HOW DO COUNSELLING PSYCHOLOGISTS TALK ABOUT DOING THERAPY WITH WORKING CLASS CLIENTS IN AN IAPT SETTING? A FOUCAULDIAN DISCOURSE ANALYSIS.

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the Doctorate in Counselling Psychology at London Metropolitan University

By

Delia Gallo

Student number: 14003304

School of Psychology Faculty of Social Sciences London Metropolitan University March 2020

Declaration

I hereby declare that the work submitted in this dissertation is fully the result of my own investigation, except where otherwise stated.

Name: Delia Gallo

Date: 2/4/2020

Acknowledgements:

I would like to thank my supervisor Dr Angela Loulopoulou for her guidance and exceptional support throughout the research process. Also my first supervisor at the start of the process, Dr Isabel Henton.

It feels important to thank the entire course team at the university for giving me the opportunity to do this and for their inspirational teaching, warmth, and encouragement. So thank you again Dr Angela Loulopoulou, and Dr Alex Cross, Dr Catherine Athanasiadou Lewis and Dr Philip Hayton.

Thank you to my family and friends who helped with childcare and supported me all the way through in many ways, too many to mention by name.

Thank you to my sons Özdemir and Savaş, we did it.

And to my participants, thank you.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER THREE: ANALYSIS

CHAPTER FOUR: DISCUSSION

Abstract

Background: Class is a topic that is increasingly being explored within Counselling Psychology. Within IAPT settings a proportion of clients seen are from working class backgrounds, some of whom may be living in poverty.

Rationale: There is a gap in the research around how counselling psychologists construct doing therapy with working class clients, and class based issues more widely.

Method: Semi structured interviews were conducted with five counselling psychologists with experience in, or currently working in, IAPT settings. The interviews were analysed using Foucauldian discourse analysis, which takes into account structural hierarchies beyond the text.

Findings: 3 main discourses emerged from the data: *'class is seen and heard, but not talked or thought about', 'intrusion of poverty'* and *'mind the gap'*. These discourses were explored in their historical and political contexts in line with FDA principles. Each discourse has implications for counselling psychologists, their working class clients, and wider society.

Introduction:

Social class is defined as 'a system of classifying the population according to social status' (Oxford,2019) and seems to be under researched and discussed in the counselling psychology field, especially in comparison to other forms of diversity.

Class position is linked to power, social status, culture and economic position, income, wealth and assets, housing and education, with a marked class gradient in the UK between the richest and the poorest (Pilgrim, 2010).

In recent years there has been a greater interest in class position as an influence in the therapy room, however gender, race, sexuality and disability, as they relate to counselling in practice, have been more widely researched (Pilgrim, 2006). Yet as Kearney (1996) a counsellor based in the UK, has argued, class position and socio economic status are a major influence on how a person may view themselves and how they view the world around them, as well as how they are viewed by others and experiences they go through. Kearney (1996) uses the example that a black middle class male will have more experiences in common with a middle class white male than with a working class black male.

Pilgrim (2006), a professor with a clinical psychology background, suggests that people living in poverty, the vast majority of who are working class (Kearney, 1996) are more likely to end their own lives, present with anxiety and depression, and drug or alcohol addiction. Liu (2013) a US based counselling psychologist, argues that economic privilege can protect against environmental circumstances that are linked to trauma, for example living in a violent area, and having material resources is linked to power and societal approval. However, in a UK survey aiming to examine public attitudes to tackling inequality, it was found that 69% believed in equality of opportunity, and that motivation would lead to success (Bamfield and Horton, 2009).

In Britain, discourses linking benefit claimants with laziness and poor parenting are reproduced in the popular press, often left unchallenged in mainstream discourses, constructing those living in poverty as being to blame for problems in society, with the effect that they can become a target for discrimination (Jones, 2012). An article by journalist Amanda Platell proclaimed "it's shabby values, not class, that are to blame for society's ills" (Daily Mail, 2010). Hierarchal

inequalities are dismissed as talk about class is often about the culture of the poor (Bottero, 2009).

The introduction of Improving Access to Psychological Therapies (IAPT) in 2006 came about as a result of the Layard report (Layard, 2006) which suggested that work is beneficial for mental health issues such as anxiety and depression, and that investing in talking therapies will drive down the amount spent on incapacity benefits. The Government invested heavily in IAPT and there are plans to see 1.9 million clients a year in IAPT by 2024 (Clark, 2019). One criticism of the IAPT model is that is aids people to use therapeutic tools to adjust to their life circumstances, rather than addressing and challenging social injustice (Smail, 2005). Pilgrim (2006) holds the view that therapists themselves can be responsible for class discrimination, by not accepting that they have political responsibility. There is growing debate in counselling psychology about social justice engagement, what it may mean for professional identity and for clients.

The following review will introduce the concept of class, discuss and critique literature relating to class based issues in the UK, and professional perspectives on class from the fields of feminist psychology, community psychology. The engagement of counselling psychology with issues around diversity and social justice in the US and UK will be reviewed, and the review ends with in depth discussion and critique of studies relating to social class and the therapeutic relationship. Although this research is based in the UK and concerns the UK class system and UK services, I have included several studies from the US in the review. This is due to more research being conducted in the US around class and poverty within counselling psychology and related psychological disciplines.

CHAPTER ONE

CRITICAL LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1 Relevance of the topic to counselling psychology:

The British Psychological Society defines counselling psychology as "a distinctive profession...it pays particular attention to the meanings, beliefs, context and processes that are constructed both within and between people and which affect the psychological wellbeing of the person (Orlans and Van Scoyoc, 2009 p. 18). In addition, the BPS professional practice guidelines (BPS, 2005) encourage psychologists to promote social inclusion and empower clients to achieve social goals. Counselling psychologists are trained in issues around diversity and are committed to engaging with the whole person, clients' experiences and their potential (Strawbridge and Woolfe, 2010). However, class is an aspect of difference that has not been prioritised either in counselling psychology or in applied psychological research as a whole. The third edition of the Handbook of Counselling Psychology has a chapter on cross cultural counselling psychology (Eleftheriadou, 2010) but it focuses on race and ethnicity with no mention of class specifically. The fourth edition, again while engaging with difference and diversity and containing a chapter on this, has no mention of class either.

Moller (2011) in a comment paper for the UK Counselling Psychology Review, argues that in Britain, counselling psychology has not carved out an identity for itself that is relevant in a real world context. The underlying philosophy of phenomenology and humanistic values is one way the profession distinguishes itself from related disciplines, but this philosophy is hard to define in practice. Moller (2011) suggests that embracing diversity is the right direction for counselling psychology to take, as it would enable a special expertise and have a practical, socially relevant effect. In an important counselling psychology text, Therapy and Beyond, Rafalin (2009) states that counselling psychology is well placed to encourage professional change by challenging dominant discourses of difference, and disrupting the status quo. Combined with an explicit social justice agenda, as advocated in recent theses by Cutts (2013) and Hore (2014) the UK profession could begin to engage with and improve the social conditions that contribute to poor mental health, in a way that empowers rather than discriminates.

1.2 Class in the UK

"It remains a generally held belief, not just in Britain but around the world, that class, like the weather and the monarchy, is a peculiarly and particularly British preoccupation" (Cannadine, 2000, p.1)

According to Cannadine (2000) the British have visualised society as class based for centuries, and this is very enduring. Karl Marx developed a class based account categorising people according to means of production, with landowners gaining income through rent, the bourgeois capitalists who made profits through business, and the proletariat who sold labour in exchange for wages, but did not own assets or land. Marx believed there would be a revolution and that labourers would develop an awareness of their position. However, although there have been conflicts in the 20th century, such as the miners strikes in the 70's and 80's, there has never been a complete overthrow of the ruling classes (Jones and Novak, 1999). Since the 80's, industries declined, trade unions hold less political influence, and the Labour party no longer stood for working class identity and purpose.

Traditional, structural theories of class attempt to categorise society into working, middle and upper classes, largely dependent on occupation (Townsend, 1979) with the upper middle class consisting of professionals such as lawyers and doctors, and the working class made up of manual workers, divided into skilled and unskilled. This way of categorising class developed from a need to group people by occupation for taxation purposes in the 1600's (Skeggs, 2009).

More recently, the Great British Class Survey (2013) was commissioned by the BBC with about 160000 people taking part. This survey identified that there were seven classes: a new class structure emerging apart from high, middle and working classes. The elite class own the top 6% of wealth and have high economic capital, the middle class can be divided into established and technical, with high or medium economic capital, and the working class can be divided into traditional, with poor economic capital but some housing assets, and the 'precariat', who experience multiple deprivations and lead 'precarious lives' (Savage, 2015). This work touches on the ideas of French sociologist Bourdieu (1984) who identified social capital, for example the contacts that people have, and cultural capital (being able to engage in cultural activities and norms) as well as economic capital. These different types of capital effect how advantaged a person could be in society, for example those with high social capital (identified

as the elite and established middle class) knowing many professionals, could use these contacts to gain advantage in their careers. As Dorling (2014) has suggested, class can no longer be categorised solely through occupation, multiple class identities are now possible, for example someone with a degree can work in a call centre earning low wages.

Bottero (2004) in an article from within the discipline of sociology, discusses work from class theorists such as Savage (2000) who has argued that class is much more significant structurally than it is for developing a collective identity, and that people are likely to define themselves in comparison to members of social classes than in similarity to those around them. Rather than this signifying what Pakulski and Waters (1996) term the "death of class" (which suggests that individualisation of society has removed the relationship between economic factors and class identity) it represents a shift in the way class operates in everyday practice.

Dorling (2014) has argued that other European countries have overcome older class systems and restrictions to a much greater extent than in Britain, with social mobility being lower in the UK than the rest of Europe, and income inequalities higher. Revolutions that happened in Europe and further afield, such as in Japan, disrupted class systems, yet this did not happen in Britain. Dorling further states it is easier to reduce class division when it's based mainly on income, as is the case in Europe, whereas in the UK, divisions are also tied up in dress, accent, ethnicity and other personal factors, and Europeans can think that the British are "obsessed" with social class.

In addition, there is the question of where recent immigrants and ethnic minorities fit into the concept of classes in the UK. Shaheen and Ohagan (2017) argue that we either tend to think about race and racism or the white working class, with minorities being framed outside of a class identity, which can divide communities and undermine solidarity. Class based issues are not just centred on socio economic status inequality, but voice and social status inequality, and Khan and Shaheen (2017) have argued we should care about the intersection of race and class because anger about inequality becomes about whiteness as working class groups are pitched against each other for resources (Sveinsson, 2009), for example social housing (Garner, 2009).

In the US, critical psychologists argue that in Western capitalist societies, class position is understood as a consequence of individual lifestyle choices, and that

working hard will be rewarded, which masks "systemic class based power differences" (Bullock and Limbert, 2009 p. 216). They state that mainstream psychology ignores the influence of class on human behaviour, and therefore reinforces and legitimises hierarchies in society. The critical psychology perspective treats "class as a form of social, economic and political dominance" (p. 219) where middle and upper classes retain power over working classes and the poor, partly through everyday messages that are reproduced in society, including through the media. Support for this comes from talk around class issues after a speech by Harriet Harman in 2008 at a trade union conference, where she called for action on class inequality (Sveinsson, 2009). In response the media emphasised the death of class, and an opposition party member stated that "class is outdated and distracts from the real issues facing people in this country today" (Sveinsson, 2009). Cannadine (2000) states that class is often disregarded by historians and politicians, but is still very much a part of life in Britain, resonating widely.

Issues around class and social injustices have been taken up within the field of feminist psychology, with practising feminist counsellors, while using counselling skills in their practice, being critical of traditional forms of therapy for putting too much emphasis on the individual (Costigan, 2004). The perspective taken is that womens problems arise from the social context of being low in socio economic status compared to males, and that society is as equally responsible as the individual (Costigan, 2004). These approaches show that psychology can address social issues such as class inequality, patriarchy and other forms of oppression, but they are not widely researched or acknowledged in the mainstream.

Skeggs (1997) studied working class women using ethnography. She argues that class for these women was experienced through exclusion, and that many of them refused to identify as working class, with the category perceived as having negative connotations with dirt, lack of respectability and having low value. Many of the women were concerned with self improvement and respectability, and wanted to establish themselves as middle class. Skeggs argued that distancing is an effect of representations of class through history, and personal experiences of being positioned by others. "The middle class gaze" was felt by these women, who were aware of being in a position where they were judged by a more powerful "other". This valuable work emphasises how people can internalise powerful and stigmatising messages about themselves, and is relevant to the work

of counselling psychologists who work with low self esteem and self criticism, often within an individualised framework.

Nelson and Prillettensky (2005) describe community psychology as highlighting "the psychological damage done through living in those societies...which are characterised by asymmetrical power relations and distribution of resources, underpinning processes of oppression" (Nelson et al, 2005 p.485). Kagan, Tindall and Robinson (2010) are community counselling psychologists, and advocate for a social justice agenda, including the awareness of social context in the development of mental health issues, and the need for empowerment of clients with limited resources through liaising with agencies who can help with practical matters. This work is hopeful that there is a way to incorporate a social justice agenda in a practical way within therapy, however caution is needed that therapists do not assume working class people need practical help only, as Smith (2005) argues that this can be an attitudinal barrier psychologists develop when they feel their input cannot scratch the surface of the clients' problems.

1.3 Social justice:

It seems important to discuss social justice as a factor in class based research, because of the strong link between class and poverty, as well as associated poor living conditions for those who could be described as poor lower working class. These social conditions can lead to class based traumas that are brought into the therapy room, especially in services such as IAPT. Appio, Chambers and Mao (2013) argue that therapists unaware of the poor living conditions and stressors that lower working class people live with on a daily basis can inadvertently endorse middle class values and experiences, and thereby devalue clients and re-enact class based trauma and oppression.

In the UK, there has been a recent social justice movement initiated by a group of practitioner psychologists, originally against the austerity measures introduced in 2010. They identified five ailments of austerity, humiliation and shame, fear and distrust, instability and insecurity, isolation and loneliness, and being trapped and powerless. These ailments affect the poorest members of our society. They aim to mobilise psychologists to action, disseminate psychological knowledge and influence policy, and they regularly campaign and engage with politics (Psychologists for Social Change, 2014).

Beth Hore (2014) conducted Foucauldian discourse analysis to explore how counselling psychologists construct their responsibilities to the wider world. Discourses identified were the Professionalism discourse, the Scientific discourse, the Social Activism discourse and the Guru discourse. The interviewees identified as members of a profession and as being responsible for upholding the integrity of their colleagues and professional body. Fellow counselling psychologists were constructed as having a choice as to whether they take up social justice agendas, with non activists described as having less impact, but being more acceptable, and activist psychologists as being possibly offensive, but more concerned with the interests of others. Counselling psychologists were constructed as being particularly insightful, and the profession itself as being special.

Vermes (2017) critiques the profession for not challenging adverse social conditions, but for helping people cope with them. She argues that counselling psychologists are trained to adhere to a political agenda of advocating responsibility for distress on the individual, and that while this is the case, the causes of inequalities are left unaddressed. There is a suggestion that in order to change the situation meaningfully, counselling psychologists be trained to fight social inequalities directly through work. This brings up some important points in that although social justice is touched upon in training, it is true to say that individualism remains the focus. Counselling psychology could differentiate itself from other applied psychologies if it were to actively engage in this area.

This work adds to a growing body of research calling for greater social justice awareness amongst psychologists in the UK. There is an attempt to explore why counselling psychologists have not pushed forward with a social justice agenda, and by making the social constraints explicit, there is scope for change. What is interesting about this work is how the discourses produced can be linked to what Foucault called the regulatory gaze (Hawthorn, 2013) where subjects, in this case psychologists, take up subject positions of being professional and upholding the image of counselling psychology, to the point where anything not mainstream is constructed as possibly offensive.

1.4 Improving Access to Psychological Therapies

1.4.1 The emergence of IAPT

Debates around health and the effects of unemployment on health first started in the 1930's, when concerns around benefit fraud started to be expressed. Discourses centred around the consequences of being unemployed for mental health with studies being undertaken to examine families responses to unemployment such as becoming resigned, unbroken, despairing and apathetic (Welshman, 2006). There was increasing scrutiny of applications for sickness payments, with one study carried out by the Department of Health in Glasgow concluding that in 33% of cases the cause for being unable to work was "psychoneurotic" with anxiety/depression occurring shortly after loss of employment with a gradual "adaption to a new and debased level of life" (Welshman, 2006, p. 40). Being on welfare led to a lack of motivation, and isolation, and became linked to the new concept of feeble mindedness (Obrien, 2015).

Fairclough (2000) conducted a study of the language New Labour were using, and said social exclusion from mainstream society was discoursed as a state people were in, rather than as a result of social policy. In addition, because the underclass was positioned as lacking in motivation, it allowed justification for Government to step in and alter these cultural deficiencies through a sense of compassion. The welfare state would provide if genuinely needed, but not encourage and enable, because the problem was not so much poverty itself, but fatalism (Welshman, 2006) and dependency. So welfare increased distress and decreased happiness.

The Mental Health policy group at the London School of Economics published the Layard report in 2006, advocating for psychological therapies to be made more widely available, with a focus on treatments for mild to moderate depression and anxiety, arguing that they were "the biggest causes of anxiety and depression in Britain today" and that there are evidence based therapies "that enable people to build on the positive side of their personalities and situations". Cost of treatment would pay for itself by reducing absenteeism and returning people to work, suggesting that the treatment of one person would pay for itself if they worked for an additional month as a result. After initial trialling at 2 pilot sites in Newham and Doncaster, and finding that outcomes measures demonstrated that evidence from research was borne out in practice, the IAPT

initiative was rolled out across the UK. People who previously would have been placed on long waiting lists were able to access therapy on the NHS.

Shaw & Taplin (2007) analysed the Layard report and critique Layard's approach, stating that the IAPT model medicalises social problems, being based on an illness model of depression and anxiety being viewed as conditions that can be diagnosed and treated. They argue that structural inequalities and social circumstances are not taken into account, and that therapy cannot replace a sense of community.

The Depression Report (Layard, 2006) was also critiqued for relying on statistics from the DWP that 40% of people on incapacity benefits have mental illness as their primary reason for claiming (Hall and Marziller, 2009). These figures were based on self report rather than psychiatric assessment, with no consideration of co morbidity, or of physical health issues, so that depression and anxiety are treated in isolation, which may not be sufficient for an individual to return to work. In addition, the applicability of randomised controlled trials to predict outcomes in clinical practice was overestimated as participants in RCTs are carefully selected and would not necessarily represent the complexities of clients that are most likely to be receiving incapacity benefits (Hall et al, 2009).

Cairns (2014) examined reasons for clients re referring to IAPT services and found that clients with multiple issues, who had difficult and complex histories, and those with social problems were most likely to re refer. Lees (2016) argues that IAPT is managed care from a top down, policy driven from highest level, rather than bottom up which would take practitioner experience into account. The top down approach masks political and social contexts that clients are caught up in.

There is also the issue of staff wellbeing to take into account. An annual survey of wellbeing of IAPT and secondary care staff showed stress, depression and feelings of failure are common, that bullying and the pressure of targets are significant issues and that staff sometimes feel they are protecting the clients from the organisation (Jackson, 2019). Staff reported that for clients living in poor areas, and for asylum seekers, targets are less likely to be achieved and those clients are deemed non responsive after just 6 sessions. This had a very worrying impact on staff sense of integrity and ethics. Rosemary Rizq, a counselling psychologist and psychoanalytic psychotherapist, argues that the IAPT agenda, especially the neoliberal philosophy underpinning it, promotes anxiety in staff as

they are needing to deliver "ever better clinical outcomes for ever more complex clients (Rizq, 2020). She states that that for clients using mental health services, relationship has been replaced by transaction and that this can undermine trust in institutions. For working class clients in poverty, this point could be particularly salient and what should be considered a safe space could feel like another institution among many in their lives.

1.4.2 Class issues and IAPT

McLeod (2003) has similarly argued that when counsellors do not take the oppressive experiences of their clients into account, they are complicit in social rejection. This is not to suggest that individual practitioners do not care about the social context of their clients, or consciously blame them, but as Johnstone and Dallos (2006) suggest, powerful discourses are in operation that can legitimise inequalities, while discourses that disrupt these become pathologised and are silenced.

Unfortunately, at the time of writing there is no specific mention of class or socio economic status in IAPT policy literature. IAPT documents mention that to reduce social exclusion, particular attention should be paid to ensuring BAME people, the elderly, those with medically unexplained symptoms, people with learning disabilities, veterans, LGBT people, and those with long term health conditions can access services, and there are special interest groups relating to these (UEA, 2008). There is mention of therapists being aware of age, culture, disability, ethnicity, gender, religion and sexuality (Cox, 2014). Class, a construction that differentiates people in the UK, and the correlate of poverty, are missing. It could be argued that ignoring it in official documents diverts attention from the class inequalities that exist in many of the communities in which IAPT services are based.

I would argue that although there is an acknowledgement that most psychologists are interested in client welfare and have empathy for clients struggling with social issues, if discussion around unspoken IAPT policies is limited, then capacity for change is also limited.

In the UK, a study was conducted by the Destress Project (2019) with the aim of exploring the medicalisation of social problems such as poverty. Residents in 2

urban sites with high uptake of benefits participated through individual interviews and focus groups. Three narratives emerged that influenced the way residents experienced and responded to mental distress. The neoliberal narrative around individual responsibility led to feelings of guilt, there was a shame narrative around not contributing to society which led to fear of judgement and avoidance of asking for help, as well as a narrative around medicalisation of distress. Participants reported feeling blamed in interactions with professionals and workers who they thought would help them. Moralising was most frequent from job centre staff, health and social workers, and schools. The welfare system was considered dehumanising, including having to work 'voluntarily' in order to prove commitment to wanting a job. Work capability assessments were reported as traumatic and some participants had self harmed or felt suicidal after experiencing them. People who did not want tablets for depression were forced to take them as a diagnosis of mental health issues was necessary to access benefits. Opinions around IAPT therapy specifically were that there were many barriers to access such as being on zero hour contracts, childcare issues, and waiting times. There were also problems with the one size fits all approach, lack of emotional connections with therapists, and lack of understanding of social issues.

Thurston, McMeekin, Walton and Proctor (2019) interviewed 9 clients who found CBT to be unhelpful for them. Reasons included homework being too hard, questioning therapist's empathy and commitment, unhelpful IAPT processes such as outcome measures, and physical health, mental health and psychosocial barriers, including feeling too depressed to engage with CBT.

This research is invaluable as it provides guidance for therapists and psychological organisations on how those in poverty really feel about services offered to them, that they may not feel able to openly express in the room with their therapist, but that they may demonstrate by dropping out. It could open up conversations about classed understandings of help, perceptions of professional distance and boundaries, as well as provide a starting point for what practical changes could be made within services.

Cox (2014) in a thesis for an clinical psychology doctorate in the UK, used discursive psychology influenced by Parker (1992) and Foucauldian discourse analysis to explore how distress in relation to the social world was constructed in an IAPT service. Supervision sessions between three clinical psychologists, nine CBT therapists and their supervisors were recorded. Discourses identified within

the sessions were firstly: 'Diagnosis: Unsafe certainty?' where diagnostic categories were presented as valid, 'Mental health problems are a result of dysfunctional living', where participants talked as if measuring clients against ideal social norms relating to employment, resilience and relationships, even though they attempted to distance themselves from their statements throughout. Within the discourse of 'Problems are created by families and must be solved by the individual', clients were constructed as having responsibility for making their own choices. Frustrations with the limitations of IAPT were voiced here. Finally, 'There is no such thing as society?' In this discourse, culture is briefly touched on by one supervisor who suggests the therapist brings it up with the client, however the therapist changes the topic to practical matters around extending sessions if culture is to be discussed.

This work brings up original findings on how tensions are managed between the IAPT framework and IAPT therapy in practice. Class did not come up as a separate point for discussion, perhaps because of the clients that were being discussed, or perhaps because the topic is 'unknowable' (Lau, 2014). When there was mention of unemployment, it was constructed as a consequence of the client's presentation, rather than as a social stressor that could affect his mental health negatively. The discourses identified by the researcher, as well as what factors were avoided, can recreate inequalities and function to blame the individual for a societal problem. The voices of clients are not present here, and we do not know how and if therapeutic relationships are impacted by the tensions alluded to in supervision. What is apparent is that despite the work being recent, and clinical psychologists increasingly being trained in cultural awareness, there is limited questioning of dominant societal discourses among participants in this study.

1.5: What's the difference?

BPS counselling psychology guidelines for practice state that practitioners should be competent in working with difference (BPS, 2017), and the point is made by Parritt (2016) that the therapeutic relationship does not take place "within a cultural or political vacuum" (p. 198).

Collins (2012) used critical discourse analysis to study notions of difference in counselling psychologists talk. Eight participants were interviewed and three concepts were used to analyse the data, interpretive repertoires (a collections of ways that can be picked up to describe or evaluate), ideological dilemmas

(common sense beliefs and practices operating in a society) and subject positions, where people take up discourses and come to personify them.

Differences were talked about as contrasting between natural and socially constructed, with contradictions and movement between both explanations. The main aspect of difference that was brought up in interviews was race. Differences were constructed as negative because they could interfere with the therapeutic endeavour. In some cases, difference was constructed as not being an issue, as all people share similarities. There was some fear in talking about difference, and defences were in operation against coming across as prejudiced, with an element of fear of causing offence.

This work highlights the complexities that counselling psychologists are faced with when balancing between their personal and professional identities, and with negotiating differences in their practice. It is notable that in this work, race was the focus, possibly because the researcher was different in this aspect to the majority of the participants, leading participants to touch on this in their interviews. Gender, sexuality and religion were also touched upon, but class was missing in the talk of these participants, despite it being one of the 'big seven' stigmatised groups discussed in Moodley and Lubin (2008).

The psychotherapist Ringrose (2010) cites Crocker (1993) who has stated that differences that cannot be hidden, such as skin colour, are more debilitating than differences which can be concealed. I would argue that in some instances class differences cannot be concealed, and the social markers of accent and dress style could be triggers for prejudicial attitudes. For example, research indicates that social class can be perceived by brief speech, and can effect the hiring process. Speech includes linguistic data for example tone, rhythm and pronunciation, with speech being compared to the ideal standard encouraged by educational and cultural norms (Kraus, Tan and Won Park, 2017). Class perception is especially influenced by word pronunciation, as this is less controlled than the content of what is said. Accents also trigger social stereotypes. There is little research into this in the UK, despite the hierarchy of accents here alongside our class hierarchy. A survey of employers in 2006 found that 76% of respondents admitted discrimination on the basis of accent, with only 3% of respondents treating accent as a protected characteristic (Accent bias Britain.org). In regards to dress, a study by Oh, Shafir and Todorov (2020) found that class perceptions can arise in the

first tenth of a second of meeting someone, with higher quality clothes wearers deemed more competent than the same person wearing lower quality clothes.

Again, in the context of race, Laszloffy & Hardy (2000) have argued that a lot of white people do not interact with large numbers of black people, or interact on a deep level, so do not learn what they view as important. As Proctor (2000) has stated, clients are likely to be poorer than their therapists, and from working class roots. In an IAPT setting based in an economically deprived area, this is especially likely to be the case. How many middle class counselling psychologists have spent time with or developed relationships outside of therapy with working class people in poverty? I would argue that these factors may develop awareness of diversity in the "real world" which can then be applied to the therapeutic encounter.

1.6 Class issues in therapy

As therapists, we are not removed from societal discourses as we, ourselves are part of, and shape our society; therefore therapy is not a neutral endeavour (Kearney 1996). As Kearney (1996) argues, both client and therapist bring their social experiences, including power or the lack of, into the therapy room with them, and there will be "social evaluation" between them that may impact on the therapy.

1.6.1 Studies focusing on clients

In one of the first studies exploring the voice of working class clients in the UK, person centred counsellor and researcher Balmforth (2009) conducted a phenomenological analysis of semi structured interviews with six working class clients who had therapy with a middle class counsellor and one middle class client who had therapy with a working class counsellor. Findings suggested that working class clients felt powerless in the relationship and shame about their backgrounds, dress and accents. The middle class client, in contrast, had a feeling of being in control, and that she was superior intellectually. The working class clients felt that there was a barrier between themselves and their therapists, who they felt were coming from a middle class frame of reference. Some of the clients withdrew from engaging in the therapy, becoming passive in a replaying of societal roles between the working and middle classes. Other clients became

resistive to the therapy and what they regarded as middle class oppression. The middle class client did not experience repression as a consequence of the class difference, and felt that the working class therapist had learned from working with her.

One limitation of the work is that the participants were all trainee or professional counsellors who had once been clients themselves. Training in counselling suggests opportunities have presented themselves for these clients that not all working class clients may have, and therefore the voices of the poor working class experiencing day to day stressors are excluded.

Another study adding to the growing body of class based research was conducted in the USA. A thesis for a doctorate in counselling psychology by Appio (2013) explored how poor and working class people experience and understand class differences between themselves and their therapists. Semi structured interviews were carried out with twenty two participants who had received individual therapy with a masters or doctoral level therapist. Constructivist grounded theory methodology was used to analyse the data. Participants described differences between working and middle classes as being time pressure, financial flexibility, comfort, economic insecurity and stigma. There was also a focus on language style as indicating difference with rigid body language, formal speech and a lack of spontaneity being linked to middle or high class position by the clients.

This work gives voice to working class clients, and we get a sense of what is important to them in therapy, in their own words. These findings can help guide practice as they emphasise the importance of validating class based difficulties in order to connect to the client. This is part of what counselling psychologists train to do, create an atmosphere of empathy and authenticity. In addition, there are social markers in operation that participants paid attention to, such as dress and language style, suggesting therapists may be influenced by these also. It would have been valuable to hear what the therapists who had worked with these participants had to say and whether they felt the presence of class to the same extent.

1.6.2 Studies focusing on therapists

A quantitative study carried out in the USA by Smith, Mao and Perkins (2011) addressed the question of how a clients' social class can influence the first impressions of the counsellor. The belief in a just world is a construction that

people get what they deserve in life, if they work hard and have talent they will be successful and it is fair that this is the case. In contrast, those who find life difficult must deserve it. The aim of the study was to investigate, through the use of clinical vignettes, whether trainee clinical and counselling psychologists perceive a client differently, and feel differently about working with them, according to their class. 68% of 200 trainees identified as middle class, 14% as wealthy, 14% as working class and 3% as in poverty. Vignettes only differed in the social class of the hypothetical client, from poor and on benefits, to working class, middle class, and wealthy. Participants were asked to rate how a session might progress, how symptomatic the client was, how well the client was functioning, and their own belief in a just world.

Statistical analyses found that participants with high beliefs in a just world thought sessions would be less meaningful with working class clients. These clients were rated as lower functioning than middle class and wealthy clients. Future prognosis for poor and working class clients were also rated lower. The researchers discuss the findings by hypothesising that unfamiliarity with working class people could be a factor, as well of societal values of upward mobility that suggest being poor is a situation that should be escaped.

This work tells us that negative impressions can be formed that are class based, and it is a possibility that these assumptions may be more so when there is a real client where overt social markers may be present. The participants were trainees, and it is possible that by the time training is completed they may be more reflective and aware of their assumptions, however, this could be overly optimistic if class is not a specific issue that is addressed as part of equality and diversity teaching.

Similarly, attitudinal barriers towards working with people in poverty were identified by Smith (2005), a US based researcher, who argued that therapists can sometimes distance themselves from poor clients in order to avoid uncomfortable feelings around their poverty, they can feel overwhelmed and that what they have to offer does not scratch the surface of what the client needs. This research again adds to a growing dialogue around class issues in therapy, but by framing the findings as attitudinal barriers, there is a suggestion that these beliefs originate in the minds of participants with no emphasis on where the beliefs came from. This framing suggests that class and poverty are realities that people observe and then

have an opinion on, which can be problematic because if it is a reality, a truth, can it be changed?

Moving away from the positivistic focus of the previous studies, a psychoanalytic therapist, Ryan (2006) interviewed experienced psychoanalytic psychotherapists with the aim of gaining their understanding of class issues in therapy. Ryan argues that class related experiences in early life can shape who we become and that we can internalise these experiences unconsciously so that they can become part of the transference and counter transference. Therapist counter transference reactions may include bias against those from low SES backgrounds, not knowing what to expect from them, not understanding that there are differences in privilege between the therapist and the client, or a belief that everyone can and should strive to move up a social class and improve their circumstances (Liu, 2007). Participants used income, wealth; values, education, and occupational status to self identify class position, with six identifying as having a working class background and seven a middle class background. The therapists were asked to reflect on previous client work where class had been an issue, and grounded theory was used to analyse the transcripts. Distinctive themes were identified by Ryan, for example when the therapist was working class and the client middle class, therapists described clients as arrogant and holding the therapists in contempt, leading to feelings of inadequacy. For example, one therapist said she thought the difference in the way she spoke would indicate a lack of education, and therefore competence. This research suggests that class based therapeutic issues occur between the classes, it is not simply a matter of 'downward classism', (Lau, Cho, Chang and Huang, 2013). There are also implications for practice in that difficulties arising from class difference can be resolved if they are discussed. This research touches on class related experiences being internalised, but does not tell us why these experiences are different and what social conditions make them so. However, it may be a starting point for counselling psychologists in the NHS to take social context into account when it is framed alongside traditional theories of the person.

A unique study from within the field of counselling in the UK, Ballinger and Wright (2007) used co operative enquiry as a methodology, which aims to understand and make sense of life, perhaps looking at issues in new ways, through bringing likeminded people together. Nine counsellors with an interest in social class, six of whom were working class, had meetings where they addressed the question does class count? The main findings from the discussions were that

participants felt class issues were absent in training and therapy, that they had strong emotional responses to class issues, that there are hierarchies within classes as well as between classes, and there is a strong link between class and language, with perceptions of people being linked to accents. There was a consensus that class was seen as forming societal and individual boundaries. The researchers concluded that class is under acknowledged in the field of counselling, that it is an important part of identity, and that it will have bearing on how clients and counsellors relate to each other. They recommend that research into class remains ongoing and that awareness of class be part of counsellor training programmes.

In a UK based philosophy PHD, Issac (2013) conducted thematic analysis to research clients and therapists views on the class dynamic in the therapeutic relationship. Participants were recruited from Sure Start centres in the West Midlands, in areas of high social deprivation. There were thirty one working class centre users, all white British, aged between 20 to 45 years. Only twelve centre users had experienced therapy, and of those that had, it ranged from relationship counselling, counselling required by social services and outpatient psychiatric services. Five white British female counsellors, ranging from 30-50, who had counselled Sure Start clients in deprived areas, agreed to take part. All were person centred in their approach. Centre users took part in focus groups, counsellors were interviewed individually, as it was felt that one to one interviews may re enact traumatic experiences with authority.

The counsellors identified themselves as working class and their clients as poor working class. Within the theme of class and structural positioning, counsellors acknowledged their power in the relationship, but this was attributed to the power inherent in the client/counsellor relationship rather than to differences in class on a societal level. Participants did however state that they worked differently with their Sure Start clients compared to clients in other settings, showing an underlying awareness of class difference. There was some initial judgement of class based on social markers, such as dress style, and counsellors would attempt to dress down, for example in jeans, to avoid coming across as too professional. One participant used swear words and overall a more informal style was used with these clients. Within the theme "difference in symbolic and cultural capital" the counsellors described difficulties in their work with upper class clients in other contexts, as they felt the power dynamic very differently, as if they were expected to serve the client. Language was adapted for working class clients, with

explanations that were clearer and simpler, and counsellors would emphasise their local accents more in order to build the relationship. There was a willingness to be more flexible with boundaries, such as those around time and place, with Sure Start clients. However, there was a lack of awareness of the significance of the therapy room, as indicated by the client participants in the study, and the need for it to be very different from rooms clients has used in other professional contexts such as social work or police interviews.

What is apparent here is that throughout the focus groups, without class being mentioned by the researcher, class issues were brought to the fore, showing how salient they were for the working class participants. The counsellors acknowledged a difference in power but this was attributed to the power difference in the counselling relationship rather than class positioning. The centre users were not asked to self identify their class before taking part, nor were they asked directly about class. The rationale behind not self identifying was that previous research has shown that working class people often misidentify their class position and become embarrassed. The counsellors were asked which class they belonged to however, and of the five, four said they were working class and one was unsure. The researcher framed this as an ethical consideration and trying to avoid embarrassing participants, however, this could be viewed as an example of thinking that the working class have limited knowledge, especially as their class was assumed by the researcher based on their occupation or lack of and the area they lived in. The counsellors self identifications of class were taken for granted as valid, even though counselling is a profession and most identified as working class. It would be worthwhile to see if professionals of middle class origin constructed class in the same way.

1.7 Conclusion

The majority of research undertaken around class based issues has been in related professions, but outside of counselling psychology specifically. Most of it has been focused on experiences of therapy professionals and/or clients which has been very valuable and made a useful contribution. However, there is a gap in the research with regards to locating class based issues in the context of power structures and inequalities more widely and how discourses are reproduced in the IAPT context and manifest in the work between counselling psychologist and working class client.

Research questions

How do counselling psychologists in IAPT construct therapy with working class clients?

How are social inequalities discoursed?

1.8 Reflexive statement

Reflexivity is an important feature of qualitative research, as there is an assumption that, in contrast to research based on positivism, the "researcher and the research cannot be meaningfully separated" (Taylor, 2001 p.17). The researcher can actively shape the study, with identity, personal beliefs and previous experiences affecting which topic is selected, what data is selected for analysis, what participants may say or not say. For discourse analysis, the findings are not presented as objective truth but as a construction, so who is constructing and why becomes significant.

I approached this topic with a strong belief in social justice, based on personal experiences linked to my working class background. I left school early without qualifications and lived on benefits for a number of years, sometimes doing cleaning jobs to supplement my income, as I had two young children. During this time I lived in various homeless hostels. The people I lived with had issues with drug addiction, alcoholism and domestic violence. I have a commitment to my chosen topic because of my experiences, I believe that the seriousness and salience of these issues needs to be taken into account by counselling psychologists and by the counselling psychology profession as a whole. In my opinion we need to think outside the box, question normative ideas and practices and cater to the individual as much as we can, especially when working with vulnerable groups who find it difficult to control their own day to day life due to their social circumstances.

While researching my topic, especially discourses around class, I was able to think about my own classed position. I will always be working class, but realise that others may see me as middle class, due to being a professional. I feel that participants might have responded to me according to how they perceived my class, and my trainee professional status. Social class signalling is often judged accurately and rapidly, with speech style being a particularly accurate marker

(Kraus, Park and Tan, 2017). I remember being conscious of social markers (Argyle, 1994) during the interviews, especially dress and my accent, what these may signify to interviewees, what they might tell me as a result (or not tell me). This awareness was more salient when I perceived the interviewee as middle class according to their own accent and dress.

I did have some pre assumptions of what participants may say during the interviews, for example that counselling psychologists will not always have taken social class into account as a difference between themselves and their clients, to the same degree they perhaps would if the client was of a different race. One of my assumptions about therapists overall, and psychologists in particular, is that the majority are from middle class backgrounds. This may be because counselling psychology is self financed, in part, although I believe there is under representation of working class clinical psychology trainees also. As a working class trainee, I feel a responsibility to bring class issues to the forefront, because I have a view from both sides. I think it is important that the profession actively tries to recruit trainees from different class backgrounds, although the fees are perhaps a barrier to training. In my experience, there may be a determination to succeed that originates from adverse social experiences. Counselling psychology is already attractive to people with life experience, this is sometimes stated as a requirement for joining counselling psychology programmes. Personal qualities are also important in recruitment and I think this kind of approach makes counselling psychology more open to working class people, in contrast to other applied professions where people may feel pressure to work for free in order to gain enough experience to be accepted onto a course. I think that as more working class people access training, it will be much more common for counselling psychology to have working class professionals in its ranks.

Thinking about what I got personally from doing this research, mainly a sense of accomplishment that I have an opportunity to explore and challenge class based issues within psychology. Perhaps by focussing on these issues I am also holding on to my working class roots, despite joining a profession, and it may help me bridge the gap between my previous life experiences and my future in some way.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY

2.1 Qualitative research:

"Qualitative researchers tend to be concerned with meaning…with the quality and texture of experience" (Willig, 2001, p.9).

Qualitative methodologies aim to produce descriptions or explanations, with the type of knowledge produced depending on epistemological position. They emphasise researcher reflexivity and subjectivity, and do not aim to discover cause and effect relationships that can be generalised, as is the case in quantitative research. In the qualitative tradition, scientific knowledge comes about not by being discovered in the physical world, but through social relations and value systems within research communities, making science a social, rather than an individualistic, process (Woolgar, 1996). One aim of qualitative research, therefore, is to "make us aware of the implicit assumptions...that are available to the members of a social group for the time being" (Smith, 2008 p.22). The stance of the researcher in qualitative research is on the inside, rather than being an objective observer, and the relationship between researcher and topic is therefore close. Data collected tends to be rich and deep, in contrast to the hard, reliable data resulting from quantitative inquiry (Bryman, 1988). Qualitative researchers aim to limit participants to a much lesser degree in qualitative research, rather than putting in tight controls as in experimental methods (Hayes, 1997).

2.2 Epistemology:

This study has taken a post modern, social constructionist approach to knowledge. Post modernism, or post structuralism, emerged in the 20th century in arts and cultural studies and was taken up by social scientists as a response to the dominant force of positivistic psychology (Guba and Lincoln, 2003). Logical positivism (Bem and de Jong, 2006) is the epistemological position that science should be based on hypotheses that can be tested experimentally, and that a phenomenon must be objectively and directly observable to be considered true, or a fact, as in the natural sciences (Smith, 2008). However experimental approaches have been applied to psychological research on human beings, for which they may not be suitable (McGhee, 2001).

Postmodernism, in contrast, emphasises social context and multiple truths and realities. During the first half of the 20th century there was a 'discursive turn' in Western philosophy, where language was understood to construct the social world, rather than reflect it (Smith, 2008). The structuralist view of language (Willig, 1998) is that once a word becomes attached to a particular object, for example the word professional to someone doing a particular job, the word also becomes directly attached to the meaning, making it fixed. This is how we understand each other, through a structure of fixed words and meanings. The post structuralist response to this is that words can mean different things depending on who speaks, and meanings can change over time, so they are not fixed at all, and always open to challenge. Everyone does not agree on meaning as the structuralist view suggests, but language can be the foundation from which "power relations are acted out and contested". (Burr, 1995.p.41).

It was in the 70's and 80's that the turn to language became a serious force in the psychological world (Willig, 2008). The original critiques at this time centred on the assumptions of the cognitive approach, namely that there are cognitive structures, that cognitions arise from direct perception, and that talk is a verbal expression of views and beliefs originating in the head (Willig, 2008). According to Gergen (1999) social constructionism is critical towards traditional, taken for granted assumptions or knowledge, and instead takes into account historical and cultural meanings that are localised, dependent on time and place, rather than facts that can be generalised across the population. Social constructionists argue that knowledge is created between people, rather than the world being perceived as it really is. If knowledge is constructed through language, and meanings are not fixed but shifting, then they can be re negotiated (Wetherell, 2001).

Ontology refers to the nature of reality in the world, and social constructionism is largely a relativistic approach, rejecting the "really real" and emphasises social, historical and cultural meaning making (Gergen, 1999).There is no one truth to be discovered, one phenomena may be understood very differently according to time and place, for example in some countries there is no such illness as schizophrenia (Bentall, 2004). Hallucinations that are constructed in the western world as a symptom to be treated can be welcomed as being a sign of spirituality and wisdom. To reject one or the other of these local "truths" means we have to make a judgement on who is right and wrong, and why this may be (for example, spiritual beliefs may be constructed as hocus pocus, and the people that hold those beliefs constructed as unintelligent).

One criticism of a purely relativistic approach is that if all "truths" are equally valid, this leads to an amoral "anything goes" position, where oppression is treated as a construction (Burr, 1998). This then leads to the question of whether psychologists should make a choice to act politically at all. The response from constructionists like McGhee (2001) is that social truths should be assessed by their consequences, a defence which seems to acknowledge that discourses have real world effects. Many social constructionist researchers take up the interests of groups in society that have been marginalised in some way by dominant discourses for example Potter and Wetherell (1992) researching how language legitimises racism. In addition, McGhee (2001) argues that rather than social constructionists backing oppressed groups because dominant groups are wrong, critical psychologists have a different relation to majority and minority groups according to where the group stands in relation to dominant discourses. For example, disrupting a dominant racist discourse means some oppressed groups will naturally benefit, but this does not mean that one point of view or the other has been selected as real and good (Gergen, 1999).

Critical realism came about due to dissatisfaction with relativism in social constructionism, arguing that what critical psychologists were doing to resist abuses of power in psychology was being sabotaged by the relativist claims about lack of truth, making it impossible to choose a position (Parker, 1998). Critical realism can be said to be epistemologically relativist, with a realist ontology (Parker, 1998) because it aims to critique powerful social structures that exist in society independent of discourses that construct, and are constructed by them.

The present study takes an approach that is more relativistic on a continuum from pure realism to pure relativism. Pure (sometimes called naive) realism implies overarching structures to life that exist beyond our knowledge of them (Willig, 1998) making it difficult to implement change. However the stance taken here has been that discourses have effects in the social world that are "real" in terms of the life experiences people go through. It would be difficult to argue that the distress people experience when they are sanctioned by benefits agencies, due to their unemployed status, is constructed. Burr (1998) has written that "practice is the realm in which discourse has real effects upon people". My position is that, if we are to choose to act, the foundation for action should be the consequences for people. As a researcher, my own life experiences influence the topic, epistemology and methodological position, as I cannot stand outside of it (Taylor,

2001).This leads on to the next section discussing the methodology I will be using.

2.3 Methodology:

Michel Foucault, a French post structuralist writer, was concerned with the link between knowledge and power, and how oppression operates through localised discourses. He theorised that as societies became more equal, the emphasis shifted from physical coercion of people to educational and correctional institutions, and improving people who in some way did not fit the dominant norm. Power was not located anywhere distinct but was relational, that is, reproduced among people in a certain culture or context (Gergen, 1999). Although Foucault did not develop a theory of class specifically, his view on power is in contrast to the structuralist approach that viewed power as a part of an elite group or person, with the more powerful controlling the less powerful. For example, Marxist class theory views the upper classes as dominating the working classes through their societal privilege, and that there is an overarching structure to class relations in society. This theory of class therefore posits that class exists in the real world, is measurable in terms of outcomes (Crompton, 2008) and observable, rather than being constructed in talk. It takes seriously the struggles of those living in poverty and experiencing social inequality. However what Marxist theory does not tell us is what social inequality means for people and their subjectivity in day to day life, and it offers little hope for resistance, with the suggestion of that is just the way it is. For Foucault, power is produced and maintained through discourse, and although discourses can benefit some groups over others, and be used to oppress, there is no underlying structure that discourses support. This is not to claim that institutions themselves do not exist materially, but that their meanings are constructed and constrain what can be said and by whom (Willig 2001). Certain ways of being in the world are made available through discourse, and subject positions taken up affect experience.

For Foucault, discourses are "practices which systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault, 1972, p.54), and have been defined by Parker (1994) as "sets of statements that construct objects and an array of subject positions". Burr (1995, p.48) has defined a discourse as a "set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements and so on that in some way together produce a particular version of events. Different discourses can operate around the same topic or person, representing it in a certain way as if that

representation has a basis in reality. For example, sanctioning those who have been unemployed long term (putting a discourse around unemployment into practice) constructs a subject position that can be taken up by individuals who come to personify the discourse, and others in society can also position them in that way (perhaps as too lazy to find a job, rather than as unlucky). Burr (1995) theorises that identity does not reside in a person, but is linked to the social world, and the day to day practices that reproduce power relations. Power and knowledge are therefore linked in that what is currently taken for granted as knowledge enables those with speaking rights to act in certain ways, with those actions being accepted as discourses are drawn upon to legitimise them. This use of "disciplinary power" (Rabinow,1984) means that people begin to self regulate without force needing to be used, and in this way are subjected to the institutional practices that powerful knowledges endorse. For example when a client in IAPT fills out a rating scale for depression, they are fulfilling an action that reproduces the medical model of mental illness, and also power relations, in a small, localised way. Because of that, I would suggest that resistance to subjugation can begin by doing things differently in everyday life. Foucault theorised on madness (Foucault,1967) arguing that knowledge around it is culturally and historically specific and does not exist as reality outside of discourse, that is, the way that it is talked about and managed through regimes of discipline in a specific society and time (Hall, 2001).

There should be a relationship between epistemological position and methodology, and in this study social constructionism and Foucauldian discourse analysis fit together as both view language as constructing the social world and have relativist ontology. FDA falls between critical realism and radical relativism, and that is my stance, as I emphasise the real world effects of discourse. The critical realist approach to FDA links discourses to underlying institutional structures so that discourses themselves are constrained by institutions and their practices (Parker, 1992). Although I have used Parker for guidance for analysis purposes, my study emphasises social consequences, as well as material institutions, being "real".

For counselling psychologists a post structuralist stance is suited to the values the profession holds, for example considering social context in clients' lives (Orlans and Van Scoyoc, 2009). The Professional Practice guidelines for counselling psychologists (BPS, 2005) state they should work in a way that empowers, emphasising anti discriminatory practice and the profession is rooted in

humanistic values with a focus on subjectivity (Orlans et al, 2009) rather than the positivist medical model that individualises distress. If counselling psychology as a profession has the value of empowering, then it follows that a consideration of power and the deconstruction of dominant discourses should be emphasised. It would benefit professionals and clients to open up discussions around controversial areas, such as class positioning and poverty in the UK. There are reasons why these issues are controversial that are not always explored in the mainstream. Foucault believed that overarching theories of truth were repressive (Strawbridge and Woolfe, 2010) and it could be argued that current influences in mental healthcare do not benefit all who come into contact with them. If local discourses and knowledges are valid then they can be mobilised to critique what is taken for granted as true and good. Orlans et al (2009) suggest that there are maverick qualities to many counselling psychologists, if this is so, these qualities can be channelled to genuinely focus on empowerment.

I could have chosen a different form of discourse analysis developed by Potter and Wetherell (1987) termed discursive psychology. Willig (2008) discusses key differences between discursive psychology and Foucauldian discourse analysis. In terms of agency, in FDA the speaker is positioned and constructed by discourse, and meanings are made available by discourse, whereas in DP the speaker is an active agent who uses discourse as a tool to manage social interactions. In terms of experience, FDA takes it into account and implicates discourse into what experiences, and ways of being, are possible. DP conceptualises experiences as a discursive move in order to achieve something in talk, and questions it as a category in the social world beyond the specific interaction.

FDA seemed more fitting to my research question as it acknowledges the wider social implications of discourses for people, and involves an emphasis on power and how individuals may be constrained by this. In terms of my own reflexivity, it is my own experiences of being limited by institutional practices that shaped my interest in the topic, so I felt that a wider social emphasis beyond specific interactions seemed more appropriate. For the above reasons I chose to use FDA to answer my research question "How do counselling psychologists talk about doing therapy with working class clients in an IAPT setting?"

2.4 Design

2.4.1 Method:

I chose to use semi structured interviews to collect data, as this method is compatible with Foucauldian discourse analysis (Willig, 2001) and can generate rich, in depth data. I developed open ended questions which address the broad areas I wanted to cover, but the direction was mainly led by the participant. This built rapport as the participant felt listened to and that their answers were interesting to me. My role as an interviewer was to guide, rather than dictate (Smith and Osborn, 2008) which was important as I may not have considered everything that may be salient to participants while developing my research questions. I used prompts and follow up questions as necessary.

Focus groups are also compatible with FDA, and would have enabled participants to comment on each other's contributions (Wilkinson, 2008) and develop shared meanings. However, it could have been that potential participants would be concerned about confidentiality or about being judged by counselling psychologist colleagues.

2.4.2 Recruitment and participants

Participants were recruited through word of mouth, and use of professional contacts. Potential participants were all contacted by email initially.

All participants either worked, or had worked, in different London based IAPT services. 2 participants had worked in more than one service so were able to compare between areas that are more or less economically deprived.

Participants were required to be counselling psychologists, and to have at least 1 year experience of working in a step 3 IAPT service. All were female.

	Ethnicity	IAPT years	Class	Therapy modality
Melanie	White British	10	Middle	CBT
Samira	South Asian	2	Middle	CBT

Lorell	White British	1	Middle	Integrative/existential
Sandra		2	Working	Integrative
Cara	British mixed race	2	Middle	CBT/systemic

2.4.3 Ethics:

The study adhered to the ethical guidelines for research stipulated by the British Psychological Society (BPS, 2014) and had been approved by the ethics committee at London Metropolitan University.

2.4.4 Informed consent:

Participants were sent an email containing a brief with full details of what the topic was about and the aims of the research, my name, where I am from and my contact details, my supervisors name and details, assurances of confidentiality and right to withdraw, and assurances of confidentiality of the data collected. In addition they were supplied with an informed consent form, asking them to clarify whether they understood what was required, whether they consented to being interviewed and recorded, whether they understood confidentiality and the limits of this, and other aspects of the study. There were no elements of deception at any stage.

2.4.5 Brief:

Once participants had agreed to take part, they were given a brief sheet summarising confidentiality, the right to withdraw, how long the interview would take, and how long they would have to withdraw data. My supervisor's contact details were also included. The same brief sheet was given again before the interview commenced and read through by the researcher. There was then opportunity to ask questions or have anything clarified.

2.4.6 Debrief:

Participants were debriefed verbally after the interview had taken place to ensure they were not adversely affected, and were thanked for their participation. They got a debrief sheet containing details of the British Psychological Society should

they need support. In addition details of social justice organisations in the UK were given in case they would like to become involved. The right to withdraw data was again mentioned. They were again given the opportunity to ask any questions, or give feedback. Most participants remarked the process of being interviewed on class had been helpful, that they had things to take forward or think about more. One said they were definitely interested in contacting a social justice organisation.

2.4.7 Confidentiality:

In conducting research, an underlying ethical principle is respecting privacy. Participants were assured of confidentiality in writing and verbally, with pseudonyms being used in transcripts and workplaces not being identified. The data was stored on a password encrypted device and paper transcripts locked away with the researcher only having access. Participants were made aware that data would be held for a maximum of 5 years, and only when that period of time was necessary for analysis purposes, in accordance with London Metropolitan University regulations (2014).

2.4.8 Risk:

The most important principle of conducting research is that of minimising harm. Participants were assumed to be healthy volunteers, however as sensitive material could be disclosed about the doing of therapy, and they could possibly feel as if their practice is being scrutinised, their welfare was monitored throughout, including awareness of body language and other non verbal cues. Cutts (2013) recommends this monitoring in case participants do not feel able to voice discomfort. Participants were told if they wanted a break at any point that this is fine, and they were made aware of their right to withdraw at any time. In addition, my demeanour throughout the interviews was important in this regard, especially when there was a marked class difference and participants could have felt their answers were being judged by me from a working class position. I maintained a warm reassuring approach throughout the interviews and was aware of the need for this at particular points especially. It was important, however, to tread the line between reassurance and keeping to the role of researcher, building rapport within the boundaries of researcher and researched to avoid interviewees revealing more intimate reflections than they would have in an interview process.

2.5 Analysing the data:

There is no one particular way of conducting Foucauldian discourse analysis, but I was guided initially by Parker (1992) Willig (2001) and Carabine (2001), adding Kendall and Wickham (1999) once I felt comfortable with the process. All the above guidelines complement each other by adding different elements and making analysis rich and well rounded. I initially started with Willig (2001) to familiarise myself with the analytical process, finding her guidelines accessible, and seeming to correspond with other authors. Parker (1992) auxillary criteria were integral in developing an in depth analysis on the topic. Carabine (2001) conducted a geneology on motherhood which was very helpful in situating my analysis historically and politically. Kendall and Wickham (1999) propose FDA steps that assume advanced knowledge of the method, but I used selected points from their work to come to a sense of completeness in my analysis. Although a step by step description is difficult due to analysis being a dynamic process (Carabine, 2001) rather than a linear one, I have provided an outline of what I carried out.

1) Initially, recordings were listened to and each interview was transcribed in writing, rather than typed, to enable me to start connecting with the data. Once all interviews were completed, treating them as one text rather than individual interviews, there was a process of further connection through reading and rereading.

2) From the basis of my research question, as suggested by Willig (2001) an initial step is identifying ways our discursive objects (class) are constructed, so I highlighted all explicit and implicit references to class, IAPT and counselling psychology with different colour pens, observing the talk, making notes and developing themes.(Appendix G)

3) Still using Willig (2001), I looked for similarities, differences and contradictions in how class was being constructed, both within interviews and treating every interview as one body of text, which involved cross referencing. I was asking what was being achieved, what was the function of the talk at that point in the text? At the same time I was getting a feel for what culturally available discourses were being "hooked onto", which is an indication of an emerging discourse (Willig, 2001). Absences and silences were taken into account throughout.

I consulted with my research supervisor to talk through my draft themes and initial notes, and significant quotes.

4) Following Parker steps 5 and 6, I looked at what types of people (subjects) were being talked about in the text as well as their speaking rights, then Parker step 7 which asks what sort of world the discourse is alluding to. At this point I returned to Willig (2001) who suggests exploring how opportunities for change or action are opened up or closed down by discourses, how speaking and doing support each other in practice.

5) Subjectivity was then taken into account, which is what can be felt, thought and experienced from a particular subject position. This can be speculative where participants do not refer explicitly to feelings, perhaps suggesting what kind of thoughts and feelings are made available by a discourse.

6) Parker (1992) goes further than Willig (2001) with what he terms "3 auxillary criteria" concerned with institutions, power and ideology. I thought about which institutions were being supported by the discourses, who gains and loses within the discourse, and how the discourses connect with wider discourses to produce oppression (Parker steps 15-20). These steps seemed important for the topic of class and provided valuable context to emerging discourses.

7) With Kendall and Wickham (1999) I was interested in their steps 2) the identification of rules of the production of statements, and 5) the identification of rules that ensure a practice is material and discursive at the same time. The authors state that this rule ensures knowledge cannot be reduced to simply thinking or opinions. Throughout, power was viewed as practiced rather than possessed so the analysis was more concerned with how it was put into operation, including how the strategies of power remain "mute and blind…avoiding the sayable and the visible" (Kendall et al, 1999, p. 51).

8) I used Carabine (2001) to provide a context for culturally available discourses and practices. The geneology method traces development of knowledge and power around a topic historically to understand the nature of the topic in the present. I looked at how the topic of class was constructed in different ways over time, while retaining the same underlying themes (for example the deserving versus undeserving poor and how this relates to benefit fraud discourses in the present), and considering the strategies of power around the topic, and how norms are established.

As there was no specific way of knowing, as a novice researcher, whether I was conducting the analysis in an effective way, it was necessary to get a feel for the 'rightness' of what I was doing. At one point I had several quotes that suggested "social is separate to therapy" and "IAPT is not meeting need" as emerging discourses, but it felt as if something was missing or not quite right. It was by combining guidelines from different sources that enabled me to go deeper into the data, and the intrusion of poverty discourse emerged, which felt rich and substantial, and being rooted in historical and political contexts.

2.6 Ensuring quality in my research

There is some debate in the field as to the best way off assessing qualitative research, as the methods used for this in the quantitative tradition are not necessarily extendable due to different underlying principles. I used guiding principles put forward by Spencer and Richie (2012) to try and ensure the quality of my own work.

Contribution:

Contribution refers to how far research findings advance knowledge of the topic.

I have contributed to the knowledge around class and class based issues within IAPT for counselling psychologists. This could influence practice, benefiting both working class clients and the psychologists who work with them, encourage reflection by counselling psychologists and trainees, and lead to different conversations about the topic, with dominant discourses being questioned. My contribution is also given from the perspective of a working class psychologist.

Credibility:

This refers to whether findings are justified, claiming plausible arguments about the significance of the data and having a coherent logic. In order to be open as to how I got to the conclusions I did, I presented extracts that supported each discourse and sub discourse, with quotes from across participants. My discourses are situated in historical and political context, providing a snapshot of wider societal discourses. They hook onto other discourses, which is an indicator of quality in discourse analysis (Willig, 2001).

Rigour: Involves reflexivity, audibility, and defensibility.

I have included reflexive sections in 3 chapters of my thesis. These cover my reasons for choosing the topic, reflexivity on the process of interviewing, and finally, a section reflecting on my journey through the doctorate. I also kept a notebook throughout where I would note reactions and thoughts as they occurred. As my reflections are from the perspective of a working class female who has lived in poverty, they are in some areas quite personal and I have included these for a sense of authenticity.

Audibility refers to documentation, involving an audit trail of how decisions were made throughout. I have provided explanations for why I chose Foucauldian Discourse Analysis in the methodology section. In the Appendix I have evidenced how I approached participants, examples of some stages of the analysis, and in the discussion I talk through the findings and how they relate to society more widely.

Defensibility involves ensuring research questions are adequately addressed through an effective research strategy. Justifications for sampling and method are included in the methodology chapter.

2.7 Reflexivity on the research process

I kept a research journal through the entire process, from developing my research ideas to the final stages of analysis and write up, as discussed by Ortipp (2008).The most salient feature for me was the process of conducting the interviews. There is a power imbalance between interviewer and interviewee (Raheim, Magnussen and Blystad, 2016) both at the time of the interview and at the time of interpretation of data. Some of the interviews felt quite difficult for me, going beyond the anxiety that would be felt by a novice researcher and being more about class dynamics being present in the room. I am a working class woman, being located among the poor working class for several years, and it felt like a role reversal to be interviewing Doctors. I had the sense, especially in a couple of the interviews, that something was not quite right in that I felt I was asking someone in authority questions, and that they were there in their own time rather than in a professional capacity. As my participants were recruited by word of mouth, some interviews were not conducted in workplaces, and I entered

private spaces that were different to what I am used to. I assumed that interviewees owned their homes, there were indications they were married so had two incomes coming in and my assumption was that they did not have to fight to live and provide, that they were probably more respected in society than I had been at the life stage of having young children, and that middle class children have better, more stable and less traumatic lives. Partly because of these assumptions, at the beginning of some interviews it felt like an internal period of adjustment had to take place before I could own the role of researcher and conduct the interview successfully.

It is important to be aware of this from the interviewees perspective also. There was a sense at times that some participants felt ill at ease on initially meeting me, as if I was not quite what they expected. At times there was an obvious effort from several participants not to offend, which may not have been the case if they had perceived me to be within the middle class category. This created a difficult feeling because although I am used to politically correct language being used as a feature of professional life, in my day to day life it is more about respect and knowing what is and is not appropriate due to mixing with people from different ethnicities, cultures and religions, growing up together and being part of a community.

CHAPTER THREE

ANALYSIS

3.1 Overview:

This chapter presents discourses and sub- discourses utilised by participants during the interview process. Each discourse is divided into 2 sub- discourses and will be supported with excerpts from transcripts, which have occasionally been edited to keep quotes relevant and brief. Each discourse links to the other discourses in answering the research question of how counselling psychologists talk about doing therapy with working class clients at an IAPT setting. Contradictions within discourses are also presented. The chapter begins with a table presenting the discourses and sub-discourses with an illustrative relevant quote each from participants.

Discourse: Class is seen and heard, but not talked or thought about	
Sub- discourse: minimisation of class	"if we're thinking about 'class'(does quote marks with fingers) I don't know why I'm doing this" (*Melanie, L84*)
Sub- discourse: social markers make class obvious	"they're dressed as well I think you can really tell when someone's dressed in high quality clothes as opposed to someone who's dressed in sort of Primark"(laughs) *(Sandra, L37-38)*
Discourse: Intrusion of poverty	
Sub- discourse: Intrusion into the dynamic: gatekeepers of morality?	"I want to help with the social aspects.. even though that's not my role..but you don't want to be led somewhere" *(Cara,L144-45)*

Sub- discourse: intrusion into the business of therapy	"you actually had to deal with that in terms of the clients would come in and say I have no money.. you have these people that can't even concentrate on themselves in therapy because there is so much going on in the background" (*Lorrell,64-66*)
Discourse: Mind the gap	
Sub- discourse: 2 way clash-difference	"he had the thing and he was like yeah he was in the pub and someone bit someone's ear off and I probably looked quite shocked which I think anybody would..he was like it's alright I'd look out for you there was quite often a bit of that"(*Melanie, L164-167*)
Sub- discourse: No direct experience	"As a psychologist we're not really educated a lot about the social issues the benefits system" (*Samira, L126-127*)

3.2 Discourse: Class is seen and heard, but not talked or thought about

In this discourse, as referred to by Ryan (2017) class seems to be "everywhere and nowhere". This discourse minimises class as a way of categorising people in various ways. The onus is on individuals to self identify their class, with the counselling psychologist constructed as non judgemental and not thinking or talking about class, but at the same time noticing social markers about an individual that suggest what class they would belong to were class considered significant. Participants seem to struggle at times, for example hesitating and appearing uncomfortable in their body language, seemingly being careful not to offend and constrained by what is currently 'sayable'.

3.2.1 Sub- discourse: Minimisation of class

This sub- discourse minimises the salience of class as a concept on a societal level by drawing on socio economic status and encompassing class within that. Language around self identification is utilised, perhaps in order to distance the counselling psychologist from the explicit making of class based judgements about the working class that could possibly cause offence. However, stereotypical constructions of middle class people are reproduced explicitly.

Melanie states:

"I think of class as being erm perhaps a phrase that is used I don't know if necessarily , I don't think I really (tuts) personally I don't think I really think about class.. people talk about different sort of class statuses and the common ones would be working class er middle class I suppose upper class is a phrase that people use erm some people might say lower class". (Melanie, L2-5)

Later in the interview Melanie proceeds:

"if we're thinking more like "class" (does quote marks with fingers) I don't know why I'm doing this".(Melanie, L84)

"probably be gathering information about their socio economic status perhaps based on their accent although..I'm not…you know I might be aware of that because I'm not…I'm a sensitive human being and therefore I'm aware of it but at the same time I wouldn't say…I don't think I'd make any meaning at that stage from anything I noticed at that point..what am I gonna" (Melanie, L107-110)

R26: so it's noting it

"yeah I mean I noticed you're wearing a white top what does that mean mmm... you must be aware of the colour of my hair but it doesn't mean anything to you I mean it might do but how far do we drill down about these things erm" (Melanie, L111-114)

Melanie seems to distance herself from the whole issue of class here, class being constructed as something other people may talk about or categorise, rather than Melanie herself. The quote marks, known as air quotes (Juzwik, 2012) can be used to indicate satire, sarcasm or irony. In this context, therefore, air quotes could have been used by Melanie as a way of minimising the concept of class. In addition, she mentions awareness of accent and possible link to the concept of

socio economic status, but reduces this to noticing it as you may notice hair colour or colour of clothing. This seems like minimisation of class based judgements, when I would argue that classed accents carry meaning for both client and psychologist, and this is in fact alluded to later on in Melanie's interview. This minimisation could indicate discomfort with the concept of class, yet shortly afterwards she reproduces available constructions of middle class people, suggesting these are discourses that can be drawn upon and are more 'sayable' for a professional in a way that expressing stereotypical ideas about working classes may not be:

"there's a notion isn't there of like middle class people they probably own their own homes? Do they live in the home counties? Do they shop at Waitrose the women wear clothes from John Lewis is it?"(Melanie, L197-198)

This could function to position Melanie on the one hand as someone who is non judgemental and does not think about class, but on the other hand this is contradictory as it demonstrates awareness of discourses around middle class locations and shopping habits. In leaving working class locations and shopping habits unsaid, it could possibly be an attempt to even out negative constructions of these by bringing to light middle class stereotypes. There is also a sense of resistance of these middle class stereotypes in Melanie's tone at this point in the interview.

Interestingly, other participants talk of middle/upper class people in a way that suggests negativity, for example Sandra, in talking about middle class attitudes to therapy, says:

"I need a fix so I can carry on working and make all this money cos that's what its all about"(Sandra, L38)

And Melanie says:

"I found these clients to be quite questioning and sometimes a bit sort of righteous in terms of that time is no good for me! You want to go to a pilates class or something"(Melanie, L227-228)

At the same time, positive constructions of working class people are employed such as:

"working class clients make really good clients because of their work ethic"
(Melanie, L217)

"actually quite you know grateful and I don't mean that like ooh I come to you cap in hand but actually were appropriately grateful" (Melanie, L236-237)

This could be argued to be a resistance against the negative constructions the participant is faced with as they come into awareness in a situation where thinking and talking about class cannot be avoided, and could function to reduce discomfort. Melanie comments here could be linked to the "salt of the earth" discourse described by Skeggs (2016), where working class people are talked about as hard workers, would help anyone, and family orientated. This discourse has operated at several times in British history (Skeggs, 2016), for example during and in the aftermath of WW1 and WW2 working class men were constructed as heroic and strong. As seen here with the comment about gratitude versus entitlement, they can also be positioned as more authentic and humble.

In contrast, the middle classes are being constructed as entitled and money orientated, interestingly by participants who have said they do not see or think about class. Working class people, in contrast, are not explicitly judged in the interviews, except for in a positive way, suggesting an awareness that there are negative discourses around them.

The apparent non judgement of the working class is also constructed in a different way. What occurs across participants, and often, is the idea of self identification. For example:

"clients I've had I've been like yeah the person is working class they identify themselves in that way" (Melanie, L216)

"I saw lots of white British men and women there who would have described themselves as working class backgrounds and it seems to be part of their identity". (Melanie, L138-139)

According to Melanie, a client draws on current societal discourses around possibilities for self identification and applies them to class, which could function to place responsibility on the individual for categorising themselves, the psychologist can again retain the non judgemental position and reduce discomfort. "It seems to be part of their identity" could be argued to indicate a discomfort around explicit naming of working class people, but in contradiction

to this, "I've been like yeah the person is working class" suggests client self identification was not necessary for a judgement on class position to be made. Indeed, it is left unsaid whether the clients in question openly stated their class to the participants, in fact it is alluded to that they did not, but "would have" identified as working class. Melanie in particular uses very tentative language with regards to class, and there is a sense of avoidance and uncertainty. It could be that the interaction with me as a researcher had an influence on this, with an obvious class difference from my perspective at least, yet conducting an interview for doctorate level research. The world of class, therefore, could have felt 'messy' at this point in the interview.

Greene (2005) says the need to avoid could be due to feelings of guilt and shame stemming from the socially constructed nature of privilege and inequality, and Sayer (2005) says that evasion and denying the significance of class are responses that indicate awareness that there is no justification for class difference. In addition, Melanie saw white, saw nationality and saw gender, "white British men and women" but did not acknowledge seeing class. Self identification of class, and identity politics in relation to class, can be problematic as it is doubtful that working class people, especially those living in poverty, benefit from their classed experiences being framed in these terms. Options are not available to identify as rich and live accordingly, so this framing seems very much part of the middle class professional concerns around political correctness.

Cara is explicitly critical of the minimisation of class:

"It's this assumed thing that class matters but how does it matter" (Cara, L291)

"it's really curious how this is such a big topic a big really important thing to talk about but we don't talk about it it's just in the background"(Cara, L260-261)

This quote highlights that counselling psychologists cannot stand outside of the social world they inhabit (Taylor, 2001) and minimisation of class based issues within the profession, and within IAPT specifically, can mirror wider societal minimisation. Cara sounded exasperated at these points, perhaps, caught between her own awareness of the salience of the topic, which was demonstrated at points throughout the interview, and the downplaying of it in the IAPT setting. I would suggest that this is an example of how inequalities can be 'hidden in plain sight', including the normalisation of poverty (The Guardian, 2016).

3.2.2 Sub discourse: Social markers make class obvious

This sub discourse lies in contrast to self identification statements, as participants talk about factors which make class 'real'. This talk includes both about explicit social markers of class positioning, and more implicit constructions about working class people and their intelligence. This sub discourse is utilised across participants.

"they're dressed as well I think you can really tell when someone's dressed in high quality clothes as opposed to someone who's dressed in sort of Primark"(laughs) (Sandra, L37-38)

"obviously I live in the society we all live in and I also make judgements based on accents, probably the way they dress, maybe their schooling" (Melanie,L13-14)

"if they were British sounding I guess I would probably be gathering information about their SES perhaps based on their accent" (Melanie, L106-107)

"in terms of like descriptive factual information which I think could have contributed to people's ideas around what class they might be in" (Melanie, L24-25)

Class here is discussed as being seen, heard and judged, although there are still attempts at minimisation at points. Argyle (1994) states that clothes are one of the most obvious signs of class, one of the most salient ways in which we recognise class and differentiate where others belong. Accent comes up repeatedly as a social marker also, however, interestingly the specifics of this are only mentioned in relation to middle class accents, described by Melanie as "la la la la la". What the working class sound like is left unsaid, what they look like is unstated, again in comparison to middle class social markers which are more readily named. Melanie avoids judgement of a working class identity from accent, preferring to use the term socio economic status, which seems contradictory to statements of minimisation since it indicates knowledge of a link between classed accents and money. The function of categorising by 'facts' such as amount of money earned, assets, factors that make up socio economic factors as a concept, could perhaps be viewed as a way of distancing the participant from making a judgement on class, even though she already acknowledged social markers of accent and dress. The use of the term socio economic status could also function to minimise class as a concept so it becomes about money versus no money, which could be said to

enable discourses around equal opportunity for all, if people work hard enough, denying the daily reality and limitations of those who live in poverty. Jones (2012) argued that New Labour pretended that class no longer existed by removing any reference to it at the end of the 90's when they looked into social classifications for statistics purposes, changing the name from 'Social Class based on Occupation' to "National Statistics Socio Economic Classification'.

In addition, and in contrast to the minimisation of class, "if they were British sounding" could be said to indicate an awareness of the salience of class in Britain, with Melanie acknowledging that accent, in Britain particularly, is a strong indicator of class background. Self identification is introduced again, "people's ideas around what class they might be in" perhaps in an attempt to distance class judgements from Melanie, as she seemed to be trying to avoid offence, perhaps unsure if what she was saying was the 'right' thing. In the media and from Government agencies, there seems to be minimal guidance on how to talk about working class people in what could be termed a politically correct manner, compared to language around other marginalised or vulnerable groups, and Melanie seemed to struggle and become frustrated at times throughout the interview, stating:

"There may be a desire in me to wish it away maybe" (Melanie, L280)

This comment was made towards the end, perhaps as Melanie began to reflect on her experience of being interviewed. The wishing away of class can be linked to her comments earlier, including the air quotes around the word class. This seems to highlight the weight of the topic, how it can feel difficult to navigate and discuss.

In the following quotes the participants submerge class into difference and position themselves as non judgemental counselling psychologists:

"we accept everybody for who they are that's the ethos of counselling psychologists" (Samira, L31)

"I'd probably think about it in terms of difference rather than class to be honest" (Melanie, L187)

In the first quote, using "we", as well as the language of ethos, the participant has the back up and weight of the profession of counselling psychology behind her. There is training on diversity and individuality, where an appreciation of

difference should be encouraged (Eleftheriadou, 2015) and the BPS practice guidelines stipulate that counselling psychologists should be competent in taking social contexts into account (BPS, 2005).The ethos of counselling psychologists can reflect the importance of displaying middle class tolerance more widely. Both participants seemed uncomfortable at several points as they struggled with class based issues coming into awareness while perhaps resisting some of the more negative aspects around this.

As well as the difficulties with talking about explicit social markers without sounding judgemental, implicit, more carefully managed judgements of working class clients do appear, for example, Cara in the context of talking about psycho education in therapy:

"so if a person is talking more um..who might not have..as much of a vocabulary (laughs) understanding certain terms. Not in the way of dumbing things down but in terms of knowing what they know and gauging it that way". (Cara, L225-227)

" and also gauging whether or not they will meaningfully understand what it is that we're kind of talking about to kind of be on the same kind of wavelength and thinking back about the opposite of people who might have had lots of therapy or who might have had more kind of upper class let's say"(Cara, L236-239)

"more information further reading whereas I might not have done that with somebody else who wasn't communicating that to me..even though they didn't say oh I want to know specifically more about this I would find that I yeah I would recommend books or I would send articles..the lower income client depression was around social kind of aspects no money housing issues help with PIP whereas the other one was low mood in relation to her situation at work...she was young and she was working and working towards something".(Cara, L243-248)

Cara states that she has, in fact, given more information to clients who she perceives will understand it, and that there is a class basis to this perception. The client who is employed communicated to the therapist, without words, that she would appreciate this, while Cara "may not have done that" (given further reading) without the perception the client would understand. This suggests constructions around working class intelligences are coming into operation in a subtle way. Motivation is also touched upon in "working towards something", reproducing the neoliberal discourse that work is linked to worth and value, and giving support to middle class values that involve ambition, responsibility and

educational achievement (Reay, Crozier and James, 2011). This is in contrast to the positive constructions of the good work ethic of the working classes discussed previously in the minimisation sub discourse, where the clients are engaged and willing to work. This could imply perhaps differences in constructions of the traditional working classes and the new "underclass" on benefits, but also suggests these constructions around class are not set in stone and that classed subjects may be positioned positively or negatively depending on the function of the talk.

Cara's laughter when vocabulary is mentioned suggests she is unsure about saying this, and that she is aware of moving away from safe, politically correct talk. The psychologist here is positioned as able to ascertain the clients level of intelligence, and is even able to know what the client knows, "in terms of knowing what they know" but the client is silenced in this. Psychologists should be aware of the risk of reproducing wider classed power positions in the therapy room, as a possible consequence could be, I would argue, a form of symbolic violence against working class people, "gentle, invisible violence unrecognised as such" as Bourdieu (1991) discusses.

In contrast, Melanie is quite explicit in acknowledging her similar social status to a university professor, and positioning herself as possessing a similar level of intelligence that enables debates to take place:

R56-57: OK interesting so what would you say is the role of language for psychologist and client when there is a class difference?

"yeah so I think if you're working with people you have to speak the people's language that makes it sound like I'm a politician, but like there's no point, whoever your client, their background, class, race, ethnicity, you have to be able to communicate effectively and, it's a therapists job to amend their style to have the ability to be flexible so that they can talk to people in a way that's going to be effective, so if, that means amendments have to be made, like I know some people, like sometimes I fall into the thing of using slightly too sort of vague or complex like I remember once I had a client who was a university professor and he was very sort of werr! You know he would talk very philosophically about things very theoretically about things we'd get into sort of debates and that that way of interacting with somebody that doesn't suit everyone you know and that actually everyone needs to be speaking a common language "(Melanie, L252-261)

Melanie does not specify which people interactions like the one described would not suit, but it seems to be taken for granted that amendments would need to be made for certain clients, through the phrase of a "common language" that can be presumably understood by all. The psychologist is positioned as the one who has the ability to adjust to the level of the client. In these quotes, it could be argued that class is being heard by the participants not through accent, but through discourses around working class people being less 'book intelligent' and articulate than the "reading classes" as Jensen (2012) indicates. There is a sense that discourses around intelligence may be taken for granted as the natural way of things (Powers, 2001) as both participants are confident in the talk, whereas at different points in the interview they have resisted and avoided negative constructions, becoming visibly uncomfortable.

3.3 Discourse: Intrusion of Poverty

This discourse relates to poverty, and how adverse social environments intrude into the therapy room, both in terms of the therapeutic relationship and dynamic between psychologist and client, and the doing of therapy. Some participants drew on and reproduced dominant discourses around class based issues, taking their professional position and at times, constructing what is ideal and good from this expert positioning.

3.3.1 Sub-discourse: Intrusion into the dynamic: Gatekeepers of morality?

In this sub-discourse, poverty intrudes on the therapy dynamic when clients require specific social support, for examples letters of proof for benefits agencies. Discourses around benefits are taken up and participants become aligned with agencies as gatekeepers, deciding whether letters should be written and establishing boundaries around content.

"Different people have different opinions, this guy wants me to write him a letter I've only seen him 3 times!" (Cara, L55-56)

"It was really striking that that wasn't something the colleague wanted to do..I think it's I(emphasised) think it's part of the role if you're in care of somebody then writing a letter as long as it's not something I'm lying about" (Cara, L61-63)

"I've heard the idea of oh they are just coming here to get a letter..it was just put back on me like why do you feel the need to do so much?" (Lorrell, L68-69)

"I want to help with the social aspects..even though that's not my role..but you don't want to be led somewhere" (Cara, L144-45)

"as to what you can and cant include and what is right" (Cara, L164)

These statements occurred across participants, and implicitly seem to reproduce the benefit scrounger discourse which links to what is referred to in Levitas (2005) as the moral underclass discourse. This discourse locates social exclusion and poverty as being individual responsibility, caused by subcultures lacking morality, which Levitas (1999) terms the moral hazard of dependency, and links to the discourses around the dangerous working classes, who ignore the norms of society while knowing their rights (Morris, 1994). Clients are positioned as needing something extra both from the therapist, in terms of what the usual remit of therapy is and from the benefits system and using psychological services to get this, with the therapist being careful to enforce boundaries. It is left unsaid here is what lies could be told, and where would the client lead the therapist, perhaps being implied that clients are trying to gain from the system, and also implying a shared cultural understanding that this is the way it is, which conveys a sense of authority and truth of the knowledge being produced. In combination with the not wanting to lie in a letter, being "led somewhere" suggests that clients needing letters are perhaps manipulative in wanting to gain from the wider system in terms of benefits, and are capable of embellishing in order to win the benefit prize, coming to personify the benefit scrounger discourse through representing personal attributes (Hall,2001). Therapists, in contrast, are positioned as more honest, monitoring exactly what goes into a letter and ensuring no fabrication. Not wanting to be led suggests the possibility of leading as a fact, and a pressure that should be resisted if they are to remain moral.

The following quote indicates issues around benefits letters are a topic of conversation around Cara's colleagues:

"They've (colleagues) had to do it so often so it was like oh not again they're not really engaged but it was just really interesting how for me that's that seemed part of the process of supporting"

R: yeah

"whereas it was a bigger deal obviously we didn't talk about it was just in conversation it wasn't that he or she was saying I feel really bad about this I

don't want to do it it wasn't in that context but it was in the context of that's when I started thinking ooh that's interesting that I would do it" (Cara, L66-71)

There could be a sense of frustration here, with therapists talking about a lack of engagement in therapy. From the perspective of a psychologist, the letter requests could be viewed as clients utilising a defence against facing painful feelings. We do not know whether clients dropped out of therapy after a letter was written, and from the client perspective it may be that the weight of the social interfered with deep psychological engagement. The details are left unstated, but there is a feeling of mismatch here around what support consists of and it's limitations, and how colleagues may view this differently. It is interesting that the word "obviously" is used, suggesting issues around benefits may be off limits when it comes to formal discussion in the IAPT context, "it was just in conversation". It seems Cara articulating disagreement with her colleagues did not feel like a position she could take at the time, which again could point to the benefits topic being a sensitive one.

3.3.2 Sub discourse: Intrusion into the business of therapy

The social in this sub- discourse is constructed as separate from therapy, with participants being caught between the doing of therapy and the social reality of the client. There was acknowledgement of adverse social contexts among most participants, with several of them remembering examples of poverty including clients not having bus fare to come to sessions. However this discourse constructs therapy as an endeavour that is separate from the social issues that clients are bringing, with the social acknowledged or not, or the extent to which it is acknowledged, depending on the choice of the professional.

In this sub- discourse, the psychologists positioning is very different from gate keeping. Here, participants are positioned alongside the client against the wider social system and the institution of IAPT, which is constructed as overarching and powerful. When the talk is about therapy and the struggles of doing therapy with the weight of poverty in the room, rather than the side business of letter writing, injustice and resentment against the social systems that intrude enter the talk:

"but also, you know, I guess it's this idea that I can't really do much for them because what they need is all this practical stuff I can't do" (Sandra, L83-84)

"you actually had to deal with that in terms of the clients would come in and say I have no money..you have these people that can't even concentrate on themselves in therapy because there is so much going on in the background" (Lorrell, L64-66).

Poverty is talked about as if it enters the room with the client. It is so salient and it cannot be minimised in the same way class identities can. Lack of money and poverty is more objective and thus may be easier for participants to talk about as it involves less risk of causing offence, perhaps, than making class based statements around social markers, for example. In this sub-discourse there is a sense of helplessness from the participants as they are subjected to the constraints and frustrations of managing poverty- based issues, in the way the clients are day to day. In addition, not only the clients' objective poverty, but how they perceive themselves in relation to others, seems to come into the therapeutic process:

"the media and that kind of stuff I think that really maintains their kind of thought processes really makes their problems kind of worse" (Samira, L24-25)

Here Samira is talking about working class clients living in poverty who compare what they have got materially with celebrities and those in the public eye. Their negative thought processes seem to therefore be maintained and in this way, poverty intrudes on the doing of therapy, specifically CBT, which aims to modify thinking and therefore reduce distress. Rose (1989) states that how we understand ourselves is not neutral, but through discourse. Hence, when presented with media images of material wealth and the goodness of that, people can feel lacking in comparison. The source of distress and its maintenance is seen as the fact that clients compare themselves to images in the media rather than the distress being due to poverty itself. This is one of the contexts in which CBT has been argued to be problematic, as if the goal is to adapt thoughts and feelings, then underlying inequalities are not addressed, and social problems become individualised (Nel, 2010). There may be room for incorporating social critique into CBT, which could be empowering for both clients and psychologists, this will be discussed in later sections.

In the following quotes, there seem to be differences in how participants talked about how far social circumstances had an influence on client welfare:

"no, no we don't talk about the social aspects unless that was something that impacted I guess on their wellbeing" (Cara, L75-76)

Cara's quote indicates that social issues can be somewhat separated from the psychological, in that they may not have an impact and may not need to be discussed. The problems clients come with are being constructed on an individual level I would argue that social issues such as poverty and housing are an integral part of wellbeing, and Cara herself alluded to this also at different points in the interview.

Sandra is explicit in her critique of IAPT:

"It was brought in by the economy it's a very quick fix for people just to get them back to work and so the economy continues to function.. Ok let's talk about your anxiety and go back to work.. I don't think they really ...care about people (laughs) not the therapists but IAPT is set up just to get people OK enough that they can get back to work and kind of carry on functioning" (Sandra,L212-215)

Sandra aligns IAPT therapists on the side of the client, again, against the institution of IAPT. The therapists care, "they" do not. She does not state who "they" are. The long pause before, and the laughing after "they do not care about people" suggests it is uncomfortable for her to suggest this, as the business of therapy should be a caring one. It may suggest a quick fix, like clients were on a conveyor belt, as if it is not the clients who matter, but the economy. It could be argued that because the IAPT system is conceived and designed from a limited perspective, it constrains what areas of clients lives practitioners are able to attend to. Cara's comments around non discussion of social contexts also suggest this. Sandra resists the discourse that 'work is beneficial for mental health', which was powerful at the time IAPT came about, and which links the social and psychological, as employment is the aspect of the social that is dealt with in house. I would argue that the fact employment is constructed as good for mental health, yet benefits are not acknowledged as having a serious detrimental effect on health, limits the responsibility on authorities to ensure everyone has a reasonable standard of living. The above taps into discourses around individual responsibility for wellbeing that can be reproduced by authorities to legitimise practical real world actions, linking discourses with social regulation practices (Foucault, 1977). Alternative accounts about the salience of social context are silenced in this discourse.

About housing and benefits, Sandra says,

"yeah I think there were places that you could tell people to go to em but it just felt like you're fobbing them off..there's room to have social workers or other kinds of professionals in IAPT services that could perhaps help with those things"(Sandra, L203-205)

Sandra's quote here conveys a sense of frustration and helplessness, as she does not have the power to directly influence poverty-based issues for her clients, and as she has previously stated, within the IAPT context it is employment that is the priority. Having other professionals to help with benefits, in house, could remove the weight of the social, and perhaps reduce the risk of clients feeling rejected as it would feel like a more integrated service. Sandra would then be free to concentrate on the work of therapy. Cara chooses to help with the social, but justifies this by framing it psychologically:

"they required me to help them fill out their PIP form as part of our..cos that was really stressing them out"(Cara, L58-59)

In this way she tries to bring social issues and the doing of therapy together, with the justification the client was stressed about the form. This is an example of subjects being regulated by discourses operating within an institution, in having to justify the filling out of the form within an IAPT session, but also positions the psychologist as having an opportunity to resist and an element of choice over how far the social world, and client poverty, enters into the therapeutic work itself. It also emphasises that the social is separate from the psychological, with regards to benefits.

3.4 Discourse: Mind the gap

"Class is produced in a complex dynamic between classes with each class being the others' Other" (Reay, 2005). This discourse constructs the world of the psychologist as separate, and different from, the world of working class clients. The working class world is not known directly, and what is known of it can be at times so different as to be shocking. Clients and psychologists both acknowledge a difference, which lies in contrast to the minimisation of class discussed previously.

3.4.1 Sub-discourse: 2 way clash- difference

Melanie talks explicitly about a class difference between herself and her client in the therapy room in response to a question about class based assumptions:

"middle aged white you know described themselves as working class British men and the first thing and here we have this interesting thing where we have kind of at that time in her early 30's, white, posh, woman sitting there and like these two quite different cultures or whatever in a room together of course there was conversations about that erm and that would come up I remember I had a guy and he was always like he had the thing and he was like yeah he was in the pub and someone bit someone's ear off and I probably looked quite shocked which I think anybody else would and he was like it's alright if that happened I'd look out for you like there was often a bit of that"(Melanie,L160-167)

The use of this particular example constructs the working class world as violent, shocking for those outside of it, with the psychologist needing to be protected by an inhabitant of that world if she happened to come across it. There is an 'othering' here which Hall (2001) refers to, with working class being constructed as fundamentally different to Melanie but also to "anybody else". The use of "anybody else" suggests a norm of behaviour that is the ideal, that there is a right way of conduct that most adhere to. Working class behaviours, therefore, are being constructed as unruly by the use of an extreme example of violence, which shocks the middle class therapist, as she has no experience of such behaviours. In addition, the use of "you know" indicates a shared knowledge, suggesting a discourse around white British men is being drawn upon, one that is culturally available. Melanie contrasts this with the description of herself as "posh". By telling me the client had "the thing" it again suggests a knowledge or shared understanding of what this thing is, that is culturally available more widely.

A real world effect of this construction is that if working classes are thus unruly and violent, then the more rational middle classes may be seen as having the role of supervising and taming, linked to what Foucault (1975) termed the regulatory gaze. This refers to a social dynamic of disciplinary mechanisms and power relations, and can include perceptions of individuals and groups, and unequal power relations that lead to regulatory practices. Lyle (2008) describes the middle class gaze of comparison where identities are defined in opposition to the other, and Skeggs (2009) says that morality became central to the recognition of class. In the quote above, the fact that violence shocked the psychologist suggests a non

violent identity in comparison to working class violence. It could be that the Chav discourse (Jones, 2012) is being alluded to here (council house and violent). In this discourse working class people are animalistic in nature, unable to control their emotions, but at the same time strong and tough enough to protect a damsel in distress (here the psychologist),constructing a side of working class masculinity which is more positive as it can be put to use. Again, it could be argued that it is likely one of the functions of constructing working class people in this way is it maintains the civility of the middle classes in comparison.

" erm I think I've had clients I think compare themselves to me and I've spoken about that I've made comments like you know "you don't understand you're not from an estate how I've been brought up you don't know what I've been through" erm you know they've said we can tell by the way you look or the way you speak that you wouldn't have a clue about what I've been through erm so I think that's been something that's been quite difficult to kind of handle" (Samira, L43-47)

"I had quite a few male clients saying to me at first I thought I couldn't work with you who was this stuck up cow you know from blah what's she gonna know about my problem" (Melanie, L157-158)

"sort of demographic of the clients erm and I would say that class was much more like relevant kind of concept in my work there a lot of the clients that I met were typically from working class backgrounds and it was noticeable because I've got this quite posh voice and the clients would bring it up like ooh you know they would say things to me" (Melanie, L125-128)

In the above quotes the differences are noted from both sides, suggesting that class enters interactions despite the discomfort around it from the psychologist perspective at least. Clients are telling psychologists that they are not part of their world. What stands out here is the willingness of the clients to talk about the obvious class difference, in contrast to the avoidance and discomfort of participants when the minimisation of class discourse was mobilised. In the working class world then, it appears from the data that clients are more able to speak freely about class difference and do not perhaps have the same limitations as the professionally trained psychologist. Within resistances, working class people are able to talk with confidence about living as a member of the working classes, but the middle class professional may be silenced within these constructions of cultural heritage that are often connected to class pride

(Zebroski, 2006) and can have the affect of ambivalence or shame in the middle class other.

"I had to bring it to supervision when the client said one of the things he said was quite striking was you wouldn't know because you're not in this position..I could really feel the division around that person when I never did before, yeah kind of it felt like an attack, I felt less warmth towards him after that" (Cara, L128-131)

Here the therapeutic relationship has been disrupted by class difference and resentments, with societal dynamics being replayed in the therapy room (Kareem and Littlewood, 1992) leading to rupture. This is defined by Eubanks, Muran and Safran (2018) as a deterioration in the alliance between therapist and client that can involve a strain on the emotional bond. It could be that Cara felt rejected by a client who she had previously felt warmth for, due to an assumption made about her not knowing, that Cara may have felt was not accurate. Later quotes from Cara suggest that her previous life experiences have included needing letters, so the assumption could have also felt invalidating of her own experience. Psychologists are constrained by boundaries around self disclosure (Zur, 2009) which could have added to the difficulty of the situation.

Indicating that class can be felt subjectively according to the relational dynamic, and that it is not an issue between middle class therapists and working class clients only, but that psychologists can feel 'less than' in comparison to a client perceived as higher class, Sandra says:

"People of a higher class can be really well spoken and I think coming to another professional they expect that same level.. makes me quite insecure and when I'm with clients of higher classes I'm definitely aware of that".(Sandra, L158-160)

The above quote is contradictory to psychologists aligning themselves with the class above in terms of knowledge and debating skills. It suggests that psychologists can also be uncomfortable when positioned as a member of a higher, upper class. As seen in earlier discourses, education and expectation of intelligence are factors, with the upper class client expecting the professional to be able to converse around politics, suggesting that psychologists are aligned closer to the class above in similarity than the class below on account of their professional status. So here, the professional feels lacking in her level of knowledge, contradicting the talk around working class intelligences as lacking, and suggesting that is it difference in education, how broad or in depth it might

be, that might appear salient in sessions, rather than intelligence itself. In a similar way, I would suggest that middle class psychologists might not understand working class contexts not because of a lack of intelligence, but a lack of lived experience of those contexts. Yet as discussed above, working class people are not granted the same grace when they are deemed to lack understanding or the vocabulary to demonstrate their understanding.

3.4.2 Sub discourse: No direct experience

In this sub discourse, psychologists construct education as a way of learning about class, and the educational establishment as the location this learning has taken place. The talk suggests that psychologists recognise that they can possibly have been removed from working class people, as well as class based issues, until faced with them in therapy. The participants are asking for this to be addressed by talking to working class people as part of their training, but contradictory to this is an expert positioning that education, intelligence and theory can enable them to navigate the working class world. This sub discourse is perhaps less salient across the data in comparison to those discussed previously, however it is significant as it is situated in the tension and contrast of the positioning of psychologists as expert from an intellectual, rather than a practical knowledge.

Talking about training courses, Samira says:

"I think like having people come in like who are from the working class who have had experiences of going into therapy cos I think that's the best way of learning..all the lecturers are probably middle class (laughs) they can tell you how should someone speak to them or what language should they use".(Samira, L142-147)

"it was very very difficult very difficult and I think also as a psychologist we're not really educated a lot about the social issues benefits the whole benefits system all of that stuff and a lot of the clients that I worked with most of them were on benefits most of them yeah had social and all those social housing kind of issues you don't really know much about it you don't really know how to help them or what to say or even to signpost them who do you send them to?"(Samira, L126-130)

This talk separates working class people from the psychologist in training, and constructs a difference, as well as a not knowing, with the second quote

separating the psychologist from the social reality of the systems that clients in poverty often rely on. The focus for Samira is on language, how someone should speak to working class people in a therapeutic context, what language should be used, suggesting that for her language may be the most salient barrier that needs to be crossed; the biggest difference in her experience of doing therapy with working class clients, how to talk to them, rather than how to work with them. Differences in values, lifestyles, class based traumas and differences in power and status are not a factor when language is salient. Sandra positions herself as having limited experience of working class people despite having worked with many clients in IAPT, suggesting an awareness that the contexts outside the room may be very different and that members of the 'other' class are meeting her in her own environment, which has a bearing on what can be known. Of the participants who discussed training, only one of them had class touched upon, the rest did not, perhaps reflecting a minimisation of class based issues in society more broadly.

In contrast, talking about difference, Samira says:

"We're all intelligent people to have done the course and I think we can work out a lot about differences" (Samira, L176)

Samira constructs differences as able to be worked out in the mind of the psychologist. The term "work out" implies a puzzle to be solved, which could again suggest an unknown quantity to working class clients.

Part of how Cara practices working out is:

"through me kind of having knowledge about systemic kind of therapy and systematic way of thinking I could incorporate it".(Cara, L82-83)

Cara constructs theoretical learning as a way of negotiating class based difference. This draws on discourses around professional knowledges, and can reproduce counselling psychologists as expert. It could run the risk of silencing the subjects being worked out, leaving clients spoken for, and reproducing a knowledge and power link that is mirrored in the wider world beyond the therapy room.

In contrast to this, Cara describes some experience of dealing with institutions from a place of needing letters:

" and then I wondered maybe it's because from my background that's quite familiar to me because well you've had to have that so that's not something that I was consciously thinking about?"

R: so you needing these kind of things before it's something that you understood?

"knowledge maybe? From experience or maybe erm"(Cara, L63-66)

Throughout the interview Cara is balancing her previous direct experience of need from institutions with a distancing and mobilisation of scrounger discourses. Her personal experiences are not talked about in class terms but rather in terms of knowledge and life experience. These discourses can be reproduced by working class people as resistance around the value of struggle and knowledge from adverse life experiences, in contrast to book learning in isolation, so it is salient to have it drawn on here in this context.

CHAPTER FOUR

DISCUSSION:

4.1 Overview

The aim of the study was to answer the research question: How do counselling psychologists talk about doing therapy with working class clients in an IAPT setting? Five counselling psychologists, ranging from newly qualified to 10 years experience, were interviewed and data was analysed using Foucauldian discourse analysis.

In section 1, key findings from each of the 3 discourses are summarised, and in section 2, in line with FDA principles, each discourse is situated historically and politically, and I have gone beyond the data in order to explore in more depth. In 2.1, the minimisation of class, and the strategies and functions of this, is further discussed, exploring who benefits and loses out from this minimisation. In 2.2, the varying constructions over time of the 'benefit scrounger' are presented, and the role of the psychological professions in regulating social norms is explored. Section 2.3 presents a history of how the working classes came to be maligned in the UK, and the emergence and function of the 'chav' discourse. Class difference in the therapy room from psychological perspectives is briefly discussed.

Section 3 discusses the implications of each discourse for counselling psychologists, and section 4 focuses on recommendations for the profession of counselling psychology, for IAPT work specifically, and for training programmes in the UK. In section 5 I address the limitations of the study, and in section 6, I present possibilities for further research in the area of class and IAPT. The chapter concludes with personal reflections on my own journey through the research process and the doctorate as a whole, from the perspective of a working class female.

4.2 Key findings

4.2.1 Class is seen and heard, but not talked or thought about

This discourse is contradictory, on the one hand participants identify social markers that can indicate class, but class as a concept is minimised, seemingly to avoid discomfort. Participants draw on the concept of socio economic status and encompass class within that, so that it can become simply about money and assets. Values, class pride and resistances, and differences can, as a consequence, become obscured. Class based issues are also constructed under the umbrella of difference and diversity, and self identification is presented as a legitimate way of categorising members of the working class, perhaps in order to distance participants from categorising clients themselves. The utilisation of political correctness could function to reduce discomfort for the professional.

Awareness of wider societal power differences seem to constrain participants from naming working class stereotypes explicitly, but it could be said there is a levelling out through explicit stereotyping of the middle classes and mobilisation of positive constructions of the working class. The most salient example of this in the data is constructions of middle class entitlement and focus on money, versus working class gratitude and good work ethic. The above example reproduces discourses that working class people utilise as resistance, and contradicts the minimisation of class based issues into socio economic status. These counter discourses reflect the nature of discourse, which does not fix a particular truth, but is flexible and open to revision. The professional status of participants could restrict them from talking negatively about the working classes explicitly, where middle and upper class people, however, are ridiculed which could indicate knowledge of differences in power between classes, and attempting to 'even out the playing field' but also indicating that power circulates, operating through a net like organisation (Foucault, 1980) and does not just flow downwards from oppressor to oppressed, rather, operating in a loop (Rabinow,1984) where it can be resisted and challenged.

However, implicit negative constructions around working class intelligence do emerge as class is heard by participants through accent and language, which, when combined with a client being on benefits, has the effect of reproducing unequal power relations as opportunities for critical thinking and resistance with working class clients in poverty are lost, whereas for the client at university,

information was shared. This lies in contrast to the ethos of counselling psychologists referred to in the data.

4.2.2 Intrusion of Poverty

Poverty can and does intrude into the therapeutic endeavour. In the first sub-discourse, gatekeepers of morality, psychologists can become aligned with government agencies in protecting scarce resources by acting as gatekeepers between the client and wider social systems, both in practical terms and morally, adding "institutional support" (Parker, 1992). Some participants reproduced constructions of an underclass that can be corrupt and immoral inherently, leading back to the idea of the middle class as being responsible for upholding what is good. Reproducing people living in poverty this way has real world effects (Foucault, 1980) as discourses shape and legitimise social policy. Foucault (1980) refers to the apparatus, described as physical, institutional or administrative mechanisms and knowledges which can enhance the exercise of power (O'Farrell, 2005), and for benefits could include laws around fraud, tight regulations about who receives them, lengthy applications, scientific and morality statements. As described by Cara, poverty also intrudes on the therapeutic relationship, the dynamic between psychologist and client, when the psychologist is positioned as aligning with the system through the practice of writing letters as proof.

In the second sub-discourse, social problems can be constructed as separate to the doing of therapy, so they become a problem when they enter the room with the client, leaving participants sharing in powerlessness and aligned with the client against the systems that contribute to this. The writing of letters and helping with forms for benefits is constructed as a matter of individual choice and not as part of the role, which can have the effect of pushing these aspects of the social away from the psychological. This is in contrast to the aim of getting clients into employment, so this sub discourse can indirectly reinforce and legitimise employment as a social concern for the IAPT setting, while oppressing those who are on benefits by minimising the effects of poverty on mental health. In addition, the weight of poverty and social concerns can feel oppressive for psychologists who are expected to negotiate around issues they are not trained for.

4.2.3 Mind the gap

This discourse is based on contrast and difference between the middle class world of the psychologist and the working class world, which is othered and distanced at points in the data. The 'chav' discourse is mobilised, this being more about working class behaviours and lack in areas separate from poverty.

The relational aspect of class is emphasised throughout with a strong recognition of it being brought into awareness, and power relations inherent in the helping relationship shift when this discourse emerges in the therapy room. Working class clients explicitly name difference, perhaps because they are unconstrained by the need to maintain professionalism and avoid causing offence.

Direct experience of the working class world is subjectively felt as lacking, with most participants acknowledging they do not know it directly, including not knowing systems that control the lives and outcomes of those in poverty. Intelligence of counselling psychologists is presented as a way of working out the social contexts of the working classes, which could add support to wider societal power structures and reinforce middle class professional knowledges as real and good. However in contradiction to this, participants ask for gaps around class and social inequalities to be addressed in training.

4.3 The discourses: history and political aspects

4.3.1 Class is seen and heard, but not talked or thought about

Throughout, participants, at times uncomfortable with the making of class judgements themselves, drew on the idea of self identification to explain class positions. Identity politics is connected to the oppression of social groups and aims to dismiss all negative ideas based around race, religion, gender, sexuality and other members of groups that are vulnerable to cultural imperialism, including exploitation and marginalisation (Young, 1990), and is a powerful force currently in the US and UK Fukuyama (2018). Burchell (1991) states that citizens can demand their rights to be respected, invoking the power of the state for support. However, the idea of self identification around class identities is problematic if it perpetuates, rather than reduces, inequality. In 1996 Pakulski and Waters argued that attention should be on more salient types of inequality such as identity based groups. They state that the political right are concerned with

morality and ethnicity, while the left now focus on gender, citizenship and human rights, with class being "passé with the post modernist avant garde" (Pakulski and Waters, 1996 p. 1). It is debatable whether members of the poor working classes consider class passé, with Thompson (1980) arguing that classes are experienced realities, collective experiences in lifestyle. Jones (2012) calls the denial of class "the class politics of the wealthy" (p. 248). Dalal (2012) states that liberalism is "taken to be the bedrock of the beliefs and practices of democracy, our way of life in the UK" (Dalal, 2012 p.14) with the aim of enabling all people to live their lives as freely as possible. However the liberal agenda has barely entered into the domain of class difference as it has entered the domains of various marginalised groups.

If a person from the poor working class identified as rich, they would not be able to stay in a 5 star hotel on the basis of that self identification. Treating class as if it was a matter of culture and preference alone "is one of our strategies for managing inequality rather than minimising or eliminating it" (Benn Michaels, 2006 p.10). I would argue that there needs to be a balance between acknowledging lived experience and classed identities, and addressing economic inequality. Crompton (2008) makes the point that if class identity only becomes the main issue, then the need for structural change loses importance.

Smith (2010) argues that dignity is no longer visible in contemporary representations of the working classes, with few positive images at all, in contrast to celebrations of identity such as Pride marches and Black History month. In the politically correct landscape, where the focus is on appreciation of differences rather than the elimination of them (Benn Michaels, 2006) inequality in Britain is increasing, with a fifth of UK children living in persistent poverty until at least 14 years of age, according to the Millennium Cohort Study (Metro, 12th June 2019). In 2018, doctors warned that universal credit was a serious risk to public health, with claimants stating they had considered taking their own lives because of it (The Guardian, 2018).As Benn Michaels strongly argues, "the intellectual left has responded to the increase in economic inequality by insisting on the importance of cultural identity" (p.7). One of the issues with submerging class into difference is it could function to dilute the salience of class, and therefore poverty, further. I would suggest that the umbrella of difference and diversity masks the consequences of inequality, for example the real poverty that many working class people live in. The role of class based traumas and limitations on achievement could become obscured as a consequence, perhaps having the effect of

maintaining the discourse that the individual is responsible for their own success or failure, that hard work reaps rewards.

The minimisation of class also is problematic because it can become a case of academics having speaking rights over the people they are referring to. Devine (2004) studied spontaneous talk about class and found that middle class people rarely raised it as a topic, whereas for working class people, it came up regularly, with resentment often expressed about the effect class had on their lives, and an acute awareness of the judgements made about them. Devine (2004) adds that the British middle classes find it difficult to talk about, and distance themselves from, class based issues because of the awareness of underlying tension, which Ryan (2017) terms defensive guilt. Denying the importance of class based issues and retreating into "defensive use of liberal individualism" (Ryan, 2017 p.89) can have the effect of reproducing classism and reinforces the discourses that support structural inequality. This discourse, then, can oppress working class clients, and working class communities more widely, by functioning to erase the salience of their day to day experiences and realities, which in turn, legitimises real world measures that have real world effects on quality of life for the poorest.

There are similarities between discourses around working class intelligence and the 'chav' discourse (Bennett, 2011) discussed later which psychologists could reproduce. The effect of this, because the social context of depression has been minimised, even though the psychologist views this as a salient factor in this case, the opportunity is missed for critical thinking together about social issues and the effect on mental health, and the client misses out on information that could have extended her knowledge of depression. So discourses around working class intelligence limit what can be learned, and therefore limit capacity for resistance and positive action, when they are reproduced in this way, indicating the power of what is unspoken, unthinkable and unspeakable (Hoggett, 2000).

4.3.2 Intrusion of poverty discourse

This section discusses the historical foundations of discourses around the deserving and undeserving poor that have been reproduced, and used politically, in different periods of time and different locations. There is no space to explore in depth all the manifestations of these discourses, but those close to the data are discussed.

4.3.2.1: **poverty is based on behaviour**.

The data showed that in the therapy room and in the IAPT setting, constructions around benefits are in operation, and that these can be linked, in discourse, to personal characteristics of claimants. The idea that poverty is partly influenced by the behaviour of the poor is one that can be traced back to the 1700's with the introduction of the Poor Laws, originally brought in due to a belief that poor relief and allowances were too generous (Hall, 2001). In 1901 White (cited in Welshman, 2006), a well known journalist of the time, wrote about those in poverty, "physically, mentally and morally unfit, there is nothing that the nation can do for these men.. to enable them by unwise compassion to propagate their kind is to hand on..a legacy of pure evil". The suggestion was to "sterilise the vicious" by refusing charity to vagrants who were poor because of their own moral lack. In 1905, Alden, who studied unemployment, stated that there needs to be a distinction between the "genuine unemployed man" who is looking for work and the "vicious vagrant who is in search of opportunities for plunder and who has not the slightest intention of working" (Welshman, 2006 p.25)

More recently, in 1974, political advisor in the USA, Banfield (1974) again returned to these constructions when he differentiated lower class culture from the working and middle classes, stating that the poor would not benefit from an improvement in their economic circumstances because of their attitudes, living in the present with no future planning or appreciation of education (Hans Michels, 2013). We saw in the data that working towards something was valued, reproducing these ideas in the therapy room. Banfield believed improving the work ethic under supervision, with legal consequences, was the way to improving social conditions, which has similarities to modern day policies around managing the unemployed.

In parallel with these ideas, and linked to constructions of working class intelligences, is the subject of the "lusty beggar" referred to by Thomas More in his work Utopia, written in 1516, and the depiction of the cunning beggars in Hitchcock (2016) writings on vagrancy, who "falsely convinces passers by of his misery and gains their coin in sympathy" (page 64). This discourse constructs a sly, criminal type of intelligence that can be linked with modern talk about those who commit benefit fraud. The subject of the modern day "chav" is lacking formal education but also possesses a "low cunning" (Connor and Huggins,

2010). This cunning enables the justification of what Foucault (1975) termed technologies, discussed later, to observe and counter their behaviour.

As ideas developed social concerns became the fault of the welfare system itself, rather than individuals. For example in the UK, Charles Murray wrote about the underclass in a way that reproduced discourses around the 19th century undeserving poor, that healthy people saw the benefits system as an alternative to work and displayed "deplorable behaviour..unwilling to take jobs that are available" (Murray, 1980 p.68). He talked in terms of deterioration and contamination, and suggested the benefits system be revamped.

It was in the 1990's that neo liberalism took over, as New Labour separated concepts of class from language around inequality to create what Blair called a meritocracy (Tyler, 2013) which is the idea that becoming productive is the route out of inequality, and masks the low wages and short term work that actually kept people in poverty. Under the paradigm shift (Palley, 2005) of neo liberalism, individualism became prized over the collective solidarity of the working classes.

Connor and Huggins (2010) discuss the benefit fraud campaigns that began in 2002 as part of New Labours zero tolerance approach. The public were encouraged to get involved in reporting fraud through ad campaigns, there was increased surveillance in the recording of claimants telephone calls to benefits agencies, including software that could detect nervousness in the voice and therefore indicate lying. What is left unsaid about benefit fraud is that it represents a minute amount of total spending on welfare, estimated as 1% which is 60 times less than the tax avoidance of the affluent and that also, many more people who are entitled to claim do not, in numbers that far surpass those who fraud the system (Jones, 2012). Therefore it is not an attack on poverty or an improvement in social conditions that is at the forefront, but an attack on difference, as in different forms of conduct, a different type of subject than an economically useful one (Procacci, 1991). The poor working class or underclass are constructed as fundamentally different from the traditional working class, when they are in fact part of the working class affected by adverse life circumstances and recession (Bottero, 2009).

4.3.2.2 The role of psychology

During the 20th century, it has been argued that psychology aligned with Government agencies in order to influence adherence to social norms, with a

focus on measurement of normality. Rose (1985) discusses this as the psychology of the individual, and describes a "history of practices, techniques, institutions and agencies, of the forms of knowledge which made them thinkable and which they, in their turn transformed" (p.6). In clinics such as the Tavistock, management and regulation became focused on anxiety and feelings, and normality was constructed as "that which did not need to be regulated" (p.6) that is, a state of social efficiency. This work argued that part of the role of psy professionals then was to shape public thinking so that subjects would fit into what the Government was establishing as what could be termed normal citizenship, according to the knowledges of truth that were circulating at the time, what is real and good. Foucault stated that psychology is one expertise, along with psychiatry, criminology and others, that is sanctioned by the state as a mechanism for integrating subjects into a social order, making them governable (Burchell, 1991).

For several participants, if letters are to be provided, there are rules as to what they will include and who will ensure honesty and rightness. The professional in this situation is positioned as the bridge between the poverty and poor social conditions of the client now, and the possible future gains that come through the provision of benefits and housing. Any critique of the benefits system is missing, the voice of the client and the stress of navigating the system is left unspoken, possibly because discourses around scrounging are more culturally available for psychologists to pick up, especially if they are not familiar with the benefits system from experience. The lack of explicit talk around scrounging from the system seems very powerful, and psychologists should be aware of the risks of masking the use of "disciplinary power" (Wood and Kroger, 2000) through gate keeping. There are consequences to not being aware of these issues, for example, class morality could be performed by gate keeping "in a discursive mediation that allows a whole range of technologies to be brought to bear on the social as behaviour" (Procacci, 1991 p.158). It has been argued that educated middle classes are liberal with race and sexuality, but not permissive with class based issues, as they seek to maintain the status quo and act as "bastions of the social order" (Reay, Crozier and James, 2011 p.18). This could be a uncomfortable position for the middle class psychologist, with this discomfort coming across at several points throughout the interviews. Skeggs (2004) describes how the working classes are associated with vulgarity, while the middle classes are constructed as more responsible. She argues that the self can be produced and

maintained through discourses such as these, with psychological processes functioning as way of dominating (for example if the working classes are less responsible, how can they be trusted with power?) Skeggs (2009) adds that the middle classes have not been challenged for the symbolic violence they inflict in daily interactions with the working classes, so a more critical and reflective approach on these issues would benefit both psychologist and client in the therapy room.

The psychologist, placed in the often uncomfortable position of letter writing, reproduces the benefits agency as a discursive practice by providing proof the client is entitled to benefits. As a result, the role of the psychologist as a professional who is qualified enough, and has the power to, provide that proof and be taken seriously by social agencies, is reproduced. This can leave clients with less "speaking rights" with regards to their own situation, as they are indirectly constructed less trustworthy by the need to fill out lengthy forms and provide proof in the first place. Again, I would argue that this is an example of classed symbolic violence, inflicted by governing institutions. Discourses around benefit fraud and the deserving poor are being reproduced in this talk, and have real world effects. The frustration expressed by participants around the issue of benefits and letter writing could link to holding the tensions between their desire to help, the ethos of counselling psychology, and the weight of societal inequalities entering the room with the client.

Rizq (2013) talks about discourses around IAPT being similar to the Newspeak in Orwells 1984 (1949) with limited buzzwords and terminology that strongly reproduce knowledges as truth, as the ideal, masking economic and political stakes. She uses the example of the term evidence based practice, saying that nobody would debate the need for interventions to be based on evidence, but that this minimises the role of the therapeutic relationship, constructing IAPT as a dehumanising agency despite the intentions of individual therapists, as Sandra alluded to. Statements around employment such as costs of IAPT would be offset by decreasing sickness absences (Layard, 2007) introduced a certain type of knowledge that was legitimised by statistics and scientific statements that make alternatives difficult. This is problematic when one of the basic principles of counselling psychologists is to encourage wellbeing, as mentioned by participants throughout, which seems to clash with the disciplinary and coercive tactics of the benefits agencies (Friedli and Stearn, 2015) such as stopping benefits and forcing claimants to work for free in order to receive their benefits.

4.3.3 Mind the Gap discourse

In this section the development of the' chav' discourse will be discussed. It links to the constructions around benefits claimants and functions to reduce sympathy and awareness of poverty and structural inequalities, not by minimisation, but by a reproduction of negative constructions of working class people. The sense of difference in the therapy room between working class client and middle class psychologist will also be discussed.

4.3.3.1 The 2 way clash

There is a power structure between professional and client both class based and due to the nature of the help seeking relationship (Boyd, 1996) yet it is the client who brings up the potentially sensitive topic of class first according to several participants. It has been argued that class based issues could be more salient to working class people, particularly those from poor backgrounds, and that when people are comfortable, it is easier to ignore class issues, as they are not relevant to day to day life (Sayer, 2005). Class is not just an add on but a major central feature of what happens to clients both inside and outside the therapy room (Issac, 2013). People are more aware of issues they are living through or directly affected by. Kearney (1996) that more powerful groups are less likely to challenge their position as they view it as the norm. Skeggs (2011) argues that working class people resist their position, and verbalising the unsaid can be a way of resistance and of the clients reproducing themselves as a class, and reproducing their psychologists as the middle class other, as occupying different social spaces (Bourdieu, 1989). An example of this is a study by Collinson (1988) on how factory workers use humour as resistance against organisational power suggests discourses around professionals doing brain work rather than getting their hands dirty on the shop floor, a different lifestyle, "fellas on the shop floor are genuine. They're the salt of the earth, but they're all twats in the offices". Similarly, the clients referred to in the data reproduce discourses around being stuck up and lack of real world understanding, talking of class difference as reality based rather than an issue of 'identifying as', with participants then reflecting on being positioned in this way. It is of interest that participants did not talk about their reactions when clients brought class difference into the room by explicitly verbalising it, or mention how they responded to clients in the moment.

The discourses around underclass arose in the 60's in the USA, becoming widespread as a concept in political discourses. Michels (2013) discusses

underclass discourses and argues they should be understood as 'Newspeak', terminology originating in academia and the media that is brought to Europe from the US by UK journalists and academics. Newspeak functions to ideologically prepare for the cutting and reduction of welfare/social safety nets, and is therefore linked to real world social injustices. Chav is a term first used in the early 00's to describe those excluded from the mainstream through neoliberal policies, with the Independent on Sunday naming it the buzzword of the year in 2004 (Tyler, 2013). "We need to theorise the figure of the chav as a figure of consent constituted by a disgust consensus, a figure through which ideological beliefs (the underclass), economic interests (the erosion of the welfare state) and a series of governmental technologies (media, politics, policy, law) converge to mystify neoliberal governmentality" (Tyler, p. 171).The term can be linked to, but goes beyond, discourses around benefit scroungers. The traditional working class were no longer framed positively after Thatcher in the 80's and her "offensive against working class communities, industries, values and institutions" (Jones, 2012 p.40). The seeds of divide and rule were sown as working class communities were turned against each other by demonising of vulnerable groups such as single mothers, while encouraging the notion that hard workers among the working classes will be able to reach the top. This seems to be a reactivation, described by Foucault (1991) as valued, retained and reconstituted discourses from previous eras, of deserving v undeserving poor constructions. Jones (2012) states that Thatcherism led to working class people going from the "salt of the earth to the scum of the earth" (p.72).

4.3.3.2 Effects on the therapeutic endeavour

The Mind the Gap discourse has similarities with the constructions of guardians of morality, in terms of function and real world effects. One possible consequence of this discourse is that the middle classes, as the more civilised, are responsible for the conduct of the more instinctual working classes, and therefore attain and keep power, utilising normalisation as a way of achieving this. As Hall (2001) explains, Foucault has argued that normalisation enables subjects to be compared and measured against a desired norm, while Taylor (2009) adds that the norm becomes a given, appearing benign and masking the relationship of the norm to power. An example of this is Lawler (2005) who argues that distinguishing white working class people from the white middle class functions to produce and maintain white middle class identities as separate, and draws a comparison to the USA construction of 'white trash'. Lawler gives examples from the British media

of articles that describe working class women as having peroxide hair, tattoos, and a diet of hamburgers and cigarettes, discoursed as lacking, not in wealth and resources, but in taste, morals and knowledge, and that the 'othering' of working class people creates a 'we' that excludes anybody not middle class. These discourses around class are currently 'sayable' in a way that discriminatory discourses around race and gender are not sayable in the media or official public spaces and organisations (Jones, 2012).

A sense of them and us, of differences between classes and a lack of direct experience of each others lives and contexts contributes to the feeling that the other cannot be known. Bank (1995) in the context of race, states that therapists can believe being person centred neutralises differences, with the consequence being that they become less important to address. Bourdieu (1998) considers class as something that is done, people are classed subjects through the positions they occupy in social space, and there is also an emphasis on relationality within this theory, in that the sense of own social space will involve a sense of the social spaces of others, which can involve defining by what people are not, rather than what they are, for example, middle or working class (Skeggs, 1997). Within the field of psychoanalysis, Foster (1996) has emphasised the need for work on both sides to be done when there is a significant cultural or class difference in the therapy room. Ryan (2017) from within the psychoanalytic framework, states that class contempt arising in transference "exposes what is often kept politely or defensively hidden: attributions of inferiority or superiority according to class" (p.121). Middle class therapists described feeling guilt about their privilege compared to their working class clients, and found it difficult to work with class based anger, for example feeling that some grievances were untouchable because they were reality based and perhaps not compatible with psychoanalytic work. This led to a stuckness in the therapy, as the data from this study also demonstrated, in particular Cara's experience which seemed to highlight the difficulty of practising CBT with time constraints when transference and counter transference connected to socio-cultural issues can come to the fore and be very much part of the process for both client and psychologist (Tummala Narra, 2015).

Samira touches on a working class person coming to the university to talk to trainees, perhaps in the same way she may have experienced representatives of other diverse groups coming in. The university, therefore, is reproduced as the institution responsible for difference and diversity awareness, giving it the power to decide which groups are heard by trainees, and it is implied in the data that the

79

trainers themselves are middle class, so may not necessarily be aware of class based issues in society and their importance. I would argue also that the views and perspectives of working class counselling psychology trainees may be under represented perhaps due to affordability, which is unfortunate as counselling psychology courses explicitly state they value life experience. Martin (2005) sent questionnaires out to counselling psychology training institutions and found that especially in London courses, there was some diversity among lecturers and trainees, and that there was a commitment to expanding discussion and teaching on issues of difference, including class, in training courses and in supervision. This was felt to be hindered by a lack of teaching hours in institutions.

4.4 Implications

4.4.1 The implications for counselling psychologists

One of the implications for counselling psychologists of approaching class issues in a politically correct manner is that they could inadvertently contribute to the idea that being working class is an identity that must be respected alone, and that that is enough in the fight against various "isms". This could prevent continued illumination of the bleakness of poverty, and stand in the way of change to the very real levels of disparity between classes in the UK, when counselling psychologists are in a position to influence policy makers and draw attention to the issues facing working class people accessing IAPT therapies. In addition, it seems important to acknowledge and reflect on judgements and discourses around a clients class positioning. If a barrier exists in the therapy room, or there are negative connotations around class that are present in the room with the client, then these can only be managed through openness with the client. Chang (2009) in the context of race, found clients were more satisfied when therapists used self disclosure around oppression and identity views and experiences. It seems salient that when class issues and differences were brought into the room, it was by the clients, in the context of seeing and hearing class difference themselves. Participants seemed constrained around introducing the topic, perhaps avoiding facing difference in a state of what Dalal (2012) refers to as thought paralysis, described as a state of confusion, in effect treading on eggshells in an example of the "liberal citizen being silent and silenced" (Dalal, 2012, p. 6).

All participants talked about the awareness of class based issues, such as poverty, entering the room with the client. The overall sense was one of hopelessness, being weighed down by it. Resistances also came into play, sometimes resisting

against the institution, their employer. In contradiction to that, the benefit scrounger discourse coming into operation aligned participants with Government agencies. This has implications for participants sense of self and of professional identity. In addition, there are wider implications, such as counselling psychologists being in a position to, but not challenging discourses that malign benefit claimants, and therefore downplaying "toxic social situations" (Moloney, 2016). Pilgrim (2006) states that therapists are partly responsible for class bias not through inhabiting a structured position necessarily, but through not critiquing the relevance of classed positions and inequalities in current times

Participants seemed torn at times between their acknowledgement of, and empathy for, the effects of poverty on their clients lives, and their need to put boundaries in place to avoid it overtaking the therapeutic endeavour. There was a sense of overwhelm, possibly because within IAPT the focus is still very much on the individual but also perhaps participants felt there was nowhere to go with the reality of poverty, as if there is no room for it in the organisation. Psychologists are in a difficult position if their employer seems unaware of or unsympathetic to social contexts and the need to be able to bring them into the work to benefit the client.

Psychologists are part of the same society as clients and cannot stand outside of it (Taylor, 2001) therefore they are subjected to and reproducers of the same discourses and knowledges, such as those around benefit fraud. There are, however, opportunities to use what has been learned from clients and from being faced with poverty in their work, to generate new discourses. Counselling psychologists differ in how far they engage with social justice (Hore, 2014) and what is left unsaid throughout the data is what can be done to alter the situation with benefits institutions. The lack of critique around this could be because it is viewed as out of the remit of the psychologist, and it is also possible that the sense of overwhelm leads to avoidance, as a form of defence that could impede the work, having implications for the dynamic and survival of the therapeutic relationship. Working class clients living in poor social conditions may have had adverse experiences with authorities or be unsure of what to expect from therapy, so may themselves feel defensive, or may feel vulnerable and seeking an advocate to help them navigate their situation.

Therapy can be limited if inhibitions and anxieties are not addressed, and therapists must be able to recognise and reflect on their own reactions to the

clients life experiences, which may include hopelessness and despair. That counselling psychologists may defend against guilt or helplessness in the face of poverty by leaving class unacknowledged verbally, while the client is fully aware of it in the room, reproducing the naturalness and taken for granted normality of the middle class, rather than opening up discussion. The client is silenced about class when the psychologist closes off, leaving issues salient to the client unattended to, again, mirroring the minimisation of class based issues outside the room. As discrimination along the lines of race, class, gender goes against the values of the profession, and as therapy is never value free, self awareness is fundamental as a matter of ethics (Shillto Clarke, 2006).

4.5 Recommendations:

4.5.1 For the profession

Counselling psychology can offer a basis to helping that is intuitive and grounded in humanistic values (Woolfe, 2016). It has scope to serve communities in a similar way to community psychologists, or clinical psychologists with an interest in social justice.

a) Go into working class communities

Kagan and Burton (2001) state that community psychology cannot achieve true liberatory practice without forming alliances outside the discipline. I would suggest that for counselling psychologists interested in social justice, working with and within communities is the best way of moving forwards. This may involve what Kagan et al (2001) term a giving away of psychology, which does not involve minimisation of psychological theory and knowledge, but encourages assertiveness, supporting a building of links between community members to develop a 'counter system'.

There would be benefits to professionals in leaving their comfort zone and entering a world they may be unfamiliar with, becoming "experience near" (Geertz, 1983). They could become more effective in client work with people living in poverty, based on learning in the client's environment rather than in their own consulting rooms or through book learning. They could more easily adapt interventions to client need, for example work could be carried out in client's homes or in community settings where rooms are available, which would remove many accessibility issues.

b) Engage in social action

I would recommend that counselling psychologists find out what matters to working class communities and engage directly in action on these topics. Walking alongside (Ness, Borg, Semb and Karlsson, 2014) could help break down class barriers and build trust, plus get people interested in psychology and what it has to offer. There are grass roots groups who are very aware of institutional power structures and are involved in active resistance and campaigning for change, who welcome support and engagement. Campaigning is an effective way of networking for psychologists who want to engage in community work and need a way in with groups who may be hard to reach.

As House and Feltham (2015) state, "an authentically critical radical Counselling Psychology might become a genuine possibility". I think of my own community work as operating from outside the box, but within the boundaries, with ethical practice remaining a priority, important as some community colleagues may be unfamiliar with the way psychology or counselling works or why certain boundaries are in place (Lott, 1999).

4.5.2: For IAPT work

a) Question derogatory discourses

Rizq (2013) strongly makes the point that counselling psychologists must be vigilant to the language they use and the language they are used by, as well as the kind of world being reproduced for clients through the use of such language. Psychologists have a role to play in picking up on and questioning discourses around working class people that may be discriminatory, as well as highlight the importance of societal issues that are not part of politically correct agendas, where these are being minimised. We saw in the data that discourses around benefits claimants and working class intelligence were subtly reproduced by participants, and that conversations between colleagues in the workplace had been overheard by participants. Having these discussions amongst colleagues could be a starting point for making practical changes that would benefit working class clients and address some of the issues within IAPT specifically. In addition, sharing and reflecting on the challenges and rewards of working with people living in poverty with colleagues, and in supervision, could help if practitioners are feeling frustrated or helpless.

By aligning with issues that really matter to working class communities, and raising awareness of them, we could disrupt discourses that limit change, such as 'chips on their shoulder' (Owuamalam, Weerabangsa, Karunagharam & Rubin, 2016) discourses, and challenge the status quo within psychology itself, focusing on value based work (Kagan and Burton, 2001).

b) Advocate for practical changes

There is room for more open conversations within IAPT around class based issues, such as poverty.

Firstly, it may help to make asking about debt and financial issues part of the initial IAPT triage. People who may not have otherwise opened up to their therapists about this will then be identified at an early stage. Delgadillo (2016) is just one of the studies that found recovery rates are much lower in areas of high deprivation, and although there is additional pressure added to IAPT services when screening questions are expanded, this could be mitigated by the fact that some referrals to IAPT would be better served by help with social issues alone, in cases where there are no mental health issues present.

 Some participants did talk of the effect on clients of not having money for bus fares, and this insight would be a good start in advocating for a different approach when vulnerable clients do not attend, for example. There is currently no provision for these clients within IAPT, with most services having a discharge after 2 missed sessions policy, which risks traumatising clients and punishing them for their financial problems.

In addition, there is an obvious need for benefit/housing advisers, or advocates/citizens advice bureau volunteers that work directly with IAPT. This would acknowledge that there is a link between adverse social circumstances and mental health issues. Gilbert (2009) advises the building of social support systems and the addressing of basic social needs as integral to mental health, and stresses the need for integrated services, rather than the one to one counselling model that currently dominates mainstream CBT services. It would be worthwhile for IAPT services to find out about community support services and link clients up with these, so clients could address social needs and build relationships also.

c) Discuss class difference

When class is a salient feature and strong influence over a client's life, it should be a consideration as to whether the psychologist should openly acknowledge it in the therapy room. We saw in the data that clients are likely to have an impression of class difference on meeting the professional and being open about it could encourage trust to form quicker particularly in work for clients who have had difficult relationships with agencies. Ackerman and Hilsenroth (2003) state that the therapeutic alliance can be improved through openness, honesty, a sense of curiosity, flexibility and respect. Day Vines (2011), in the context of race, suggest that by inviting the client to explore racial and cultural factors, opportunities to heal silence and shame are presented through a sense of emotional safety.

Opening up these discussions in IAPT could have additional advantages, such as understanding classed barriers and constraints in client's lives, exploring differences in values to minimise viewing issues through a middle class lens, which can be discriminatory in itself. Discussions could lead to a more complex understanding of how mental health presentations interact with adversity. Internalised classism, which can include anxiety, distress and frustration (Liu, 2013) could be picked up on and worked with, and these conversations could bring into the open doubts clients may have about whether the psychologist will understand their context and be able to help.

d) Integrate the social into therapy

Moloney (2016) explores similarities between community and counselling psychology, and says that conversations around values, experiences with power and oppression should take place, using the example that narrative therapists shift blame from the person and consider circumstances and contexts.

Talking about class where needed could make it easier for professionals to bring social elements into IAPT work. In practice, it is possible to stay within the boundaries of CBT while thinking outside the box as to how to help with social issues at the same time. Example from my own IAPT work include addressing anxiety and avoidance of dealing with housing professionals by allowing a call to be made in the session to develop confidence, doing assertiveness role plays before meetings with benefits agencies, developing problem solving skills in session that were specific to social issues, increasing self esteem by addressing self blame, discussing power issues and validating feelings of

desperation/hopelessness in dealing with the benefits system. These interventions would work best if psychologists were able to refer to in house, functioning and effective support services, recommended by Fairak (2018), and as discussed above.

4.5.3 For training

Most participants mentioned a lack of social class discussion during training and that they would have valued more of it. Again, this appears linked to wider societal minimisation. In addition, most psychologists traditionally are middle class (Iqbal, 2019) so working class perspectives may have been overlooked.

a) In doctorate level counselling psychology training, students should spend time discussing class based issues, structural inequalities and discourses around these, and should be encouraged to reflect on their own class position, as well as their ideas about and reactions to members of 'other' classes. An interesting starting point may be discussing current affairs and class based discourses around these, where differences in life experience and values have led to division. Discussions such as these would prepare trainees to avoid using their professional power in a way that could unintentionally degrade working class clients by holding differing values under a middle class gaze. Students would then go into the profession with an awareness of their own class based perceptions in more practical ways that they could be faced with in the therapy room.

b) Placements could be sought with community based groups and organisations where students would learn from those affected by poverty what their day to day lives are like. This would have the effect of breaking down barriers in a grassroots way, meaning social inequalities can be acted upon together in a way that is accessible to everyone.

4.6 Limitations

4.6.1 Method:

Interviews were the chosen method of data collection, due mainly to issues of confidentiality with regards to talking about work in the IAPT context. The discourses that emerged may have been different had a focus group taken place,

as they could have developed through the interaction of participants naturally occurring talk.

4.6.2 Identity of the researcher:

Participants could have felt limited or constrained for two reasons. Firstly, due to my status as a trainee, if they felt they should be a good role model or set an example. Secondly, the obvious social markers of class differences in dress and jewellery were very salient in several of the interviews from my perspective as a working class researcher, meaning the social desirability effect (Lavrakas, 2008) where responses may not reflect true opinions or feelings but be more socially acceptable or polite, may have been stronger for the participant. The findings may have been different had these participants been interviewed by a middle class researcher, as they may have felt freer to open up without worrying about the possibility of causing offence.

4.6.3 Voices of clients:

Working class clients receiving therapy within IAPT did not have the opportunity to have their voices heard, as this study focused on psychologists alone. Unfortunately this *does* mirror wider oppressions as professional voices are given speaking rights. The study was originally conceived of as involving both psychologists and clients, but was narrowed down.

4.6.4 Professional constraints

The research emphasises the need for social class to be acknowledged and brought into the room as part of IAPT therapy, for the benefit of the client. It remains to be seen how they could work in practice, when there are time constraints especially. As Moloney (2016) points out, psychologists within IAPT are employed by the state, so "how easy can it ever be to argue with the king who pays the shilling?" (p. 370).

4.6.5 Intersectionality

If I was doing the research again I would perhaps have included a question around interactions with race and gender to see how these would have been constructed by participants. Interactions with race are a salient feature of class, and immigration issues can be a current point of division in working class communities. The poverty of immigrants in the UK was touched on by one

participant but there was not a sufficient amount in the data to be included in enough depth.

4.6.6 Participants factors

Two of the 5 participants had lived abroad, which may have influenced their accounts. One participant in particular lived in the US for a number of years and was struck by the salience of the class system in the UK in comparison. This prompted her to take part in the study and could have influenced her strong critical stance towards IAPT.

4.7 Further research

Throughout this study I have emphasised that it is those from marginalised groups who are most affected by class based discourses, yet the study focuses on counselling psychologists only. What is missing are the voices of working class clients, including those in poverty, who have accessed IAPT therapy. Further research should use qualitative methodologies to explore this area. Similarly to related professions, it is difficult for trainees to explore client experiences in their theses because of time constraints and lengthy ethical approval processes (Jenkins,2019) leading to a prevalence of research exploring issues around vulnerable groups from the perspectives of counselling psychologists only.

4.8 Reflections

When I started this doctorate it was 5 years ago, and I was not aware of the journey that I was embarking on. Now that my work is complete I feel it is time to reflect on where I am 'placed' in terms of class. Does having the title of Dr make me middle class automatically? This is something that has been suggested by a few professionals when they have asked why I chose my thesis topic. Did I used to be working class? I feel no need to distance myself from working class beginnings, my friends are the same people who have been my friends for years. I did not embark on this journey because I wanted to escape my social class and not be considered working class anymore but the trauma of poverty and stress forced me to aim high and indeed rather than leave my people behind I am trying to use my new professional status as a way of improving their lives too. In the

working classes, a traditional value is once you make it, you try to bring others through with you. I am the more active in working class community projects than I have been before, for example I run a London Borough branch of a country wide organisation that works directly with youth at risk, gang members and bereaved families, we have campaigned at YouTube and at Houses of Parliament, engaged with MPs and been vocal on media platforms.

Women from the working classes who enter professions can feel it's positive to view the world through each lens, and of being connected to struggle (Mahony and Zmroczek, 1997). I would never leave the struggle behind because it got me where I am today, and I have never felt unworthy of entering a profession, or felt fraudulent as is the experience of some working class women (Mahony et al, 1997). This could be partly due to entering a profession where there is an interest in diversity. Reay (1997) talks about the "difficulty of reconciling socialisation into academic culture with a subjectivity that still draws powerfully on W/C identity" (p.18 of Mahony et al). There have been many instances on this journey where I have felt the difference in class position, and Walkerdine (1995) argues that in order to survive in middle class contexts, working class women have to develop a reserve and decorum in order to fit in better, and I can see where this is relevant.

I think my interactions with participants, although reminding me of poverty based traumas at times, have shown that overall I feel I have the right to enter professional spaces and operate within them. At this stage, although I am still very aware of class based micro aggressions, I do not feel particularly strongly about them when it comes to myself, perhaps because I have been able to fulfil my ambitions and my life is no longer controlled by corrupt authorities and agencies. I was given a chance by professionals who accepted me onto the counselling psychology training course and so I was able to develop a positive relationship with an institution of authority.

In terms of my community work, it has been interesting as I have not had to navigate my way in as a middle class professional, I have been trusted as a member of the working class community doing a doctorate, which is a unique position to be in. This trust is possibly because there was a natural bonding through class based trauma experiences and histories and the willingness to share these to support each other in hard times, and a recognition that we have shared goals because of some of those experiences that affect mainly working class

communities. There has been some dismissal of professional interventions in general by people who have been massively let down by systems and individuals within those systems. One way of addressing this will be to bring elements of the working class world into the world of counselling psychology training.

REFERENCES

Ackerman, S. J & Hilsenroth, M. J. (2008). A review of therapist characteristics and techniques positively impacting the therapeutic alliance. *Clinical Psychology Review, 23* (1), 1-33.

Appio, L. M. (2013). Poor and working class clients' social class related experiences in therapy. Retrieved from: https://academiccommons.columbia.edu/doi/10.7916/D84174D9.

Appio, L., Chambers, D. A & Mao, S (2013). Listening to the voices of the poor and disrupting the silence about class issues in Psychotherapy. *Journal of Clinical Psychology: In Session. 69* (2), 152-161. DOI:10.1002/jclp.21954

Argyle, M. (1994) *The psychology of social class.* London: Routledge

Ashworth, P. (2008). Conceptual foundations of qualitative psychology. In Smith, J.A (Ed). *Qualitative psychology: A practical guide to research methods* (2nd Ed). London: Sage.

Ballinger, L & Wright, J (2007). Does Class Count? Social class and counselling. *Counselling and Psychotherapy Research, 7* (3). 157-163. DOI: 10.1080/14733140701571316

Balmforth, J (2009). 'The weight of class': clients' experiences of how perceived differences in social class between counsellor and client affect the therapeutic relationship. *British Journal of Guidance & Counselling, 37* (3), 375-386. DOI: 10.1080/03069880902956942.

Banfield, E. C (1974). *The unheavenly city revisited.* Illinois: Waveland Press, Inc.

Bank, N (1995). Occupational stress counselling for black employees experiencing racism and discrimination. *Counselling Psychology Review, 10* (3), 8-14.

Bamfield, L & Horton, T. (2009) *Understanding attitudes to tackling economic inequality.* London: The Fabian Society with Joseph Rowntree.

Bem, S & de Jong, H. B (2006). Theoretical issues in psychology: an introduction. (2nd ed). London: Sage.

Benn Michaels, W. (2007) *The trouble with diversity: How we learned to love identity and ignore inequality.* New York: Holt McDougal.

Bennett, J. (2011). A critical social semiotic study of the word chav in British written public discourse. https://etheses.bham.ac.uk/id/eprint/1485/

Bentall, R. P. (2004). *Madness Explained: Psychosis and Human Nature.* London: Penguin.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1998). *Acts of resistance: Against the new myths of our time.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction.* London: Routledge.

Bottero, W. (2009). Class in the 21st Century. In *Who cares about the white working class?* (pp. 7-15) London: Runnymede Trust.

Bottero, W. (2004). 'Class identities and the identity of Class'. *Sociology,38* (5), 985-1003. DOI:0038038504047182.

Boyd, K.K (1996). Power imbalances and therapy. *Focus, 11* (9), 1-4.

British Psychological Society (2005). *Division of Counselling Psychology Professional Practice Guidelines.* Leicester: BPS.

British Psychological Society (2014). *Code of Human Research Ethics.* Retrieved from:
http://www.bps.org.uk/sites/default/files/documents/code_of_human_research_ethics.pdf

Bryman, A. (2008). *Social research methods* (3rd ed). New York: Open University Press.

Bullock, H. E & Limbert, W. M (2009). Class. In D. Fox., I. Prilleltensky & S. Austin (Eds), *Critical Psychology: An Introduction,* (2nd ed. pp. 215-231). London: Sage Publications.

Burchell, G. (1991). Peculiar Interests: Civil Society and Governing 'The System of Natural Liberty'. In G. Burchell., C. Gordon & P. Miller (Eds). *The Foucault Effect: Studies of Governmentality,* (pp. 119-150). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Burr, V (2003). *Social Constructionism* (2nded.).Hove: Routledge.

Burr, V. (1995). *An introduction to social constructionism.* London: Routledge.

Butler, P (2018, November 15). Exclusive: Universal credit risk linked to suicide risk, says study. *The Guardian.* Retrieved from:
https://www.theguardian.com/society/2018/nov/15/

Cannadine, D (2000). *The rise and fall of class in Britain.* Chichester: Columbia University Press.

Carabine, J. (2001). Unmarried motherhood 1830-1990: A genealogical analysis. In M. Wetherell., S. Taylor & S.J Yates (Eds). *Discourse as data: A guide for analysis.* (pp. 267-310). London: Sage.

Chang, D.F (2009). Making cross racial therapy work: A phenomenological study of clients experience. *Journal of Counselling Psychology,56* (4), 521-536.

Clark, D. (2019). IAPT at 10: Achievements and challenges. https://www.england.nhs.uk/blog/iapt

Collins, F. (2012) *Notions of 'Difference' in Counselling Psychology: A Discourse Analysis.* Doctoral Thesis, University of Roehampton https://pure.roehampton.ac.uk/portal/en/studentTheses/notions-of-difference-in-counselling-psychology

Connor, S., & Huggins, R. (2010). The Technology and the Artefacts of Social Control: Monitoring Criminal and Anti Social Behaviour Through and in Media Cultures. In J.J Chriss (Ed). *Social control: Informal, legal and medical* (pp. 109-128). Bingley: Emerald Books.

Costigan, L. (2004). *Social Awareness in Counselling: A critique of mainstream counselling from a feminist counselling, cross cultural counselling, and liberation psychology perspective.* Lincoln N.E: iUniverse.

Cox, C. (2014). *Social Context and Distress: Environment, Power, Distress and IAPT: A Discourse Analysis.* Doctoral Thesis, Canterbury Christ Church University. Retrieved from: create.canterbury.ac.uk/13273

Crocker, J. (1993) The stigma of overweight: Affective consequences of attributional ambiguity.
Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 64 (1), 60-70.

Crompton, R. (2008) *Class and Stratification* (3rd Ed). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Cutts, L. A (2013).Considering a social justice agenda for counselling psychology in the UK. *Counselling Psychology Review, 28,* (2), 8-16.

Dalal, F. (2012) *Thought paralysis: The virtues of discrimination.* London: Routledge.

Day Vines, N. L., Wood, S. M., Grothaus, T., Craigen, L., Holman, A., Dotson Blake, K & Douglass, M. J (2011). Broaching the subjects of race, ethnicity and culture during the counselling process. *Journal of Counselling and Development, 85* (4), 401-409. https: //doi.org/10.1002/j.1556-6678.2007.tb00608.x

Delgadillo, J., Saria, M., Ali, S & Gilbody, S (2016). On poverty, politics and psychology: the socioeconomic gradient of mental healthcare utilisation and outcomes. *British Journal of Psychiatry, 209* (5), 429-430. Bjp.rcpsych.org/content/209/5/429

Destress Project (2019). Poverty, Pathology and Pills. Retrieved from: http://destressproject.org.uk.

Devine, F. (2004) Talking about class in Britain. In F. Devine and M. Waters (Eds). *Social inequalities in comparative perspective.* (pp. 191-213). Oxford: Blackwell.

Dorling, D (2014). Thinking about Class. *Sociology, 48* (3) 452-462.DOI: 10.1177/0038038514523171

Edge, D & West, W (2011). Mental health and 'The Big Society': Where do counselling psychologists and therapists fit in? *Counselling Psychology Review, 26* (2), 17-23.

Eleftheriadou, Z (2010). Cross cultural counselling psychology. In R. Woolfe., S. Strawbridge., B. Douglas & W. Dryden (Eds), *Handbook of Counselling Psychology,* (3rd Ed, pp. 195-212). London: Sage.

Eleftheriadou, Z (2013). Incorporating class cultural issues in psychotherapy: a relational framework. https://eprints.mdx.ac.uk/id/eprint/12628.

Eubanks, C. F., Muran, J. C & Safran, J. D(2018). Alliance rupture repair: A meta-   analysis.   *Psychotherapy,   55*   (4),   508-519. https://doi.org/10.1037/pst0000185

Fairak, A (2018). The roadblock to recovery: How mental health practitioners deal with people's practical problems in England. https://www.citizensadvice.org.uk/Global/CitizensAdvice/Public%20services%20publication/FINAL%20Roadblock%20to%20Recovery.pdf

Fairclough, N. (2000). *New Labour, New Language?* London: Routledge.

Foster, R., Moskowitz, M. & Javier, R (1996). *Reaching across the boundaries of culture and class : Widening the scope of psychotherapy.* Lanham: Jason Aronson.

Foucault, M. (1991). Politics and the study of discourse. In G. Burchell., C. Gordon & P. Miller (Eds) *The Foucault Effect: Studies of Governmentality,* (pp. 53-72). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Foucault, M. (1972). *The Archaeology of Knowledge.* New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. (1977) *Discipline and Punish.* New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. (1980) *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977.* London: Harvester Press.

Friedli, L.,& Stearn, R. (2015) Positive affect as coercive strategy: conditionality, activation and the role of psychology in UK government workfare programmes. *Medical Humanities, 41,* 40-47.

Fukuyama, F. (2018) *Identity: The demand for dignity and the politics of resentment.* New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux.

Garner, S (2009). Home Truths: The White Working Class and the Racialization of Social Housing. *Runnymede Perspectives: Who Cares about the White Working Class?* (pp.45-50). London: Runnymede Trust.

Geertz, C. (1983). "From the Native's Point of View": On the Nature of Anthropological Understanding. In C .Geertz (Ed).*Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology.* (pp. 55-70). New York: Basic Books.

Gergen, K. (1999). *An invitation to social construction.* London: Sage.

Gilbert, P (2009). Moving beyond cognitive behaviour therapy. *The Psychologist,22* (5), 400-403.

Greene, B (2005). Psychology, diversity and social justice: beyond heterosexism and across the cultural divide. *Counselling Psychology Quarterly, 18* ,(4), 295-306.

Hall, S. (1997). 'The spectacle of the "other". In S. Hall (Ed). *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices.* London: Sage.

Hall, S (2001). Foucault: Power, knowledge and discourse. In M. Wetherell, S. Taylor, and S.J Yates (Eds). *Discourse Theory and Practice* (pp.72-80). London: Open University Press.

Hall, J & Marziller, J. (2009). The challenge of the Layard initiative. *The Psychologist, 22* (5). Retrieved from: https://thepsychologist.bps.org.uk/volume-22/edition-5/challenge-layard-initiative

Hawthorn, K. (2013).*Michel Foucault and the Examining Gaze.* Retrieved from: https://kirstyahawthorn.wordpress.com/sociology-2

Hayes, N (1997). *Doing qualitative analysis in psychology.* East Sussex: Psychology Press.

Hitchcock, D. (2016).*Vagrancy in English culture and society, 1650-1750.* London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Hockaday, J. (2019, June 12). One in five children suffer persistent poverty through entire childhood. *Metro.* Retrieved from: https://metro.co.uk/2019/06/12/fifth-uk-children-suffer-poverty-throughout-upbringing-9915590.

Hoggett, P. (2000) *Emotional Life and the Politics of Welfare.* London: MacMillan.

Hore, B. (2014). *How Do Counselling Psychologists in the UK Construct their Responsibilities to the Wider World? A Foucauldian Discourse Analysis.* Retrieved from: http://eprints.londonmet.ac.uk/681/1.

House, R., & Feltham, C. (2015). Counselling Psychology in the UK: A critical humanistic perspective. *Self and Society, 44* (1), 13-27.

Iqbal, M (2019). Increasing Diversity in the Workforce: Exploring Experiences of Diversity Issues that Affect Clinical Psychology careers. *Doctoral Thesis, University of Liverpool.* https://liverepository.liverpool.ac.uk/3065156/1/261227092_Nov2019.pdf

Issac, M. (2012).*The class dynamic in the therapeutic relationship.* Retrieved from: http://hdl.handle.net/2381/27810.

Jackson, C (2019). Slaves to the machine. *Therapy Today, 30* (4). https://bacp.co.uk/bacp-journals/therapy-today/2019/may-2019/slaves-to-the-machine/

Jenkins, P. (2019). First, do no harm. Second, do no direct, qualitative research with psychotherapy clients. www.contemporarypsychotherapy.org. 10 (2)

Jensen, B. (2012) *Reading Classes: On Culture and Classism in America.* New York: Cornell University Press.

Johnstone, L & Dallos, R. (2006).*Formulation in Psychology and Psychotherapy.* London: Routledge.

Jones, O (2012). *Chavs: The Demonization of the Working Class.* London: Verso.

Jones, C & Novak, T. (1999). *Poverty, Welfare and the Disciplinary State.* London: Routledge.

Juzwik, M (2012). Spoken Narrative. In J. P Gee & M. Handford (Eds).*The Routledge Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (pp. 326-341). New York: Routledge.

Kagan, C., & Burton, M. (2001). Critical community psychology praxis for the 21st century. Retrieved from: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/253379643_Critical_Community_Psychology_Praxis_for_the_21st_Century

Kagan, C., Tindall, C. & Robinson, J. (2010). Community psychology: Linking the individual with the community. In R. Woolfe, S. Strawbridge, B. Douglas & W. Dryden (Eds.), *Handbook of counselling psychology* (3rd ed., pp.484-503). London: Sage.

Kagan, C., Burns, D., Burton, M., Crespo, I., Evans, R., Knowles, K., Lalueza, J. L & Sixsmith, J. (2004). Working with people who are marginalised by the social system: challenges for community psychological work. Retrieved from: http://www.compsy.org.uk/margibarc.pdf

Kareem, J., & Littlewood, R. (1992). *Intercultural therapy: Themes, interpretations and practice.* London: Blackwell Scientific Publications.

Kearney, A. (1996). *Counselling, class and politics- Undeclared influences in therapy .*Manchester: PCCS Books.

Kendall, G & Wickham, G. (1999). *Using Foucault's Methods.* London: Sage.

Khan, O & Shaheen, F. (2017). Introduction: Analysing and responding to racial and class inequalities. *Minority report: Race and class in post Brexit Britain.* (pp.4-6). London: Runnymede Trust.

Kraus, M. W., Won Park, J & Tan, J. X. (2017). Signs of social class: The experience of economic inequality in everyday life. *Perspectives on Psychological Science,*12 (3), 422-435.

Lau, M.Y., Cho, R., Chang, J., & Huang, J. (2013). Method and Methodological Issues in Social Class Research. In W. M. Liu (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Social Class in Counselling.* (pp. 59-80).New York: Oxford University Press.

Lau, R.W.K. (2014). Integrating discourse, construction and objectivity: A contemporary realist approach. *Sociology, 48* (3), 573-589.

Laszloffy, T. & Hardy, K (2000). Uncommon strategies for a common problem: Addressing racism in family therapy. *Family Process, 39* (1), 35-50.

Lavrakas, P. J (2008). Social Desirability. In P. J Lavrakas (Ed). *Encyclopedia of Survey Research Methods.* (pp. 825). London: Sage.

Lawler, S. (2005). Disgusted subjects: the making of middle class identities. *The Sociological Review, 53* (3),429-446.

Layard, R. (2006). Happiness and public policy: a challenge to the profession. *The
Economic Journal, 116,* (510). DOI: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0297.2006.01073.x

Lees, J. (2016). *The Future of Psychological Therapy: From Managed care to Transformational Practice.* London: Routledge.

Levitas, R. (1999) Defining and measuring social exclusion: A critical overview of current proposals. *Radical Statistics, 71,* 10-27.

Levitas, R. (2005). *The Inclusive Society? Social Exclusion and New Labour* (2nd Ed). Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.

Lincoln, Y. S & Guba, E. G (2003). Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions and emerging confluences. In N. K Denzin & Y. S Lincoln (Eds.), *The Landscape of Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues* (2nd Ed, pp. 253-291). London: Sage.

Liu, W. M (2013). Introduction to Social Class and Classism in Counselling Psychology .In W. M Liu (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Social Class in Counselling* (pp.3-20). New York: Oxford University Press.

Liu, W. M., Pickett, T. J., & Ivey, A. E (2007). White middle class privilege: Social class bias and implications for training and practice. *Journal of Multicultural Counselling and Development, 35* (4), pp. 194-206.

Lott, D. A. (1999). Drawing Boundaries. *Psychology Today.* Retrieved from: https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/magazine/archive/1999/05

Lyle, S. A (2008). (Mis) recognition and the bourgeois/ middle class gaze. *Critical Discourse Studies,5* (4), 319-330.

Mahony, P., and Zmroczek, C. (1997) *Class Matters: Working Class Women's Perspectives on Social Class.* New York: Taylor and Francis.

Martin, P. A. (2015). Cultural awareness in 2 UK counselling psychology settings: initial training and supervision. *The European Journal of Counselling Psychology, 3* (2). DOI:10.5964/ejcop.v3i2.40

Michels, H. P (2013). The underclass debate: A discourse that maligns people living in poverty. *Social Change Review,11* (1), 45-57.

McLeod, J. (2003). *An introduction to counselling* (3rd ed). Buckingham: Open University Press.

Moller, N (2011). The identity of counselling psychology in Britain is parochial, rigid and irrelevant but diversity offers a solution. *Counselling Psychology Review, 26* (2) 8-16.

Moloney, P. (2016). Community psychology and the counselling psychologist. In B. Douglas., R. Woolfe., S. Strawbridge., E. Kasket & V. Galbraith (Eds). *The Handbook of Counselling Psychology* (4th Ed, pp. 363-378). London: Sage.

Moodley, R. & Lubin, D. (2008). Developing your career to working with multicultural and diversity clients. In S. Palmer & R. Bor (Eds). *The Practitioners Handbook.* London: Sage.

Morris, L. (1994) *Dangerous Classes: The Underclass and Social Citizenship.* London: Routledge.

Murray, C. (1980). *The Emerging British Underclass.* London: Institute of Economic Affairs.

Nel, P. W. (2010).Can IAPT help us fulfil our social duties during a time of economic crisis?
Clinical Psychology Forum, 207, 11-15.

Nelson, G & Prilleltensky, I. (2005).*Community Psychology: In pursuit of liberation and wellbeing.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ness, O., Borg, M., Semb. R & Karlsson, B (2014). "Walking alongside:" collaborative practices in mental health and substance use care. *International Journal of Mental Health Systems, 8* (15). Doi: 10.1186/1752-4458-8-55

Obrien, G. V. (2015) *Framing the moron: The social construction of feeble mindedness in the American eugenic era.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

O'Farrell, C. (2005). *Michel Foucault.* London: Sage

Oh, D., Shafir, E. & Todorov, A (2020). Economic status cues from clothes affect perceived competence from faces. *Nature Human Behaviour*, *4,*287–293. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41562-019-0782-4

Orlans, V. & Van Scoyoc, S (2008). *A short introduction to counselling psychology.* London: Sage.

Ortipp, M. (2008). Keeping and using reflective journals in the qualitative research process. *The Qualitative Report, 13* (4), 695-705. Retrieved from https://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol13/iss4/8

Owuamalam, C. K., Weerabangsa, M. M., Karunagharan, J. K & Rubin, M. (2016). Chip on the shoulder? The hunchback heuristic predicts the attribution of anger to low status groups and calm to high status groups. *Cogent Psychology, 3* (1). DOI: 10.1080/23311908.2016.1210998.

Oxford Reference (2019). https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093

Palley, T. (2005). From Keynesianism to Neoliberalism: Shifting Paradigms in Economics. In A. Saad-Filho & D. Johnston (Eds). *Neoliberalism: A Critical Reader.* (pp. 20-29). London: Pluto.

Pakulski , J & Waters, M (1995). *The Death of Class.* London: Sage.

Parker, I. (1992).*Discourse dynamics: Critical analysis for social and individual psychology.* London: Routledge.

Parker, I. (1994). Discourse Analysis. In P. Banister., E. Burman., i. Parker., M. Taylor and C. Tindall (Eds). *Qualitative methods in psychology: A research guide* (pp.92-107). Buckingham: Open University Press.

Parritt, S. (2016). Working with difference and diversity. In B. Douglas, R. Woolfe, S. Strawbridge, E. Kasket & V. Galbraith(Eds.), *Handbook of counselling psychology* (4th ed.,pp.198-212). London: Sage.

Pilgrim, D. (2006).Social Class. In C. Feltham & I. Horton (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Counselling and Psychotherapy,* (pp.36-40). London: Sage Publications Ltd

Pilgrim, D. (2010).*Key concepts in mental health* (2nd ed). London: Sage.

Platell, A. (2010, January 30). It's shabby values, not class, that are to blame for society's ills. *Daily Mail.* Retrieved from: https://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-1247231/AMANDA-PLATELL-Its-shabby-values-class-blame-societys-ills.html

Potter, J. & Wetherell, M. (1987). *Discourse and Social Psychology: Beyond Attitudes and Behaviour.* London: Sage Publications.

Powers, P. (2001). *The Methodology of Discourse Analysis.* Canada: Jones and Bartlett Publishers.

Procacci, G. (1991). Social Economy and the Government of Poverty. In G. Burchell., C. Gordon & P. Miller (Eds) *The Foucault Effect: Studies of Governmentality,* (pp. 151-168). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Proctor, G (2002). *The Dynamics of Power in Counselling and Psychotherapy.* Ross on Wye: PCCS Books.

Psychologists for Social Change (2014). Retrieved from: www.psychchange.org

Rabinow, P. (1984). *The Foucault Reader: An Introduction to Foucault's Thought.* New York: Penguin.

Rafalin, D. (2010). Counselling psychology and research: Revisiting the relationship in the light of our 'mission'. In M. Milton (Ed), *Therapy and beyond: Counselling psychology contributions to therapeutic and social issues* (pp.41-55) Chichester: John Wiley and Sons.

Raheim, M., Magnussen, L. H & Blystad, A. (2016). Researcher-researched relationship in qualitative research: Shifts in positions and researcher vulnerability. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies on Health and Wellbeing, 11,* (1). DOI: 10.3402/qhw.v11.30996.

Reay, D., Crozier, G., and James, D. (2011). *White middle class identities and urban schooling.* London: Palgrave MacMillan.

Reay, D. (1997) The double bind of the working class feminist academic: The success of failure or the failure of success? In P. Mahony & C. Zmroczek (Eds).*Class Matters: Working Class Women's Perspectives on Social Class* (pp. 18- 27).

Reay, D. (2005) 'Beyond Consciousness? The psychic landscape of social class'. *Sociology, Special Issue on Class Culture and Identity, 39,* 911-928.

Ringrose, J. L (2010). Working with diversity in psychotherapy and counselling. Karunatherapy.org.uk

Rizq, R. (2013). IAPT and thoughtcrime: Language, bureaucracy and the evidence based regime. *Counselling Psychology Review, 28* (4), 111-115.

Rizq, R. (2020). "What is therapy's value, and how do we decide this?" *The Psychologist, 33* ,56-57. Retrieved from: https://thepsychologist.bps.org.uk/volume-33/january-2020/what-therapys-value-and-how-do-we-decide

Rose, N. (1985) *The psychology complex: Psychology, politics and society in England, 1869-1939.* London: Routledge.

Rose, N. (1989). *Governing the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self.* London: Routledge.

Ryan, F. (2016, November 10). A generation of UK children will suffer in poverty. Suddenly that's normal. *The Guardian.* Retrieved from: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/nov/10/uk-children-suffer-child-poverty-crisis

Ryan, J (2006). "Class is in you": An exploration of some social class issues in therapeutic work. *British Journal of Psychotherapy, 23,* (1) 49-62.

Ryan, J (2017). *Class and psychoanalysis: Landscapes of inequality.* London: Routledge.

Savage, M. (2015). *Social Class in the 21ˢᵗ Century.* London: Penguin Books.

Savage, M. (2000). Class Analysis and Social Transformation. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Savage, M., F., Cunningham, N., Taylor, M., Li, Y., Hjellbrekke, J., Le Roux, B., Friedman Savage, M., Devine, S & Miles, A. (2013). A New Model of Social Class? Findings from the BBC's Great British Class Survey Experiment. *Sociology, 47* (2), 219-250. DOI: 10.1177/0038038513481128

Sayer, A. (2005).Class, Moral Worth and Recognition.*Sociology,39* (5), 947-963.

Shaheen, F., & OKagan, E. M (2017). How not to think about class. *Minority report: Race and class in post Brexit Britain.* (pp.22-24). London: RunnymedeTrust.

Shaw, I., & Taplin, S. (2007). Happiness and mental health policy: a sociological critique. *Journal of Mental Health,* 16 (3), 359-373.

Shillto Clarke, C. (2006). Ethical issues in counselling psychology. In R. Woolfe, W. Dryden & S. Strawbridge (Eds). *Handbook of Counselling Psychology* (pp 615-636). London: Sage.

Skeggs, B (1997). *Formations of Class and Gender: Becoming Respectable.* London: Sage.

Skeggs, B (2004). *Class, Self, Culture.* London: Routledge.

Skeggs, B (2009). Haunted by the Spectre of Judgement: Respectability, Value and Affect in Class Relations. *Runnymede Perspectives: Who Cares About the White Working Class?* (pp.36-44). London: Runnymede Trust.

Skeggs, B. (2016). Class: Disidentification, Singular Selves and Person Value. Goldsmiths Research Online. Retrieved from: http://research.gold.ac.uk/18996/

Smail, D (2005). *Power, Interest and Psychology-Elements of a Social Materialist Understanding of Distress.* Manchester: PCCS Books.

Smith, J.A & Osborn, M. (2008). Interpretative phenomenological analysis. In J.A Smith (Ed). *Qualitative psychology: A practical guide to research methods* (2ⁿᵈ Ed, pp.53-80). London: Sage.

Smith, J.A (2008). *Qualitative psychology: A practical guide to research methods.* London: Sage.

Smith, L., Mao, S., Perkins, S., & Ampuero, M (2011).The relationship of clients' social class to early therapeutic impressions. *Counselling Psychology Quarterly, 24* (1), 15-27.

Smith, L. (2005). Psychotherapy, classism, and the poor: Conspicuous by their absence. *American Psychologist, 60,* (7) 687-696.

Smith, L. (2010). *Psychology, poverty, and the end of social exclusion: Putting our practice to work.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Strawbridge, S. & Woolfe, R. (2010).Counselling Psychology: Origins, Developments and Challenges. In R. Woolfe, S. Strawbridge, B. Douglas, & W. Dryden, (Eds.), *Handbook of Counselling Psychology (3rd Edition)* (pp.3-23). London: Sage.

Sveinsson, K (2009). The White Working Class and Multiculturalism: Is There Space for a Progressive Agenda? *Runnymede Perspectives: Who Cares About the White Working Class*? (pp.3-6). London: Runnymede Trust.

Taylor, S. (2001). Locating and Conducting Discourse Analytic Research. In M. Wetherell., S. Taylor., & S.J Yates (Eds.) *Discourse as Data: A guide for Analysis.*(pp.5-48). London: Sage.

Taylor, D. (2009). Normativity and Normalisation. *Foucault Studies, 7*, pp. 45-63.

Thompson, E. (1980) *The making of the English working class* (2nd Ed). Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Thurston, J.O., McMeekin, A., Walton, P & Proctor, G. (2019). Clients' perceptions of unhelpful factors in CBT in IAPT serving a deprived area of the UK. *Counselling and Psychotherapy Research, 19* (4), 455-464. https://doi.org/10.1002/capr.12249

Townsend, P. (1979). *Poverty in the United Kingdom.* London: Allen Lane and Penguin Books.

Tummala Narra, P. (2015). Cultural competence as a core emphasis of psychoanalytic psychotherapy. *Psychoanalytic psychology, 32* (2), 275-292.

Tyler, I. (2013). *Revolting subjects: Social abjection and resistance in neoliberal Britain.* London: Zed Books.

UEA (2008). IAPT equalities information. Retrieved from: https://www.uea.ac.uk/medicine/departments/psychological-sciences/cognitive-behavioural-therapy-training/iapt

Vermes, C (2017). The individualism impasse in counselling psychology. *Counselling Psychology Review, 32* (1), 44-53.

Walkerdine, V. (1995) 'Subject to change without notice: Psychology , postmodernity and the popular' in S. Pile and N. Thrift, (Eds). *Mapping the subject: Geographies of cultural transformation.* London: Routledge.

Welshman, J. (2006). *Underclass: A History of the Excluded, 1880-2000.* London: Hambledom Continuum.

Wetherell, M. (*2001*). Debates in Discourse Research. In M. *Wetherell.,* S. Taylor, & S. Yates (Eds.), *Discourse Theory and Practice* (pp. 380-399). London: Sage.

Wilkinson, S. (2008). Focus groups. In Smith, J.A (Ed). *Qualitative psychology: A practical guide to research methods* (2nd Ed, pp. 186-206). London: Sage.

Willig, C (2001). *Introducing qualitative research in psychology: Adventures in theory and method.* Buckingham: Open University Press.

Willig, C. (2008). Discourse Analysis. In Smith, J.A (Ed). *Qualitative psychology: A practical guide to research methods* (2nd Ed, pp. 160-185). London: Sage.

Wood, L. A & Kroger, R. O. (2000). *Doing discourse analysis.* London: Sage

Woolfe, R. (2016). Mapping the world of helping: The place of counselling psychology. In B. Douglas., R. Woolfe., S. Strawbridge., E. Kasket & V. Galbraith (Eds). *The Handbook of Counselling Psychology* (4th Ed, pp. 5-19). London: Sage.

Woolgar, S & Latour, B. (1986). *Laboratory Life: The Construction of Scientific Facts.* New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Young, I. M. (1990). *Justice and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Zebroski, J (2006). Social class as discourse: Mapping the landscape of class in rhetoric and composition. *Jac, 26* (3/4), 513-583.

Zur, O. (2009). Therapeutic boundaries and effective therapy: Exploring the relationships. In W. O'Donohue & S. R Graybar (Eds). *Handbook of contemporary psychotherapy: Toward an improved understanding of contemporary psychotherapy* (pp. 341-358). London: Sage.

Appendix A

Advert for participants

Title: How do counselling psychologists construct their work with working class clients in an IAPT context? A Foucauldian discourse analysis.

Researcher: My name is Delia Gallo, I am a trainee counselling psychologist at London Metropolitan University. My supervisor is Dr Angela Loulopoulou based in the psychology department at the university.

Participants: I would like to recruit counselling psychologists who have at least 6 months experience working in a step 3/high intensity IAPT service.

Aim: This research is undertaken as part of my doctorate in counselling psychology and aims to explore how counselling psychologists construct doing therapy with low income or working class clients in IAPT. Class differences that may arise in therapy, and social inequalities, are an under researched area in UK counselling psychology.

If you would like to take part, please email me at:

dgallo@hotmail.co.uk

I will send you a study brief and consent form, and the details of my supervisor. If you decide you would like to take part, we will arrange a face to face interview at a location convenient for you. Interviews will last from 45 minutes to an hour and will be confidential. Any recorded data will be securely stored, and you can withdraw from the interview at any time.

The study has ethical approval from London Metropolitan University.

Appendix B:

Brief

How do counselling psychologists construct doing therapy with working class clients in an IAPT context? A Foucauldian discourse analysis.

This research is being carried out by Delia Gallo, trainee counselling psychologist at London Metropolitan University. It has gone through the relevant ethical procedures and is appropriately supervised.

You are going to be interviewed about doing therapy with working class clients, in an IAPT setting. This will include reflecting on class identities and how class issues may influence practice.

The interview should take between 45 minutes to an hour. It will be recorded and the recording will be kept securely.

The interview is confidential, pseudonyms will be used for the purpose of transcribing and writing up.

Confidentiality will only be broken if there is a risk to self or others.

You can withdraw from the interview at any time with no consequences.

You can withdraw your data for a period of up to 3 weeks after the interview has taken place.

My supervisor is Dr Angela Loulopoulou, who can be contacted at A.Loulopoulou@londonmet.ac.uk

Thank you very much for your participation.

Appendix C

Informed consent

Please answer the following questions:

Have you read and understood the study information in the brief?

Do you feel you have enough information to proceed?

Have you been informed that all answers given by you will be confidential unless there is a risk of harm to yourself or others, and that your name will be known only to the researcher?

Have you been informed that you have the right to withdraw from the interview, or withdraw your data from the study up to 3 weeks after the interview date, with no adverse consequences?

Do you consent to the interview being recorded?

Do you consent to anonymous quotations being used in the study?

Do you agree to the recording being kept for up to 5 years in a secure location?

Appendix D:

Interview schedule

1) What is your understanding of class in Britain

2) When, if at all, do you become aware of a clients class position and how does this awareness come about?

3) In your practice, have class based assumptions from the client about you, or about themselves, effected the therapy?

4) How do you find working in an IAPT setting, both generally and in relation to class? Is there anything about the IAPT structure that you feel could be positive, or negative, for working class clients?

5) Have you had any issues working in a protocol driven way with working class clients, and the issues they may bring to therapy?

6) Is there anything you would like to add that has not been covered?

Appendix E

Debrief

Researcher: Delia Gallo. email: dgallo@hotmail.co.uk

Thank you for allowing me to interview you as part of the research, your input is very much appreciated. I have recorded the interview as detailed in the informed consent sheet and will use the recording to analyse the data and write my thesis.

If anything came up for you during the course of the interview that you have found particularly difficult, please contact the British Psychological Society for support.

To find out more about psychologists engaged in social justice campaigning in the UK, contact the organization Psychologists For Social Change. Details of local groups can be found on their website.

If you have any questions, or would like to withdraw your data from the study, please contact me on the email address provided above.

Thank you again for participating.

Appendix F

Excerpt from transcript

I suppose I think of class as being erm perhaps a phrase that is used I don't know if I necessarily I don't think I really (tuts) personally I don't think I really think about class obviously I am aware of class I don't really think in terms of class (L2-4)

R: OK, yep

 I'm aware that there is, you know, in the kind of culture we live in people talk about different sort of class statuses and the common ones would be working class er middle class (L5-6)

R: sure

I suppose upper class is a phrase that people use erm I suppose some people might say lower class I don't know erm I think that's probably the four main categories of class that I'm aware of erm I think of I probably like if I was going to assign myself a class I suppose most people would consider me to be middle class what do these things really mean I think any statement about somebody that is too sort of headliney on the whole I would kind of question (L7-11)

R: yep

and yet obviously I live in the society that we all live in and I also make judgements based on peoples accents, probably the way they dress, maybe their schooling or like yeah did they go to university like what sorts of culture might they have grown up in so I think these things like culture, socio economic status, education status (sighs) they are all implicit perhaps in the concepts of class (L12-16)

R: yep

when I was younger well when I was in school I think class was talked about more and I my sense is that we used concepts of class in a more meaningful way whereas now, I think we don't really think about class and I don't know if that's because that's just me but I feel that class maybe is talked about less people I surround myself with erm but I think I probably think more in terms of like education attainment (tuts) class seems to come with a judgement, a negative

positive which I don't feel that good about so I probably think in terms of like descriptive factual information which I think could have contributed to people's ideas around what class they might be in but I don't really sign up to those ideas(L17-24)

R: OK

although I obviously am aware that if you come from a "lower" socioeconomic background ie your parents had less money erm, than another family whose parents had more money, you are statistically more likely to you know not do certain things someone whose parents had more money if we're thinking about it in terms of kind of financial situation like the economic bit of socio economic "status" erm and I don't think it has any you know these things are really complicated..in terms of what I'm trying to say, yes I acknowledge that there are divisions in class although I don't like I say I don't really personally sign up to I don't think of myself as thinking about people's class (L25-33)

R: OK, right

although of course, the way people sound I may or look or where I know they live or information tell me may influence sort of erm stereotypical ideas I might be have about them judgements or just information gathering sort of (L34-36)

R: yeah

(sigh) categories I might put them in, possibly, certainly will inform my sort of decision making processes perhaps I don't know if there's a decision to be made (L38-39)

[handwritten top annotations] Not willing to state stereotypes for WC as for MC endorsing they are an oppressed group? MC being talking of WC / what cannot be said

P1: I think that if I was going to be really blunt about it (?) working class clients I've had I'd be like yeah the person's working class they identify themselves in that way I would say on the whole working class clients make really good clients cos they have good work ethic and they are willing to engage and I definitely had that in I had a lot of people who on the face of it you'd be like I can't see how this pairings gonna work

[margin: W/C posita construction around work (different to scrounging)]

R: right

[annotations: class difference; Avoiding a judgement; class based guilt; MC appear trustworthy?]

P1: but actually I felt things went very well because there was some trust in me, possibly because of a class difference, which I don't feel very good about but may have been a contributing factor the reason I say that is that now..I used to work in a GP's practice up the road in quite a wealthy area quite a lot of the clients I saw there were quite like wealthy clients who came from quite privileged what I would call quite privileged background they've gone to private schools, own their own homes which might have been given to them by a parent or something like that I mean in this area that's a privileged situation to be in erm and I found a lot of those clients and this is a very broad statement often found those clients to be quite questioning and sometimes a bit sort of righteous in terms of I can offer you an appointment at this time "well that's no good for me!" OK why is that no good for you it's not that you've got something else on it's you want to go to a pilates class or something so it doesn't suit OK OK but like maybe I have some ideas about people who..are more wealthy maybe more demanding?

[margins: WC more engaged = greater power differences; MC clients express their need in the room]

[annotation: MC negativity more 'sayable'? (similar to "quick fix" quote); MC priviledge]

R: right

P1: because they're used to being able to be more demanding because they have more money and they think that money buys you what you want

R: right

[annotation: Avoiding a judgement]

P1: maybe dunno! And then the other side of that coin I guess are some of the people I've worked with who say they come from a working class background perhaps that didn't have that, were actually quite, you know, grateful and I don't mean that like ooh I come to you cap in hand but actually were appropriately grateful , not grateful (?) grateful about having therapy it's my job but could see that someone was trying to help me someone's interested in thinking with me about me to try and improve my situation and that on the whole is a positive thing *OK!*

[margins: W/C positive construction; grateful (good ppl)]

R: yes, yep

P1: and therefore if they're meeting me halfway I'll meet them halfway and that has been quite a positive thing and I probably would say that people who come from working class backgrounds would be more likely to fit into that category although lots of people from middle class backgrounds would also be you know very polite and..you know would want to engage in therapy because it feels like a good thing to do

R: OK

[annotation: Money = entitlement; other instances]

P1: whereas perhaps if you have made more money at times you can be more narcissistic erm and a bit difficult which you know can cause a problem in a protocolised way for sure what are we going to do BA activity diaries scheduling no I bloody won't!

Red - class references
Blue - IAPT services references

[handwritten: Unknowable the violence the others]

Discourses starting to emerge (early stage) [handwritten]

social separate [handwritten]

not meeting need [handwritten]

"they're coming to tell you about their problems and they've got all these other things and you've got a different agenda of let's do the thought etc and actually the reality is you're missing the point"

"even though that's not my role" — *not en remit, social separate* [handwritten]

"I did feel like a shift it feels like I'm in a helping role but actually when somebody it feels attacking you you kind of get a bit defensive" — *the therapeutic relationship* [handwritten]

"I did notice feeling not um not as warm towards that person" — *therapeutic relationship affected by class* [handwritten]

"I'm not a CBT therapist" *We aware (Counsellor)* [handwritten]

"but I can imagine that..if you're strictly following that then that can be quite difficult"

facts from different world [handwritten]

"I was able to attune to all the skills I've learned about acknowledging all the other stuff and thinking about social graces but the impact on gender class etc on whatever the presenting problem is" — *book knowledge* [handwritten]

"as a therapist I found I had to kind of adjust to the level of the client"

"pointing out now how live those processes were and it's not facilitated we don't talk about it it's just in the background" — *social context ignored, class invisible* [handwritten]

"I guess I'm kind of reflecting more but I don't think that it's talked about enough or we're not educated enough"

knowledge about class through education class invisible [handwritten]