unfair and unjust criticism and use it for something other than my tender ego.

While these responses all emphasized the importance of previously acquired cognitive or experiential knowledge, another kind of response emphasized attitudinal factors and momentary awareness as particularly helpful in dealing with not knowing. Some talked about working on themselves in the immediate situation, so as to free up their awareness. Mr. America described this in terms of establishing momentary parameters for each new situation:

Mr. America: Well, helpful is knowing *how to corral it*. Even when you jump under water, you know that there are certain places you're going. You know you've got to go straight down. Either you're going to go down a certain amount of feet according to your hose, you know, you drop down thirty, sixty, ninety feet, or you drop to the bottom, whichever comes first, wherever you want to go. And then you figure you have so many paces, south, north, east, west. Then you have something you're supposed to do and you get there and you do that, then you come back. That's corralling. Uhuh, you corral your client, you *corral your parameter*, that helps you when you're out of bounds. The first thing you do when you're out of bounds is figure out where's the parameter now. You don't want to go off of a cliff. You want to have some boundary. When you're working with clients like I work with, violent clients in prison, I walk into an unknown situation, the first thing I have to do is have some *boundaries*, establish some *parameters,* OK? That's kind of how I deal with my scene.

Attitudes such as risk-taking and self-reliance were also emphasized:

Vindaloo: I was helped by all of the other times that I've taken these kinds of risks ... I was helped by the desire to *take a risk* and to maybe defy that small town thinking that says "That's them and this is us and we don't know what they do and that's fine.

Black Bear: maybe it is that sense of rebellion, that *I can do this*, that no-one can prevent me from doing this, I can make *own assessments*, of whether it's a good thing or a bad thing.

A spiritual or existential attitude was mentioned repeatedly and with emphasis in many of the respondents' descriptions of what helped in situations of not knowing in intercultural interaction:

> Vindaloo: The first [thing] that comes to mind is the daily knowledge that we are all going to die, death is the great unknown, we don't know when it is really, and I've been thinking about that for twenty five years. I think about it every day, it's a part of my meditation. So since death is inevitable and the time of death is uncertain, what should I do with my life? ... It's what I call spaciousness. You're calling it not-knowing in your study, but my daily experience, or if I talk about it when I supervise, I talk about inner spaciousness. And that's the exciting part of the work, it's about *being* - really being there and that's to my mind is the thing that is the most helpful, to *be in the present moment* with the person.

> Earlgrey: The deepest answer [to what helps with not knowing] perhaps has been my recent experience around having a life-threatening illness, having an unexpected life-threatening illness of an acute nature, and all the stuff that has come out of that for me, it's like nothing is permanent and ... there are just some things in life that are absolutely mysterious, and that's just right, I don't have to know everything, I don't *have* to work everything out ... some things are *bigger* than us and the part of me that is inflated or gets sucked into that inflation feels I have to have answers but actually ... deeper down in me I *don't*, because sometimes there aren't any answers, or there's an answer that fits for now but tomorrow it may not be right.

Not knowing in intercultural interaction – a 'path made by walking'

Metaphors of journeying recurred in therapists' accounts of not knowing intercultural interaction. They referred to adventuring, orienteering or travelling throu various environments and elements (see Box 6. 2). They underlined importance of feel attitudes or metaskills (A. S. Mindell, 1995) in intercultural interaction. Examples of th included: curiosity, excitement about venturing into the unknown, openness to experier courage, flexibility, vigilance and momentary awareness, willingness to experie discomfort or hardship, willingness to take risks, and finding strength in advers Participant accounts suggested that intercultural interaction has unknown as well as knc

aspects. Each interaction could therefore be enhanced by prior preparation, throu

acquiring knowledge, skills and awareness. However as one therapist noted in a jour

entry (quoting the Chilean poet, Machado: "Traveller there is no path. All paths are m;

by walking") an intercultural interaction is also 'a path made by walking'. Since this pat

---

Box 2

**Not knowing' in intercultural interaction –
metaphors of journeying**

Finding your way in the dark

A journey without a map

Going over a cliff

Jumping underneath the ocean

Descent into the underworld

Being lost in a strange city

Swimming in high waves

Stepping off your path

.

A *'path made by walking'*

is created anew with each encounter, no previous knowledge or experience pertains to it exactly. It is co-created by the participants in the encounter, each of whom is a unique expression of a myriad of cultural and idiosyncratic factors. This path is facilitated by feeling attitudes and by momentary awareness. Therapists' accounts of their experiences of not knowing in intercultural interaction suggested that both paths, the known and the unknown, were relevant in therapeutic encounters, and that different skills and capacities were required for each. The relevance of this for therapeutic psychology will be discussed in more detail in the Conclusion. The next chapter addresses participants' responses to the outcomes of Phases I and II, and related issues of empowerment and praxis.

CHAPTER SEVEN

PHASE III - PRAXIS AND EMPOWERMENT

The third phase of the study was based on the idea that research should involve and benefit participants, give voice to their concerns and interests, address social inequity or injustice issues and contribute to change at personal, community and/or systemic levels (Rappaport, 1994). These underlying assumptions and interests were expressed in the following research questions:

- What do participants say about short-term and longer-term effects of their participation in the research project?

- How does the research project contribute to the empowerment of participants?

- What are their perceptions of the research process?

- What possible uses of the web-wheel diagram feature in their feedback?

- How might the concept of secondary marginality be useful to psychological practice generally and in intercultural contexts in particular?

This phase of the project did not follow the other two phases in a linear sequence, but was interwoven with them. Initially its purpose was to check back with participants about the accuracy of the transcripts and find out whether outcomes were consistent with their perceptions and experience. During the interviews, I became interested in participants' spontaneous comments on the effects of participation and their views on my research, particularly the web-wheels. As a result, all participants were invited to comment on these areas if they chose. Their reflections on the short and longer term effects of participation, as well as their general feedback and

additional input, were of interest here. This phase included overall verification strategies for the whole project, as well as investigating issues of empowerment and praxis. The outcomes of this phase of the study are reported in three broad areas: trustworthiness of the data, reflections on empowerment, and views on possible applications of the research.

7.1 Sampling

No further sampling procedures were necessary for this phase. All participants from Phases I and II were invited to look through the findings of the study, and to take part in a follow-up on their responses to the research project, its outcomes and their overall experience of participation. One participant from the first study could no longer be contacted. Another expressed interest and made an interview appointment, but was unable to attend due to personal circumstances. In all, 16 participants took part in these follow-up conversations: seven participants from Phase I, and all nine participants from Phase II.

7.2 Data generation

Some of the data for this phase of the study were drawn from interviews conducted in Phases I and II. Participants had volunteered comments on the method of data generation and their experience of participation, at various points during Phase I and II interviews. Others were invited to comment on these topics at the end of the interview process, if this had not occurred beforehand. When I discovered that participants spontaneously commented on the way the research was conducted and expressed interest in its outcomes, I arranged to re-contact them once findings were

available. Additional data for Phase III was obtained through this follow-up contact with participants. It encompassed a form of respondent validation, in which transcripts of their interviews were made available to all participants, and changes were made where necessary. Further follow-up took the form of unstructured conversations, in which participants were invited to look through findings and comment on them, their experience of participation, and possible utility of the research project.

The conversations were very informal, and were not tape-recorded for this reason. They were set up mostly as a courtesy to participants who had expressed interest in findings. This was an opportunity for me to express appreciation for their involvement, and offer something in return. A package summarizing the whole research project was compiled for this purpose. It contained the title of the thesis, theoretical notes, details of the method used, and a detailed summary of the outcomes for both phases. The package was presented clearly and accessibly, in recognition of different levels of literacy and fluency in the English language. Each participant who had completed web-wheel diagrams inspected their web-wheel composite and read their vignette. Once each participant gave permission, his or her web-wheels and vignette were added to the package. The follow-up conversations lasted between 45 and 90 minutes, depending on the participant. Three participants were unable to arrange a time to meet in person, due to time constraints and scheduling difficulties. I sent a copy of the outcomes package, and the interview was conducted over the phone. Feedback was solicited in relation to accuracy and permission, effects of participation, and potential uses of the research.

During the course of the follow-up conversation, one Phase I participant also completed the web-wheels from Phase II. The participant, Nancy, was chosen because she identified as marginal in several areas, and was well able to articulate her experiences. Her previous interview was a rich source of data. The purpose of this follow-up was to serve as a link between Phases I and II, and explore whether the use of the web-wheels added to the interview that had already taken place, or detracted from it. This follow-up session with Nancy took approximately two hours. In addition to filling out the web-wheels and discussing the topics this raised for her, Nancy commented on her experience of participating in the study, the effects of this over the six months since she was interviewed, and her views on the research project and its utility.

7.3 Transcribing

Although the interviews were not recorded, with permission I made notes on participants' comments in these areas. These notes were subsequently typed up and combined with data from Phases I and II. These data, previously stored in Nvivo 1.1 under categories pertaining to the research process and the interviewer-respondent relationship, were retrieved and combined with data from the follow-up conversations. Responses were clustered into meaningful units, and themes or recurrent patterns noted.

7.4 Verification

Phase III was itself an aspect of the verification strategy for the whole research project, designed to enhance overall quality and soundness. Rigour in this part of the project was partly dependent on clarifying meaning and reflecting back the notes taken during the course of the conversations. It was also dependent on the quality of the previously established research relationships, and the general integrity of the research. In the follow-up conversations, I invited both negative and positive feedback, attended to non-verbal cues as well as spoken statements, and tried to respond to feedback as openly as I could. In previous interaction, I had demonstrated that I was open to being corrected and challenged. This perhaps contributed to an interview relationship in which honest feedback was possible. However, considerations such as respondents replying politely or in a way to please the researcher, were taken into account.

7.5 Outcomes and interpretations

The findings of this phase of the study are reported in three broad areas: trustworthiness of the data, reflections on empowerment, and views on the practical usefulness of the research.

7.5.1 Trustworthiness of the data

The trustworthiness of the data was confirmed to the extent that participants stated that they were not being misrepresented by the data, and that they were willing for the information and interpretations shown to them to be included in the write-up of the project. According to participants' instructions, mistakes (mostly typographical or

grammatical errors, and minor clarifications of meaning) were corrected in transcripts. Interpretive diagrams were checked with the appropriate participants. For example, the web-wheel diagram in Figure 10 (p. 160), which represents an interpretation of Ron's external, sociocultural status and inner experiences of power, was checked with Ron. He confirmed that the contrast shown between the two was consistent with his experience. He re-emphasized the importance of relational power in his overall sense of himself as a powerful person. Similarly each Phase II participant read his or her vignette, checked their web-wheels and made corrections or adjustments if necessary. All gave their permission to include the vignettes and web-wheel displays in the thesis, as well as the ADDRESSING details in Tables 2 and 4. This further check was made to ensure that permission given before taking part in the study was still applicable once participants had taken part and knew what was to be included.

It should be noted that this checking for trustworthiness was guided by the underlying research assumption that data do not constitute accurate reflections of actual reality, but co-created, conversational moments filtered through the researcher's viewpoint. The subjectivity and complexity of a process that invites both positive and negative self-reflection was expressed in Vindaloo's response to reading her vignette:

> Vindaloo: When I read it, it seemed kind of thin – I was trying to address a question, hadn't given it thought beforehand. It seems like an opening, a beginning. It doesn't say much about how these things apply in everyday life, and certainly not in the work. It all seems true. What's missing is the emotional and the mystical. It's about power and like an intellectual argument is being made, history being reported. I'm summarizing how I see myself, bringing it together in a cross-sectional moment, but mostly we know ourselves over time. We also know ourselves by telling stories that we're always revising. These two pages don't seem like

one of the typical stories, but it's pieces of the story. They are unfamiliar to me – that's good. I
don't have much respect for stories told over and over. So it's good they are unfamiliar. It has
a different sound to it when you tell a story in relation to a question.

7.5.2 Perspectives on empowerment

The topic of lived experience of marginality, which by definition tends to be
pushed aside or not considered at all, implies the possibility of empowerment, since it
focuses attention on, and gives voice to, normally neglected perspectives and
experiences. Participants described short-term and long-term effects of taking part in
the project as empowering, for various reasons. These are reported here under four
headings, pertaining to empowerment through self-reflection, voice, relationship and
challenge. Grappling with complexity and ambiguity, and going deeply into
experiences which sometimes raised powerful emotions or further questions was
challenging at times, but often provoked new insights and awareness. No-one reported
that this made participation a negative experience overall. All talked about various
ways in which the experience was positive and empowering.

Empowerment through self-reflection

The interview process, its structure, the kinds of questions asked, and the way
the interview was conducted was seen as empowering because it prompted reflection
on areas of experience which had previously been ignored or neglected, and generated
new insights and awareness. This empowerment through self-reflection was
commented on by all the participants. Tony's comment is one example.

> Tony: I mean I don't go round talking about these kind of things every day. In fact I don't
> think I ever have ((laughs)) to anyone in this kind of setting so no, I think it's a wonderful
> experience, and I think everybody should go through it! ... We are talking about some of the

most important things in life. But that's a conversation that rarely takes place, and for maybe some of the same reasons that we focus on the Superbowl as opposed to some great or important things which aren't as well understood, these kinds of conversations don't frequently take place and I don't think they take place often enough, even among people who are even good friends. So there are all kinds of things that are valuable about that including looking within yourself and trying to challenge yourself and make sense of your own experience and how it relates to the world.

On the other hand, those who had thought about the topic a lot, found the opportunity to talk about their ideas affirming. As Phil commented:

> Phil: What I most got out of it – it's a topic I have a lot of interest in, but I rarely get a chance to talk about it. I appreciated having the transcript, reading it through, and I can share it with others too. There wasn't a lot I had never thought about, but it helped further crystallize things I've already thought of. It was affirming of all the thinking I have done so far. Yes, taking part in the study was affirming for me.

The focus on marginality and power in multiple areas of cultural influence, and multiple dimensions of power, proved particularly thought-provoking. Some participants commented on their changed attitude to power as a result of this, as well as their being able to identify new ways in which they were powerful, and thus able to use their power more beneficially. Some commented that during the interviews, they became aware of power they did not know they had. Others, for example Sumiko, talked about how she felt better about herself generally after the interviews, both in the short and longer term.

> Sumiko: I don't usually look at myself like am I powerful, in this area. I just focus on you know what happened today and what did I do *wrong*, and what can I do better, but seeing myself as a *powerful person*, this is a new experience actually. You know I actually surprised, oh I have this high score for myself! Yeah, and still, you know, I am struggling with low self-esteem, again this kind of thinking can be very positive for my working for my low self-esteem.

Awareness of the importance of other dimensions of power, besides sociocultural power, was important to all of the participants, since they felt that this was not given much recognition in their everyday lives or by mainstream culture. Some participants commented on how their heightened awareness of the way in which people may be more or less powerful in different dimensions, would change how they related to other people, both clients and other people generally. Some commented that they would now make fewer assumptions and ask more about different areas of power in their work with clients. Other areas of new awareness came from connections that participants made between different areas of cultural influence and the degree to which these had had an impact on their overall sense of power and marginality. The empowerment that came from heightened awareness related to mainstream privilege, and marginalization. Earlgrey's comments referred to both:

> Earlgrey : One of the richest things for me is realizing my level of discomfort around the fact that I'm financially privileged through my relationship. Since [participating in the study] I'm working on being more straight with it, less hidden, embarrassed. It blows my working-class brain away to find true love *and* financial stability!
>
> It opened up a source of unworked through pain around the ethnicity stuff because I don't know about Maoridom in me, probably because no-one ever told me, probably because of racism. A journey yet to do, I want to, but feel shy about it. I felt stirred up and emotional after the interview, about the secrecy. [I became aware that my Maori heritage is something] precious, private and spiritual. It was definitely not disempowering, a mixture of positive and negative experience. Negative in the sense that it adds to the avalanche of silence and secrets in my biological family and that pisses me off. Positive in that I have always had a deep sense of connection with Maoritanga [Maori folklore, mythology]. I felt outside looking in. Now this gives me a little insider status. It was the first time I talked about it ... I have new awareness of the next step to pursue my heritage. It started a process that is not going to stop, and that to me is a great gift.

Empowerment through voice

One of the purposes of the research project, based on an empowerment

approach, was to make marginal voices more audible, in spheres in which they might not normally be heard or appreciated. Amongst the participants in this study, this process could be identified at two levels: immediate and potential. At the immediate level, participant and researcher reportedly experienced empowerment in the interview interaction. As has been noted elsewhere (Gale, 1992; Kavanaugh & Ayres, 1998; Patton, 1990) being listened to, and taken seriously can be an important and sometimes empowering experience for participants in interviewing research generally, especially if participants do not feel listened to and valued in their everyday lives, or they do not normally have much opportunity to talk about these areas.

> Phil: Well, overall it's been very positive, and as I said before, because these are areas that I'm regularly aware of anyway, and tune into a lot and think about a lot, but don't get a chance to talk about a lot or express myself. And so it's nice to be able to talk about it and express it. ... I've really enjoyed it, and it's nice to be able to spend time in this space. I guess this is the kind of thing I could do more of.

Being able to share information freely also featured in Teresa's explanation of why the interview was a positive experience for her:

> Teresa: Actually I've really enjoyed it, this has been *wonderful*. It really was, and I'm glad that I had the opportunity to come and talk. [What was good was] just being able to let the information flow. You know, you'd ask me a question and I thought it was going to be, you know, like a multiple choice question and you were going to ask me things and I was going to be answering them and you were going to be marking them, and later you review it and score it up or something like that. But it was nice because I could just flow with it, you would ask a question and I could just flow with it at my own pace and be *candid*, you know that's the other thing, it allowed me to be candid.

The degree to which this was empowering partly depended on who was the anticipated or actual audience. In addition to the immediate effects of being able to speak out and be heard in the context of the interview, a potential level of empowerment occurred in the context of the broader social domain. Here,

participation in the research was seen as a means of accessing audiences that would normally be inaccessible. It was empowering to the degree to which participants had an opportunity for their voices to be heard in a wider context, for marginal views to be put forward, and communicated, by virtue of the researcher's power of access in the broader social arena. Participation was therefore seen by some as empowering at a cultural level. Teresa commented on her belief that the research, and her participation in it, would be of benefit in this way:

> Teresa: I think that you learn - and I think that for most Black people this will come with maturity, as we mature - you learn the people that you can *trust* with some intimate thoughts, with regard to the way we relate as one culture to another. And actually I think that's probably with every culture and with every person, it's our maturity level to be able to relay and convey information that will hopefully one day help another generation of people and I guess that that's why I took the time to come this morning, is that your work will probably help another culture one day.

Empowerment through relationship

In the short term, the interview relationship itself can be a site of empowerment. The qualities of the researcher, and the way in which she or he communicates with and relates to participants can have a strong effect in this regard. In the interviews, participants commented spontaneously on the qualities of the researcher, and the types of intervention that made the interview an empowering or positive experience for them. In the first phase of the study, participants were also asked to comment on the relationship between interviewer and respondent, in view of cultural differences and similarities. All participants expressed enjoyment of the interview interaction. Some of their reasons for this pertained to relational style. The metaskills (A. S. Mindell, 1995) of the researcher were noted in particular. These are summarized in Table 7.

> Black Bear : I just appreciate your courage and reaching out and trying to bring a piece to us in our hidden little corners and for finding us, 'cause I know that when I received your phone

call it was just like one more person that needed something, but I am delighted to have gone through this experience because it was a surprise that there was encouragement and support and interest, that you've taken so much time to work with my ideas, is really touching.

Table 7

Qualities of the researcher in empowerment research interviewing, identified by participants in Phase I and II.

Researcher characteristics	
Feeling attitudes	**Interventions and skills**
Non judgmental	Individualized, reflexive, approach
Respectful	Listening
Warm	Attention to non-verbal feedback
Enthusiastic, energetic	Pacing, not rushing, take time
Genuine	Checking
Facilitative	Taking risks
Empowering	Reaching out
Open	Inquiring
Hospitable, welcoming	Asked helpful questions
Relaxed, easy, comfortable	Gave freedom to respond
An 'open kind of expertise'	In-depth approach
Courage	Prompting and probing
Supportive, encouraging	Good way of talking
Social	Good with people
Interested in people	Positive feedback
Polite	Acknowledged difference
Not stand-offish	Gave something back
Safe	Learned from mistakes
Supportive	
Interest, fascination in topic	

Mutuality in the relationship was valued. Respondents expressed appreciation about getting to know the researcher as a person, and not being treated as a research subject by an impersonal observer.

José: Well, I had a good time, *really*. And also it makes me know *you*, as a person. It's kind of an interesting thing you know. I mean I know that you will know *me*, but I also know *you* for the type of things that you say, and you know the comments and the things that you kind of get interested in. I assume that whatever you study is more than a study, something you really

like, I mean I have to. So that makes me know you, too. Kind of interesting, actually. ... It has been good to be allowed to participate, that you listen, and that you interchange that. Healing is in talking *and in interaction.*

As researcher, I also felt empowered through interaction with participants, due to their responses to me, their openness, their interest, their generosity with their time and willingness to go deeply into their experiences and communicate them. This was validating for me as a researcher. Empowerment through validation and new awareness was a mutual process, since as an interviewer I was exposed to new ideas, self-reflection, and the rewards of taking risks, reaching out to others and making contact with them.

The generosity and trust that participants showed to the researcher represented a form of empowerment that enjoined responsibility on the researcher to represent their views as closely as possible and convey them to others in a way that was useful to participants in the longer term. Recognition of differences, similarities, and ways in which we might all be more or less powerful built a relationship of mutual respect, in which researcher and participants engaged in the kind of intercultural interaction that was also a focus of the research.

Empowerment through challenge

Some participants commented that a challenging task was sometimes an empowering one. It involved developing new abilities, knowledge, or insight in the process of meeting the challenge. They noted that although it was sometimes difficult for them to delve into their experiences, or know what to say, their overall experience of participating was a positive one. Complexity, ambiguity and emotion made the

interview experience difficult for people at times. For some, the topics they discussed brought up strong feelings. These included embarrassment, uncertainty, vulnerability, pain, sadness, anger, particularly in relation to experiences of marginalization. Vindaloo, for example found that talking about experiences of discrimination in relation to her sexual orientation brought up memories and emotions which she needed to debrief with a friend, as well as in her second interview with me. She also found it difficult to talk about the ways in which she saw herself as powerless.

> Vindaloo: It was an emotionally intense experience – pouring out my experience in one of these cross-sectional moments, talking about long-term identity-based issues that don't get addressed in training, whether original psychology training or psychoanalytic training. It's just the same things over and over. ... Here I was bringing things that felt real, a combination of pain and sadness. But it passed. It wasn't negative overall. It was empowering, yes, because it reminded me in a validating way that I'm operating from a position of strength in the in between-ness. There's strengths, advantages in the disadvantages.

7.5.3 Perspectives on praxis

This section on praxis pertains to two main areas: the first concerns the use of the web-wheels in the present research context. This includes an examination of one Phase I participant's responses to the web-wheels, which she filled out in a follow-up interview. The second area concerns the potential practical applications of the research, particularly its multidimensional approach to power and diversity, and the usefulness of the web-wheels in this regard.

Use of web-wheels in the present research

As already described, the web-wheels were only used in interviews with Phase II participants. However, in order to make a link between Phase I and II, and investigate how the web-wheels might add or detract from the interview process, a follow-up

interview was conducted with one of the Phase I participants, Nancy. Her comments indicated that for her, these added to an already positive interview experience. After filling out the five web-wheels (shown in Figure 13), and discussing topics that were prompted by this, Nancy discussed her experience of it with me. She commented that the web-wheels reinforced the sense of power she derived from fighting back against oppression, and refusing to be a victim.

> Nancy: Interesting. It is real interesting because I feel like have an ability to change stuff, obviously [looking at web-wheel of activist power]. I think this comes from all the bull-crap I have gone through, through my life, all the hardships, all the whatever and I think that instead of feeling like a victim, I feel like I've come through the other side. And I get really angry because a lot of today's society keeps teaching victimhood instead of power and instead of strength and you know we're teaching our children how to be a victims, we're teaching everybody's a victim, you're a crime victim, you're a victim of *something, always,* and it's like "No, you're not! You're only a victim until *you* turn around and say I'm not going to be a victim anymore. Sometimes it doesn't *gel together* that easy but the only way it starts getting any better is when you start putting one foot in front of the other foot.

The value of the web-wheels, well as the challenge they presented, for Nancy was similar to a journal. They made visible and more concrete something of her inner life, how she thought and felt, which she might otherwise have avoided or missed.

> Nancy: This is really cool, this makes me feel good, I feel really strong here. It's kind of weird to look at the way you feel about life and how things are ... Well, you know, it's kind of neat to look at how I view the world.... It feels kind of neat because I like being in control and that's what I've been working on for the last ten years is to be in control of my life. Since I gave up doing the drugs all I've ever wanted to do was control my life. What I needed was to get power back into my life and get control, instead of giving the power and control to my spoon and my needle ... Now I'm OK with where I'm at. Yeah, that's real power. Everybody's told me I'm a really powerful person and I've never wanted to believe them but now I am looking at these, it's like "Wow, I'm really OK!"

Nancy also commented on the importance of recognizing the mix of power and vulnerability, strengths and weaknesses that all people have to varying degrees. She pointed out that this was a way of leveling, a source of commonality with others, in

'Nancy'

Sociocultural power

Psychological power

Relational power

Composite of 5 web-wheels

Activist power

Transactional power
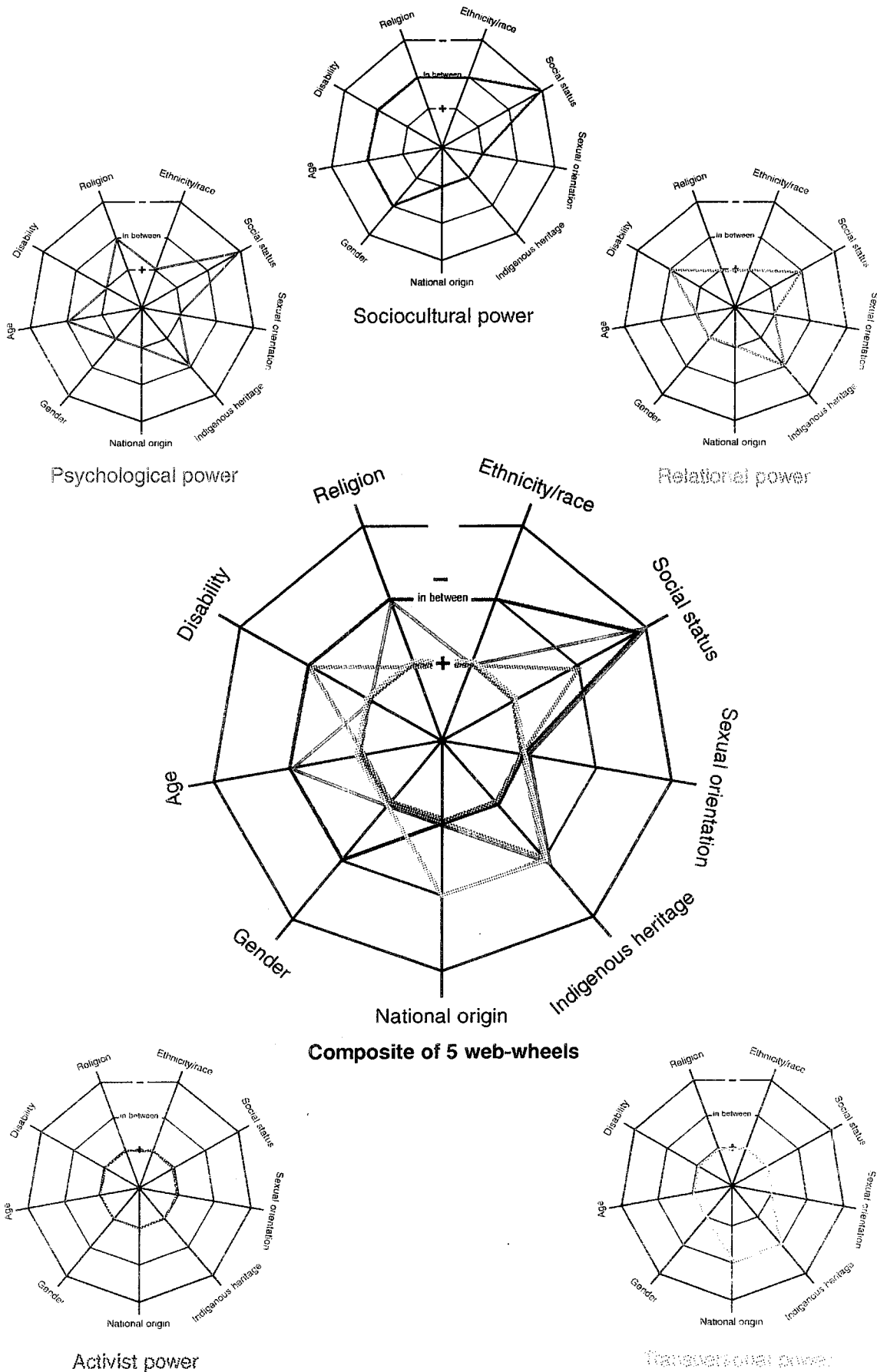
Figure 13. Nancy's web-wheels from follow-up interview

the face of the many ways in which people may be different to each other. She saw

awareness as a crucial element in this.

> Nancy: I look like I have a mixed bag here but I think that's what kind of evens us all out. You know I feel like I have some weaknesses and I feel like I have some strengths, and I have an ability to do something about them too. So that's what I see.... Something about your study is that it's more about how people need to start looking at things and until we start pointing out the *way* people look at it, including themselves and outside, it needs to be looked at this way, I mean *lots* of things need to be looked at this way. It just goes back to the awareness – it feels right, it seems like that would be a natural course for it to go, because you're looking at all these different areas and these different things. I don't know it just seems right.

In addition to this follow-up with Nancy, Phase II participants offered detailed comments on the use of web-wheel diagrams. Although overall, the use of the web-wheels met with positive responses, some limitations and difficulties were also raised. Some participants commented that the web-wheels compartmentalized experience too much, and that it was difficult to separate out areas of experience In particular, participants sometimes had difficulty dividing their experience into the various ADDRESSING categories.

> Alonzo: I'm not seeing these as completely separate categories at all. That age is related to gender, that's related to sexual orientation, it's related to... They're all related. The whole gender/sexual orientation thing is obviously connected. But then age is in there, spirituality. It's interesting. It's interesting because I think so often we sort of compartmentalize things, and it's *never that clear*. And we're really more holistic and mixed up. We're all just one big *bowl of mashed potatoes*.

Similarly, participants sometimes found it difficult to separate different dimensions of power:

> Vindaloo: It's hard because I don't have pat answers, because it just doesn't seem that simple to me. I'm trying to put it into these categories on this particular dimension, and it's hard to separate psychological power from relational power. My psychological power - I think it's very difficulty to separate from relationship. I'm separating it for the task, but I think it's pretty difficult. I'm not saying it's wrong. I'm just saying hard to do.

While on the one hand this implied a too detailed dissection of experience, other comments focused on specific areas that the web-wheels omitted, making them not detailed enough. Missing elements were noted directly, or raised indirectly through topics that participants chose to speak about. These included relational status, trauma and abuse, criminal history, substance use and abuse, and psychiatric history, as additional areas where people may experience marginalization. The ADDRESSING model, with its focus on nine areas of cultural influence, excluded areas in which normative assumptions about lifestyle choices, non-rational experience, personal history and worldviews, might be factors in experiences of marginalization. Despite these difficulties and limitations, participants' overall response to the web-wheels was positive. All participants commented on the insights and awareness they gained from use of the web-wheels to focus discussion and self-reflection. The task of locating themselves on the web-wheel and discussing related experiences stimulated thought, discussion, new awareness and new perspectives, particularly in relation to power and marginality. Paradoxically, the task of separating experience into different areas and dimensions ultimately emphasized their inter-relatedness, since this was one of the main conclusions that participants drew from their involvement in the research project.

Although the web-wheels were fairly structured, they also provided a flexible framework whereby participants could selectively focus on the particular domains that had salience for them, within a broad, multifaceted conceptualization of power and culture. Some participants were more interested in inner dimensions of power, others in the sociocultural dimension. For example, Mr. America already had a strong

political and cultural orientation. He found the second interview, with its focus on inner dimensions of power, particularly insightful. Sumiko's more personal, internal orientation was both affirmed and challenged in her discoveries about herself in terms of sociocultural and activist power. For some participants, insights about the intersections of particular areas of cultural influence and dimensions of power were especially salient for their sense of self worth and efficacy.

> Sumiko : When I was talking about spirituality, I realized that *how important it is to me*. So, when I said earlier I want to be more comfortable with myself, then I think I can more cultivate that spiritual area. Comfortable with spirituality is the main thing. So this is *great experience* seeing, thinking about myself, in these aspect that you don't usually think about, actively.

Several participants commented on the positive effects of identifying with power instead of denying it, and of recognizing that power manifests in multiple dimensions.

> Alonzo: It's been *fascinating*. It's been helping me to put it in a way that *makes sense of power*. Puts *less judgment* on it. I think I put a lot of judgment from myself on power. And sort of see it as just *there*. And that it can be used in *all sorts of different ways*. I'm sure I have a lot more work to do about that, but at least it's helped me to *think about it*. Realize, just how it's put together. A *lot* of it is about the different dimensions of power, non-power, power, powerlessness. And some of this I've thought about things. Like in college we did this whole independent study of power and powerlessness. But that was more about power *outside* of myself. It's not really looking at the internal parts of it. 'Cause that's really *powerful* to look at. That if I'm going to be a person who's trying to *make change* in this world, to *not* be clear about my own places of power and powerlessness, is going to make me ineffective. So, it's been good.

Another strong comment from participants was the way in which a multidimensional approach to power brought awareness that they, and others with whom they interacted, had strengths and weaknesses, were powerful and not powerful, in different ways and in different areas. This was noted as an important way of breaking down barriers between people, based on marginal and mainstream status, which may foster stereotypical assumptions about another person.

> Earlgrey: Funny, you look at this [pointing to her completed web-wheels] and you think from the outside, oh, here's a White, at least middle-class person How many of them do you see when you walk around the streets? *Oodles*, right! You get underneath that and then you look at what kind of weirdo is under there! ... Fascinating!

The potential of this kind of awareness to foster more positive intercultural interaction and relationship was noted in particular.

Potential applications of the web-wheel

All participant therapists, and most non-therapists, volunteered possible applications for the web-wheel diagram as an instrument of praxis. In discussion of its utility in various contexts, most emphasis was placed on ways in which it recognized the importance of taking a multidimensional approach to diversity and broke down dichotomous distinctions between margin and mainstream in various areas of cultural influence. It also was seen as facilitating awareness, through prompting self-examination of marginal and mainstream status and identification. The potential to counter stereotypes was noted, as was the importance of recognizing the uniqueness of individual experience within broader cultural identifications and group identity. Participants felt that considering various dimensions of power, instead of only one (sociocultural status) was significant and empowering. Use of the web-wheels pointed out ways in which persons might be more or less powerful than their mainstream or marginal status in certain areas might suggest. This was useful to therapists in their professional and personal lives, as Black Bear comments:

> Black Bear: When I work with clients I find myself reaching for the dimensions around the web and trying to imagine where might help the person that I am sitting with discover maybe a pocket of their power, where they're feeling either marginalized and cut off from something that their trying to get or conversely where they feel like they have strength and resources and how they can use those two to face their problems that they're confronted with. So I find myself in treatment session being very aware of the web and the spokes and the dimensions.

Participants named a variety of possible sites of application (see Table 8), including intrapersonal, interpersonal, and group settings, and various professional contexts.

Table 8

Participants' comments on possible utility of web-wheels, in intrapersonal, interpersonal and group spheres of application

Sphere of application	Utility	Comment
Intrapersonal	Tool of self-reflection and empowerment	Kiki: Just more awareness in that whole area helped my work. I mean if it changes *me* and then it changes my work, definitely. Laura: Yeah, I think it's a positive process. I mean I liked the *introspective sense* of saying who am I and how do I relate to the world power-wise. And what are the sources and strengths within it and the things that make it harder.
Interpersonal	Multidimensional approach Counters stereotypes Breaks down dichotomous oppositions	Earlgrey : I think it's going to change the way you look at a person from being one dimensional to multi-dimensional.... No one is just wrapping! That's the world I want to live in! That's what makes a character so much more exciting than a stereotype!
Groups and organizations	Includes personal uniqueness, group identity and cultural context Multidimensional approach Counters stereotypes Breaks down dichotomous oppositions	Tony: It would be helpful for professional people trying to understand cultural difference in a way that's real, not programmed....What you show here is the complexity of human experience and human personality....Life is so much more complicated, and people can see that from the diagram. You make interesting observations of how people perceive themselves compared to how they are looked at objectively. Appearances can deceive and that's something your study shows.

The potential utility of the web-wheel diagrams in education and training contexts, was especially noted. Cultural diversity training for professionals and trainees in

psychology and other social sciences psychology trainees was particularly suggested as important sphere of application. Marie, who runs creative programs for children and young adults in schools and juvenile detention centres, also commented that she could imagine using the web-wheels as the basis for a creative arts project. She envisaged students constructing their own web-wheels in three dimensions, which could then be suspended like mobiles, showing how people are similar and different to each other in a group. These could be discussed, prompting new awareness about power, privilege, marginality, and difference. As another example of potential applications, Tony commented about the web-wheel concept.

> Tony: It cuts against how our society trains people – regardless of job or role – it teaches you that if you study hard enough, learn formulae, you can manage any task if you know the formula. What you show here is the complexity of human experience and human personality. By diagramming it you show examples of the variations that occur. You can also use it as a point of departure for explaining how there is infinitely more complexity than in the diagram. It's an abbreviated way to categorize feelings, impressions, how people feel they fit in or not.

Participants made various observations about the ways in which they saw the web-wheels as useful in psychotherapeutic contexts (presented in Table 9). These included their value as a tool of self-reflection for therapists, both for examining their personal relationship to power and marginality, and the operation of margin-mainstream and other power dynamics in therapeutic interactions. Further, it was suggested that the web-wheels might be useful as a tool of intake and assessment, serving to remind therapists of the salience of cultural factors in individual

Table 9

Therapists' suggestions for applications of web-wheel diagrams in therapeutic psychology

Sphere of application	Utility	Comment
Therapist	Tool of self-reflection Awareness of power privilege, and marginality as complex phenomena	Mr. America: It would be useful as a way to make helpers conscious of their privileges, so they don't damage the people they are helping. Especially when working with abuse victims, survivors, children, helpers have a lot of power. It could help to make them conscious of that power, that it should not to be used unconsciously, rather we should be conscious every moment. There is often a lot of arrogance on the part of helpers. Helpers have a lot of wounds too. Sumiko: If you stereotype minorities ... we are different individually, even people in the mainstream might be feeling marginal. It's an important position for therapists to take, the importance of individuality, not stereotyping.
Therapist-client relationship	Bridging the gap between professional and client	Mr. America: How to bring these two parties together - the role of a helping professional and the receiver. This should be an orientation when walking into any human relationship.
Assessment	Includes individual and culture	Mr. America: It could be used as an assessment and teaching tool, so people begin to see where they are in deficit areas, marginalized, or not feeling powerful.
Education and training	Cultural sensitivity training for undergraduates, post-graduates, and professionals Classes, courses, seminars, and workshops, case study and supervision Counters political correctness with key issues and multidimensional approach	Phil: It's an approach that would be useful for educating people, by talking about all the categories and dimensions, and sense of being in the margins or mainstream, all at the same time. It would be useful for getting people to think in a more multifaceted way, listen to individual voices, and not lose sight of the human being. Vindaloo:[Useful] in training therapists. Helping people to be more aware of and open to their own experiences and experiences of marginality. And beyond that thinking how to apply that in actual case studies. There are two levels of application in the training area – with people who are already working in the field, and people who are training to be psychologists etc. Phil: I think this would be helpful. It is not typically how diversity training is taught. A lot of trainings are about faceless groups. They focus on factual education instead of learning how to think and listen. ... When you look at diversity across these various realms, you can see how you can be a member of oppressive and oppressed groups at the same time.

experience. Finally, the most emphasized area of possible usefulness was cultural diversity training. Many commented that the multidimensional web wheel approach could make positive changes to current approaches to diversity that neglect the complexity of sociocultural status and identification, and focus on factual information rather than interrelational and attitudinal factors.

The salience of secondary marginality

A final area in which participants gave feedback was on secondary marginality. The salience of ambiguity and indeterminacy, and the importance of not knowing in intercultural interaction, were noted in participants' comments on the research outcomes. Participants appreciated the recognition that status and identity were not necessarily clear cut, and underlined the importance of recognizing the 'in between' in relation to various areas of cultural influence, and different dimensions of power. They also reinforced the suggestion that not knowing was important in intercultural interaction.

> Earlgrey: Not knowing is more important than knowing when you're relating to someone obviously different from you – probably all the time actually. … I think it's very valuable to know that you don't know. A root cause of pain and oppression is not being aware that they [people with mainstream privilege] don't know – not being aware of their privileges. When I'm in a less privileged position, to realize that the privileged person doesn't know about their privilege makes the difference between giving them a knuckle sandwich or being compassionate.

José also emphasized the importance of this. From a client's perspective, he saw the value of the therapist's not knowing and responding positively to difference, rather than relying on known, formulaic interventions, in therapeutic settings:

> Jose: Orienteering states of mind are important, like curiosity and openness, awareness of a not black-or-white way of thinking. …I like this [looking at a list of metaphors and metaskills of journeying] – all positive points. It's interesting. I really like the paradox. It's critical,

things are not black and white, they are always ambiguous. I particularly like that. ...I would love to go for help and have people tell me "You're fine –all these incredible things you have!" I went to a counselor with my wife (makes an expression of dissatisfaction). It was not good, the counselor couldn't follow, she didn't know. She went to the known, the typical. Your approach is to value the experience of others, ask questions so the person discovers things, not a formula.

In summary, outcomes of Phase III point to the importance of a multidimensional approach to diversity, the value of including multiple dimensions of power, the power of awareness, and the salience of not knowing in intercultural relationship. Breaking down dichotomous divisions between margin and mainstream, power and powerlessness was seen as especially important, and there was general appreciation of the recognition of ambiguity and indeterminacy at intrapersonal, interpersonal and sociocultural levels. Participation in the study was generally a positive and empowering experience for therapists, non-therapists and the researcher, in various ways. The web-wheels were regarded as sometimes challenging, but effective, useful and interesting. The visual representation of complexity was appreciated. Many suggested creative or practical ways in which the web-wheels could further be used. Participant therapists and non-therapists alike suggested that they might be useful in a variety of contexts. These included organizational training and development, diversity training within and outside academia, and as an intake and assessment tool, and a self-awareness tool for therapists. Finally, knowing about other cultures was acknowledged as useful but insufficient, in intercultural interaction, since each encounter with another person involves a complex combination of factors, including temperament, worldview, life experience, as well as cultural identifications and status. Participants stressed the importance of valuing relational and attitudinal factors, particularly openness to uncertainty, and treating each interaction as a unique

'path made by walking'. Implications of the outcomes of all the three phases of the study, limitations of the research, and future directions will be discussed in the next chapter, which concludes the thesis.

CONCLUSION

At the conclusion of an exploratory project such as this one, a sense of completion is found in paths of future exploration that open up, as well as in understandings and new perspectives that have arisen along the way. This chapter therefore, is both an ending and a beginning. It looks back at what has been produced, and considers its achievements and limitations. It also looks at the way forward, suggesting ways in which the outcomes of the project may contribute to the building of future webs of inquiry. Limitations, implications and heuristic direction are therefore the focal concerns of this chapter.

The purpose of the thesis was to explore meanings of marginality at interrelated levels of theory, qualitative investigation and praxis, from an interdisciplinary and multidimensional perspective. This was realized in various ways. The thesis presented an original theoretical perspective on marginality, founded in two definitional foci: margin as periphery and margin as threshold. It also presented a qualitative investigation of the ways in which these concepts were reflected in lived experience. In so doing, the thesis brings together two traditionally separate disciplinary perspectives, the sociocultural and the personal, with implications for theorizing marginality in the future. Thus, it contributes conceptual and experiential understandings of marginality to the body of knowledge that addresses power and diversity in human relationship. Further, the qualitative approach to the study of marginality incorporated the development of an original research instrument, with various potential applications. Thorough discussion of methodological considerations provided a sound basis from which to develop a unique method, and contribute to the growing acceptance of qualitative methods in psychology. Development of the 'web-

wheel' as a tool of praxis and empowerment makes a methodological contribution to diversity research, education and training. Although the project has inevitable limitations, its underlying orientation towards empowerment and praxis means that its ultimate evaluation lies in its practical value and heuristic potential. These considerations are all discussed in this concluding chapter, with particular reference to the professional discipline of therapeutic psychology and related fields, such as multicultural counselling psychology.

In recent years, there has been a shift in the multicultural counselling literature from proposals of models of diversity training (in the 1970s and 1980s), to an evaluation of underlying assumptions, strategies, and the effectiveness of training approaches (Neville, Heppner, Louie, Thompson, & Baker, 1996). With respect to this evaluation process, four areas of recommendation are particularly supported by the outcomes of the present study, pointing the way to future research and practice. These areas identify the importance of recognizing the complexity of culture and context; the salience of personal uniqueness and the pitfalls of imposing an overly culture-centred orientation on individual experience. They also point to the importance of an experiential, relational focus in cultural diversity training; and the need to focus on the experience and perspectives of the powerful as well as the vulnerable (i.e. mainstream and margin, therapist and client) in diversity work. These will be discussed as they pertain to the conceptual and experiential findings presented in this thesis.

Margin as periphery

In the theoretical exploration of marginality, I discussed the concept of margin as periphery in the light of cultural perspectives, influenced particularly by the thinking of Ferguson et al. (1990) and JanMohamed and Lloyd (1990). This was presented as a sociocultural concept that hinges on the relationship between centre and margin. This relationship is a relationship of power, in which hierarchical ranking renders some sociocultural categorizations marginal, and others mainstream, relative to the dominant values of a given culture. Thus in the United States, for example, categorizations such as White American, male, heterosexual, able-bodied, youthful, financially secure, educated, and Christian are privileged over those based on other racial, ethnic, gender-related, socio-economic, physical, sexual orientation and religious characteristics. The privileging of central or dominant values and interests denies access, resources and other forms of power, worth and recognition to those who are on the periphery. Adopting a process conceptualization of marginality, I supported the view that margin and centre are not mutually exclusive, static entities. Rather, they are fluid, dynamic and non-dichotomous processes. They shift and change positions, each containing within itself an element or seed of the other. Thus, formerly peripheral groups and issues may become more central, and vice versa. I also put forward the position that while the mainstream is powerful, it also has weaknesses and deficiencies. The qualities and resources it lacks are frequently found in the margins. Margins also have powers of their own, notably the power to challenge and change the status quo, both by their very existence as well as through active opposition, and through their innovative and creative potential.

At the level of lived experience, the concept of margin as periphery was explored in the life worlds of culturally diverse participants. Those who took part in the qualitative investigation were of marginal sociocultural status in one or more areas of cultural influence. Conversations with therapists and non-therapists produced themes similar to those identified in theoretical perspectives on marginality. Thematic threads such as complexity of sociocultural status and identification, margin as process, and multidimensionality of power, reflected cultural concepts of margin and centre, the power of the centre, the power of the margin, and the processual nature of margin-mainstream dynamics. Participants saw themselves as mainstream in some areas, and marginal in others, in terms of their sociocultural status. They noted that their status in some of these areas was changeable, and that in others it was more fixed or static. Consistent with perspectives that recognize the culturally-embedded nature of experiential phenomena, margin-mainstream cultural dynamics were reflected in the life worlds of individuals.

These findings counter single-category approaches to diversity, and highlight the importance of recognizing the complexity of culture and context in research, professional practice and training. As Weinrach and Thomas (1996) note, dialogue on diversity in psychology has largely been limited to a few, discrete groupings. This has negative consequences, not only for the many other groups whose everyday realities are thereby ignored, but for everyone, since "to the extent that *any* client population is excluded from the dialogue, we are all diminished" (Weinrach & Thomas, 1996, p. 474). The recommendation that the diversity dialogue be expanded to include multiple, overlapping cultural characteristics, was taken up and supported by the

present project. Its outcomes reinforce the contention that it is important to consider multiple, overlapping areas of cultural influence in cultural diversity research including age, culture, disability, gender, educational level, ethnicity, language, physique, race, religion, sexual orientation, socioeconomic situation, and trauma (Hays, 1996a; Pedersen, 1997; Wehrly, 1995; Weinrach & Thomas, 1996, 1998).

Further, outcomes of the present research are consistent with a definitional direction in cultural diversity research, which sees definitions of culture increasingly being broadened to include ethnographic, demographic, status and affiliation variables. In a particular context, any of these variables may become salient as primary cultural features (Brislin & Yoshida, 1996). As an indication of the complexity of cultural considerations, Swartz-Kulstad and Martin (1999) name five primary domains of culture and context: ethnocultural orientation, family environment, community environment, communication style and language, as well as other sub-domains. They suggest that the goal of the ethnoculturally competent counselor should be "to understand the *individual's experience* as an ethnocultural being rather than to assume a blanket acceptance of *textbook norms* about ethnocultural groups" (Swartz-Kulstad & Martin, 1999, p. 281). To underline this approach they suggest that the melting pot analogy that was formerly used to describe the racial heterogeneity of the United States, with its goals of racial assimilation, is better replaced by the analogy of a stew. This recognizes the many individual elements of a culturally diverse society, each of which is flavoured by their environment. This recommendation is supported by the present project, which

demonstrates the uniqueness of lived experience as well as its embeddedness in broader cultural contexts.

While theoretical discussion identified the ways in which margin-mainstream dynamics play out across multiple areas of cultural influence, the qualitative study of marginality illustrated and underlined just how richly complex these dynamics are in everyday life worlds. The outcomes of the study demonstrated how differences of identity are richly intermingled with differences of subjectivity and experience (Brah, 1992). The salience of personal uniqueness was therefore an important finding in the present project, which illustrated the complexity of multiple cultural identities as well as differences in personal feelings, individual experiences, and understandings. As Brah observes,

> in practice the everyday of lived experience and experience as social relation do not exist in mutually exclusive spaces...Our struggles over meaning are also our struggles over different modes of being: different identities (Minh-ha, 1989). Identity is never a fixed core. On the other hand, changing identities do assume specific, concrete patterns, as in a kaleidescope, against particular sets of historical and social circumstances. Our cultural identities are simultaneously our cultures in process, but they acquire specific meanings in a given context. (p. 143)

One of the most significant outcomes of the present project in relation to personal uniqueness, is its identification of multiple dimensions of power. Whereas culturally-focused theory discusses sociopolitical and cultural dimensions of power with depth and sophistication, the exploration of lived experience speaks vividly of the ways in

which people may experience themselves as powerful in other domains. This was evident in the uniqueness of participants' responses to their sociocultural situations, the ways in which they made meaning in their lives, and the strengths they found in a multitude of settings. Some of these settings were associated with sociocultural power and privilege, and some were associated with sociocultural disadvantage and deprivation. Overall, the power of the mainstream and its effects on the lives of marginalized members of society was evident in participants' accounts. However, participants also described the salience of various inner dimensions of power, as well.

The themes of psychological power, relational power, activist power and transpersonal power identified in the study, describe dimensions of power which contribute an understanding of the uniqueness of lived experience within the broader domain of sociocultural status designations. This supports recent emphasis in the literature on the way in which culture manifests in individually unique ways (Das, 1995; Ho, 1995; Pedersen, 1997). The importance of acknowledging diversity sensitive approaches to counselling and psychotherapy is underlined by Weinrach and Thomas (1996) who comment that:

> To be maximally effective, counselors need to structure their interventions to meet the needs of the client, based on the client's subjective reality. (Clients create their own subjective reality as a function of their perceptions and meanings they construct about self, others and the universe.)...Although a knowledge of group tendencies may assist counselors to identify, understand and meet these needs, the categorization of clients or their characteristics by gender, race, religion, age, sexual orientation or ethnic status, even if based on

statistical studies of group differences has enormous potential for abuse. (p. 473)

The shift in emphasis from sociocultural status designations to an awareness of power in various dimensions has the potential to address this concern. One of the most striking observations, echoed in many participants' accounts of surviving the hardship and suffering of sociocultural marginalization, was the salience of the transpersonal dimension of power. Based on an inclusive definition of transpersonal power derived from interview conversations, transpersonal experience and identification (both religious and non-religious) were found to be a source of strength for all of the participants, in one form or another. Some drew on religious faith, or a personal belief system, others knew themselves as survivors or affirmed the value of their lives, because of the suffering they had come through. Still others drew on a sense of community or connectedness with others, a sense of care and responsibility for the wider whole. This was particularly evident in the accounts of those who had experienced a great deal of marginalization, in one or more areas of cultural influence.

The common thread here was that living as a marginalized person, or member of a member of a marginalized group, was not easy. Marginalization was painful and oppressive at many levels, and for some, it could be crushing, as participants noted. However surviving hardship also developed strengths: physical, emotional, intellectual, spiritual, relational. Every participant made reference to this in some way. From this study of lived experience of marginality, it was clear that marginality should not be inevitably associated with powerlessness. Rather, the margin was also

experienced as a site of generativity and creative survival, in which new perspectives, insights and awareness are developed, and a multiplicity of strengths were honed. This finding has implications wherever there is generalized representation of the margins in terms of deficiency. Even where the intention is to address inequities at a sociopolitical level, lack of recognition of the various dimensions in which people experience themselves as powerful may undermine otherwise valuable goals and strategies of empowerment. Amongst these various dimensions, the transpersonal dimension stands out. Relationship to something greater than one's immediate self or circumstances, was a source of strength that was noted repeatedly in the study. This was illustrated in a compelling anecdote, told by one of the participant therapists (Box 8.1). 'Black Bear' had suffered a great deal in her life, due in particular to marginalization in the areas of race/ethnicity, indigenous heritage, gender and sociocultural status. In a story she called her 'sunflower story', Black Bear spoke of the mystery and the power of spiritual experience in her life, which both pre-dated (and enabled her to survive) a great deal of hardship.

This identification of the importance of inner dimensions of power is interrelated with other thematic threads, such as the theme of awareness. Many participants commented on the way in which marginalization had made them more aware of the workings of society, how human beings related to one another, and sides of life which others missed, particularly dynamics of power, privilege and oppression. As noted by various participants, the mainstream tended to be unaware of itself, and to obscure difference, due to the power of normative assumptions and interests. On the other

hand, marginal persons must live in two worlds, their own and the world of the dominant culture. Thus they tend to be conscious of both mainstream and marginal

---

Box 3

Black Bear's Sunflower Story

My power is standing at the knees of adult women, OK? I mean, I'm a short adult woman, so their knees, I wasn't this high (points to her knees). I think that's about two, and we had been taken over to a foster home. And the woman offered me a grape from a grape arbor, I thought that was very nice, the grape was very sour, and ...they asked me what I thought about my brothers, we were being reunited as a family and I looked over at those three older boys and they looked very, very sad to me. I didn't know what a brother meant, but then, they meant something. And that one boy was crying, and he was too old for a diaper.

And I'm not even two years old and I'm thinking, this is OK...so I have awareness as this person who's just coming up to their knees, and it's right in that time where I go out and I'm *amazed at my amazement*. I am looking down at the grass. *I know there is a God*. I know there is. I know I've come from some place and I sit in that same era in my life and I hold a sunflower on my lap and I look at the face of that sunflower and *I know without a shadow of a doubt, God does exist*. And that I'm worthy!

And that's where my power comes from. It comes from my curiosity – why is the grass wet, but the sidewalk is not? How could rain not touch the sidewalk but it got the grass? It can't be rain! And just putting my toes in it. Just being in total awe, and from everything I know of childhood development, those were probably traumatic times. I was going into foster care. But what I did with it was just, I knew God! I mean, no-one had a *clue* into my internal world. I didn't come into adulthood and look back and make that up. *I knew it then*.

And so, kids would tease me, and they had no right to tease me. My feelings did get hurt, but I knew that it wasn't right, I've known all along that it wasn't right. It wasn't right, wasn't Creator's design. And I'm really glad that somewhere along the line I figured it out, because I do meet people all the time who maybe their lives are not devastated, but they have suffered *such hardship*. I think valuing myself in that way, no matter how hard it's been, spared me from suffering from domestic violence. It spared me from losing myself in poverty. From losing myself to chemicals. It was just that sense of *essence*, I have *always* known, that I had a core. I mean that there was something worth hanging on to. And this is what we reach out to, to be a care provider, or just to be there, as people create their own healing journey.

---

positions. This was reflected in the difficulty with which participants commented on their experience of mainstream status, and their greater facility with reflecting on

marginal status and experience. Again, recognition of complexity is important here. Participants showed differing degrees of identification and awareness in relation to their various sociocultural designations, both margin and mainstream. Indeed, for some, mainstream status was accompanied by a high degree of awareness about power and marginality. This was described in relation to their association with marginal groups, their willingness to 'take the flak' on behalf of others less conscious of mainstream power and privilege, and their efforts to work against discrimination and oppression in various spheres. While awareness tended to be more the property of marginal experience, it was by no means exclusively so.

The theme of 'margin as teacher' was another finding that was interrelated with other themes, particularly the themes of hardship, multidimensionality of power, and awareness. The margin can, and often does, awaken the mainstream from its 'sleep of privilege', as one participant noted. However, marginalized persons and groups often object to being cast in the role of educator for the mainstream, since the mainstream is a source of painful treatment, discrimination and oppression (A. P. Mindell, 1995). The multidimensional focus of the present study points out that margin-mainstream dynamics occur at the level of intrapersonal functioning as well as at interpersonal, inter-group or intercultural levels. Participants demonstrated that they had a mixture of margin and mainstream status and identification. They all knew what it felt like to be powerful and powerless, or a mix of these, in various areas. To the degree that all had once been a child, or had worked for a boss, for example, they knew what it was like to have less power in a particular setting. An inclusive focus on multiple areas of cultural influence made these mixed experiences more identifiable. Thus, participants

could reflexively use marginal identity and experience in a particular area to foster awareness in areas of mainstream privilege, where they had less awareness or sensitivity. Various participants talked about ways in which awareness derived from marginalization in certain areas, was helpful in educating themselves about power and privilege in areas where they had mainstream status.

Responses from participants suggested that those who occupied a marginal position, in cultural and interactional settings, had the potential to teach others. This potential was often neglected when vulnerabilities and need for special consideration or treatment were the only object of focus. The suggested that, people on the margins were knowledgeable about both the margins *and* the mainstream. They lived in two worlds, and had much to teach about both. The recognition of margin as teacher was made in order to emphasize the importance of respect for marginal positions, and humility and openness to learning on the part of those who are in mainstream positions.

The outcomes of the study suggest that when multiple areas of experience, across a life span, are considered, experiences of being powerful or powerless are not mutually exclusive. Participants demonstrated the potential to identify with both, to and to educate oneself and others, and learn to use power well. This is an important connecting thread across diverse life worlds. One of the most important implications of this approach is that it breaks down dichotomous divisions between margin and mainstream, powerful and powerless, in interpersonal and intercultural contexts. It also suggests the importance of including mainstream perspectives in studies of

marginality. Few studies address the challenge to conduct research on privileged standpoints and there has tended to be a 'fetishization' (Fine et al., 1997) of the less powerful. This means that marginalized groups have been viewed as people to be understood. More powerful groups, notably mainstream groups, have been more or less ignored. The status, identifications and experience of therapists have similarly received rather less focus than clients. However, when a multidimensional approach to power and marginality is taken, margin and mainstream are less easily separable. Both those who have power and privilege in various domains, and those who do not, need to be included. This has important implications for dialogue on diversity in psychology, and for the training of professionals in culturally sensitive practice. This is further discussed later in this chapter, in relation to the use of web-wheels in education and training contexts.

Margin as threshold

Discussion of the second theoretical concept, marginality as threshold, focused on an understanding of marginality that was not hierarchically based. Definition of marginality here hinged on transition, ambiguity and possibility, rather than power. I proposed the concept of secondary marginality, to identify a zone of 'in between-ness' that exists between multiple marginalities and mainstream positions, in intrapersonal, interpersonal and intercultural relationship. Influenced by the relativistic metaphors of post-Newtonian science, and Turner's (1968; 1985; 1986) anthropological work on liminality, I argued that, from a process perspective, margin and mainstream are not fixed, polar positions, but indeterminate, fluid and interrelated processes. Zones of transition or 'in between-ness' thus occur at the 'margin of the

margin' – a zone where neither margin nor mainstream is fully present nor fully absent. Secondary marginality was therefore characterized as ambiguous and paradoxical. The concept of secondary marginality was helpful in directing investigative focus to lived experience of indeterminate status and ambiguous identification. Participants were at times clear about their status and identification in the various ADDRESSING areas, but they were also not clear at other times. They gave various reasons for this and described many ways in which 'in between-ness' may manifest in status and identification. This has important implications for diversity research that has concentrated on particular categories of status and identity and inadvertently reinforced objectification and stereotyping of marginal and mainstream groups. By including areas of indeterminate identity, the quality of lived experience is conveyed more fully, in its shades of subtlety and complexity.

Investigation of the concept of secondary marginality was particularly fruitful at the level of interpersonal interaction. Participants' descriptions of relating to someone who differed from them in one or more of the ADDRESSING areas, focused on experience of 'not knowing'. Their accounts suggested that in interaction between two people of differing cultural backgrounds, status and identification, there is a meeting of multiple marginalities and mainstream positions. For example, in an interviewer-participant interaction, which featured differences in age, cultural heritage and physical ability, there was a meeting of two life worlds. There were aspects of each other's life worlds that we knew about and understood, and aspects that were quite unknown. This was true of each of the stories of intercultural interaction that participants told, as well the interview encounters. Encounter with difference shifted

each of us from known to unknown, and thence to new knowings, and new uncertainties. The zone in which known identities shifted, however slightly or subtly, into uncertainty through encounter with difference, was seen as a place of in between-ness, the margin at the edge of the margin.

Participants' accounts of their experience of this zone of uncertainty suggested two major themes: discomfort with 'not knowing', and a positive orientation towards it as something exciting and interesting. Negative experiences included relational ruptures that were distressing and difficult, although sometimes these led to a process of working through difference to achieve deeper levels of communication. Positive experiences were mostly associated with ways in which an encounter with difference held the possibility of change, new awareness, and new relationship. All of the participants valued this type of learning. Attitudinal stances, momentary awareness and relational skills were named as particularly helpful in intercultural interactions that had a strong component of uncertainty. Participants recognized the importance of acknowledging difference, embracing conflict, being willing to make mistakes, and give up power in intercultural interaction. This approach differs markedly from the universalist approach which seeks to ignore difference and maintain a façade of superficially pleasant interaction, thus tacitly endorsing mainstream values and interests, and privileging mainstream over marginal groups.

Therapists' accounts reinforced the themes identified in non-therapists' accounts. However, their experience was investigated in more depth, and focused on therapist-client interactions. This included discussion of professional skills and resources,

relational experience in personal and professional contexts, and introspective examination of motives, values, ways of relating, and meaning-making. The powerful influence of professional expectations and belief systems was frequently noted, particularly the pressure to know, be an expert, and to help. Themes of positive and negative experience ran throughout descriptions of not knowing. These were not necessarily discrete, and were often woven together, especially where accounts described initially uncomfortable feelings towards not knowing, followed by positive experiences of learning, deepened relationship, new awareness and therapeutic effectiveness.

Descriptions of not knowing in face-to-face conversation and journal entries, were taken as indications that intercultural interaction is 'a path made by walking', as well as a known path. They suggested that any interaction between two people who differ (and therefore, it could be argued, every human interaction) is in some way unique and different, created anew each time. Cultural similarities and differences might be anticipated beforehand from knowledge of the cultures concerned. However there is also an unknown aspect to each encounter, that cannot be facilitated by prior information. Instead, feeling attitudes and momentary awareness are particularly helpful. Metaphors of journeying through various elements and environments suggest the particular salience of metaskills such as curiosity, openness, courage, flexibility, vigilance, and willingness to experience discomfort, take risks, and find strength in adversity.

This has important implications for cultural diversity training in therapeutic psychology. 'Not knowing' and uncertainty appear to be important, but neglected aspect of relating across cultural difference, both within and outside psychotherapeutic contexts (Dyche & Zayas, 1995). Currently, cultural diversity training emphasizes the acquisition of knowledge, skills and awareness, effectively suggesting that there is an already existing path that must be known more thoroughly if the journey is to be made successfully. The present study suggests that culturally diverse interaction is better conceptualized as two, parallel paths: a path that already exists and a path 'made by walking'. The existing path is reflected in known guidelines for effective intercultural interaction, research, training programs and manuals, for example. It is walked by seeking out information, guidance, and experienced and sympathetic help from others, and drawing on knowledge, skills and awareness gained in previous settings. Cultural diversity training, supervision, skills development, and self-education are all practical strategies that contribute to this.

The path 'made by walking', is an unknown path. This path is reflected in the experience of uncertainty, venturing into unknown areas. It travels from one uncertainty to another. Movement along this path is facilitated by attitudinal approach, including an openness to the unknown, and momentary awareness, rather than prior knowledge. It involves the ability to see things anew even when they appear well known, and the ability to be 'lost in familiar places' (Shapiro & Carr, 1991). As participants described it, this is the domain of the spontaneous, the magical, and the mysterious. It is facilitated by wisdom and creativity, rather than cognitive skills or intellectual knowledge. Life-threatening illness, death, personal crisis and difficulty, and living through suffering and hardship, were described as helpful in

travelling along this path of unknowing. As a fundamentally creative process, it is a kind of relational improvisation. Jazz pianist Keith Jarrett conveys the nature of this path in his comments on improvisational performance:

> Once Miles Davis asked me, "How do you play from nothing?" And I said, "You know, you just do it" And that actually is the answer. I wish there was a way to make "I don't know" a positive thing, which it isn't in our society. We feel that we need to "know" certain things, and we substitute that quest for the actual experience of things in all its complexity. When I play pure improvisation, any kind of intellectual handles are inappropriate because they get in the way of letting the river move where it's supposed to move. (Jarrett, 1997, p.104)

Different issues to those involved in negotiating known realities are implied here. Therapists' accounts repeatedly noted the difficulties that professional guidelines and expectations raise in such situations, putting real or imagined pressure on them to know about the client's cultural heritage, what to say, how to help, and so on. Non-therapists' accounts, free of these expectations, emphasized relational skills and feeling attitudes. These tend to be neglected in the literature on effective intercultural interaction, with some exceptions (Kabagarama, 1993). However, recently there has been movement in this direction. For example, Robinson (1997) describes multiculturalism as honouring and celebrating differences through the conscious process of unlearning learned prejudice, willingly sharing power with those who have less power, and using unearned privilege to empower others. She also talks about the importance of honesty and willingness to undergo sometimes painful, dissonance-producing dialogue in this process. Echoing Paulo Freiere, she says that to

her, "multiculturalism is teachable, is kind and is not arrogant" and therefore sounds a lot like love, "the universal tie" (p. 7). Dyche and Zayas (1995) emphasize the metaskills of curiosity and naiveté in intercultural relationship:

> Therapists today face a dramatic increase in the cultural diversity of their client populations. Cultural literacy, long the dominant model for preparing to do cross-cultural therapy, advocates study of the prospective client's history and culture. This model, however poses logistical problems, emphasizes scholarship over the experiential and phenomenological, and risks seeing clients as their culture and not as themselves.... Teaching culture alone can obscure the therapist's view of human diversity. To balance the cognitive model of preparation, a process-oriented approach is considered, whereby the therapists' attitudes of cultural naiveté and respectful curiosity are given equal importance to knowledge and skills. (p. 389)

This is particularly relevant wherever marginalization is a factor in inter-relational dynamics. Participants in the present study noted that their experience of marginalization made them sensitive to the feeling attitudes of another person, particularly someone with mainstream status relative to them. For them, a major determinant of positive interaction was whether they sensed that the other person was respectful, genuine, honest and direct. Whether he or she was willing to acknowledge and learn from mistakes, and change was more important than doing or saying the 'right thing' according to some formula. Willingness to be uncomfortable, to 'walk the walk', make mistakes, be challenged and changed have received little emphasis in a profession in which standards of excellence and the valuing of professional distance, have been emphasized. However, outcomes of the present study demonstrate that

marginal experience often entails dealing with fear, discomfort, negativity, hostility, as well as taking risks, and developing strengths and skills in the face of obstacles and opposition. They suggest the importance of acknowledging power and privilege and using them well, and of reaching out, being willing to be the one to make the first move. These attitudinal approaches go a long way to facilitate a successful intercultural interaction. However they are not learned in books, but through life experience. One of the most important questions raised by this study is therefore the degree to which preoccupation with cultural literacy, and related professional expertise, may obscure the salience of attitudinal components of intercultural interaction. This raises important issues for cultural diversity training in academic and professional contexts.

A related consideration is the salience of the relationship in cultural diversity work. In any interaction between two people, a multitude of experiences, identities and other influences are brought to bear on the interaction. This is true in therapeutic relationships as in any other human encounter. Although the therapist also has particular professional powers and responsibilities, in therapeutic interaction, therapist and client are both persons in relationship, as well as participants in a therapeutic dyad. Each bring to this relationship multiple marginalities and mainstream positionings, powers and privileges, strengths and vulnerabilities. With some exceptions, research has tended to neglect the therapist as a person, and concomitant relational issues. It has therefore also neglected the particular resources and problems these may bring to intercultural interaction in therapeutic settings (Hopcke, 1995) One-way focus on the therapist as powerful and the client as less powerful misses the

inevitable complexity of power dynamics in human interaction (Diamond, 1996). Neglect of ways in which participants in an intercultural interaction, both therapist and client, may be powerful and vulnerable may obstruct therapeutic goals and perpetuate societal imbalances.

However, the importance of inter-relational experience is recently being re-emphasized in recent evaluation of approaches to cultural diversity training. Patterson (1996) says changes in the literature on multicultural counselling could foreshadow a return to the recognition of counselling as an interpersonal relationship. Holcomb-McCoy and Myers (1999) conclude from a recent study that multidimensional training that includes in vivo learning experiences are particularly effective. Heppner and O'Brien (1994) similarly emphasize the importance of interactional experience, and exposure to minority experience in multicultural competency training. Brown, Parham and Yonker (1996) further recommend contact with difference, immersion in different cultural environments, and the importance of process, interaction, and time to consider and internally process experience, as particularly helpful. The present study supports their recommendations and suggests that this is an important area for further investigation.

Methodological limitations

The outcomes and implications discussed so far must be considered in the light of various limitations. These pertain to theoretical, practical and contextual factors. At the beginning of the 21st century, psychology is in the process of accepting paradigmatic frames and methodical approaches that have not been entertained as

sound science. Amongst the various social science disciplines, psychology has come to this relatively recently. There is still widespread caution and sometimes aversion expressed in relation to interpretive, qualitative approaches to inquiry in psychology. The rapid developments in methodological rigour which have taken place throughout the social sciences over the past few decades are less well known in psychology as yet, although this is changing. This called for the inclusion of a more detailed introduction to metatheoretical issues and methodical choices than might be necessary even a few years from now. The choice to do so, in the interests of methodological clarity, meant that investigation of the theoretical and practical foci was presented rather later in the thesis than would otherwise be preferable.

The topic of marginality is a complex one, which has not received widespread focus in academic circles. In certain areas, attention has focused on its sociocultural meanings. These have largely been explored from the perspectives of cultural theory and critical thinking, within psychology to a degree, but largely outside it. Various literatures were referred to in my discussion, combining a plurality of theoretical perspectives from a pragmatic metaperspective. Interdisciplinarity is increasingly acknowledged as important for the vitality of academic disciplines, particularly where previous metatheoretical parameters have restricted the scope or focus of inquiry (Dogan & Pahre, 1990). By casting theoretical and methodological nets to the edges of various disciplines, I achieved an innovative approach to the topic. However, in-depth examination of the literature of a single discipline is sacrificed for this breadth of scope.

One of the major limitations of this qualitative study of lived experience is the potential for reification of experience. There are also inherent difficulties in the strategy of using dichotomous categorizations in a study of the complexities and subtleties of life worlds. Despite efforts to acknowledge and represent complexity and paradox, and despite the inclusion of 'in-between-ness' at conceptual and practical levels, the present research inevitably suffers from these limitations. However, from the interpretive perspective that underlies this investigation of lived experience, outcomes are seen as outcomes of a process of production, rather than discovery of objective fact. Outcomes are co-constructed by participants and researcher, and reflect the researcher's personal and cultural filters. As Maracek et al. (1997) observe:

> When researchers listen to participants, we learn new things. Participants become more than transmitters of raw data to be refined by statistical procedures. They come to be active agents, the creators of the worlds they inhabit and the interpreters of their experiences. At the same time, researchers come to be witnesses, a word whose root means knowledge. In bringing their knowledge - of theory, of interpretive methods, and of their own intellectual, political and personal commitments – to participants' stories, researchers become active agents as well. (p. 636)

Given the exploratory nature of this project, and its concern with theoretical concepts and lived experience, outcomes are offered with the primary intention of generating further inquiry into a relatively unresearched area. Consistent with a postmodern understanding of verification, their evaluation rests in communicative and practical validity rather than in objective criteria. The degree to which the research proved meaningful and useful to its participants is one indication of this. The degree to which

the research has generative and practical potential in the wider context of professio⌐
psychology will be another.

In terms of procedural considerations, the investigation may be seen as limi⌐
by its small sample size, by data that relies exclusively on self-report, and by its sin⌐
researcher desing. These choices represent a somewhat inevitable trade-off, wh⌐
favours in-depth exploration of complex and subtle topics over larger sc⌐
generalizable investigation. Recognizing the interrelationship between li⌐
experience and culture, a small sample was considered more suitable so as to be a⌐
to represent this interrelationship in richly descriptive terms. As the primary d⌐
collection strategy, interviewing had a number of limitations. Researcher a⌐
respondent bias are grounds for some of the strenuous objections to interviewing⌐
positive circles where claims to neutrality and objectivity are paramount⌐
establishing the quality of research. However, as Hagan (1986) notes in her detail⌐
discussion of interpretive interviewing, an alternative approach to dealing with bias⌐
to include it in the overall analysis, rather than deny it or try to eliminate it throu⌐
behavioural prescriptions and protocols. That which has traditionally been regarded⌐
scientifically problematic, (such as possible distortions and contradictions in intervi⌐
responses, for example) are thus seen as relevant, contextually situated, and import⌐
expressions of the person's life situation. Similarly, within the context of⌐
interpretive and phenomenological approach to interviewing research, a sin⌐
researcher project is not necessarily limited by the subjectivity of its approa⌐
However, detailed documentation of researcher bias, rich description, care⌐
documentation of the research process, and comprehensive consultation w⌐

participants and peers, were included in the interest of sound research. The involvement of several researchers, from various cultural backgrounds, would have strengthened the project by adding multiple researcher perspectives.

Methodological developments and implications

Texts on qualitative research methods (such as Tesch, 1990; Miles & Huberman, 1994) emphasize the importance of creativity and innovation in qualitative designs. Development of the web-wheel diagram and its use in various phases of my research represents a contribution to qualitative methods in the area of cultural diversity research. As a research tool, the 'web-wheel' has various potential uses, which were explored in the three-phase study. Initially designed as a means of data reduction and display for Phase 1, it was used in Phase 2 as a visual means of focusing sections of the interview on participants' self perceptions and experience in five dimensions of power: sociocultural, psychological, relational, activist and transpersonal.

As a tool of praxis, the web-wheel diagram was used to facilitate in depth exploration of identity and experience, in a non-linear fashion. Thus it served to facilitate awareness and change, since participants were prompted to think about themselves in previously unexplored areas of cultural influence and dimensions of power. Given the invisibility and lack of awareness that tends to be associated with mainstream positions, this served as an important self-reflexive tool. Relationship to power tended to be affected in positive ways. As participants commented, they felt less in denial about the power they had, and more conscious of how it might be well used. They commented that even though they normally identified with being

marginalized or less powerful, the web-wheels facilitated new awareness of power in various dimensions. Use of the web-wheels also prompted awareness of negative associations to power and powerlessness in specific areas, and pointed out directions for change. For example, negative experiences as a member of a marginal group led to some participants' denial of vulnerability and emotional potency. Others' guilt about mainstream led them to deny their power and not use it well. These were positively challenged during conversations focused by the web-wheels. The web-wheel diagrams graphically represent the complexity and multidimensionality of power and marginality. The inclusion of an 'in between' category permits exploration of indeterminate and ambiguous status and experience. The web-wheels demonstrate the difficulty of predicting or predetermining what a person's actual experience might be, based on external identification of sociocultural status alone.

By incorporating a simple self-rating scale, the web-wheel diagram offers the opportunity to include ordinal data and statistical analysis as an adjunctive tool in the interpretation of textual data. One of its strengths as a research tool is that it may be used in qualitative or quantitative studies, or in studies which include a mix of both. Amidst ongoing controversy about the commensurability of quantitative and qualitative methods, some researchers note the creativity involved in combining various types of interpretive approach, including statistical interpretation, within an overall qualitative design (Tesch, 1990). The use of quantitative data as supportive documentation in a qualitative study is a controversial one in some quarters (Barbour 1998; Brannen, 1992; Greene & Caracelli, 1997). Depending on paradigmatic persuasion and various other factors, quantitative data may be included as a helpful

adjunct, or regarded as anathema. Since I have not equated qualitative and quantitative methods with conceptual systems of inquiry, and have take the position that a researcher may adopt a bicultural research identity with regard to qualitative and quantitative inquiry, it is consistent with my overall research paradigm to include recognize the value of the web-wheel as a quantitative data generation tool. Bazeley (1999) describes 'the bricoleur with a computer' as a practical researcher who will use whatever tools are at hand to investigate a problem or question, including both qualitative and quantitative methods and tools of analysis.

Towards this end, the web-wheels and related data generation package used in Phase I were converted into a computer software program (see Appendix H). The program was designed so that the web-wheels for five dimensions of power and related instructions can be displayed be presented on computer screen. Used in the data generation process, the participant then can enter the data themselves on screen by clicking on radio buttons on the web diagram. At the end of a data gathering session, the completed web-wheels, can be displayed on screen, as single web-wheels or as a compilation of one or two or more. Input on findings can then be solicited from participants immediately. The program stores the data both in graphic and numeric form. Thus results can be exported to a statistical program such as SPSS, and analyzed with techniques using techniques such as multidimensional scaling. The software program was conceived and developed at the very end of the research project. Therefore there was no opportunity to include this kind of data as an adjunct to qualitative findings. However future studies might benefit from the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods, as well as a computer-interactive style of

interviewing which participants might find novel, interesting and fun. This also contributes to an empowerment approach, since it potentially affords participants more immediate involvement in the analysis process.

The web-wheel diagram thus may be used in various types of research, in qualitative, quantitative and mixed designs. It may also be used in various contexts, within and outside psychology. Exploration of use of the web-wheels in various situations, including interpersonal interaction in interview conversations, in group contexts, and in teaching situations suggests that it has a number of potentially valuable uses. The outcomes of Phase III point to the number of ways which therapists found them useful and potentially useful. These focused on cultural diversity training, but also included their potential for personal awareness facilitation, and client assessment. Time constraints limited the degree to which use of the web-wheels in group contexts could be explored. However, outside the three-phase study, I obtained further indication of their usefulness in training contexts, from two sources. I showed the outcomes of my research to Pamela Hays, the researcher whose ADDRESSING model contributed to the web-wheel design. Her recommendation that the web-wheels would be useful in multicultural psychology courses is included in Appendix G. In addition, I piloted the use of the web-wheels in an educational setting, when I taught a class on power and marginality for first year social science students at Portland State University. This received positive feedback from those who attended the class (also presented in Appendix G). The potential of the web-wheel to be adapted for various purposes, and to various settings, was therefore suggested in

responses from the participants in the study, as well as in responses from professionals and students in the context of cultural diversity training.

This practical application of the web-wheel as a tool of praxis and empowerment in education and training contexts reflects the approach described in Durie & Taylor's (1998) discussion of alternative ways of teaching cultural diversity. Standard approaches aim to inform students about cultural diversity and develop skills and strategies to enable students to 'handle' diversity in their classrooms/workplaces. As Durie and Taylor comment, such approaches:

> can give rise to enormous tensions and conflicts within the class - as some feel alienated and excluded from the material content of the curriculum while others feel unacknowledged within it and objectified by it. Resistances may be expressed as resentment and anger towards other groups who appear to get special treatments and benefits. There can also be a sense that considerations of difference are an unwanted burden for the students as educators: a compulsory form of 'political correctness'. Classes can be highjacked by aggressive and resentful arguments. (p. 2)

Such problems are echoed in comments from participants' in the present study, about potential applications of the web-wheels in comparison with current approaches to diversity training in psychology.

> Phil: Your research heightens sensitivity and awareness of cultural differences, solidifies how many of the cultural trainings that continue to be done today, including by the most liberal, are missing the boat in not teaching thinking skills, but focusing on concrete differences which may further objectify the group …It's an approach that would be useful for educating people, by talking about all the categories and dimensions, and sense of being in the margins or

> mainstream, all at the same time. It would be useful for getting people to think in a more
> multifaceted way, listen to individual voices, and not lose sight of the human being....When
> you look at diversity across these various realms, you can see how you can be a member of
> oppressive and oppressed groups at the same time.

Taylor and Durie (1998) similarly emphasize the importance of an inclusive, multidimensional approach that includes:

> a critical awareness of the us/them dichotomy, and the notion of difference as
> being about the other, providing an opportunity to engage with the
> contradictions and complexities of power relations.... we wanted to challenge
> the way in which all students are positioned centrally as knowing subjects and
> cultural differences are lined up as external objects, marginalized and waiting
> to 'known about' by 'us' (who are 'not them'). (p. 2)

This kind of approach is facilitated by the use of web-wheels in teaching contexts. They engender discussion of personal identifications, highlight the mix of margin-mainstream experience, break down dichotomous us/them relations by facilitating discussion and awareness of different ways in which people may experience themselves as powerful or vulnerable. The inclusion of mainstream perspectives is an important aspect of the web-wheels, since privileged standpoints tend to be left out of discussion in favour of an over-focus on less powerful positions(Fine et al. 1997), such as 'minorities' and clients. However, with the web-wheels' multidimensional approach to power and marginality, both margin and mainstream perspectives, those with power and those lacking power, therapists and clients, are treated as important to be understood. Cultural differences that are present in any given group are raised through discussion focused by the web-wheels. Other differences that may not be represented in the group are also raised. As in Durie and Taylor's (1998) model, the

web-wheels provide "the opportunity to engage with differences as they are embodied in the classroom, rather than being solely an academic exercise that distance cultural differences as material to be taught about the 'other' who is not present" (p. 3).

Future directions

In discussing outcomes and implications of the present project, four broad findings were identified as significant for the interrelated areas of research, professional practice and training in areas of culture and diversity. The first was the importance of complexity and multidimensionality. The second was the salience of personal uniqueness, including personality, worldview and inner dimensions of power. The third was the salience of attitudinal and relational aspects of intercultural interaction. The fourth was concerned with recognition of ambiguity and uncertainty. These interrelated areas echo concerns expressed by Amundson, Stewart and Valentine (1993):

> In our search for guidelines out of which to conduct therapy, we encounter two temptations: temptations of power and certainty. When therapists do not adequately account for the position of our clients, we fall prey to the temptation of certainty. When we attempt to impose corrections from such certainty, we fall victim to the temptation of power. Colonization occurs in therapy when our commitment to "expert knowledge" blinds us to the experience in the room. (p. 111)

These concerns provide a broad direction for avenues of possible investigation in the future. The thesis has addressed power and uncertainty at an exploratory level, and

future research might usefully go further with what has been presented here. The present research focused on conceptual exploration and lived experience of marginality, relying on individually reflexive, self-report approaches to understanding. Future work might usefully explore these further in interactional contexts. As emphasized previously, marginality is a relational phenomenon. Additionally, one of the distinguishing properties of power is its tendency to be invisible or unacknowledged by those who have it. Therefore, exploration of power and marginality in relational settings, both in interpersonal and in inter-group contexts, would be an important move towards obtaining a more complete view of the operation of margin-mainstream dynamics at multiple levels of interaction. In particular, this exploration might take place in settings specifically related to psychotherapeutic practice. Examples might include therapist-client or therapist-supervisor dyads, case consultation groups, peer groups of practising psychotherapists or trainees, and focus groups of various kinds. Beyond this, future research might focus on further exploration of the concept of secondary marginality. In particular, the value and therapeutic effectiveness of 'not knowing' in therapeutic settings could be further investigated. Again there is need for an interactional focus in research design. Given the degree of interest shown by participants in possible applications of the web-wheels in the area of cultural diversity training, this is an obvious and exciting area for future investigation. This might include the design and implementation of a training module or program, which is based on the concepts and methods presented in this thesis, and which incorporates ways of evaluating program effectiveness.

Future methodological approaches might usefully incorporate the models used in this study in any of these above-mentioned contexts. Use of the web-wheel software program has not yet been explored. This program, and research designs that incorporate the web-wheel diagrams in various ways, may be incorporated in future projects which adopt qualitative or quantitative approaches, or a mix of both. The ADDRESSING model might be expanded to incorporate elements noted as missing in this study, such as relational status. They might also be adapted so as to include components which reflect differences in personal history and related discriminations (for example, due to drug use, psychiatric history, criminal history) or differences in worldview and psychological orientation. Methodological developments might also include the use of a wider range of data gathering strategies. In particular, future research designs might recognize the importance of non-verbal information in this area of research, and employ observational techniques, such as video. In any and all of these possibilities, the embracing of an empowerment orientation to research is desirable. More participant involvement at every stage of the research process would extend the approach adopted in the present project, heighten congruence between topic and approach, and offer valuable opportunities for methodological reflexivity.

REFERENCES

Abraham, F. D., & Gilgen, A. R. (1985). Chaos theory in psychology. Westport, CT:

Greenwood Press.

American Psychological Association. (1989). Publication manual. (3rd. ed.). Washington,

D.C.: Author.

Amundson, J., Stewart, K., & Valentine, L. (1993). Temptations of power and

uncertainty. Journal of Marital and Family Therapy, 19 (2), 111-123.

Argyris, C. (1989). Participatory action research and action science. American Behavioral

Scientist, 32 (5), 612-623

Ashworth, P. D., Giorgi, A., & De Koning, A. J. J. (1986). Qualitative research in

psychology. Proceedings of the International Association for Qualitative Research

in Social Science. Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press.

Atkinson D. R., & Hackett, G. (1995). Counseling diverse populations. Madison, WI:

WCB Brown and Benchmark.

Atkinson, D. R. & Lowe, S. M. (1995). The role of ethnicity, cultural knowledge, and

conventional techniques in counseling and psychotherapy. In J. G. Ponterotto, J.

M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki, & C. M. Alexander. Handbook of multicultural

counseling. (pp. 387- 414). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Banister, P., Burman, E., Parker, I., Taylor, M., & Tindall, C. (1994). Qualitative

methods in psychology: A research guide. Buckingham, PA: Open University

Press.

Barbour, R. S. (1998). Mixing qualitative methods: Quality assurance or qualitative quagmire? Qualitative Health Research, 8 (3), 352-361.

Barton, S. (1994). Chaos, self-organization and psychology. American Psychologist, 49 (1), 5 -14.

Bazeley, P. (1999) The bricoleur with a computer: Piecing together qualitative and quantitative data. Qualitative Health Research, 9 (2), 279-287.

Becker, H. (1989). Writing for the social sciences. Chicago: University of Chicago

Berry, J., & Annis, R. C. (1988). Ethnic psychology: Research and practice with immigrants, refugees, native peoples, ethnic groups and sojourners: Selected papers from the North American IACCP Conference on Ethnic Psychology, held in Kingston, Canada, August 16-21, 1981. Amsterdam: Swets & Zetlinger.

Bernstein, R. J. (1983). Beyond objectivism and relativism. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Black, R. D. C. (1973). The Marginal Revolution in Economics. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.

Bogdan, R. C., & Biklin, S. K. (1992). Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theory and methods. (2nd ed.). Needham Heights, Mass: Allyn & Bacon.

Boyatzis, R. E. (1998). Transforming qualitative data: Thematic analysis and code development. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Brannen, J. (1992). Mixing methods: Qualitative and quantitative research. Aldershot: Avebury.

Brenner, M., Brown, J., & Canter, D. (1985). The research interview: Uses and
approaches. London: Academic Press.

Breakwell, G. M., Hammond, S., & Fife-Shaw, S. (1995). Research methods in
psychology. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

Brislin, R. W. & Yoshida, T. (1994). Improving intercultural interactions. Thousand
Oaks, CA: Sage.

Britton, D. M. (1990). Homophobia and homosociality: An analysis of boundary
maintenance. The Sociological Quarterly, 31 (3), 422-439.

Brown, S. P., Parham, T. A., & Yonker, R. (1996). Influence of a cross-cultural training
course on racial identity attitudes of white women and men: Preliminary
perspectives. Journal of Counseling and Development, 74 (May/June), 510-516.

Bruner, J. (1990). Foreword. In B. Shore. Culture in mind: Cognition, culture and the
problem of meaning. (pp. xiii-xvii). New York: Oxford University Press.

Brydon-Miller, M., & Tolman, D. L. (1997). Engaging the process of transformation.
Journal of Social Issues., 53 (4), 803-810.

Bryman, A. (1988). Quality and quantity in social research. London: Unwin Hyman.

Bullough, V. L. (1979) . Homosexuality: A history. New York: New American Library.

Burman, E. (1997). Minding the gap: Positivism, psychology, and the politics of
qualitative methods. Journal of Social Issues, 53 (4), 785-801.

Butz, M. R. (1992). Chaos: An omen of transcendence in the psychotherapeutic process.
Psychological Reports, 71, 827-843.

Carter, R. T. (1995). The influence of race and racial identity in psychotherapy: Toward a
racially inclusive model. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Champagne, J. (1995). The ethics of marginality: A new approach to gay studies. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Chenail, R. J. (1995). Presenting qualitative data. The Qualitative Report, [On-line journal, 2 (3). Available World Wide Web: http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR2-3/presenting.html).

Cohen, A. P. &. R. N. (1995). Questions of consciousness. London: Routledge.

Cohen, D. Psychologists on psychology. (2nd. ed.). New York: Routledge.

Creswell, J. W. (1994). Research design: qualitative and quantitative approaches. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Das, A. K. (1995). Rethinking multicultural counseling: Implications for counselor education. Journal of Counseling and Development , 74, 45-52.

Datta, L. (1997). A pragmatic basis for mixed-method designs. In J. C. Greene, & V. J. Caracelli (Eds.), Advances in mixed-methods evaluation: The challenges and benefits of integrating diverse paradigms. (pp. 53-70). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Denzin, N. K. (1970). The research act: A theoretical introduction to sociological methods. Chicago: Aldrine.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Handbook of qualitative research. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1998a). Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials. Thousand Oaks, CA.: Sage.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1998b). The landscape of qualitative research. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1998c). Strategies of qualitative inquiry. Thousand

    Oaks: Sage.

Dey, I. (1993). Qualitative data analysis: A user friendly guide for social scientists.

    London: Routledge.

Diamond, J. E. (1996). Status and power in verbal interaction: A study of discourse in a

    close-knit community. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Dogan, M., & Parhre, R. (1990). Creative marginality: Innovation at the intersections of

    social sciences. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Douglas, M. (1966). Purity and danger: An analysis of concepts of pollution and taboo.

    London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Douglass, B., & Moustakas, C. (1985). Heuristic inquiry: The internal search to know.

    Journal of Humanistic Psychology, 25 (3), 39-55.

Duran, E., & Duran, B. (1995). Native American postcolonial psychology. New York:

    SUNY Press.

Durie, J., & Taylor, A. (1998, April). Teaching through difference. Paper presented at the

    annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Diego, CA.

Dyche, L., & Zayas, L. H. (1995). The value of curiosity and naiveté for the cross-

    cultural psychotherapist. Family Process, 34 (December), 389-399.

Ely, M., Anzul, M., Friedman, T., Garner, D., & Steinmetz, A. (1991). Doing qualitative

    research: Circles within circles. London: Falmer Press.

Ely, M., Vinz, R., Downing, M., & Anzul, M. (1997). On writing qualitative research:

    living by words. London: The Falmer Press.

Ezekiel, R. S. (1995). The racist mind: Portraits of American neo-Nazis and Klansmen.

New York: Viking.

Falicov, C. J. (1995). Training to think culturally: A multidimensional perspective.

Family Process, 34 (December), 373-388.

Fassinger, R. E. (1991). The hidden minority: Issues and challenges in working with

lesbian women and gay men. The Counseling Psychologist, 19 (2), 157-176.

Ferguson, R. (1990). Introduction: Invisible Center. In R. Ferguson, M. Gever, T. T.

Minh-ha, & C. West. (pp. 9-14). Out there : Marginalization and contemporary

cultures. New York: The New York Museum of Contemporary Art.

Ferguson, R., Gever, M., Minh-ha, T. T., & West, C. (1990). Out there : Marginalization

and contemporary cultures. New York: The New York Museum of Contemporary Art.

Fassinger, R. E., & Ritchie, B. S. (1997). Sex matters: Gender and sexual orientation in

training for multicultural counseling competency. In D. Pope-Davis, & H. Coleman

(Eds.), Multicultural counseling competencies: Assessment, education and training,

and supervision. (Vol. 83-110). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Fielding, N. & Fielding, J. (1986). Linking data. Beverley Hills, CA: Sage.

Fine, M., Weis, L., Powell, L. C., & Mun Wong, L. (1997). Off White: Readings on race,

power and society. New York: Routledge.

Gale, J. (1992).When research interviews are more therapeutic than therapy interviews.

The Qualitative Report, [On-line journal] 1 (4). Available World Wide Web:

http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR1-4/gale.html

Gallant. C. (1996). Tabooed Jung. Washington Square, NY: New York University Press.

Gahan, C., & Hannibal, M. (1998). Doing qualitative research using QSR NUD*IST. London: Sage Publications .

Garnets, L., Hancock, K.A., Cochrane, S. D., Goodchilds, J., & Peplau, L. A. (1991). Issues in therapy with lesbians and gay men: A survey of psychologists. American Psychologist, 46 (9), 964-972.

Geleick, J. (1987). Chaos making a new science. New York: Viking-Penguin.

Gergen, K. J. (1985). The social constructionist movement in modern psychology. American Psychologist, 40, 266-275.

Gergen, K. (1994). Realities and relationships. Soundings in social constructionism. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Giorgi, A. (1970). Psychology as a human science. New York: Harper & Row.

Giorgi, A. (1985). Phenomenology and psychological research. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press.

Golding, S. (1997). The eight technologies of otherness. London: Routledge.

Greene, J. C., & Caracelli, V. J. (1997). Defining and describing the paradigm issues in mixed-method evaluation. In J. C. Greene, & V. J. Caracelli (Eds.), Advances in mixed-methods evaluation: The challenges and benefits of integrating diverse paradigms. (pp. 5-18). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Guba, E.G. & Lincoln, Y. S. (1981). Effective evaluation: Improving usefulness of evaluation results through responsive and naturalistic approaches. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Gurwitsch, A. (1985). Marginal Consciousness. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.

Hagan, T. (1986). Interviewing the downtrodden. In P. D. Ashworth, A. Giorgi, & A. J. J. De Koning (Eds.), Qualitative research in Psychology. Proceedings of the International Association for Qualitative Research in Social Science. (pp. 332-360.). Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press.

Hall, D. L. (1982). The uncertain phoenix. New York: Fordham University Press.

Hanna, F. J., Bemak, F. & Chung, R. C. (1999). Toward a new paradigm for multidimensional counseling. Journal of Counselling and Development, 77 (Spring), 125-134.

Hans, J. L. (1995). The site of our lives: The self and the subject from Emerson to Foucault. New York: SUNY Press.

Hare-Mustin, R.T. & Maracek, J. (1990). Making a difference: Psychology and the construction of gender. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Hartsock, N. (1990). Rethinking modernism: Minority vs. majority theories. In A. R. JanMohamed & D. Lloyd. The nature and content of minority discourse. (pp. 17-36). New York: Oxford University Press.

Hassan, I. (1997). Travel as metaphor: Unmargined realities. In K. Tsuchiya (Ed.), Dissent and marginality: Essays on the borders of literature and religion. (pp. 163-178). New York: St. Martin's Press.

Hayes, N. (1998). Doing qualitative research in psychology. Hove: Psychology Press.

Hays, P. A. (1995). Multicultural applications of cognitive-behavior therapy. Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 26(3), 309-315.

Hays, P. A. (1996a). Addressing the complexities of culture and gender in counseling. Journal of Counseling and Development, 74 (March/April), 332-337.

Hays, P. A. (1996b). Cultural considerations in couples therapy. Women and Therapy, 19 (3), 13-23.

Hays, P. A. (1996c). Culturally responsive assessment with older clients. Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 27 (2), 188-193.

Helms, J. E. (1990). Black and White racial identity: Theory, research and practice. Westport, CT: Greenwood.

Henriques, J., Hollway, W., Urwin, C., Venn, C., & Walkerdine, V. (1997). Changing the subject: Psychology, social regulation and subjectivity. London: Methuen.

Henwood, K., & Pidgeon, N. (1992). Qualitative research and psychological theorizing. British Journal of Psychology, 83, 97-111.

Heppner, M. J., & O'Brien, K. M. (1994). Multicultural counselor training: Students' perceptions of helpful and hindering events. Counselor Education and Supervision, 34 (September), 4-17.

Herbst, S. (1994). Politics at the margin: Historical studies of public expression outside the mainstream. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ho, D. Y. F. (1995) Internalized culture, culturocentism, and transcendence. The Counseling Psychologist, 13 (1), 4-24.

Holcomb-McCoy, C. C., & Myers, J. E. (1999). Multicultural competence and counselor training: A national survey. Journal of Counseling and Development, 77 (Summer), 294-302.

Hooks, B. (1990). Marginality as site of resistance. In R. Ferguson, M. Gever, T. T. Minh-ha, & C. West. Out there : Marginalization and contemporary cultures. (pp. 341-343). New York: The New York Museum of Contemporary Art.

Hopcke, R.H. (1995). Persona: Where sacred meets profane. Boston: Shambala.

Hoshmand, L. T. (1994). Orientation to inquiry in a reflective professional psychology. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Hoshmand, L. T. (1998). Creativity and moral vision in psychology: Narratives on identity and commitment in a postmodern age. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Hoshmand, L. T. (1999). Locating the qualitative research genre. In M. Kopala, & L. A. Suzuki (Eds.), Using qualitative methods in psychology. (pp. 15-24). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Hoshmand, L. T. & Martin, J. (Eds.). (1995). Researcher as praxis: Lessons from programmatic research in psychology. New York: Teacher's College Press.

Janesick, V. J. (1998a, April). Journal writing as a qualitative research technique: History, issues and reflection. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Diego, CA.

Janesick, V. J. (1998b). The dance of qualitative design: Method, methodolatry and meaning. In N. K. Denzin, & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), Strategies of qualitative inquiry. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Janesick, V. J. (1998c). Stretching exercises for qualitative researchers. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

JanMohamed, A., & Lloyd, D. (1990). The nature and content of minority discourse. New York: Oxford University Press.

Jarrett, K. (1997). Interview with Keith Goetzman, Utne Reader, July-August, pp.103-105.

Jones, L. S. (2000). Mysticism as epistemology: Implications for contemporary western psychology. Manuscript submitted for publication.

Jones, L.S. (in press). Attitudes of psychologists and psychologists-in-training to

homosexual men and women: An Australian study. Journal of Homosexuality.

Kabagarama, D. (1993) Breaking the Ice: A guide to understanding people from other

cultures. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Katz, J. H. (1985). The sociopolitical nature of counseling. The Counseling Psychologist,

13 (4), 615-624.

Kavanaugh, K., & Ayres, L. (1998). "Not as bad as it could have been:" Assessing and

mitigating harm during research interviews on sensitive topics. Research in

Nursing and Health, 21, 91-97.

Kelle, U. (1995). Computer-assisted qualitative analysis: Theory, methods and practice.

London: Sage Publications.

Kim, U., & Berry, J. (1993). Indigenous psychologies: Research and experience in

cultural context. Newberry Park: Sage.

King, A. (1992). Postmodern Political Communication: The fringe challenges the centre.

Westport, Connecticut: Praeger.

Kirakowski, J., & Corbett, M. (1990). Effective Methodology for the Study of HCI.

North Holland: Elsevier.

Kleinman, S. K., & Copp, M. A. (1993). Emotions and fieldwork. London: Sage

Publications.

Knafl, K. A., & Breitmayer, B. J. (1991). Triangulation in qualitative research: Issues of

conceptual clarity and purpose. In J. Morse (Ed.), Qualitative nursing research: A

contemporary dialogue (2nd ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Kopala, M. & Suzuki, L. A. (Eds.). (1999). Using qualitative methods in psychology. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Kuhn, T. (1970). The structure of scientific revolutions. (2nd ed.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kvale, S. (1989). Issues of validity in qualitative research. Malabar, FLA: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Co.

Kvale, S. (1992). A postmodern psychology - a contradiction in terms? In S. Kvale (Ed.), Psychology and postmodernism. (pp. 31-57). London: Sage.

Kvale, S. (1996). InterViews: An introduction to qualitative research interviewing. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Leary, D. (1990). Metaphors in the history of psychology. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Lee, C. C. (1997). Multicultural issues in counseling: New approaches to diversity. (2nd. ed.) Alexandria, PA: American Counseling Association.

Lee, C. C. & Richardson, B. L. (1991). Multicultural issues in counseling: New approaches to diversity. Alexandria, VA: The American Association for Counseling and Development.

Lee, R. M. (1993). Doing research on sensitive topics. London: Sage.

Lerner, M. (1991). The psychodynamics of everyday life ... and the psychology of individual and social transformation. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press International, Inc.

Lewis, J. (1998). Walking with the wind: A memoir of the movement. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). Naturalistic inquiry. Beverley Hills, CA.: Sage.

Lofland, J., & Lofland, L. (1984). Analyzing social settings: A guide to qualitative observation and analysis (2nd ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Lord, A. (1990). Age, race, class, and sex: Women refining difference. In R. Ferguson, M. Gever, T. T. Minh-ha, & C. West. (Eds.), Out there : Marginalization and contemporary cultures (pp. 281-287). New York: The New York Museum of Contemporary Art.

Luborsky, M. A. (1994). The identification and analysis of themes and patterns. In J. F. Gubrium and A. Sankar (Eds.), Qualitative methods and aging research. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.Publications.

Lyddon, W. J., & Adamson, L. A. (1992). Worldview and counseling preference: An analogue study. Journal of Counseling and Development (71), 41-47.

Madison, G. B. (1990). The hermeneutics of postmodernity. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Manicas, P. T., & Secord, P. F. (1983). Implications for psychology of the new philosophy of science. American Psychologist, 38, 399-413.

Maracek, J., Fine, M. & Kidder, L. (1997). Working between worlds: Qualitative methods and social psychology. Journal of Social Issues, 53 (4), 6311-644.

Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (1989). Designing qualitative research. Newbury Park: Sage.

Maxwell, J. A. (1996). Qualitative research design: An interactive approach. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

McCracken, G. (1988). The long interview. Newbury Park: Sage.

McIntosh, P. (1998). White privilege: Unpacking the invisible knapsack. In M. McGoldrick. Revisioning family therapy: Race, culture, and gender in clinical practice. (pp. 147-152). New York: Guilford.

Meloy, J. M. (1994). Writing the qualitative dissertation: Understanding by doing. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Merrick, E. (1999). An exploration of quality in qualitative research: Are "reliability" and "validity" relevant? In M. Kopala, & L. A. Suzuki (Eds.), Using qualitative methods in psychology. (pp. 25-36). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Merriam, S. B. (1998). Qualitative research and case study applications in education. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Mertens, D. (1998). Research methods in education and psychology. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Messer, S. B., Sass, L. A., & Woolfolk, R. L. (1988). Hermeneutics and psychological theory. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Metzler, K. (1977). Creative interviewing: The writer's guide to gathering information by asking questions. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook. (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Mindell, A. P. (1995). Sitting in the fire: Large group transformation using conflict and diversity. Portland, OR: Lao Tse Press.

Mindell, A. S. (1995). Metaskills: The spiritual art of therapy. Tempe, AR: New Falcon Publications.

Mishler, E. G. (1986). <u>Research interviewing: Context and narrative.</u> Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Morawski, J. G. (1994). <u>Practicing feminisms, reconstructing psychology: Notes on a liminal science.</u> Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

Morgan, D. L. (1998). Practical strategies for combining qualitative and quantitative methods: Applications to health research. <u>Qualitative Health Research, 8</u> (3), 362-376.

Morse, J. M. (1991). <u>Qualitative nursing research: A contemporary dialogue.</u> Newbury Park: Sage.

Morse, J. M. (1997). <u>Completing a qualitative project: details and dialogue.</u> Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Morse, J., & Field, P. A. (1995). <u>Qualitative research methods for health professionals.</u> (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Moscovici, S., Mucchi-Faina, A., & Maass, A. (1994). <u>Minority influence.</u> Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

Moustakas, C. (1988). <u>Phenomenology, science and psychotherapy.</u> University College of Cape Breton.: Family Life Institute.

Moustakas, C. (1994). <u>Phenomenological research methods</u>. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Moustakas, C. (1990). <u>Heuristic design: Design, methodology and applications.</u> Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Mugny, G., & Perez, J. A. (1991). <u>The social psychology of minority influence.</u> Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Muller, R. J. (1998). Beyond marginality: Constructing a self in the of twilight of western culture. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger.

Murphy, E., Dingwall, R., Greatbatch, D., Parker, S., & Watson, P. (1998). Qualitative research methods in health technology assessment: A review of the literature. Health Technology Assessment, 2 (16).

Neville, H. A., Heppner, M. J., Louie, C. E., Thompson, C. E. & Baker, C. E. (1996). The impact of multicultural training on White racial identity attitudes and therapy competencies. Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 27 (1), 83-89.

Okihiro, G. Y. (1994). Margins and mainstreams: Asians and Americans in history and culture. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.

Packer, A. L., & Addison, R. B. (1989). Entering the circle - hermeneutic investigation in psychology. Albany: SUNY Press.

Paisley, P. O. (1997). Personalizing our history: Profiles of theorists, researchers, practitioners and issues. Journal of Counseling and Development, 76 (1), 4-5.

Parham, T. A. (1993). White researchers conducting multicultural counseling research: Can their effort be "mo better"? Counseling Psychologist, 21, 250-256.

Palmer, R. E. (1969). Hermeneutics. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.

Patterson, C. H. (1996). Multicultural counseling: From diversity to universality. Journal of Counseling and Development, 74, 227-231.

Patton, M. Q. (1989). Utilization-focused evaluation. (2nd ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Patton, M. Q. (1990). Qualitative evaluation and research methods (2nd ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Pedersen, P. (1985). Handbook of cross-cultural counselling and therapy. New York: Praeger.

Pedersen, P. (1997). Culture-centered counseling interventions: Striving for accuracy. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Pedersen, P. B., Draguns, J. G., Lonner, W. J., & Trimble, J. E. (1996). Counseling across cultures. (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Plummer, K. (1995). Life story research. In J. A. Smith, R. Harre, & L. Van Langenhove (Eds.), Rethinking methods in psychology (pp. 50-63). London: Sage.

Polkinghorne, D. E. (1989). Changing conversations about human science. In S. Kvale (Ed.), Issues of validity in qualitative research. Malabar, FLA: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Co.

Ponterotto, J. G., & Casas, J. M. (1991). Handbook of racial/ethnic minority counseling research. Springfield, Ill.: Charles Thomas.

Ponterotto, J. G., Casas, J. M., Suzuki, L. A., & Alexander, C. M. (1995). Handbook of multicultural counselling. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Ponterotto, J. G., & Grieger, I. (1999). Merging qualitative and quantitative perspectives in a research identity. In M. Kopala & L. A. Suzuki (Eds.), Using qualitative methods in psychology. (pp. 49-62). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Ponterotto, J. G. & Pedersen, P. B. (1993). Preventing prejudice: A guide for communicators and educators. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Rabinowitz, V. C., & Weseen, S. (1997). Elu(ci)d(at)ing epistemological impasses: Reviewing the qualitative/quantitative debates in psychology. Journal of Social Issues, 53 (4), 605-630.

Rappaport, J. (1994). Empowerment a s a guide to doing research: Diversity as a positive

    value. In E. T. Trickett, R. J. Watts, & D. Birman. (1994). <u>Human diversity:</u>

    <u>Perspectives on people in context.</u> (pp. 359-382). San Fransisco: Jossey Bass.

Renzetti, C. M., & Lee, R. M. (1993). <u>Researching sensitive topics.</u> Newbury Park: Sage.

Richards, L. (1999). <u>Using Nvivo in qualitative research.</u> Bundoora, Australia:

    Qualitative Solutions and Research Pty. Ltd.

Richards, T., & Richards, L. (1994). Using computers in qualitative research. In N. K.

    Denzin, & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), <u>Handbook of qualitative research.</u> London: Sage.

Richards, T., & Richards, L. (1995). Using hierarchical categories in qualitative data

    analysis. In U. Kelle (Ed.), <u>Computer-aided qualitative data analysis: Theory,</u>

    <u>methods, and practice.</u> London: Sage.

Ridley, C. R. (1995). <u>Overcoming unintentional racism in counseling and therapy: A</u>

    <u>practitioner's guide to intentional intervention</u>. Thousand Oaks, CA.: Sage

    Publications.

Robinson, T. L. (1997). Insurmountable opportunities. <u>Journal of Counseling and</u>

    <u>Development, 76</u> (Winter), 6-7.

Robinson, T. L., & Ginter, E. J. (1999). Introduction to the *Journal of Counseling and*

    Development's special issue on racism. <u>Journal of Counseling and Development,</u>

    <u>77</u> (Winter), 3-6.

Roedinger, D. R. (1998). <u>Black on white: Black writers in what it means to be white.</u>

    New York: Schocken Books.

Rosenau, M. P. (1992). <u>Postmodernism and the social sciences</u>. Princeton, NJ: Princeton

    University Press.

Rubin, H. B. & Rubin, I. (1995). The art of hearing data. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Schwandt, T. A. (1998). Constructivist, interpretivist approaches to human inquiry. In N. K. Denzin, & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), The Landscape of qualitative research: Theories and issues (pp. 221-259). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Seidman, I. E. (1991). Interviewing as qualitative research: A guide for researchers in education and the social sciences. New York: Teachers College Press.

Sexton, T. L., & Griffin, B. L. (1997). Constructivist thinking in counseling practice, research and training. New York: Teachers College Press.

Shapiro, E. R., & Carr, A. W. (1991). Lost in familiar places. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Shore, B. (1996). Culture in mind: Cognition, culture and the problem of meaning. New York: Oxford University Press.

Silverman , D. (1985). Qualitative methodology and sociology. Aldershot, Hants: Gower.

Silverman, D. (1993). Interpreting data: Methods for analysing talk, text and interaction. London: Sage Publications.

Sinha, D. (1993) The indigenization of psychology and its relevance. In U. Kim and J. Berry (1993). Indigenous psychologies: Research and experience in cultural context. (pp. 33-43). Newberry Park: Sage.

Smith, J., Harre, R., & Van Langenhove, L. (1995a). Rethinking psychology. London: Sage Publications.

Smith, J., Harre, R., & Van Langenhove, L. (1995b). Rethinking methods in psychology. London: Sage Publications.

Speight, S. L., Myers, L. J., Cox, C. I., & Highlen, P. S. (1991). A redefinition of multicultural counseling. Journal of Counseling and Development, 70 (29-36).

Spiegelberg, H. (1960). The phenomenological movement, Vol. II. The Hague, The Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff.

Stairs, A. (1991). Quantum Mechanics, Mind and Self. In D. Kolak, & R. Martin (Eds.), Self and identity: Contemporary philosophical issues . (pp. 459-472). New York: Macmillan Publishing Company.

Steenbarger, B. N., & Pels, L. C. (1997). Constructivist foundations for multicultural counseling: Assessment and intervention. In T. L. Sexton, & B. L. Griffin (Eds.), Constructivist thinking in counseling practice, research and training. (pp. 111-121). New York: Teachers College Press.

Storey, J. (1993). "Ferdinand de Saussure", An introductory guide to cultural theory and popular culture. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Strauss, A. (1987). Qualitative analysis for social scientists. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1997). Grounded theory in practice. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Sue, D. W., Arredondo, P., & McDavis, R. J. (1992). Multicultural counseling competencies and standards: A call to the profession. Journal of Counseling and Development, 70, 477-486.

Sue, D. W., & Sue, D. (1990). Counseling the culturally different: Theory and practice. (2nd. ed.). New York: Wiley.

Swartz-Kulstad, J. L. & Martin, W. E. Jnr. (1999). Impact of culture and context on psychosocial adaptation: The cultural and contextual guide process. Journal of Counseling and Development, 77 (Summer), 281-293.

Tappan, M. B. (1997). Interpretive psychology: Stories, circles, and understanding lived experience. Journal of Social Issues, 53(4), 645-656.

Tart, C. (1969). (Ed.) Transpersonal psychologies. New York: Harper and Row.

Taylor, S. J., & Bogdan, R. (1984). Introduction to qualitative research methods: The search for meaning. New York: John Wiley.

Taylor, B., & Natland, J. (1995). Active margins and marginal basins of the western Pacific. Washington, D.C.: American Geographical Union.

Tesch, R. (1990). Qualitative research: Analysis types and software tools. New York: The Falmer Press.

Tierney, W. G. &. Lincoln, Y. S. (1997). Representation and the text: Reframing the narrative voice. Albany, NY: SUNY.

Tinsley Jones, H. A. (1997). Race and ethnicity in psychology: A qualitative analysis of perspectives of psychologists of colour. Unpublished dissertation. The Wright Institute.

Tolan, P., Keys, C., Chertok, F., & Jason, L. (Eds.). (1990). Researching community psychology: Integrating theories and methodologies. Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association.

Trickett, E. T., Watts, R. J., & Birman, D. (1994). Human diversity: Perspectives on people in context. San Fransisco: Jossey Bass.

Trimiew, D. M. (1995). <u>Voices of the silenced: The responsible self in a marginalized</u>

<u>community.</u>

Tucker, M. (1990). Director's Foreword. In R. Ferguson, M. Gever, T. T. Minh-ha, & C.

West. <u>Out there : Marginalization and contemporary cultures.</u> pp. 7-8. New York:

The New York Museum of Contemporary Art.

Turner, C. B. & Kramer, B. M. (1995). Connections between racism and mental health.

In C. V. Willie, P. P. Rieker, B. M. Kramer, & B. S. Brown (Eds.), <u>Mental health,</u>

<u>racism and sexism,</u> (pp. 3-23). Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Turner, V. T. (1969). The ritual process: Structure and anti-structure. Harmondsworth,

UK: Penguin.

Turner, V. T. (1967). <u>The forest of symbols: Aspects of Ndembu rituals.</u> Ithaca, NY:

Cornell University Press.

Turner, V. W. (1976). <u>Dramas, fields and metaphors: Symbolic action in human society.</u>

Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Turner, V. W. (1985). <u>On the edge of the bush: Anthroplogy as experience</u>. Tucson,

Arizona: The University of Arizona Press.

Turner, V. W., & Bruner, E. M. (1986). <u>The anthropology of experience</u>. Urbana, Ill.:

University of Illinois Press.

Van Manen, M. (1990). <u>Researching lived experience: Human science for an action</u>

<u>sensitive pedagogy</u>. London, Ontario: SUNY Press.

Ward, C. A. (1989). <u>Altered states of consciousness and mental health: A cross-cultural</u>

<u>perspective.</u> Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language, Unabridged. (1993). Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster.

Wehrly, B. (1995). Pathways to multicultural counseling competence: A developmental journey. Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company.

Weinrach, S. G., & Thomas, K. R. (1996). The counseling profession's commitment to diversity sensitive counseling: A critical reassessment. Journal of Counseling and Development., 74(May/June), 472-477.

Weinrach, S. G., & Thomas, K. R. (1998). Diversity-sensitive counseling today: A postmodern clash of values. Journal of Counseling and Development, 76(Spring), 115-122.

Weitzman, E. A., & Miles, M. B. (1995). Computer programs for qualitative data analysis: A software sourcebook. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Willie, C. V., Reiker, P. P., Kramer, B. M., Brown, B. S. (Eds.). (1995). Mental health, racism and sexism. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Wolcott, H. F. (1994). Transforming qualitative data. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage .

Zimmerman, D. H., & Weider, D. L. (1982). The diary-diary interview method. R. B. Smith, & P. K. Manning (Eds.), Qualitative methods: Volume II of handbook of social science methods (pp. 115-143). Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publishing Company.

APPENDIX A

(i) Personal, professional and academic orientations

The explication of researcher biases is a recommended practice in sound qualitative research. The following description includes a self-description of power and marginality in relation to each of the nine ADDRESSING areas and five dimensions of power considered in the thesis, as well as a brief review of my professional and academic orientations.

Self-description: In terms of the ADDRESSING model, I am a 46 year old, White woman, of British/Australian national origin, British heritage and middle-class background. Tertiary educated and financially secure, I currently have a middle-class, professional lifestyle. I identify as lesbian/bisexual, and am in a long-term, intercultural relationship with a woman. I have no physical disabilities. I was raised in the Anglican Christian religion, but rejected this familial and cultural heritage early in favour of eastern metaphysical traditions and other forms of non-religious spirituality. I have had a rich variety of experiences in my life. I have travelled widely, experienced various kinds of relationship, pursued various lifestyles and embraced multiple identities. I have mixed margin and mainstream status and identification.

In terms of sociocultural power, I have a lot of unearned social privilege, especially in the area of race/ethnicity and socioeconomic status, particularly in education and financial status. I have also experienced oppression and discrimination, particularly in the areas of gender, sexuality and spirituality. I see myself as someone with considerable psychological and relational power, somewhat less activist power, and fluctuating but considerable power in the transpersonal dimension. I consider myself to be an open and generally positive person, resourceful, with a tendency to make the best of situations that confront me. I like challenge, and tend to find myself taking positions or pursuing projects which are on the fringes of the worlds I find myself in. I think that this has contributed to my psychological and transpersonal power. I enjoy relating to people, and find they tend to trust and confide in me easily. I also have a strong relationship with the natural environment. I have a deep concern for social justice, and have been involved in various activist movements.

Professional: I have worked as a counsellor/psychotherapist in agencies and in private practice for approximately 15 years, specializing in relationships, grief and loss, and sexual abuse issues with adults and children. This has entailed undergoing training in various experiential and systemic approaches, and working with individuals, couples, families and groups from a range of backgrounds and life experiences. I have worked as a consultant in the area of sexual assault awareness and prevention, and as a supervisor for workers in the fields of palliative care and family crisis care. I have also facilitated workshops on socio-cultural marginalization and mainstreaming, in Australia and North America. These workshops, designed for community workers and other professionals in the areas of physical, psychological and community health, explored power and privilege in personal and working relationships and community life. I am also an active participant in a multicultural psychotherapeutic learning community in Australia and the

US, and have been involved in organizing orientation and support programs for international students in that community.

Academic: My academic training is within the tradition of positivist, quantitatively-oriented psychology. My exploration of non-positivist, qualitative approaches has been partially prompted by my dissatisfaction with positivist methods in investigating subtle, complex areas of human experience. Orthodox and non-orthodox approaches are combined in my training and experience. This has given me an appreciation of the strengths and limitations of both, in different contexts and for different purposes. My research interests include the psychology of human diversity; dynamics of mainstreaming and marginalization in psychotherapy; metatheoretical issues in psychology; spirituality and psychology; qualitative methods; empowerment research.

Worldview: I have a personal bias towards intrapsychic and interpersonal dimensions of experience, which I see as partly a product of mainstream status in a western cultural context (White, middle class, educated, professional). Experiences of marginalization (especially in the areas of gender, sexual orientation and spirituality) challenge my mainstream assumptions, and provoke interest and activism in sociocultural domains. I am influenced by Eastern philosophies, such as Taoist, Buddhist and Tantric philosophies, and by the philosophies of postmodern science. I am interested in the intersections between indigenous thinking, process philosophies, and postmodern thought, as well as developments in post-Newtonian physics and their influence on the philosophical assumptions underlying social scientific thinking.

In psychology I have been influenced by James, the depth psychologists, especially Jungian and post-Jungian thought, feminist psychology and critical theory. Buddhist and indigenous psychologies are also significant influences in their recognition of non-rational dimensions of experience. In applied psychology, various experiential and systemic theorist-practitioners have influenced me, particularly those who acknowledge power and cultural diversity issues in therapeutic contexts. Reflexivity inclusivity, and empowerment are important underlying values in my research and professional practice.

(ii) Assumptions, biases, values, feelings and beliefs prior to Phase II interviews

(excerpt from method journal, April 10, 1999)

<u>Assumptions</u>
Researcher is a participant in the interview conversation
Participants will be selective about what they talk about; will have varying degrees of self-awareness, motivation, interest, honesty, etc
Researcher-participant differences will affect how and what is said; researcher will not necessarily be aware of that
Marginal and mainstream experience will vary, will not be one dimensional
Theoretical study and prior experience shapes the design of the study, the questions asked, researcher response
The researcher-participant relationship affects how interview conversations develop

<u>Biases</u>:
I tend to be biased in the direction of self-awareness
I tend to be philosophical and can be intellectual and verbal at times
I may look for people to confirm my ideas
I will try to create good relationships with people
I want people to get something out of the interview, and to complete the interview

<u>Values</u>:
I value self-awareness, self-reflection, relationship and relatedness, hospitality, openness and respect, learning, reciprocity

<u>My feelings</u>
I feel shy sometimes to impose on people
I think they may think I am asking too much of them
I feel hesitant to be directive
I am shy to relate to people I don't know well, especially where we have cultural differences - I have to force myself to reach out
I enjoy relating to others immensely, hearing about their experiences and views, learning from the interaction
Curiosity, enthusiasm for my topic
I get anxious about the technological side of research (e.g. tape-recording)

<u>Beliefs</u>
I think it is up to me to make people as comfortable as possible in the interview -
Conflict may arise in the interview; I may also try to avoid conflict
My feelings and experiences in the interview setting are relevant
Participants will want to talk about themselves, and will probably enjoy it, also may find it difficult in some areas
Difficulties and non-responses are also valuable
Cultural diversity and power issues are important

APPENDIX B

Information sheet, consent form, interview schedule (Phase I)

i) Information sheet (Phase I)

Research Title: Subjective Experience of Marginality

Researcher: Lee Spark Jones
Supervisor: Dr. Nadia Crittenden

Department of Psychology
University of Wollongong, NSW.

About this research project.

In my research, I am exploring subjective experience of marginality - feelings, thoughts and sensations that people have, as members of mainstream or marginal groups in society and when they come in contact with others who differ from themselves.

Marginalized or minority groups include those which are disadvantaged or devalued in relation to the wider society, on the basis of age, physical ability, religion, ethnicity and nationality, indigenous heritage, socioeconomic status, sexual orientation and gender. Mainstream groups are those which are in the majority, privileged or dominant in relation to other groups.

I am interested in finding out more about the experience of coming across the unknown, that which we lack knowledge and experience of in relation to others who are different to ourselves. I hope that my research will contribute to a greater understanding of power and difference in human relationships.

If you agree to take part in this research, you will be asked to talk with me for about an hour about your experiences in the areas I have described here. I will offer some

questions which will help to guide the discussion, and will invite you to talk about whatever interests or is important to you.

After the interview, you will be offered a 15-30 minute session in which to discuss your experience of the interview, if needed. You are welcome to discuss any aspects of my research with me, on the phone (503- 281-8323) or in person. If you have any enquiries about the conduct of this research, please contact the Secretary of the University of Wollongong Human Research ethics Committee on (042) 214457.

The interview will be tape-recorded and later transcribed. Tapes and transcripts will be treated with the utmost confidentiality. They will be identified for research purposes by number, and be stored in a locked cabinet in the offices of the researchers. In written reports of the research, anonymity will be protected by changing names and omitting identifying information. If the research is published at a later date, the same care will be taken to respect confidentiality and preserve anonymity.

Your participation in the research is entirely voluntary, and you are free to not answer questions, end the interview, or withdraw from the research at any time. If you do, this will not affect how you are treated in anyway. In any event, your interest and involvement is respected and very much appreciated.

Thank you!

ii) Consent form (Phase I)

Consent form

SUBJECTIVE EXPERIENCE OF MARGINALITY

Lee Spark Jones

This research project is being conducted as part of a PhD (Psychology) supervised by Dr. Nadia Crittenden in the Department of Psychology at the University of Wollongong.

In this project, I am exploring subjective experience of marginality - feelings, thoughts, sensations that people have, as members of mainstream or marginal groups in society, and in interaction with other people who differ from themselves. Participation in this research involves taking part in an interview for approximately one hour, as detailed in the information sheet which accompanies this consent form.

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary, and you are free to not answer questions, end the interview, or withdraw from the research at any time. Your refusal to participate or withdrawal of consent will not affect how you are treated in any way.

If you would like to discuss this research further, please contact Lee Spark Jones on
...............................or Dr. Nadia Crittenden on ....
If you have any inquiries regarding the conduct of this research please contact the Secretary of the University of Wollongong Human Research Ethics Committee on (042) 214457.

Research Title: Subjective Experience of Marginality.

I , ... consent to participate in the research conducted by Lee Spark Jones as it has been described to me in the information sheet. I understand that the data collected will be used for research purposes as outlined in the information sheet, and I consent for the data to be used in that manner.

Signed .... Date ....

iii) Semi-structured interview schedule (Phase I)

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW

<u>Part 1</u>

Q 1. Please describe yourself for me - both how you see yourself and how you think others see you?

Where do you feel advantaged or disadvantaged relative to the culture at large?

Do you have powers and privileges relative to others that you are aware of?

Q 2. Please describe yourself in relation to each of the following:
* Age
* Developmental and Acquired Disability
* Religion
* Ethnicity and race
* Social status (including socio-economic status, formal education, urban-rural origins, family name)
* Sexual Orientation
* Indigenous heritage
* National Origin
* Gender

Q 3. In which of these and/or other areas of your life do experience yourself as being in a majority, mainstream, or privileged position? Please describe your experience of this.

Q 4. In which of these and/or areas of your life do you experience yourself as being in a minority/disadvantaged position? Please describe your experience of this.

Q 5. In which of these areas do you feel most lacking in information and /or experience? Please describe your experience of this.

Q 6. In which of these areas do you feel most informed, and/or have most experience? Please describe your experience of this.

Part II

Q 7. Can you think of a time when you had a cross-cultural interaction (an interaction with someone who was different from you in terms of one or more of the cultural influences described above) that stands out in your experience ?

If yes:
a) Was there a time during the interaction when you felt that you met something unfamiliar to you -- something you did not know about, or had no previous experience of?

b) What were your experiences at this point? What emotions did you experience, what thoughts crossed your mind, what did you do (internally or outwardly), what body sensations did you have?

c) Was there anything difficult for you in this experience?

d) Was there anything positive or enjoyable for you in this experience?

e) Do you have any feelings/ thoughts/ sensations about that experience now as we are talking about it?

f) Is there anything you wish that had been different about this experience?

Appendix C

Information sheet, consent form, data generation package (Phase II)

i) Information sheet (Phase II)

Participant Information Sheet

Research Title:
Subjective Experience of Marginality
in Psychotherapeutic Interaction

Researcher: Lee Spark Jones
Supervisor: Dr. Nadia Crittenden
Department of Psychology,
University of Wollongong, New South Wales, Australia.

About this research project.

In my research, I am exploring subjective experience of marginality - feelings, thoughts and sensations that psychotherapists have, as members of mainstream or marginalized groups in society, and in their interactions with clients who differ from themselves.

Marginalized or minority groups include those which are disadvantaged or devalued in relation to the wider society, on the basis of age, physical ability, religion, ethnicity and nationality, indigenous heritage, socioeconomic status, sexual orientation and gender. Mainstream groups are those which are in the majority, privileged or dominant in relation to other groups.

I am especially interested in finding out more about the experience of coming across the unknown in relation to others who are different to ourselves. I hope that my research will contribute to a greater understanding of power and difference in psychotherapeutic interaction..

If you agree to take part in this research, you will be asked to talk with me on two occasions, about two weeks apart. Each interview will take approximately 1- 1½ hours,

and will focus on your experiences in the areas I have described above. I will offer some questions which will help to guide the discussion, and will invite you to talk about whatever interests or is important to you. In between the two interviews, you will also be asked to make at least one guided journal entry, based on a section of the interview, in which you record experiences of coming across the unknown in interactions with clients.

Out of this study and a previous one, I am in the process of developing a research instrument, a web-wheel diagram and interview schedule, for use in future studies. The diagram will be used in the interviews as a focus for discussion, and you are very welcome to participate in its evolution through any comments, criticisms or suggestions you may have.

Involvement in this study is intended to be collaborative. I will transcribe your interviews verbatim, and invite you to read them and correct anything which does not represent accurately. If you would like to discuss any aspect of the research at any stage, please contact me by phone .... fax ...... email (leesparkj@aol.com) or in person. If you have any inquiries about the conduct of this research, please contact the Secretary of the University of Wollongong Human Research Ethics Committee on (+011 +61) 242-214515.

All of the information collected in the course of this study, including audiotapes and transcripts of interviews, and journal entries, will be treated with the utmost confidentiality. These will be identified for research purposes by number, and will be stored in a locked cabinet in the offices of the researchers. In written reports of the research, anonymity will be protected by changing names and omitting identifying information. If the research is published at a later date, the same care will be taken to respect confidentiality and preserve anonymity.

Your participation in the research is entirely voluntary, and you are free to not answer questions, end the interview, or withdraw from the research at any time. If you do, this will not affect how you are treated in anyway. In any event, your interest and involvement is respected and very much appreciated. Thank you!

ii) Consent form (Phase II)

Consent form

SUBJECTIVE EXPERIENCE OF MARGINALITY
IN PSYCHOTHERAPEUTIC INTERACTION

Lee Spark Jones

This research project is being conducted as part of a PhD (Psychology) supervised by Dr. Nadia Crittenden in the Department of Psychology at the University of Wollongong, New South Wales, Australia.

In my doctoral studies, I am exploring subjective experience of marginality - feelings, thoughts, sensations that people have, as members of mainstream or marginal groups in society, and in interaction with other people who differ from themselves. This study focuses on the particular experience of psychotherapists.

Participation in this research involves taking part in two interviews, each 1-1½ hours long. In addition, between the two interviews, you will be asked to make a minimum of one brief, journal entry, based on a section of the interview.

Participation in this research is a collaborative activity, as detailed in the information sheet which accompanies this consent form. Your participation is entirely voluntary, and you are free to not answer questions, end the interview, or withdraw from the research at any time. Your refusal to participate or withdrawal of consent will not affect how you are treated in any way.

If you would like to discuss this research further, please contact Lee Spark Jones on ....or Dr. Nadia Crittenden on ....If you have any inquiries regarding the conduct of this research please contact the Secretary of the University of Wollongong Human Research Ethics Committee on (02 42) 214457.

Research Title:
SUBJECTIVE EXPERIENCE OF MARGINALITY
IN PSYCHOTHERAPEUTIC INTERACTION.

I , ... consent to participate in the research conducted by Lee Spark Jones as it has been described to me in the information sheet. I understand that the data collected will be used for research purposes as outlined in the information sheet, and I consent for the data to be used in that manner.

Signed .... Date ....

iii) Data generation package (Phase II)

INTERVIEW 1

Part I

Q 1. Please describe yourself for me - both how you see yourself and how you think others see you? Where do you feel advantaged or disadvantaged relative to the culture at large? Do you have powers and privileges relative to others that you are aware of?

Q2. I am interested in your experiences of being in a majority, mainstream, or privileged position, or in a minority, marginal or disadvantaged position, in North American society. I would like to explore them with you, using this web-wheel diagram which I developed out of previous interviews with people.

Q 3. Which of the areas we have discussed do you know most about? Which do you know least about?

Web-wheel #1: sociocultural status

The spokes of this web-wheel diagram represent nine areas of cultural influence: age, developmental and acquired disability, religion, ethnicity/race, socio-economic status, sexual orientation, indigenous heritage, national origin and gender.

The central thread of the web-wheel represents mainstream status in North American society.

The outermost thread of the web-wheel represents marginal status in North American society.

The middle thread represents an 'in-between' status - not fully or clearly marginal or mainstream.

*In each of the nine areas, do you see yourself as **mainstream** (socially privileged, advantaged, powerful) or **marginal** (socially disadvantaged, lacking privilege or power) or somewhere **in between**?*

Web-wheel #1: sociocultural status
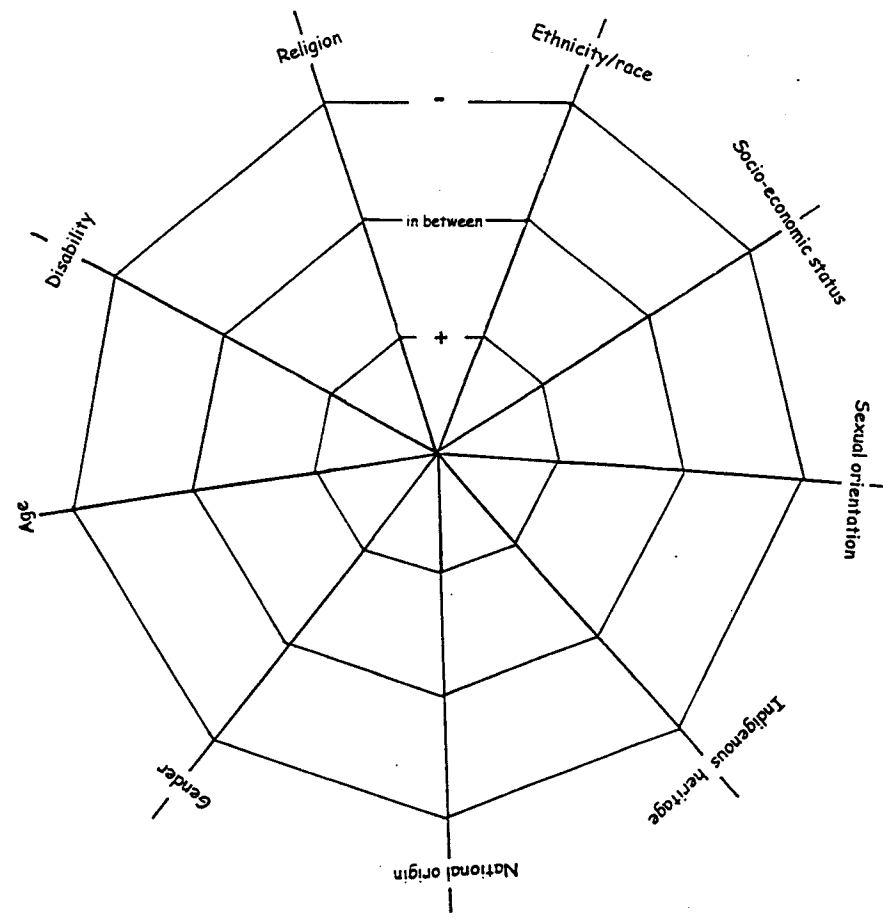
INTERVIEW 1

<u>Part II</u>

Q 4. Can you think of an interaction you have had with a client who was very different from you (in any of the nine areas we have discussed) that stands out in your experience?

In which ways are you and your client different from each other? How are you similar?

During the interaction, did you have any experience of coming across something that was unfamiliar to you - something you did not know about, had no previous experience of - in yourself or the client?

What did you experience at this point:
-- feelings?
-- thoughts?
    -- body sensations?
    -- what did you do (internally or outwardly)?
    -- other reactions?

What was difficult for you about this experience? What was positive or enjoyable for you?

Do you have any feelings/ thoughts/ sensations about that experience now as you are remembering it?

What was helpful in the interaction? Is there anything you wish had been different? Was there anything you learned from it?

Guided journal entry

Think of an interaction you have had (as recently as possible) with a client who was different from you in one or more of these ways :

- age
- physical ability
- religion
- ethnicity/race
- social status
- sexual orientation
- indigenous heritage
- national origin
- gender
     (or any other ways that occur to you)

In which ways are you and your client different from each other? How are you similar?

During the interaction, did you have any experience of coming across something that was unfamiliar to you - something you did not know about, had no previous experience of - in yourself or the client?

What did you experience at this point:
-- feelings?
-- thoughts?
   -- body sensations?
   -- what did you do (internally or outwardly)?
   -- other reactions?

What was difficult for you about this experience? What was positive or enjoyable for you?

Do you have any feelings/ thoughts/ sensations about that experience now as you are remembering it?

What was helpful in the interaction? Is there anything you wish had been different? Was there anything you learned from it?

INTERVIEW 2

1) debrief guided journal entries

2) web-wheel diagrams

Focusing on nine different areas of cultural influence, participants are asked to mark points on the web-wheel diagrams which correspond to their experience of themselves and their life experiences. Each diagram addresses a different dimension of power: sociocultural, psychological, relational, activist and transpersonal. A brief description and examples are given to illustrate each one.

Web-wheels #2-5

These four web-wheel diagrams represent some of the different types of power that people talk about when they describe their experiences as members of marginal or mainstream groups in North American society.

The nine spokes of each web-wheel represent nine areas of cultural influence: age, developmental and acquired disability, religion, ethnicity/race, socioeconomic status, sexual orientation, indigenous heritage, national origin and gender.

The central thread of the web-wheel, labeled (+), represents experiences of feeling powerful, privileged or advantaged.

The outermost thread (-) of the web-wheel represents experiences of feeling disadvantaged, or lacking in power or privilege.

The middle thread represents 'in-between' experiences -
not fully or clearly (+) or (-).

Four kinds of power are represented by the web-wheels - psychological, relational, activist and transpersonal. Some of the ways people describe their experiences of these are included with each web-wheel. For each web-wheel, please feel free to add descriptions and examples that are meaningful to you.

Web-wheel #2: psychological power

You feel powerful, strong, or have a sense of ease, freedom or well-being in your life because you have positive qualities, skills or abilities, you like yourself, feel confident; because learning or developing as a person are important to you.
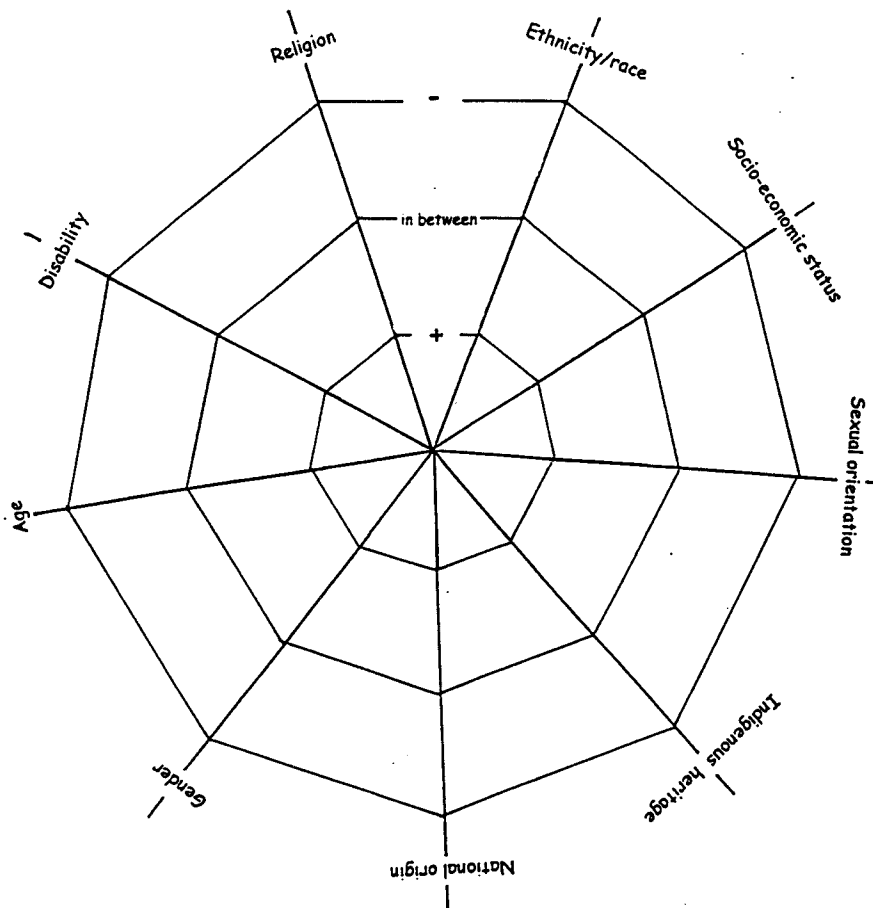
Web-wheel #3: relational power

You feel powerful, strong, or have a sense of ease, freedom or well-being in your life because you can relate to people easily, people tend to like you and you like them, you have friends, support networks, strong relationships with your partner, spouse, children and family, colleagues, community.
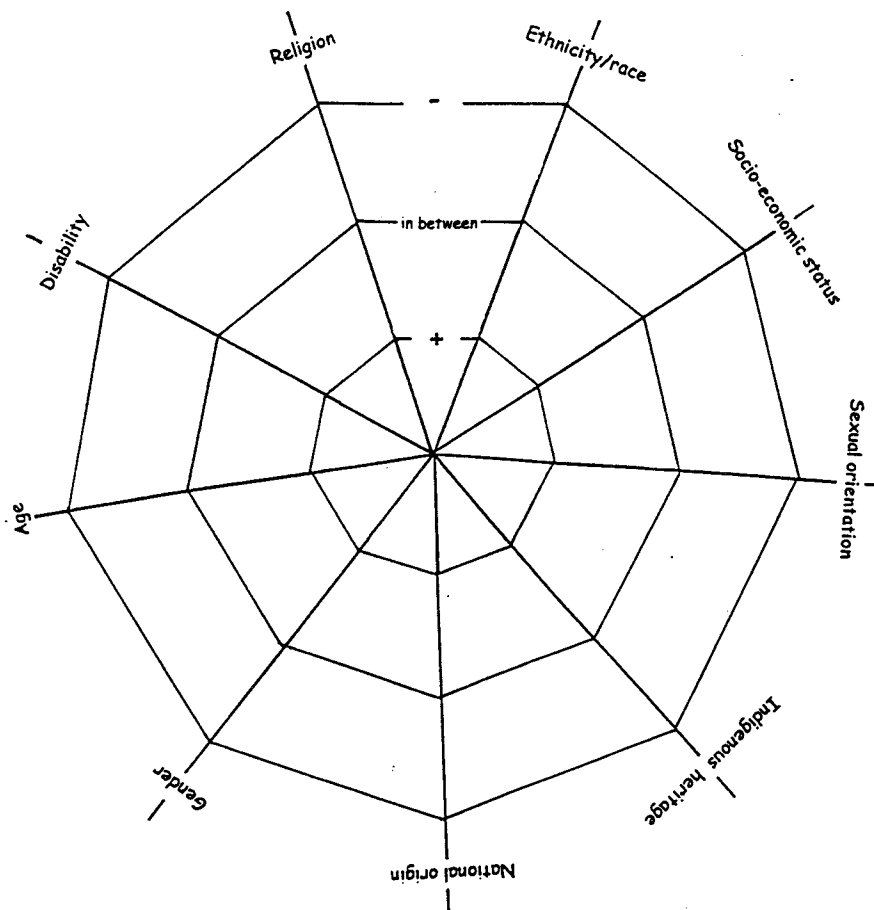
Web-wheel #4: activist power

You feel powerful, strong, or have a sense of ease, freedom or well-being in your life because you are aware of social justice issues, work for social change, fight against discrimination and oppression
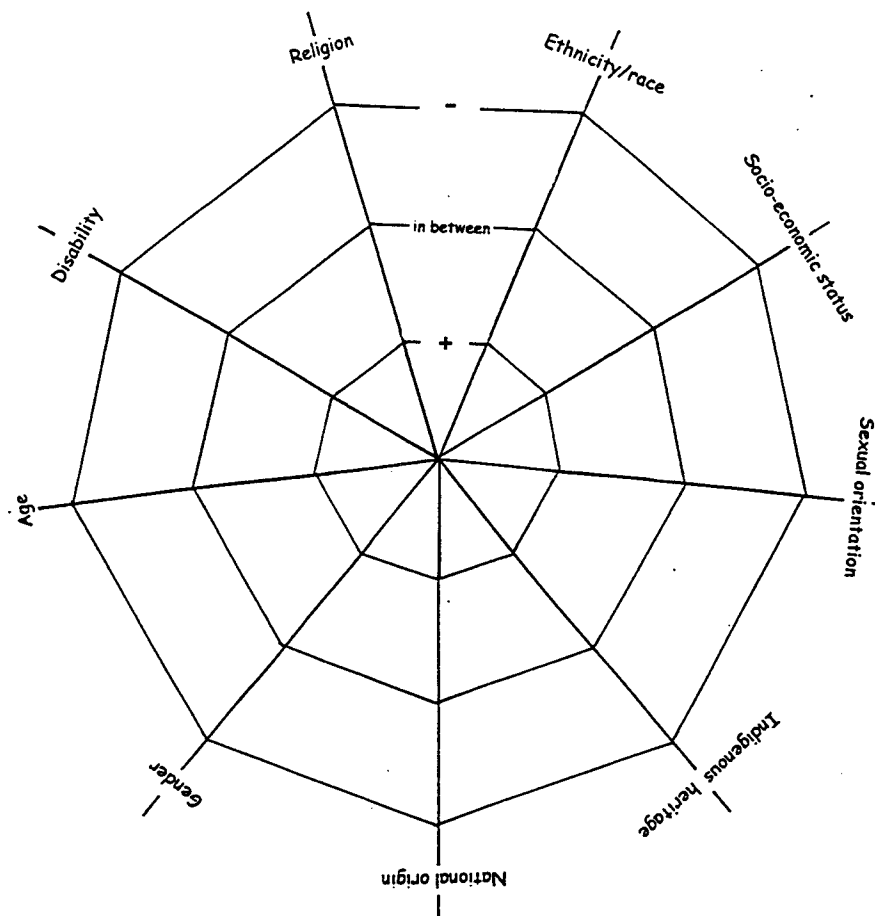
Web-wheel #5: transpersonal power

You feel powerful, strong, or have a sense of ease, freedom or well-being in your life because you feel connected with something spiritual, divine, ancestors, Nature, creativity, community, something greater than yourself. You have a sense of inner strength from surviving hardship, suffering or oppression. You have a sense of leadership, care and responsibility for the well-being of the wider community.
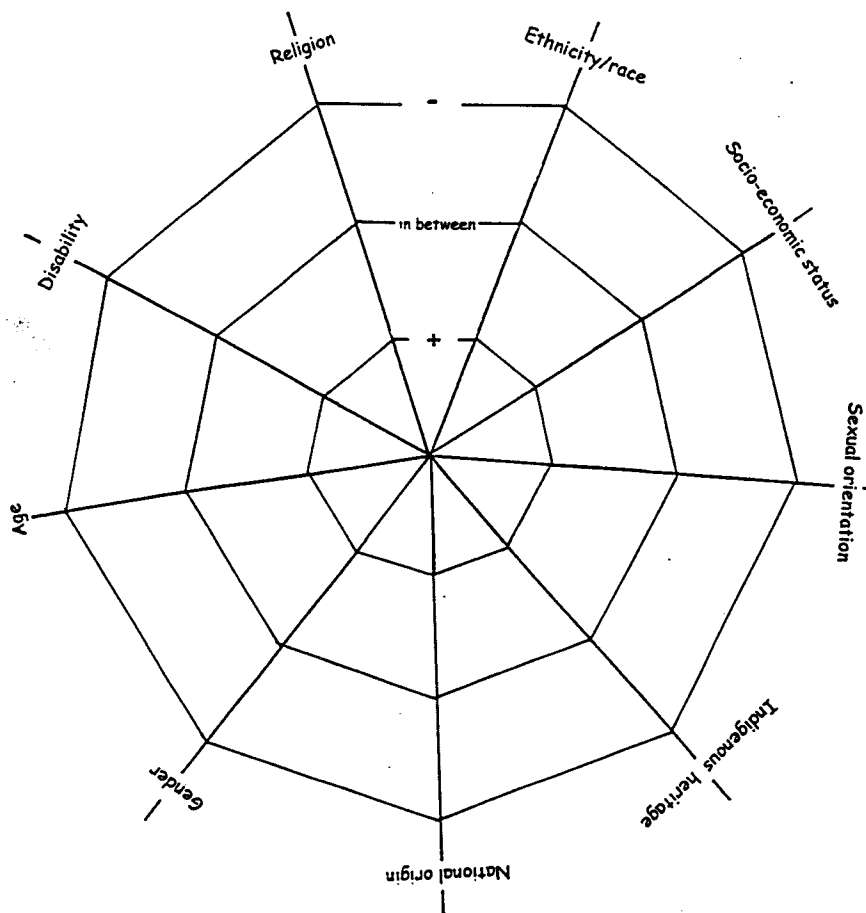
DIAMONDS IN THE ROUGH

Self-descriptive vignettes and 'web-wheel' self-ratings by nine participant psychotherapists
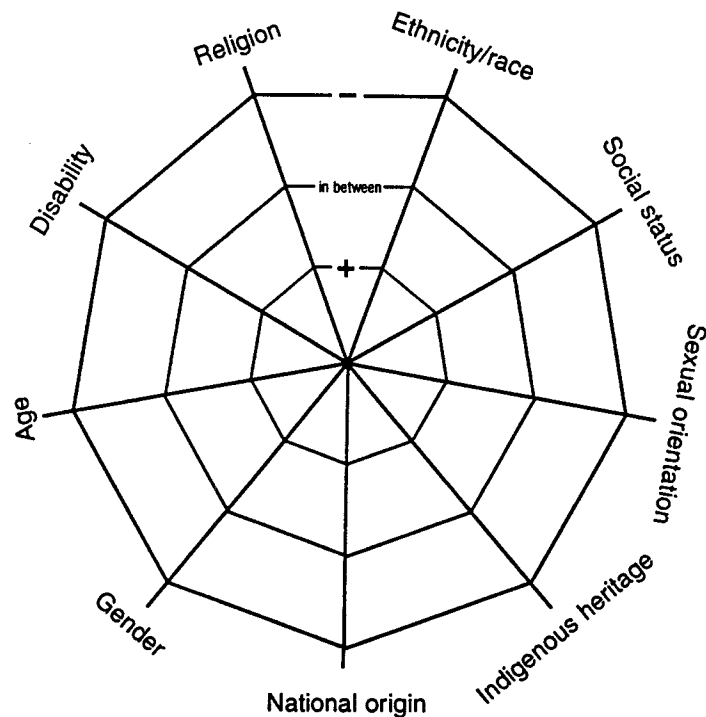
"I was just wondering when you start to plot these things ... I am thinking if you look at a diamond cut from the top, and then how that comes down to the point, diamond in the rough. Just that, you know, it's not going to be a perfectly cut diamond. There are going to be big wobbles as it goes through the dimensions".

<div align="right">- Black Bear</div>

"It illustrates and drives home how multifaceted people are. A diamond is beautiful because it has many facets, because of that the whole is distinct and different".

<div align="right">- Phil</div>

Earlgrey: Unwrapped gifts

I'm a recovering therapist, I'm an emerging artist, I am trying to live the truth that I am a spirit, on a human journey. I am a recovering therapist in that I am in the process of freeing myself from identifying with the job of being responsible for solving people's problems, even alleviating their distress. I'm interested in following the moment to moment happenings, to get beyond consensus reality to what is trying to happen through the dreaming, whether it's a symptom, a relationship conflict, or whatever. So I'm not good for people who want their problems solved. I'm good for people who want to make more meaning in their lives and who are willing to go into uncharted territory. Being someone who has been there for a lot of positive and negative projections, and stayed in that, I don't want to do that any more, I'm not interested, it's boring to me, it's necessary work, but somebody else can do it.

I'd like forget that I'm a lesbian but I can't, because I don't have my full human rights, and so I have a job to do there, and so I want to be able to die knowing that my people, which are lesbians and gays and transsexuals - and I guess bisexuals too, that's a touchy subject, but certainly gays and lesbians and transsexuals, see I'm not worked out - can enjoy the same civil rights as the rest of the population. Other things pull me like the privilege of having a white skin in a racist world, and stuff around class and my changing identification with class, I've got more of a fluid identification there than any other area and yet it's the most untalked about area, and else also a side of my life? I'm trying to support those flickers of creativity and nurture them to become huge mountains

I feel advantaged in that I have a white skin, because I don't get followed around in shops, people don't think I am going to steal, even if I am, because of my white skin. Then all those other types of things, that's just a little one. I feel advantaged in that my partner is a woman who has a stable financial background and through her I don't have to worry about money, the way I always have in my life, I don't have to work nine to five, five days a week, I don't even *have* to work, I don't have to in terms of money.

I feel advantaged in that I have had a brush with death in the last year, or year and a half, which has really woken me up to not mucking around with my life any more, and I feel like that's a big advantage. I've had other brushes with death but I never woke up out of any of them. I feel advantaged to be in a community of learners, it's not a community of particularly love, it's not a community of hate either, but it's a community of learners, it's got all those flavours, I haven't lived in a learning community before, I've lived in other communities, but I like that.

I feel advantaged in that I'm 47, and I'm middle-aged and that to me is a great privilege, that I can sit you know on my haunches, haunches? Or in my paunch! My sagging belly! and look back and think I've been here nearly five decades now, what an amazing thing! I feel advantaged to actually just be alive, to tell you the truth. I am the only survivor of a couple of different groups. I'm the only one living of a set that used to take drugs, living and relatively sane, and of the women who I first met when I first started working on the incest, I would say that I am the *only* one that's really alive and living.

One huge thing, how could I forget this! I feel *blessed up the wazoo* to have the love of my partner! Who is not only a wonderful partner, but a fabulous human being. Even if she wasn't my partner, just to have her friendship would be awesome. But she's totally special and she just *loves* me no matter what sort of creep I am! She just loves me, I can't understand it. One more way I feel really advantaged, knowing people who I

really do look up to, they're not perfect, but they're just fabulous. Because it gives me hope about the whole human race.

Being a lesbian in a woman-hating and gay/lesbian hating society, yeah! I think that's definitely behind the starting block. It's also a source of strength, but it is a put down. The presumption of heterosexuality, never seeing my relationship mirrored back to me. When I turn the TV on, it's always fuckin' heterosexual, and mostly white, both of those things I find utterly tedious, they don't nourish me. I'm disadvantaged in that the mainstream does not reflect back much that is nourishing to me as a lesbian as a human being, yes, but I get tired of having to edit things out that are oppressive in order to get the good stuff. And it develops a certain capacity, of discrimination and discernment in me, but I've already got it now, thanks! I want the bouquet of roses, given from one woman to another! And I don't want a mainstream, white, straight lesbian version of it, like Ellen. I want something real and messy!

I feel disadvantaged inside me in that my formal education was *very* messed up by abuse there isn't much I can do about that except get the education. I wish there had been some intervention that circumvented having to go the long way around. I feel a little disadvantaged, not much, being female in a world where I am supposed to be subservient and second-class, and I feel the same way about working-class stuff, that the working-class way of seeing the world is somehow devalued, but I also don't buy it as well. I'm supposed to, but I don't. I'm not second-best because I come from a working-class background, I'm not a second-class human because I am female. But, it's tedious to have to deal with other peoples' attitudes towards you. Maybe I speak roughly, then people think you're not smart. There's nothing wrong with being working-class or being a woman, *I'm really glad I'm a woman!* I don't want to be a man!

I have immense privilege because no fucker is better than me! You know the wrapping might be tidier, might be prettier, it might look smarter, it might *be* smarter, it doesn't make 'em better than me. I have what I call a survivor's privilege. I can be really hurt and really disillusioned by things that happen and I can be knocked down. I shouldn't say this, because touch wood, it could happen but - my spirit could be broken, but I think I'm a pretty strong person inside... I think that that's just grown over the years. I don't need someone on the outside to tell me that I'm OK. I know I'm OK. And even when I'm not OK, I'm OK. I'm not OK when I'm not OK, but the bottom line is I'm OK! I know it's a privilege, I'm embarrassed about it. What seems like on the surface just kind of real arrogance, that's usually in reaction to something, but underneath I just basically feel that I'm quite a strong person. Maybe I was born with it, maybe I wasn't, but it's there and I'm grateful for it and I don't take it for granted. I just try to use it a bit better. I have a metaphor, I'm a cat. I will land on my feet. I may break a leg but I'll land on my feet!

Key metaphors of identity

an emerging artist
a recovering therapist
a spirit on a human journey
I'm a cat. I will land on my feet. I may break a leg but I'll land on my feet!

'Earlgrey'
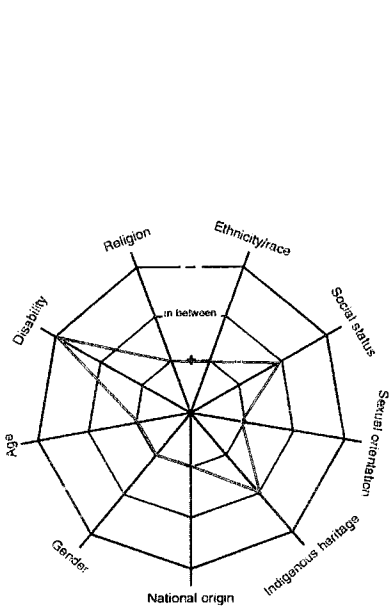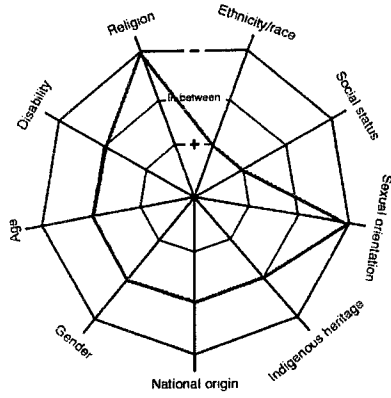
Sociocultural power

Psychological power
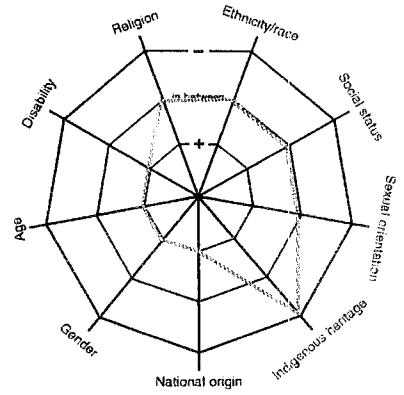
Relational power
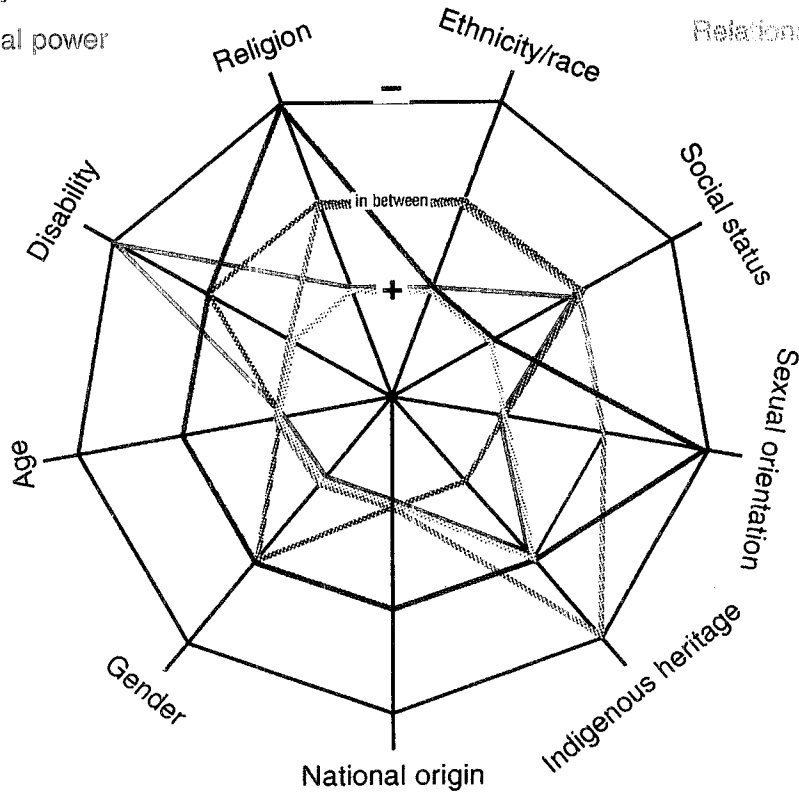
Composite of 5 web-wheels
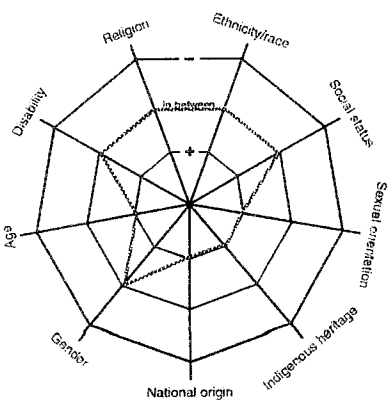
Activist power
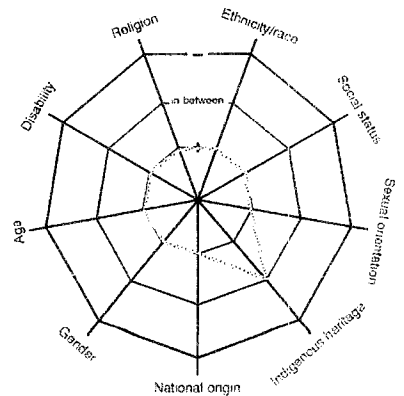
Transpersonal power

Kiki: Waking-up in the pot of privilege

I'm a white woman, upper class probably, not living in my home country. I guess I'm pretty much high up there. I feel advantaged in terms of my economic situation, my racial situation, my educational situation, my marital status, my sexual orientation, my health, my psychological training, knowing more about people and how to interact with people. Also moments when I feel personally rich because I have friendships, community, love in my life. They may be more important than some other categories.

I am 99% not aware of me being white, which is sort of funny because I live in such a mixed family. I have an African-American husband and daughter. Some non-mainstream people who've really spoken up really strongly really opened up my eyes around racial identity things here in America and stimulated a lot of interest in me. Also personal experiences - my daughter in school, how little people know about the racial question. So there are moments when I am aware of it but not very much. My economic situation gives me a lot of freedom, there's a lot of power that comes from it. I guess I'm rich... I have plenty to live on and I feel I have been given plenty and my education, I got a Ph.D. there isn't too much higher you can go. I live in a mixed family. My background is very upper class. With my current family, there have been events like moving in here neighbours started to inquire where we came from and moved out! It was a first for me, I felt stupid ... shock ... reality hits home, it makes me aware of how protected I've lived and how little I've had to deal with racism.

I'm pretty heterosexual, more or less pretty much. You have to deal with this whole sexism in your bedroom and I hate it. It happens within your intimate relationship, sexism and feeling hurt because you're a woman and misunderstood and not understanding your partner and just having to deal with that. I feel sometimes if you are from the same sex partner that somehow there are certain aspects you don't have to deal with. I had some homosexual experiences. I don't think I get to choose, so I am somehow landed in the pot of heterosexuality. I mean it's like I'm white, I didn't have a choice over that either. I'm mainstream here for not being indigenous and in Switzerland for being indigenous. I think it means different things in terms of power in different countries. I grew up in Switzerland in such safety. Things have been there for ever and ever and will be there for ever and ever. That's the mentality I grew up with, there were so many things that weren't questioned, and you could just rely on it. I wanted to get away - I was looking for something more passionate and expressive and alive, from when I was small. I am not American, but I am from a nationality that is welcome here in America in comparison to some other people. I have had a pretty easy time. At first language was difficult, I thought I wasn't able to learn another language. Once I got over that hurdle and could express myself, there was no pattern and I could just feel free! I am different when I speak English than when I speak German. I think I am much more emotional, much more feeling.

I am a woman! In comparison to somebody who has been identified by medicine or whatever as male, but really feels like a woman, I am really privileged. Compared to my brothers, there is a kind of *Selbstverstaendlichkeit*, naturalness or being at ease, they just had, that I don't have. I was girl and a third girl too, a big disappointment for my father. I'm forty, and I feel I am still not old, not considered old by society. I'm seeing signs and I know it's around the corner, but I actually think it's the best time, I'm moving away from the sort of insecurities of the twenties. When I was in my twenties maybe my body was so-called more beautiful, but I didn't feel it. I think I like myself more than ever. I feel I can do anything. I'm really lucky, I am really healthy, I have to think very little about my physical needs. I am a non-practising Christian, I don't feel

marginalized through my spiritual beliefs. I have never been persecuted or put down or anything like that. It's like a non-issue for me.

I'm not always proud or happy about being mainstream. Having to identify with the oppressive mainstream is not always a joyful thing to do. Just it creates a lot of painfulness ... and I'm creating it, I guess I am unconscious of my privilege around those things, I guess sometimes being less mainstream would make you more awake in that area. A certain amount of stupidity comes with mainstreamness. There is a certain kind of power or privilege that could come from being a marginalized group, it really forces you to identify with that and that could give you a you know a direction or a drive somehow - not being aware is sort of a function of being privileged.

What's helped me identify with privilege is my psychological training, being involved in a group of people working experientially on diversity issues, traveling and comparing to other less privileged people, personally being awoken, knowing somebody personally that I somehow feel for and learning from them. It's an emotional experience, and it's a relational experience, I think the emotional experience comes definitely first, and that made me then want to go and read. It's hard, painful to be privileged and to identify with and be aware of your privilege. I probably always knew that I was privileged but I just sort of repressed it. It was like sort of an unconscious knowing and gnawing and feeling guilty and just not wanting to go there. I am so much mainstream, it's disgusting And I feel that certain responsibility that would come with it. Maybe I'm not using the privilege enough, and feel guilty then. I think going there and knowing that I am, for example, white, it makes it easier to really identify with it. It's funny I feel less guilty in a way as I am thinking deeply about it, and I just know that's me and I can stand for it. I hope I am going to be able to live with myself better, and it could make certain relationships, to people from other areas, easier. It could create more closeness, because I feel I understand them better where they come from. Accepting yourself makes you know who you are and also know that there are others, and it's enriching.

Key metaphors of identity

landed in the pot of heterosexuality
closed eyes; being asleep/ waking up; eyes opened

'Kiki'
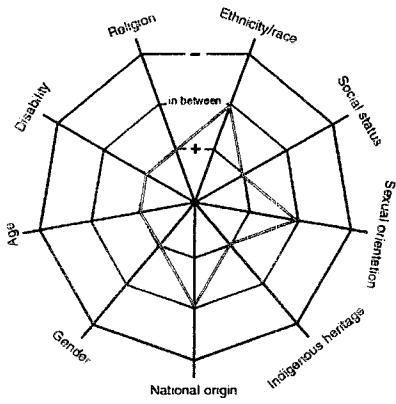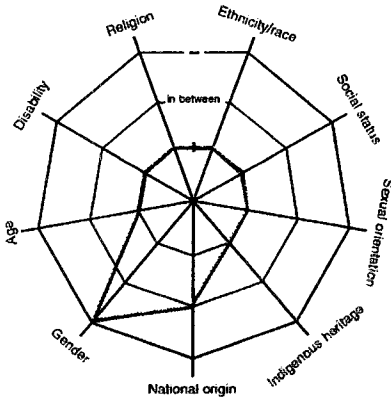
Sociocultural power

Psychological power
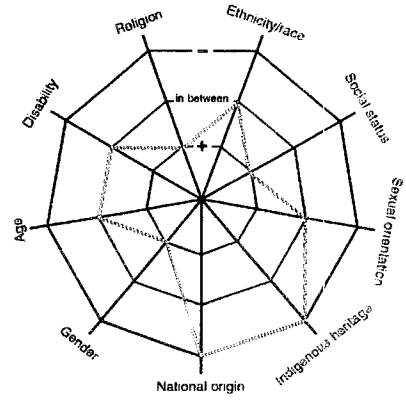
Relational power
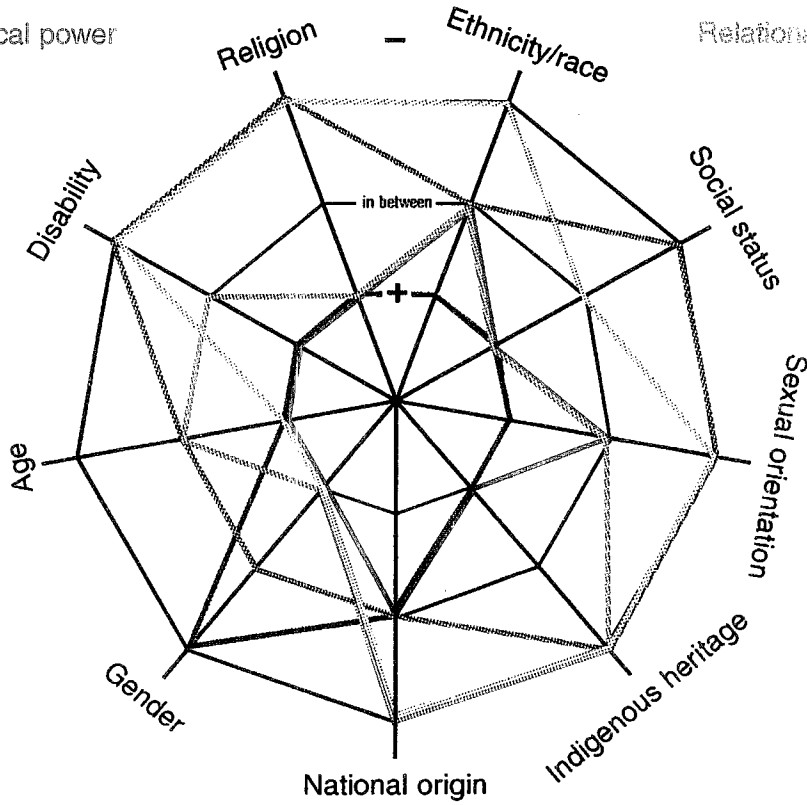
Composite of 5 web-wheels
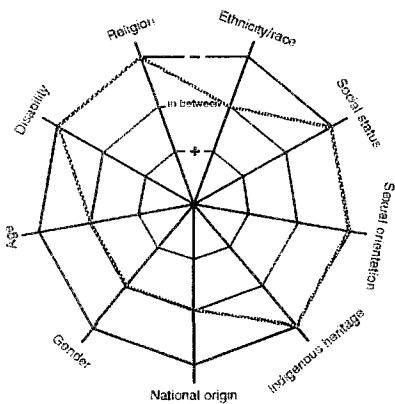
Activist power
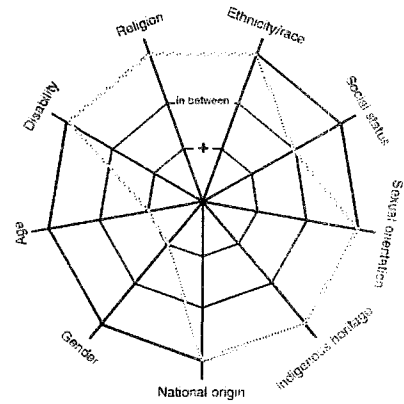
Transpersonal power

Mr. America: Diving out of bounds

I'm a 44 year old, African in America, commonly called a black male in America. I'm a consultant and I work with substance abuse, adults and adolescents, people involved in the criminal justice system, people with dual diagnosis, also do conflict resolution work and as a consultant and a trainer. I'm married, I have a daughter, I live in the Pacific Northwest. I'm able-bodied, male, fairly capable, fairly well-off in terms of material scene and pretty much in terms of my ability to negotiate through life, verbally, cognitively, emotionally. A limited amount of damage in those areas, so I can function fairly normally. I have some problems due to ethnicity, race, culture, that are problematic in terms of being black in America, and a descendent of an oppressed group makes for complicated social navigating at times. Also problems in the past with substances, that history that I am overcoming, some health concerns as a result of my lifestyle when I was younger -- these impact the quality of life and take away from health and well-being.

I have a lot of privilege and power coming from the same thing that gives me the disadvantage, troubles have made me more resilient. Travel and interaction with different people and cultures has given me a broader grasp of people. I've had the opportunity to learn how to cope with lots of negative things Africans in America have this cultural stigmatization, discrimination and abuse they've learned to cope with and that has been a tremendous privilege to have had that kind of coping mechanism. I think that this transcended over the generations. As a former addict I was able to experience life outside of the boundaries. Being a single parent helped me to see a nurturing, care-taking, side of me, really having a lot of love for someone and nurturing them up. Being a commercial diver was about this macho male thing. It was also useful to learn how to work with my hands, work physically, deal with other men, travel, get over my fears. People who haven't worked in the dirt, worked in the mud, worked with steel, worked in the water, worked alone, worked in the elements, I think you miss something, and I did a lot of stuff outdoors, in the solitude of nature and that was beautiful for me.

I found myself hanging out most of my life, way out of bounds. I have always been on the fringes of the outer limits. As a teenager and an adult, in lifestyle, substance use, work, relationship choices. That is power to be able to step over, you know, the boundaries and to step into the new and the exciting and the different and the scary and to experience life without you know some reference points, some guide posts, without a map. You don't know where you're going, but you're on a journey. It's like when you jump underneath the ocean or something, you don't know quite what's there. You kind of do it and you just find your way. And pretty soon you get good at finding your way in the dark. I learned that in my life, that the really only thing you can count on is how you can maintain safety when you are out of bounds. By being aware that you're really out of bounds and each time is – you don't know what's gonna happen next.

Key metaphors of identity

on the fringes of the outer limits
out of bounds, way out of bounds
a hard row to hoe – turning troubles into power

'Mr. America'
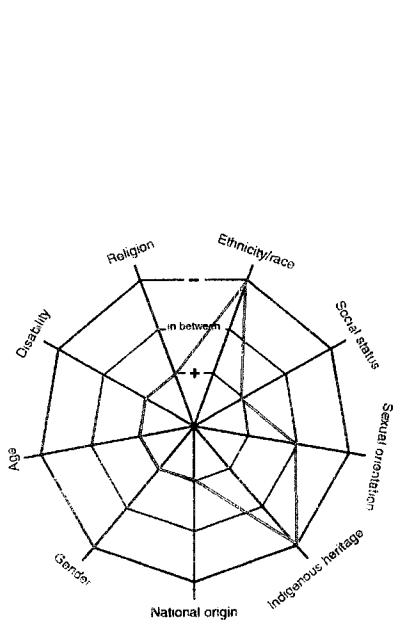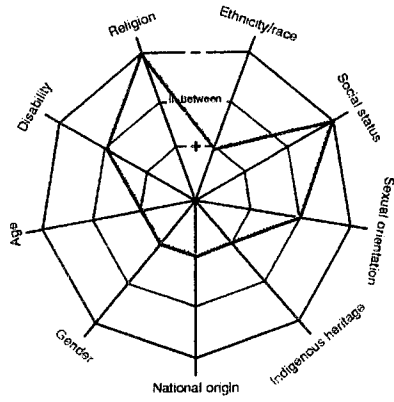
Sociocultural power

Psychological power
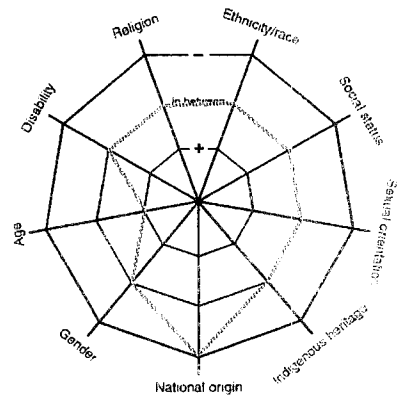
Relational power
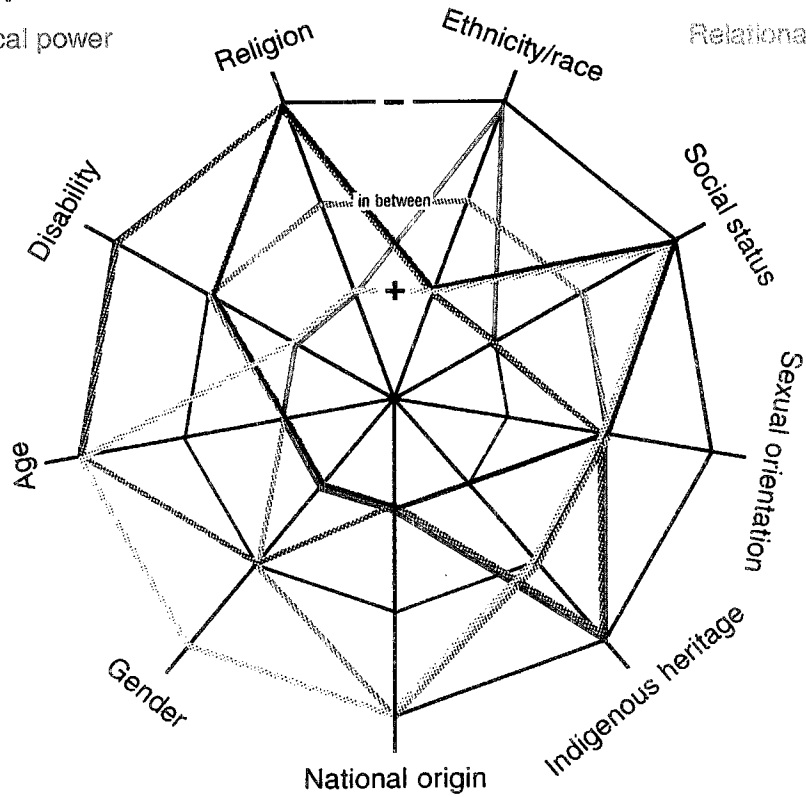
Composite of 5 web-wheels
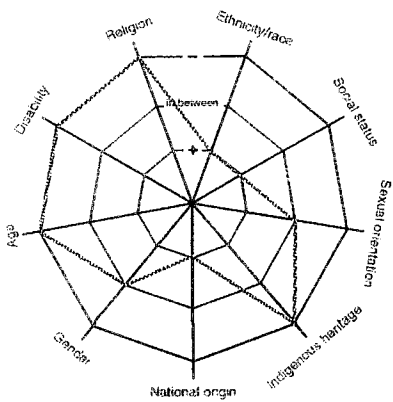
Activist power
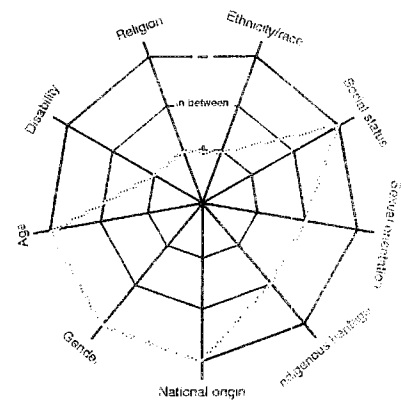
Transpersonal power

Laura: Robins and snakes

I was a support person for a vision quest. I hadn't quite known what I'd signed up for. We were going into this place in the desert where there actually were rattlesnakes right in our camp and scorpions and I mean I thought there might be metaphorically these things. There was a tree right by where the fire was, where we'd set things up, that had a nest of robins, and there was a snake that came to the tree and every day as we sat, we watched the struggle between the robins and the snake and I was totally on the side of the robins you know, I mean these little baby birds out there and the mother would be pecking at those snakes and driving them down the tree. But there was the remembering of the snakes, and the place that the snakes have a right to live and the snakes have their little snakes too. That's like saying a bit that's who I am - I'm pondering about the robins and the snakes and not knowing or understanding even my perspective in it. Robins and snakes.

My mainstay in life is spirituality, living in relationship with all things in a connected way; ways I can be impactful as a human. Searching to be in a place of integrity and wholeness is my biggest wish for this life. Other things that I am are things that I am, but they are not as important as that. I'm a person who does not value war, though I believe in conflict. Any day I may learn something new or different. I'm deeply involved in the search and exploration of how to be a spiritual person and to understand religions and not get bound by the laws or rules or places that feel narrow and constricting in any of them. I could actively participate in the Buddhist community and feel very comfortable in Buddhist tradition. I actively participate in Islam and dances and the Sufis and Ramadan. I'd say that in a way for me religion is a strength, but how I participate in religion in our culture is certainly marginalized, and I know I've been judged for that.

I'm a 55 year old White woman, I come from a very conservative, two-parent family, with mid-western farming values and a huge amount of Christian religion, a very strong church, which believes there should be no pleasure, there should be no dancing, no music. Everything should be work and worship through work. Horrible! And my goal in life is to be a Spanish dancer by the time I die. I'm still not Spanish, but I'm working on it! I go dance some. When I'm not working. I work a lot so I feel trapped in that actually somewhat. I certainly feel advantaged in being white, educated (though I had to work damn hard for that), coming from a family which valued education as a gift to make my life solid. Some things have come and gone. Fleetingly powerful and privileged for twenty five years, I was married to a surgeon. I had power in money and prestige as a heterosexual person with a partner of status. I have four, very talented children, the incredibleness of who they are is my greatest source of privilege, I would say. Having money and the ability to travel and do what I want is a big privilege.

My marriage did not resonate with who I was and I couldn't figure out a way to change it. It was a very, very painful and hard course to go through. My ex-husband ended up having an episode of violence towards me and so I became a battered woman. I'm a psychologist and I work with many people who've suffered different kinds of victimization and I never thought I'd end up in the category myself of having bones broken. I'm presently in a relationship with a woman, but I don't particularly think of myself as a lesbian, I just think of myself as someone in a relationship with a woman. I don't think it's an easy path, the partner path. I really want for a partnering to be something that supports my life in search of integrity and wholeness in relationship, and

what I need to do to serve and to do my part in the world. If I ever take the time I suppose I'll sort that out. It just doesn't seem that important in the long run of things. At this point in time, since I'm in a relationship with a woman, I'm in a marginalized place, in the culture as a whole. Though since I'm mainly in the gay community, if I were in the relationship with my ex-husband I would be marginalized really.

I think that I have been disadvantaged gender-wise, partly 'cause of the culture I came from. I have very much in my own self struggled with feeling 'less than' as a woman and have felt like that's a place where men have more power than me 'cause they think they have more power than me. I am deferent and things that I don't like that I am, like when I ended up in my battered place, and dealt with the police around it, when my ex-husband got crazed and kept trying to break into where I was and was stalking me and things like that. I've had the vulnerable place of being pregnant and I've had little kids where if I'm gonna get an education I gotta do it around nursing and being up all night. Politically things are changing, a little. You know if you look at how many women are in our political system compared to how many men, it doesn't feel to me like it's changing real rapidly, you know?

Being a woman raised in the culture that I am, and being of the age that I am, there's a whole, whole lot within my own self where I feel so unentitled. I feel that I am an emotionally disadvantaged person, in most relationships I feel fearful and intimated. I work really hard at getting out of this place where I feel powerless and feel little and can be victimized. At 55 you've reached that stage of discount! You go to Builders Square on every Tuesday, and you get a ten percent discount as an old person. But anyway that's just kind of funny stuff because I don't feel that way. I'd say youth is very valued, it is way more mainstream to be youthful than to be fifty-five. I certainly know that my hair is white and I have wrinkles now and, you know, I have things that are not youthful and they're noticeable. You head in that direction and you're treated in that way. That's certainly an area of shifting. I certainly feel very grateful that I am not disabled in the bigger ways, I'm not in a wheelchair or blind or deaf or some people might think I'm mentally challenged, but I don't feel that way. I feel I'm really lucky that I've inherited a very strong body and can do things. I'm fifty-five and so we could say I'm shifting towards a marginal position, because in America being old is not an advantage. But I don't feel it at this time.

I have a lot of privilege in being white. Growing up I never saw Jewish people or African-American people or Hispanic people. It was all white people and there was one Catholic family and they were called 'The Catholics'. Knowing that I am like everyone else is, and that we are the ones who rule the world, so to speak, or that was the feeling, certainly, when you're a little kid. My fathers' farming family I knew had had racist prejudice at earlier times. My oldest sister started dating African-American guys and it was a secret from my father. But in later years he was riding the Freedom Bus. He changed. Yeah, those things could shift. I've dealt with too many people from different ethnic and racial backgrounds to know that I'm not nearly as apt to be stopped in my car if something's going on, as an African-American woman would be, or worse yet a man. So, I believe that gives me privilege. I would rather not be Scandinavian. I mean there's a lot in the pioneer spirit in being hard and cold and getting things, it's not a very light and cheery heritage to have. It was such a male-dominated culture. From an outward standpoint, being Scandinavian is not a marginalized thing. In an inward way I think it's been marginalizing for me. I would say that I often feel poor, but I'm middle-class and that's just all subjective. I'm not really poor but sometimes I feel that way. Having to try to support an organization that's made up of poor people and having my kids in vulnerable positions where some of them still need help and support, there just are lots of needs and things I would like to attend to more.

God, I look pretty mainstream! Age, religion, gender and sexual orientation are my marginalized places. Yeah, that looks like me! ... I feel very marginalized in the work that I do, you know, I know that I don't dress the dress or talk the talk, I mean I can do it if I practice in front of a mirror. I'm sure every group if you're from a different orientation you have to learn how to fake it to get through the hoops and so it is like a marginalized place for me.
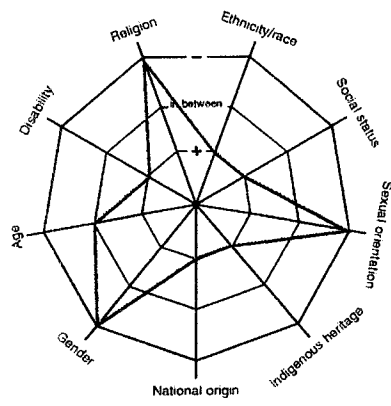
Key metaphors of identity

Robins and snakes

'Laura'
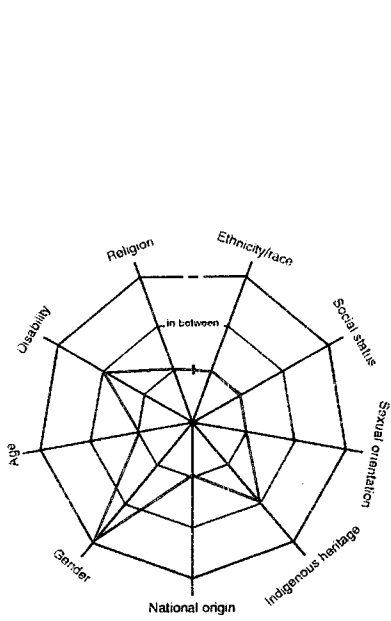
Psychological power

Sociocultural power
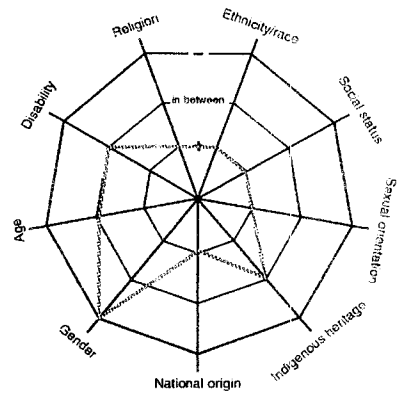
Relational power
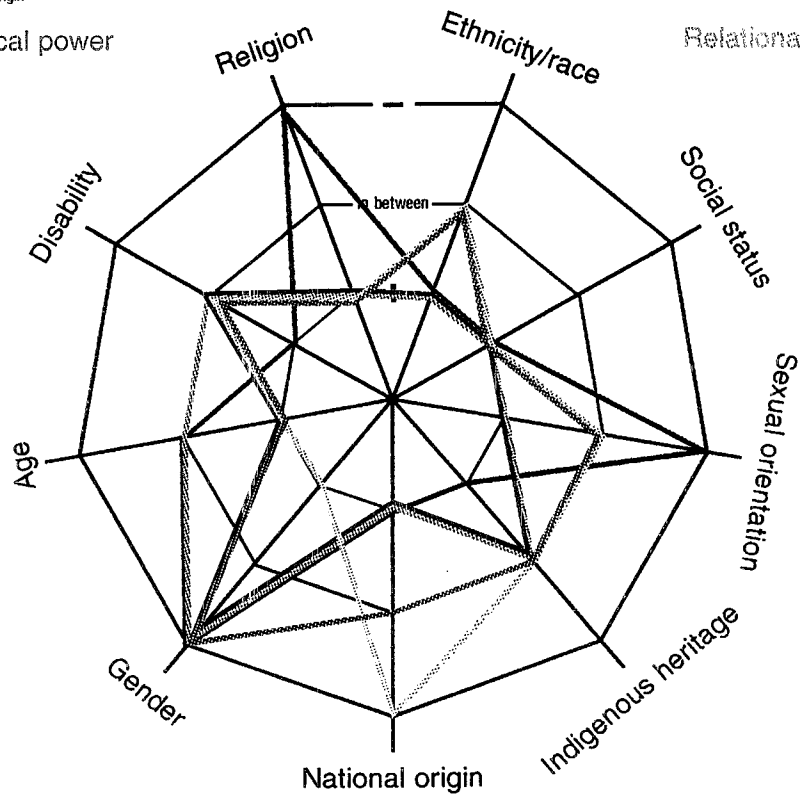
Composite of 5 web-wheels
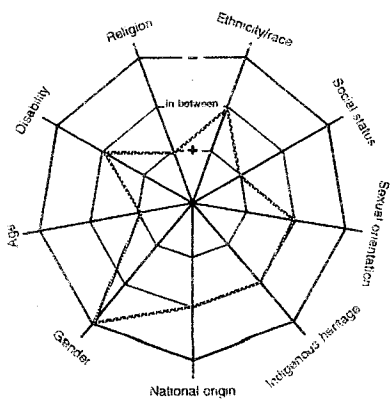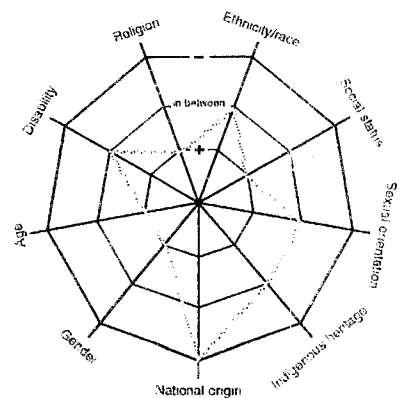
Activist power

Sumiko: Holding choices and challenges

I think I like challenges. I feel incompetent in this culture, but I still have to just go forward. I could go back to Japan, to go back to the usual life. Language of course is difficult, and I miss my friends and family, personal feelings. Very trivial differences which sometimes I have to take inside of me and think, re-think, have given me negative feelings. I'm not the active leader. People say about me, so – how you say – gentle kind of leader, not very aggressive type, and I think for a lot of American people it's not sufficient, not enough And inside of Japan I am not leading kind of person either, I'm just quiet. But when something comes up that I can do, I can direct people and help people. But I'm not very active person in that way. I always think of, how I have to do more, I have to be more pro-active, kind of thing.

I am proud of being Japanese and I think it's not really personal at all, but a lot of people admire and appreciate Japanese culture and it's very simple and primitive way of being proud of, but I am very comfortable having identity of Japanese because of people's understanding. Of course I have bad experience as a Japanese, but more I enjoy people's showing understanding and showing interest in me because simply because I am Japanese. That's one way of opening up the social interaction at the beginning, so I think that's advantage. Sometimes there is some misunderstanding just because of the cultural background and expectation. But I think I've got the way to resolve this, not one hundred per cent, for in this [U.S.] culture we have to talk. Working in this mental health field, it's kind of easy to talk how I am, how I feel. I think I am lucky being in this team that I am working now. I have this very good team that is always open to me. I had one year of internship as a therapist in Chicago, and again Chicago is a diversity place. And my clients were like Mexican, Black people, and Oriental people. So I didn't have to feel like you know minority at all. But here it's a lot different. But so far I have not felt devastated, yet .

I have such a moment that when clients smile, when they are depressed and while talking to me and switch their point of view from negative to positive, only temporarily maybe, but still I feel like, you know, I could help this person to some degree. Language is still difficult and while they are talking about very sensitive issue, it's hard to ask "What does it mean?" I think the most important thing is someone to listen and try to understand, try to see things in that person's position and still want to try to give good influence or to change their lives When I see change, it gives me satisfaction also. I don't see myself as a privileged person. For me, it's very difficult to analyze what's going on in the moment and be strategic. I think that to some degree that can come through the training, but I'm more intuitive-oriented person, emotional-oriented, so I feel like I lack this intellectual, analytic therapist model part.. Sometimes I feel not so intelligent. I still have difficulty to use those clinical terms and it's very difficult to identify one particular behavior as one term. I believe I have intelligence in an emotional, intuitive sense, but that's not always valued.

A lot of Japanese people do not have religion. So I was surprised how religion is a big topic here, like weather. We have Shintoism and Buddhism as the two main religions in Japan. Put very simple way, Shinto is part of the ritual through whole life, Buddhism is more for me related to death, dark side. But I'm now beginning to know what Buddhism want to say to people. It's amazing, you know, that I learned in United States about Buddhism, they told me that it's talking about acceptance, letting go, awareness. So I realized that people in Japan don't teach us. That's the reason why a lot of people who do not have faith in themselves easy to convert or whatever, start becoming Christian or Moonies. They do not have a concrete ground and when they lose faith, they go anywhere they can be accepted. So, and I am afraid of doing it too! Coming to

America I think I feel very, very marginal. Religions like Christianity, I feel those religious discipline or whatever is created by human, and human error is manipulative or to manipulate other people, using God's name to control, which I don't like. I think the God's will or whatever is very personal and if I can share and get some acceptance with other people that's great, but I feel resentful, when they talk about what to do, what shouldn't do, you know, because God says so kind of thing. So yes, I am very marginalized. Inside of tree, inside of flower and ground, fire, it doesn't have to be Jesus for me, it doesn't have to be Buddha, just there, surrounded by the nature is spiritual, for me.

I had a very unpleasant experience as a Japanese twice this last six months, and it came from the client side. Once I was rejected, it was really racist issue because the client had had a bad experience with Asian doctor, that was the only reason. This is my one of the challenge, if I do this and if I can do it successfully, I can be somebody better, so I took this case and so far it's good. The other one was more intense, this person is very psychotic and when he get delusional, he attack Japanese. In fact he wanted to attack me. That was very scary and it hurt me. I was so afraid. That was very uncomfortable. Still again I feel most of the time accepted. And most of my clients respect me also. Am I optimistic? I don't know, but I feel like most of the people more accepting those values and opinions. I'm hoping that. I think around that people understand us pretty decent way. Like fifty years ago when they talk about Japan, it's Fujiyama, geisha, hara kiri or whatever. But now people in United States have more close to accurate picture of Japanese, because of the economic status of Japan.

I'm married to a man who is much, much older than I. I feel more accepted being in United States in that way, rather than being in Japan. It seems to be very open in this area in United States. I know there are some conflict inside of the family, but as a society itself it's more open. In Japan it's more like family shame. Here it's more individualism, in Japan it's more collectivism. And you think about others' opinion all the time, more intense way than here. So I was very uncomfortable with that. I do remember that the other night my friend told us that this gay and lesbian issue is still very ... (makes an expression of difficulty) . I do not have any difficulty as a mainstream. But I think I lack knowledge around there.

I guess I cannot see a clear difference between national origin, ethnicity/race and indigenous heritage. I feel that I am original as a Japanese. If I think about my Japanese origin, I am very mainstream, because we do have a Korean people, who have been discriminated against very badly, so in that way I am very mainstream. I am first generation here, and again inside of me I am very Japanese, I identify myself as Japanese. So in America as an identified Japanese person, even thought I have those instance of racism or whatever, but still I am very comfortable as a Japanese in this country, a lot of people accept my Japanese-ness, cultural background.

If I do comparison between United States and Japan I feel more mainstream in United States. Women's right in United States are more advanced compared to Japan, having a job, raising children, more the male and female shared their roles in the family. But in Japan they're still struggling, and with the nature of the economic status in Japan, probably it won't happen. Because the husbands get transferred to different prefecture every three years or so and wives have to follow the husbands, so wives will never pursue the career, very difficult, may be only limited person are doing that. And here job opportunities are, you know, equal. There, yes they say so but still when they think about convenience of life it doesn't go that way. I think it's very, very long away. So being in this country, based on this comparison, I feel mainstream.

Japanese people admire the older people, like the forties, fifties and those become as the authority and we are very weak against the authority in Japan I am still young generation to influence on something, anything. But in this country it's different And you know we have saying that "sticking nail is pounded" which is like average is good So it is a little bit difficult to see factor of age and gender separately. I was working in Japan till 28 years old or so as a female and that comes together. Acceptance, respect from others, expectation from others, those are related to gender and age, so it's a little bit hard to separate. Even in United States every job section you see equal opportunity or something and you can apply for the job anytime, so I feel like there is more flexible to accept.

I have a little bit difficulty hearing this side, no machine or whatever required, but I still have difficulty with that. So I always answer the phone with this ear. Plus as a woman I have a PMS and it's not disability but it's not healthy thing either. My agency they are open and are ready for the individuals to accommodate needs, but my side feel guilty to ask, to demand something. I wasn't raised that way. Being here and watching my co-workers taking off very easily and do not make phone call at all, just they are saying, "This is my day, I need rest, so ..." And they accept it. It's very good and I wish I could do that without any guilt, but still if I take a vacation or something I feel guilty. Living through the hardship makes you strong and I think that's a more like Japanese way of looking at things, so with suffering you become more stiff, you have to endure. I prefer staying same, you know, old patterns, routines!

Key metaphors of identity

gentle leader
still exploring

'Sumiko'
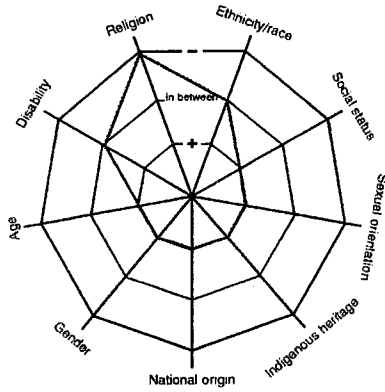
Sociocultural power
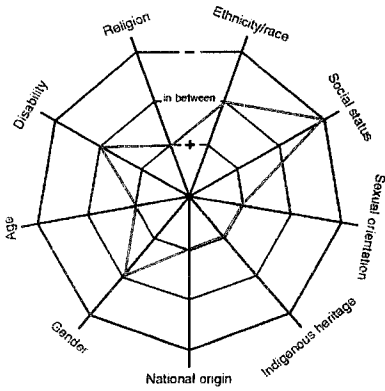
Psychological power
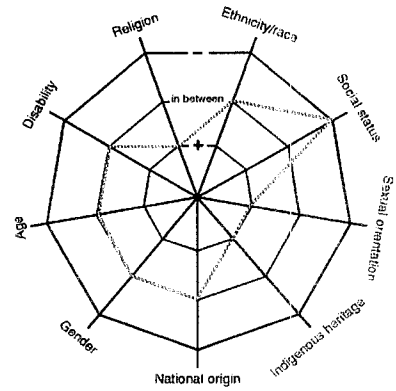
Relational power
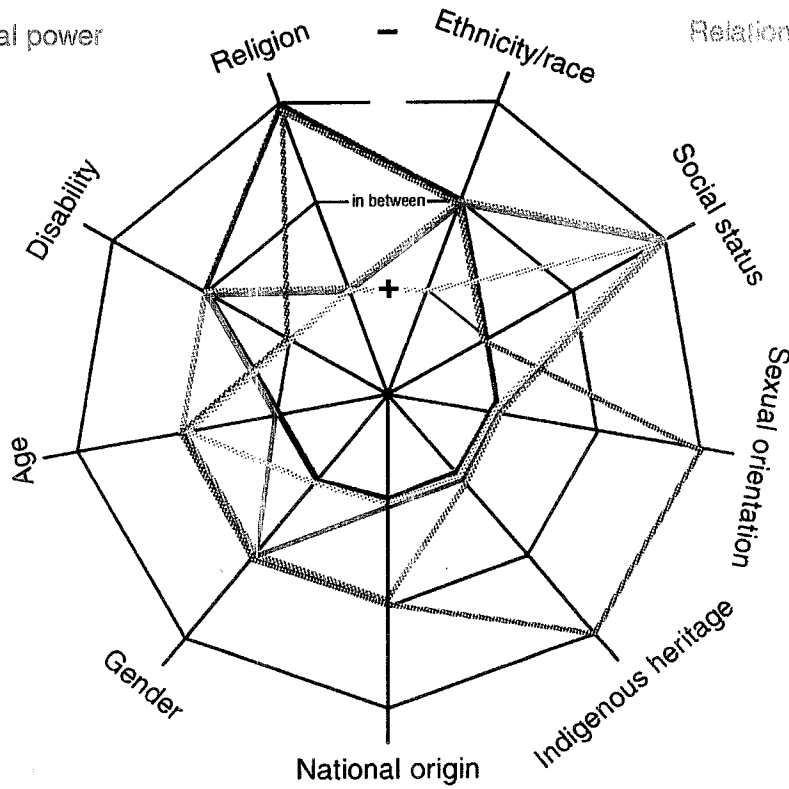
Composite of 5 web-wheels
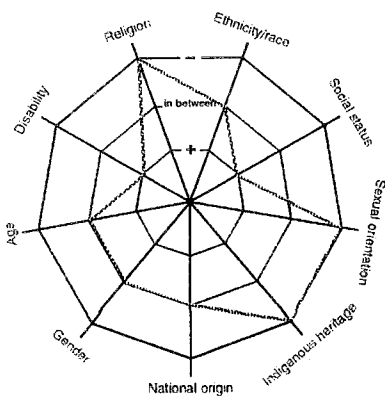
Activist power
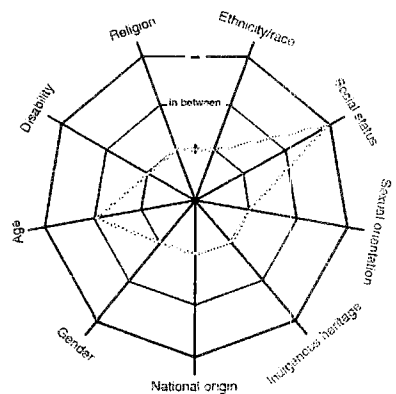
Transactional power

Phil: At the edges of the mainstream

I'm a clinical psychologist, domestic violence is an area of specialty and expertise. I am 35, Caucasian, a father, I have two sons, an eleven year old step-son and my other son is almost four. I'm in the midst of a divorce. I have a long standing interest in gender issues in particular, and in issues around bigotry and differences. I have two bumper stickers on my car, one is 'Another Man Against Violence Against Women" and the other one is "Celebrate Diversity". So, that kind of reflects some of my values.

I think I have lots of advantages, in fact in many ways in this country I'm kind of at the heart of being advantaged. I'm male, I'm Caucasian, I'm not Protestant, so I don't fit the WASP. I grew up kind of maybe lower-middle class or middle class – middle-middle class. I'm able-bodied, I'm very intelligent, so I guess, in terms of many of the ways that we think of groups that are advantaged or disadvantaged, or mainstream or not mainstream, I don't know that there's a single obvious non-mainstream group that I'm a part of, so certainly on the surface, I fit all of that.

I'm coming from a political take, of course. I think one advantage I have is under-appreciated, actually I think it's one that sometimes race and class are both confused with, is that I think that I'm advantaged by having a fairly high sense of ability to achieve and I think a key piece of that is the mindset of how one views oneself in the world. Class isn't just about income, it's about values and attitudes that you have. So I feel like I am advantaged in that kind of way. That I have a sense of ability to accomplish, that I don't see myself as a victim or as an oppressed person for the most part. And the second advantage I guess that I think that I have is more mixed, it actually has its downsides, is being very intelligent

In most ways I don't think I have many disadvantages, except that I sometimes think of myself as being a non-conforming nonconformist in that I appear to be very mainstream and I have many of the mainstream advantages. But as a result of that assumptions are sometimes made about me that aren't true. They may be true for many people that appear as I do, but aren't necessarily true for me. In some ways I almost wish that I had been in oppressed groups because then that would fit more sometimes with my thinking. It's different from sometimes how white men say 'Well, you know, I'm disadvantaged as a white man", and really where they're coming from is a place of privilege where they don't understand the benefits they actually already get. So that's not kind of kind of where I'm speaking about.

I consider myself to be pretty liberal, politically. I think it can be disadvantage. It depends on context.If you're in a conservative society or age, that becomes more of a disadvantage. You may not get treated as seriously, you have to tolerate more of values that you really don't agree with, you know. I feel my marginalization is more that I have more sensitivities to cultural issues than it would appear that I would. And being bright and being pretty non-traditionally male and struggling to feel more connected with finding people I can relate to on that level. I think that all of us fall on both sides of the power thing, so like we've all been children having less power, now we're adults and we have more power in that way. And I believe that for every group that's on the more powerful side, there's privilege. So there's white privilege, there's adult privilege, there's heterosexual privilege, and privilege is unearned benefits that you receive for no other reason than being part of that group.. And typically a nice bonus for having privilege is that you don't know that you have it. In fact I think at times it's very challenging, even if you want to know, to fully understand what comes with all the benefits of having privilege.

I have a lot of power and privilege because I am in so many of the more powerful groups. So I have the benefits of being Caucasian, I have the benefit of being male, I have the benefits of being well-educated. I could go on down this list, in a lot of the traditional ways I don't have a

lot that I can complain about. Although the irony is that because of the kind of work that I do and my interests, I am often in a situation where I am more likely to be the target of criticism or I am likely to feel more silenced, being a man interested in feminist issues, or domestic violence, or talking about race, or other kinds of things. So that's kind of interesting, an ironic kind of paradox.
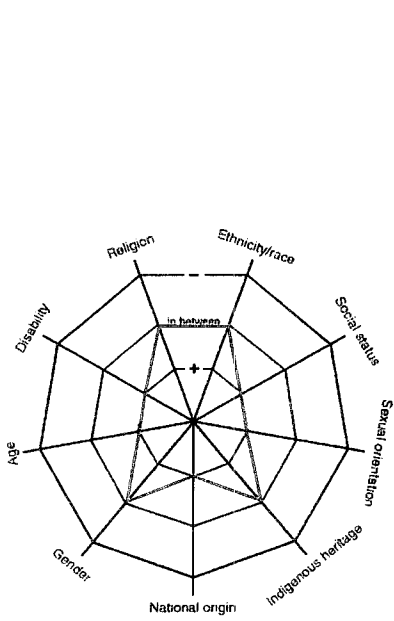
Being at that edge of the mainstream, it's pretty hard, people who are immediately making assumptions about me that are probably true for many white men they would see, but don't fit for me. People are quick to judge and to jump to conclusions, rather than trying to get to know the human being, which I think is one significant piece of oppression, is doing that, labeling somebody and then focusing on the label rather than on the human being. Why is a white male interested in this stuff anyway, I mean it's kind of partly giving up privilege. There are a couple of reasons One I think is my background, I mean I grew up in a neighbourhood which has a reputation of being very liberal and very progressive, a very diverse and intriguing intellectual neighbourhood. Part of it was growing up there, and being exposed to this stuff and having parents that weren't flag-waving activists, but certainly had very much interest in that stuff and were supportive of that.

The other thing is that I work and try to educate the men that I work with about sexism. I still think people miss this. It's that the power that's always been present in women, it's been neglected and dismissed. And I think that's true for every oppressed group. It isn't only that I've taken some of what should be yours. But I've also dismissed, and maybe even convinced you, that what you've got isn't worth anything anyway. And so to me, part of it is realizing that I suffer not just in an altruistic way, but I suffer as a human being, when I oppress others. And so in giving up some of the privilege I do (and I have, and I continue to) sometimes be subjected to attack and so forth. But a part of it is benefiting from these other cultures, that they have some intrinsic rewards and values, to me as a human being. And the area that I'm probably practising that the most strongly is around issues of feminism, because I feel that I myself have a pretty good blend of female as well as male qualities. One of the ways that men suffer is that they lack some of these feminine qualities that are so vital, and this kind of power, it isn't political power, and it isn't economic power. And those things are important, but don't in any way diminish the power of interpersonal relationships, or the power of emotional awareness, which have traditionally been dismissed by the male-dominated culture. So that's part of what kind of pushes me, is I can see that and realize that, so I mean in some ways it's in my own self-interest to be open to more of these cultures And just it's interesting. It makes life more interesting to be exposed to these different ways of being, so that's kind of what motivates me I think.
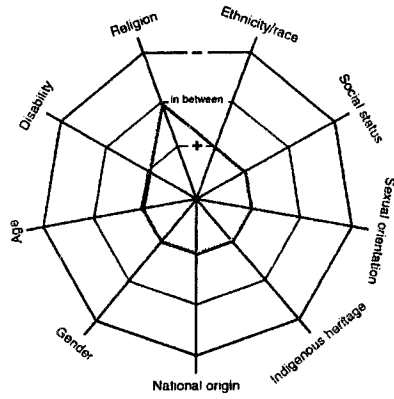
Key metaphors of identity:

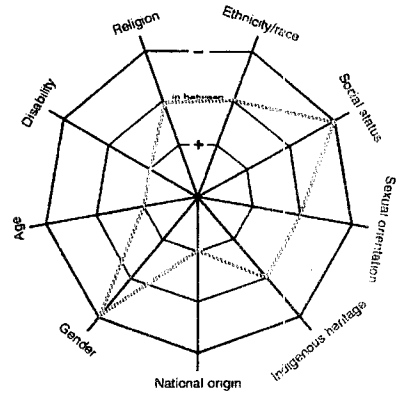*a non-conforming nonconformist*
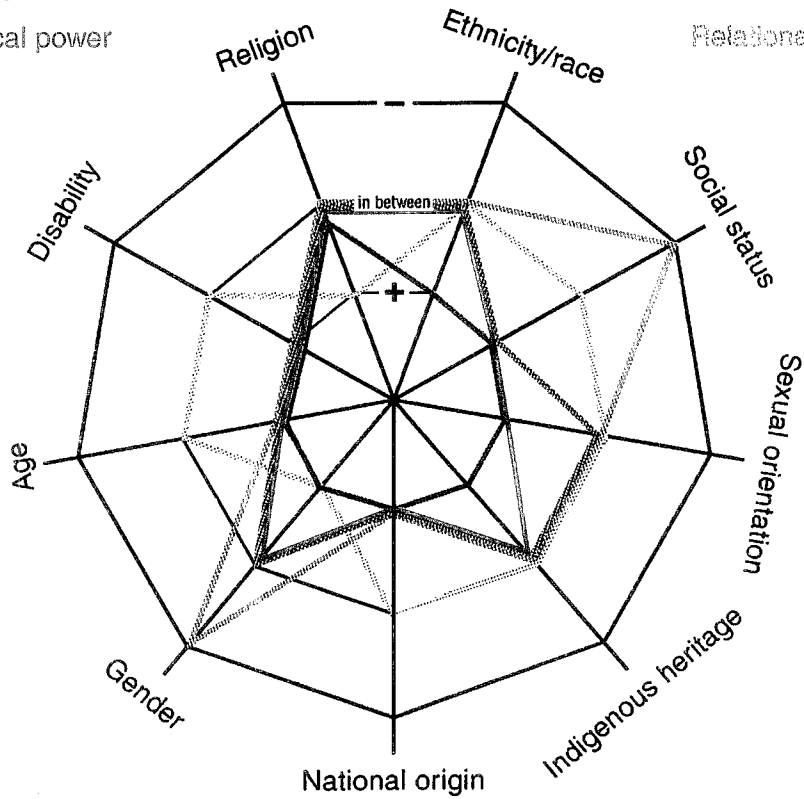*seeing the forest and the trees*

'Phil'

Sociocultural power

Psychological power

Relational power

Religion

Ethnicity/race

Disability

Social status

in between

+

Age

Sexual orientation

Gender

Indigenous heritage
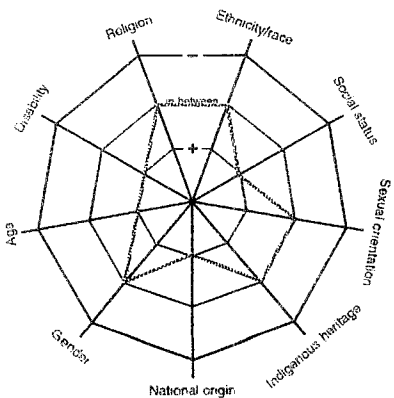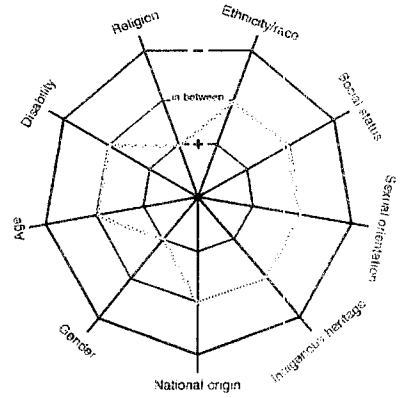
National origin

Composite of 5 web-wheels

Activist power

Interpersonal power

Vindaloo: Seer on the margins

I see myself as a generous, smart, patient person. I've recently been told that I have some wisdom, which I have enough wisdom to know is not really abundant. And I'm interested in expansiveness, for myself and for other people, personally and professionally. I have a pretty strong spiritual life and I have a very large array of credentials, academic training and experience which I've been in the process of letting go. I really enjoy the humorous, and I'm very physical. Those are all things that I think other people would say too. The major discrepancy being people say I'm more wise than I think

I'm also impatient so that's something I've struggled with over the years. My sisters and I joke a bit, we were raised to think that we were basically smarter than the rest of the world. So it's really been great to know that that's not true. I'm self-confident, but I don't think I'm arrogant, I guess, these days. I think I probably was arrogant before. I'm troubled by many of the assumptions of my professional training. I'm way on the margins of mainstream psychology I didn't mention what I do or what I'd be called or something – I'm a psychologist, psychoanalyst, who plays the piano and swims. Those are true, but those are the categories, they're not really the person.

I came from a middle-class background. I come from wealth, essentially, and though we didn't have a lavish lifestyle, when I was growing up, my parents now both have a lot of money from inheritance. I put myself through school, so for twelve years I had loans and a twenty hour a week job plus full-time school. That's how I survived, so it was pretty tough. Now, I make a lot of money. I never had money till the last five years, I think of that as a minority experience. Then I'm highly educated, and my parents were very educated people so I had the education and the advantages that that confers - we took trips together, we learned about the world we lived in, also attitudes about books and music and people.

Similarly my mother's mother was a big influence on my life. She was an immigrant from Russia, she worked in a box factory when she was ten to bring oranges home to her family. Through my empathy with her, I can know what those experiences are and I think it brings an advantage of putting the most important values in place. These advantages are in the context of historical forces. We're Jews, so that is something that is never forgotten. That's the point, never forget. My great-grandfather came first as was the custom then and my great-grandmother came with the children, they were chased out. So it was kind of amazing what they did, as all those people. So they live in your experience.

I'm healthy, no physical problems. I even have excellent health. I think there might be a way in which I have come to see being a lesbian as being an advantage, though for many years I thought it was a harsh disadvantage. Now I see it as sort of an access, kind of the mythological tradition of the seer, the gate-keeper, or the one who can play a role that is not in the mainstream, that has an observing point from the edges and can look at what goes on. But that's something that I think I've only come to really experience in the last probably seven years. I'm forty five now. I've been a lesbian, whether I would have called it that or not, since I was eighteen, so a long time of struggle.

Being a woman, I think that's been a disadvantage, in the sense of , you know, fear, size attitudes. For many years I was physically afraid, everybody was larger. And I was very thin so I didn't have the musculature that I have. I wouldn't want to be a man! I think that's horrible! That's worse! In some ways, I think that men are still dominant in many ways, and I experience that a lot, where I just feel outside in groups Where I'm the only

woman analyst for example. There was a part of me, for years back, where I really wanted to be a member of that group. And now I can be and I don't want to be. Can be very painful, it still is in some ways.

Sexual orientation was a disadvantage because I had no role models, I wasn't able to experience in a more vital, integrated way my sexuality as a younger person. I had a strong, internalized homophobia that I didn't know how to recognize as such, so I kept thinking that I didn't know what I wanted, because the false self was divorced from my own experience of being OK, and having no language for that, and then just not having certain experiences. I think it sort of reduced the pool of available partners. It raised a lot of questions about having a family. So there's a lot of experiences that appear to be taken for granted by those who have those privileges and that give a kind of groundedness and sense of trust in the world around them which I couldn't participate in. And now it doesn't look like that to me, now I prefer being an integrated person who is very happy with who I am. I do consider it a part of my identity and one that I want to be very clear about because that's what I know of myself .

I think similarly being Jewish by birth and also now a person who is pretty involved in some Buddhist and Ayurveda thinking, while those are advantages, for example, for my work or for wisdom in this world, or for connecting to people, it's not the mainstream and there is always some kind of disadvantage to not being in the dominant position, as well as some advantage.

I think I have the power that the psychotherapy setting confers, which no-one has ever talked about in my training in an ongoing sense. I have some ambivalence about that. I think I have personal power as I just mature, the power of being myself. And I have the power earning money allows so I can go places. And maybe I have the power of my marginality. I know I'm more comfortable on the margins and so that's going to make me feel more powerful, I don't want to be in those other positions because it's constricting.

My sister died twenty years ago, right after my parents were divorced, that's another disadvantage I think, coming from a divorced family. That was a very difficult time, I kind of had my life stopped for a very significant junction. I then specialized in cancer and death in my work. I think that that gives me power, what I know about death and what I've thought about it and what I've experienced having to go through that at a young age. Experience, that's a kind of power.
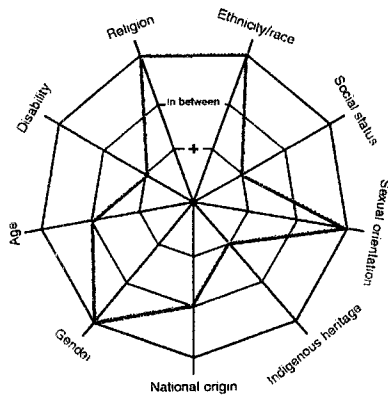
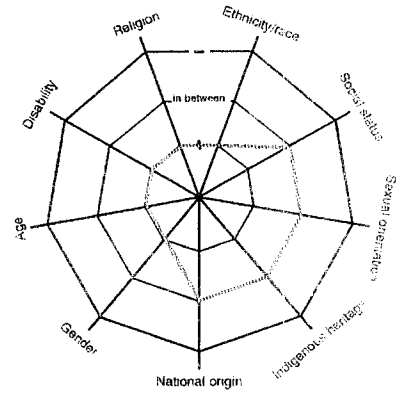**Key metaphors:**

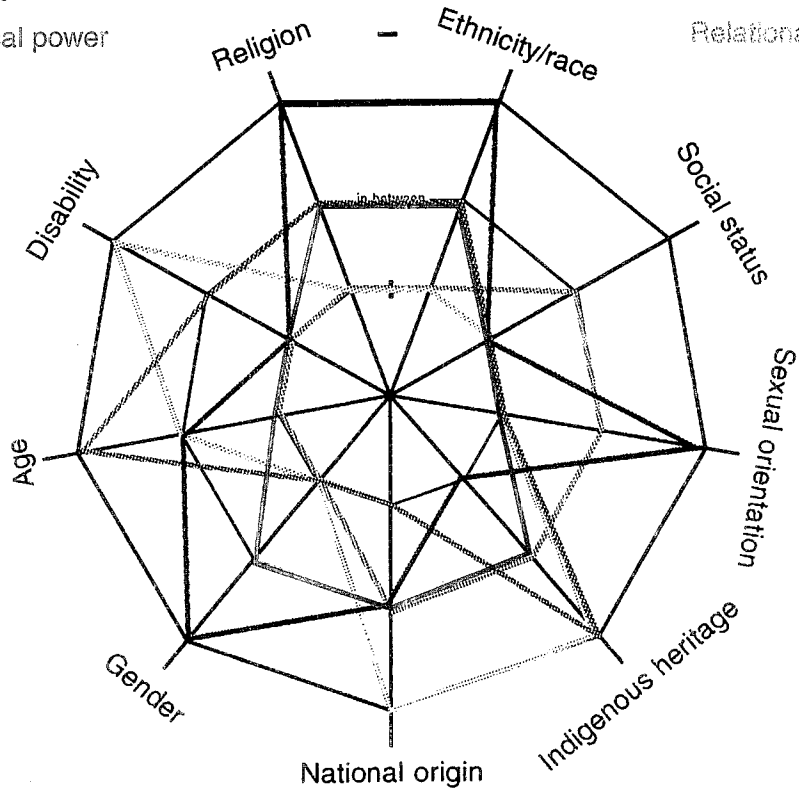*seer / gate-keeper on the margins*

'Vindaloo'
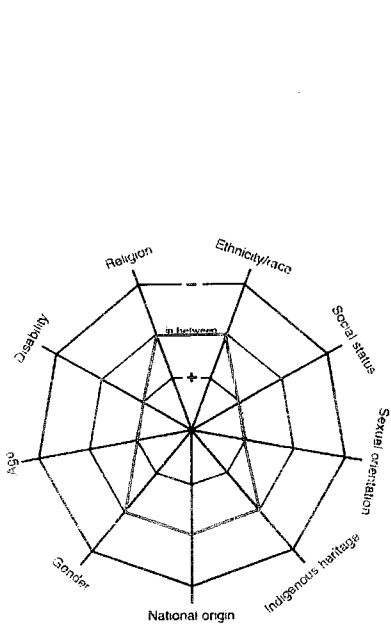
Sociocultural power

Psychological power

Relational power

Composite of 5 web-wheels

Activist power

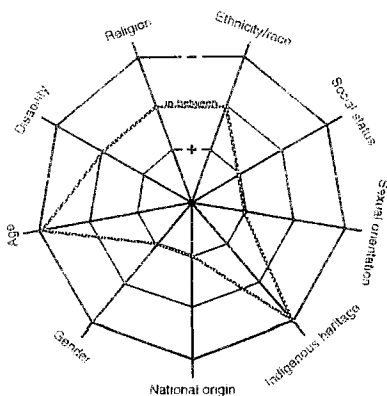Transference power

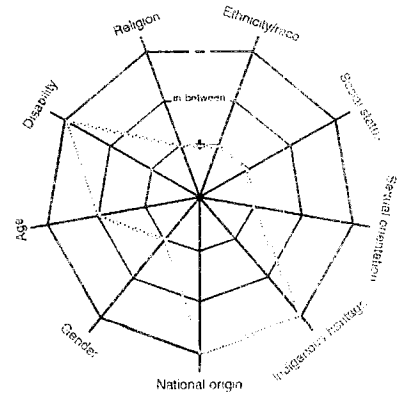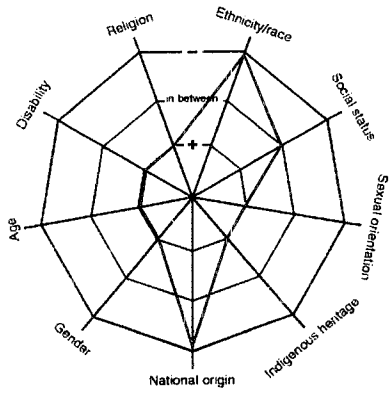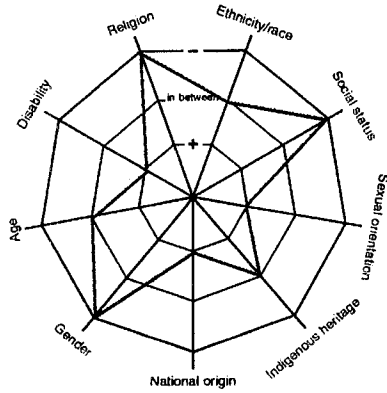# 'Black Bear'

Sociocultural power

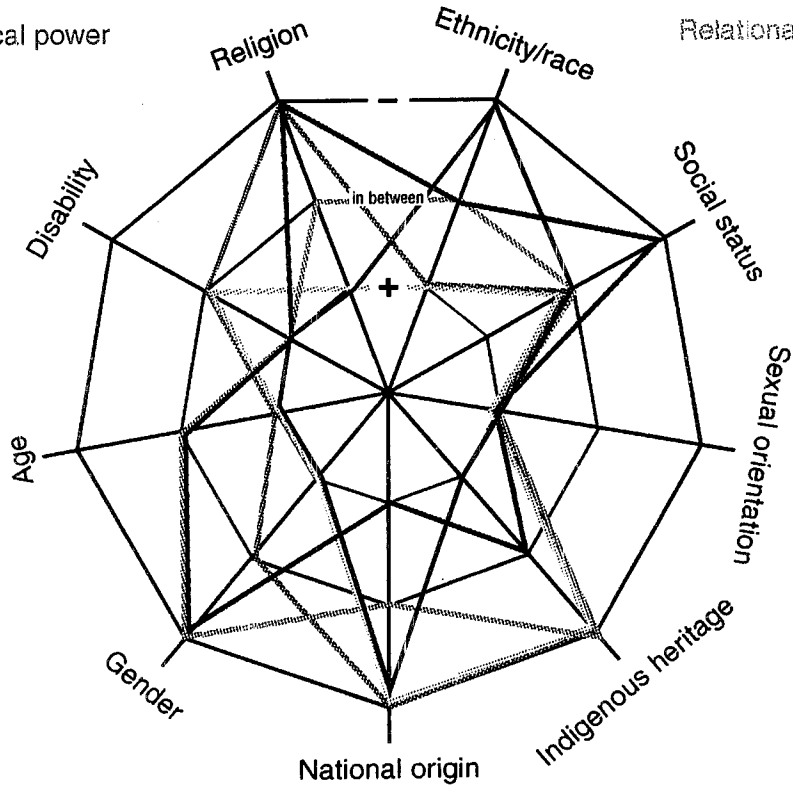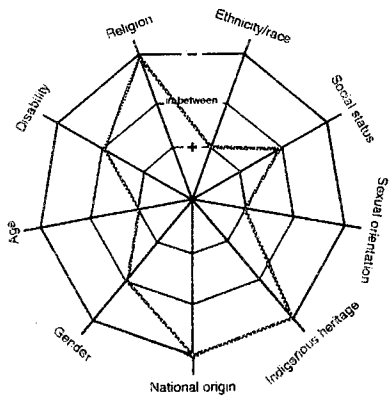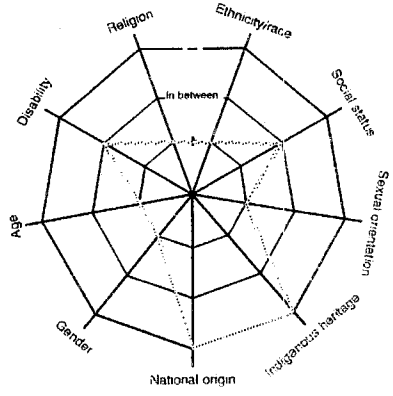Psychological power
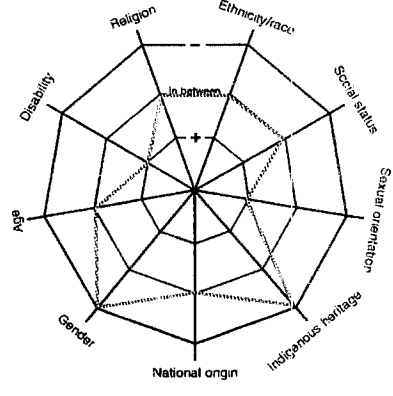
Relational power

Composite of 5 web-wheels

Activist power

Transpersonal power

Black Bear's odyssey

I come from a very mixed background, I was raised as a person of colour and was raised to try to ignore that. My heritage, or whatever my bloodline was, was a problem for my stepmother, the person that probably has had the most influence on my life. Not being able to talk about or be curious about my origins really has served to set me apart and keep me somewhat apart from most everyone. So I feel like I'm a single woman, who is on her own adventure and at times her own odyssey. And I fit in with lots of people. I guess although I can come off really pessimistic, I just go really centred and grounded in my journey, and can be very satisfied with that at times, but I can also just get really shaken up, either in anger or fear, that I'm not connected enough to a social support network, cut off from social support. Whenever I hit that place, I think about the friends that I have, all over the country, because in my adventures I traveled back east and became a part of a very closely-knit community of young people and we did wonderful work together. Any one of them remain friends of the heart and if I ever needed them, I could reach out to them, they would be there for me, and I wouldn't think twice about being there for any one of them.

I still struggle with an over-identification with uniqueness. In the work that I do with women and men who survive very traumatic things in their life, part of their isolation is cutting themselves off because they feel very different, and feeling like in some ways they are damaged goods. And one of the things we try to do is help them realize that the trauma that they survived is not unique, that there are many people who survive such traumas and find a way to transform themselves, in spite of that trauma or in view of that trauma. So trying to break down that sense of uniqueness that I'm the only one who's ever gone through this, no-one can understand me. It is about trying to preserve a sense of uniqueness, I'm so damaged that no-one has been damaged as much as I have. It could be detrimental, I think, to someone finding that place of healing, that place of transformation. I think that's probably what I'm saying, when I talk about my own sense of centredness. I don't talk the lingo much, like the psychotherapeutic lingo. But I do feel very centred and I feel very sure of my journey, and I don't know how many people are interested in that journey, but it's the only journey that I have. And it's me, just straight up.

I am a person of colour. I wouldn't say that it was in the mainstream, but I was raised in a predominantly white community, and people accommodated us. As a child I was called every name in the book, but I still got to go to the white schools. And because we were the minority family, and there were only just a few people of colour in the community, we were accommodated in the community. And so I guess I know how to function in that, to 'pass' in that world. So I feel like I have access to churches, to schools, and just count myself in the roll-call. I've heard 'passing' criticized in the States, when people act like something that they're not. When I worked back east, we worked in communities of colour, and where my white friends and co-workers were very nervous about that, I felt right at home. And I just feel many times the freedom to cross a lot of colour barriers. Because of my own faith beliefs I allow myself to cross a lot of religious barriers too and just being open to people's experience. And I guess that one of my driving values is to include myself and to include others in my circle.

The disadvantage is that although I may cross barriers, that I have such a difficult time feeling apart. I think it's that negative side of that uniqueness that I can work with an Indian agency, but I don't have enough blood quant to be like officially Indian. That I can introduce myself and when people want to know my heritage I can say well, predominantly my bloodline, if you're asking about my bloodline, I'm Filipino and Irish, and people don't want me to be Irish. So that kind of barrier comes down to people wanting to form some recognition about where I come from. Then those barriers do come up. I can give you an example. In church or in the Christian faith or organized religion, people, women might

meet me and they say, "Oh, we want you to work in our Sunday school. We would love it, our young people need you, you know you have so much to offer". But don't become involved with our sons, because of the colour. And it's very real, "Come shop in our stores and spend your money, come to the sale, but because of your colour, you'll be the one that will be followed around". Maddening, and it certainly has had it's painful times, when I was younger and more sensitive and just more vulnerable. That was divisive.

I think my biggest inventory are the privileges that I *don't* have, of not automatically being trusted. I think the greatest privilege for me I give myself, it comes in with my faith beliefs, that's just the hugest privilege for me, is that I can hold my own thoughts, that I can claim my own faith and no-one's going to try to pull that away from me. Just try, you know! And it's mine and people can choose not to be my friend, or choose not to include me, but that doesn't take me out of out of my faith beliefs. They're mine squarely, that's my privilege.

Being able to access education, it comes at a cost, but that's been a privilege too, to be able to go to a college, and to go back again, when I went in to further my studies. I wasn't the best of students but when I decided that I wanted to go to graduate school, that I was able to find a way to go with the occupation of my choosing, with the vocation of my choosing. So faith beliefs, my education, and a privilege to actually go anywhere that I want to go, if I can find a way there, that's a privilege.

My birthright is a privilege, this is my package. When I remember the fifteen year old that I was, I am awed. It was an incredibly dysfunctional family, all of my sibs, older and younger, were living out of the household with these feuding parents and I used the laws of the land to say, "This is not a safe place for me" and to take this package and to put it into transition. And then to say, "I don't want to remain in that same community. If I do, I will give up, I will likely find a person who will batter me. First of all we'll probably fall in love, we'll have children, my partner will batter me, I will be left to raise children on my own, and I can't settle for that, I need to do something healthy and wholesome, and to take myself to a safe place". That ability to make the decision, or ability to make a decision for something better in life, and always to have that option, and to experience other ways of being! I also count it a privilege to have traveled. Friends who never left the little community, just to see that surprise in their eyes that I've been to New York city. Even to be there, but I *lived* there. Also to be able to see the power in adversity, in a different way, rather than just pull yourself up by the bootstraps, that you're out there and enjoying your different experience.

The work that I have chosen to do, it feels so different than what the picture in my head was, and that I need to go in and work for agency and give them the best hours of my day, in and out, and in and out, and so live out my life this way. And I don't think that any Creator's design would have someone go into a place and have a story, write about it, have a story, write about it. I mean the piece that we're missing is going out and renewing the spirit.

Key metaphors of identity:

A single woman, on her own adventure and odyssey
I count myself in the roll-call   I include myself and others in my circle.
Crossing barriers

APPENDIX E

QSR NUD*IST 4 and NVIVO 1.1 OVERVIEW

The two programs are produced by the same software company, QSR Australia. QSR NUD*IST 4.0 is the fourth upgrade of the original qualitative analysis software produced by QSR. QSR NUDIST Vivo, known as Nvivo is a partner product and optional upgrade to NUD*IST 4.0. that became available more recently (May, 1999). Nvivo 1.1, is a technological up-grade that corrects the new software problems of the earlier version.

The acronym NUD*IST set outs out what the program is intended to do - to assist researchers handling Non-numerical Unstructured Data by Indexing, Searching and Theorizing. It has two basic systems, a data document handling system and an indexing system. In the latter, 'nodes' serve as containers to store ideas, coding, and the results of searches. This flexible system consists of free nodes, which allow categories to be created independently of each other, and "tree" nodes, which allow categories to be created as part of a hierarchical structure. The program supports a wide variety of editing, coding and retrieval tasks, and other functions, which are detailed on the QSR web-site (http://www.qsr.com.au).

QSR NUD*IST VIVO is a new development in qualitative software, because it permits the use of rich text. Documents appear in the program as they do in a word processor, adding various visual benefits to the complex array of functions that the program performs. It includes the flexible document and node systems from NUD*IST 4.0. The program is user-friendly and suitable for use with a range of qualitative data analysis methodologies. A detailed presentation of its various functions, and comparison with QSR NUD*IST 4.0 can also be found on the QSR web-site (http://www.qsr.com.au).

My use of these programs was largely as data categorization, storage and retrieval devices. Their capacity to handle large quantities of data efficiently, and their facilitation of coding to multiple categories was useful, and certainly an improvement on manual methods such as card index systems. However, any of the sophisticated functions of the programs were not used, due to my inexperience with them. Mindful of cautions about computer software programs influencing the analysis process of novice users, I tried to stay close to my analytical goals, and to use the software as a tool towards those ends. Nvivo was used in the second phase of the research project because it permitted use of rich text format, was more user-friendly and suited to my methodological approach (for example, there is no minimum text unit in Nvivo, therefore facilitating precise clumping of textual data into meaning units).

APPENDIX F

Index tree in NUDIST 4.0 (Phase I)

(1)Basedata
(2)People
       (2 1)self
       (2 2)family
       (2 3)friends
       (2 4)acquaintances
       (2 5)authorities
       (2 6)nonspecific others
       (2 7)strangers
       (2 8)nature
(3)Relationships
       (3 1)violence
       (3 2)sexuality
       (3 3)conflict
       (3 4)belonging
       (3 5)communication
       (3 6)support-friendship
(4)Events
       (4 1)high salience
       (4 2)traumatic events
(5)Activities
       (5 1)inner-spiritual
       (5 2)work
       (5 3)travel
       (5 4)social-recreational
       (5 5)creative
       (5 6)drug-use
       (5 7)parenting
       (5 8)sexual
       (5 9)activist-political
       (5 11)helping
       (5 12)educational
(6)Place
       (6 1)home
       (6 2)US
       (6 3)workplace
       (6 4)outside US
       (6 5)school
       (6 6)borders
       (6 7)city
       (6 8)shops
       (6 9)neighbourhood
(7)Time-life stages
       (7 1)childhood
       (7 2)adolescence
       (7 3)menopause
(8)Cognitive experience
       (8 1)perceptions
       (8 2)beliefs-opinions
       (8 3)attributes
              (8 3 1)knowledge
              (8 3 3)personality traits
              (8 3 4)sociocultural attributes

(8 4)reactions
    (8 4 1)positive
    (8 4 2)negative
(9)affective experience
(9 1)emotions
(9 2)Altered states
(9 3)Extreme states
(10)Physiological experience
(11)Dreaming-future experience
    (11 1)hopes, dreams, wishes
    (11 2)goals
(12)Cultural influence
    (12 1)age
    (12 2)disability
    (12 3)religion
    (12 4)ethnicity
    (12 5)social status
    (12 6)sexual orientation
    (12 7)indigenous heritage
    (12 8)national origin
    (12 9)gender
    (12 10)most-least experience and information
(13)Power
    (13 1)zones of power
        (13 1 1)centre
        (13 1 2)margin
        (13 1 3)limen
    (13 2)Dimensions of power
        (13 2 1)personal-psychological
        (13 2 2)personal-relational
        (13 2 3)democratic-activist
        (13 2 4)transpersonal
        (13 2 5)sociocultural
(14)Process
    (14 1)comparison
    (14 2)paradox
    (14 3)change
    (14 4)contrast
    (14 5)state
(15)Frames of self-reference
    (15 1)self
    (15 2)relational
    (15 3)social
(16)Interview
    (16 1)I-R relationship
    (16 2)response style

APPENDIX G

Use of web-wheels in a classroom context

Course : "Societal influence on professional practice".
Class: "Power and Marginality"
Portland State University, 10/15/99

I was invited by Dr. Carole Morgaine, Associate Professor in Child and Family Studies, at Portland State University, to present a class on my research, as part of her course, "Societal Influence on Professional Practice". The two-hour class was held on November 15th, 1999. Cultural diversity reflected in the class composition included: 2 men and 8 women, 3 people of colour (African-American, Japanese, and Latina), one student had Native American heritage. None had a visible disability. Ages were in the 20s to 40s. During the class, several students made reference to having working class background, or being currently poor. Heterosexual and lesbian orientations were acknowledged. Religious orientations were unclear, although some were Christian.

I presented a brief introduction to my research, including an overview of theoretical concepts, focus, framework and method.

The practical part of the class centred on use of the web-wheel diagrams. I introduced the concept of the web-wheel, the five different dimension of power they represent, and instructions on how to fill them out. The students were each given copies of the five web-wheels, and invited to fill them out. Discussion on the various areas of cultural influence and dimensions of power took place before, during and after this task. Feedback on the class was obtained in a subsequent class, or arose in spontaneous conversations between the professor and various students.

Dr. Morgaine's letter of appreciation is included below. It details her impressions of the class and the practical utility of the web-wheel for engendering discussion and raising awareness about cultural diversity, power and related areas.

PORTLAND STATE UNIVERSITY

November 5, 1999

Lee Spark Jones
2237 NE 8th
Portland, Oregon 97212

Dear Ms. Jones,

I want to thank you for presenting your research to my Child and Family Studies class, "Sociological Influences on Professional Practice" at Portland State University. As you are aware, my students are considering the links between societal institutions, the development of their personal values, beliefs, and assumptions, and their emerging professional practices. Obviously their own personal experiences with "marginalization" will have deeply influenced their perspectives.
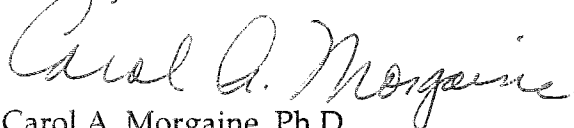
After your presentation, my students and I discussed what they had learned. They indicated that they had never thought too much about marginalization prior to your presentation. Most stated that they had never considered themselves marginalized but your presentation changed that! They gave examples of how they were considering the various areas of their lives and the ways in which societal notions of preference had influenced them. They could clearly identify areas of marginalization. They also indicated that the "web-wheels" were extremely helpful in pointing out the ways in which societal institutions promote incongruent values, beliefs, and assumptions. They could see that these incongruencies could easily marginalize individuals.

As the class proceeds, we will be spending some time discussing personal biases, institutionalized prejudices and the impact of both on professional practice. I'm expecting that the ideas you presented and the discussions that followed will serve as a wonderful foundation for considering this very sensitive area.

As a research, myself, I found your ideas and concepts to be particularly interesting. My own study involves exploring the ways in which people are socialized to accept, maintain, and perpetuate marginalizing systems. I know that I will use your research to enhance my own in the future.

Thanks you so much for taking the time to come and present your research to this class. I expect to invite you back--the next time I teach the class.

Sincerely,

Carol A. Morgaine, Ph.D.
Associate Professor, Child and Family Studies

December 7, 1999

Lee Spark Jones
2237 NE 8th Avenue
Portland, OR 97212

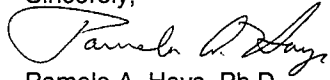![ANTIOCH UNIVERSITY logo]

Dear Lee:

The purpose of this letter is to document my feedback to you regarding your dissertation. First of all, I have to say that during our initial phone conversation, I was very impressed with the breadth of your reading and the depth of thought that you brought to this topic. As a full-time faculty member in a graduate psychology program, I talk daily with students and colleagues about multiculturalism, identity, privilege, and oppression. However, I rarely meet individuals who have acquired the level of understanding you have regarding these topics (even more rarely, a person of Euroamerican or European heritage). So, it was delightful to meet someone with whom I could immediately have a peer-level discussion of this field of study.

Subsequently, I was even more impressed when you shared with me the work you had done extending and expanding my ADDRESSING framework. Your attention to the cultural nature of identity is "cutting-edge" in psychology, particularly in the applied area of multicultural counseling. As you know, the bulk of multicultural psychological research still assumes that privilege and oppression are mutually exclusive concepts. Not only have you challenged this assumption, you have also offered an alternative. Your Web-Wheel is innovative, and provides a comprehensible model for exploring the various meanings of diverse identities, without losing their complexities.

As you know, I use the ADDRESSING framework in my Multicultural Psychology course to facilitate students' explorations of their own identities and the impact of these identities and related cultural influences on their work with clients. The next time I teach the course, I plan to incorporate your Web-Wheel into the course content. I can see that it would be a helpful method for encouraging students to also consider the different *kinds* of power they may experience (i.e., psychological, relational, activist, and transpersonal), as you describe. In addition, your Web-Wheel diagram adds a less-linear way of looking at one's identity, which I think students would find both stimulating and fun.

I encourage you to submit your work for publication as soon as possible. I have no doubt that you will be able to publish it in a respected journal. I also hope that you may think about turning your results into a book. I look forward to see your work in such a format!

Sincerely,

Pamela A. Hays, Ph.D.
Core Faculty, Graduate Psychology Program