Between Internal and External: exploring race culture through clinicians' experiences of darker skin colour in psychoanalytic child and adolescent psychotherapy

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Abstract

This qualitative research thesis looks to investigate the phenomenon of skin colour in the field of psychoanalytic child psychotherapy. This research is interested in why conversations around racialised skin colour appears to be a quiet aspect of psychoanalytic thinking and is known as an 'under-researched area'. The thesis begins with a comprehensive literature review into how racialised skin colour has been understood in psychoanalytic and social psychological/sociological theory. Then explored are the experiences of psychoanalytic child psychotherapists with darker skin colour, as a point of entry to observing the culture around race within the profession. Employed is a unique mixed method design undertaking four semi structured interviews in combination with an autoethnographic narrative analysis. Investigated are the ways darker skin colour is experienced in the mind of the individual clinician, the interpersonal therapy space and professional discourse.

Findings suggest psychoanalytic child psychotherapy must find ways to radically move away from (and with awareness) of traditionally psychoanalytic and politically affected race rhetoric, to develop a culture where trainees and qualified professionals feel safe to explore race with one another. This is imperative if the profession can offer young people and their families an authentic therapeutic experience, where novel, dynamic and developmentally valuable interpersonal moments are able to analyse the racial experience. This thesis provides essential thought and development

of new ideas and considerations for psychoanalytic child psychotherapy thinking, practice and training[1].

Keywords: Autoethnography, Black, Child Psychotherapy, Psychoanalysis, Race, Skin Colour, Thematic Analysis, White.

[1] This study is undertaken as part of a professional doctorate in psychoanalytic child and adolescent psychotherapy, an accredited training of the national Association of Child Psychotherapists (ACP).

Chapter 1: Introduction

Background

I struggled to finalise the title for this thesis because I feared determining its fate. I omitted any words associated with race, in the hope of avoiding a supine response. British society is not socialised to talk about race. If we do discuss race, in public at least, we are reared to see racism as a personal morality test - it is easy to see how boring this can get. Or it is often assumed race can only be understood through the eyes of people with brown skin. I did not want to be the next darker skinned[2] professional to talk about 'race'. In some ways, I am. I did not want to mention the letters 'b', 'a', 'm', 'e'[3], or feel a pressure in my psychoanalytic writing to permit race by quoting psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud or poet William Yeates (both of whom I admire). I needed to enliven a discussion that is fundamental to my understanding of self and engagement with others as a psychoanalytic therapist. But I will begin with

[2] I have tried to make as much room possible for critical psychoanalytic thought about race. This begins by denouncing conventional terms to allow clear understanding of their worth as the thesis develops. I use the words 'darker skin' to objectively describe people whose skin colour is darker than beige (a pale sandy fawn colour) towards shades of brown (umber, russet and dark brown). I use the words 'lighter skin' to objectively describe people whose skin colour is lighter than beige towards shades of cream and ivory.

[3] 'BAME' stands for 'Black, Asian and minority ethnic' and 'BME' stands for Black and Minority Ethnic'. The terms are widely used by government departments, public bodies, the media and others when referring to ethnic minority groups.

George Orwell who speaks precisely to the dilemma of language in my title, and culture in this work.

Orwell (1946) believed the decline of a language must ultimately have political and economic causes. In his essay, 'Politics and the English Language', he argued the decline as not due simply to the bad influence of this or that individual writer, but that an affect can become a cause reinforcing the original cause and producing the same effect in an intensified form, and so on indefinitely. This is how I had come to see race discussion and culture. My wish to not be a body of reinforcement drove my entire approach to this thesis.

So how did I come to be an individual darker skinned male talking about race? Qualitative research often begins with a question to be answered or a thought to be solved. Researchers describe something of a 'critical incident' (Moustakas, 1990, p.53) as an experience, feeling or inner disorder resulting in a puzzlement, desire and passion to know. This moment occurred during a professional psychoanalytic clinical discussion when a colleague suggested that the unconscious mind is not imbued with colour from external racial experiences. The colleague suggested, "the internal world does not have a colour".

As a psychoanalytic trainee child psychotherapist with darker skin, I was left wanting to understand both the comment and my arrested reaction. It is tempting to objectively think about race, but to do that would be foolish, particularly as a subscribed psychoanalytic thinker. The self and other are inextricably involved, as is our being between internal and external life (if we are to use these words). So, I

approach this thesis primarily asking myself what makes this self-assured topic, so illusively powerful. And what this topic must do with child psychotherapy, as at least for me, it does.

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Aims

This research aims to communicate personal, interpersonal and group culture around darker skin in the child psychotherapy profession. I hope the reader notices what they can, subjectively, feel about skin colour in relation to their own skin and thus encourage the culture of racial discussion as a necessary psychotherapeutic tool.

This study is designed in phases to bring about a purposeful triangulation of data. The first source derives from the undertaking of a comprehensive review into the theoretical and empirical literature in psychoanalytic child psychotherapy and psychoanalysis considering skin colour (Chapter 2). The second source uses an autoethnography method, exploring my experience of darker skin as an interrogation of the critical incident above (Chapter 4). The third data source consists of exploratory interviews (and following thematic analysis) with child psychotherapists who also have darker skin (Chapter 5).

I hypothesise that the close observation of my subjective experience, against the literature and other individuals' experiences, could reveal publicly unexplored

meanings held of darker skin, useful for enriching our culture of racial discourse and clinical practice.

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Contextualisation

According to the Office of National Statistics (Ons.gov.uk, 2019[4]), the 2011 census reports the majority of the population recorded their ethnic group as "White" (lighter coloured skin people commonly of European extraction), falling from 94.1 % in 1991, to 86% in 2011. 3.3% of the population recorded their ethnic group as "Black/African/Caribbean/Black British". London was the most ethnically diverse area with the highest portion of minority ethnic groups at 40.2%, with 13.3% classified in the "Black" categories.

The Equality and Human Rights Commission (2018)[5] produced an in-depth analysis of race inequality in Britain, highlighting five distinct areas (employment, education, crime, living standards, health care) where need for improvement is essential. Perhaps most relevant to this thesis, 'Black' ethnicities have rates of permanent exclusion about three times that of the pupil population as a whole and unemployment rates and poverty are more than twice as high for ethnic minorities.

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[4] <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/culturalidentity/ethnicity/articles/ethnicityandnationalidentityinenglandandwales/2012-12-11> Viewed on 7.12.2019

[5] < https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/race-report-statistics> Viewed on 9.12.2019

This study ran at a time when the ACP were thinking about how to make space for questions of social difference (like race) in professional thinking, and as part of this process curated the 2018 conference exploring these (see Chapter 3). In course or this research, statistics on the ethnicity of clinicians were requested from the ACP. This was not available and a recent newsletter to members outlined a project to collate this information[6]. It was evident the ACP was concerned with the topic of social identity differences which was inviting renewed critical attention[7].

Helen Morgan, former chair of the British Psychoanalytic Council (BPC) wrote a 2008 paper entitled, 'Issues of 'race' in psychoanalytic psychotherapy: whose problem is it anyway?', featured in the British Journal of Psychoanalysis. The paper is specifically concerned with colour discrimination; it questions whether the profession, particularly training experiences, are in a "colour-blind position", failing to acknowledge the experiencing of skin difference (Morgan 2008, p.34). She states the inability to acknowledge that racism has potential negative implications for the profession[8]. Across the four years of psychoanalytic theory and practice seminars, my

[6] <https://childpsychotherapy.org.uk/diversity-and-equality-form> Viewed on 7.12.2019 (See Appendix A)

[7] A notification was sent to the ACP membership by the Journal Editor in Chief informing that the coming November/ December edition (2019) of the Child Psychotherapy Journal would be a special edition focussing on diversity. It was later decided the Journal would be mindful to be inclusive of an article about diversity in each edition as opposed to publishing a special edition. This edition released following the submission of this thesis, was said to contain some of the first published papers specifically exploring race in psychotherapy treatment.

[8] The British Psychoanalytic Council later produced two editions of their quarterly magazine, 'New Associations' focused on exploring racial differences (2013 and 2016)

<https://www.bpc.org.uk/magazine/new-associations-12> 2013 viewed on 30.11.2019

training cohort had two facilitated discussions on race, taking place during our final six weeks of training (the final six sessions of the entire program put aside for discussion on 'social issues').

Onel Brooks (2012) paper, 'The dangerous usefulness of theorising about race and racism in psychotherapy', argues that caution should be exercised when theorising about race in order not to re-enact racial histories, instead of thinking about history in the present. Brooks concluded that we may have to live warily with tensions and due caution, rather than with attempts to resolve or dissipate it.

Child psychotherapist Geraldine Crehan and sociologist Michael Rustin (2018) explored why issues of difference in identity may be difficult to explore in the context of Work Discussions and Seminars[9]. They proposed that a specific epistemic anxiety may be evoked by learning that threatens existential security and a stable sense of identity, especially when discussing ethnicity. This is exemplified by a professional's reluctance to think beyond the sphere of the internal world, or conversely to recognise the phenomena of the unconscious as, 'anxieties about knowing' (2018, p.84).

The three important papers above cite a clear tension and inhibition to understanding of racial differences across professional (Morgan, 2008), theoretical (Brooks, 2012)

<https://www.bpc.org.uk/magazine/new-associations-22> 2016 viewed on 30.11.2019

[9] An earlier version of this paper was given at the First International Conference on Work Discussion, at University of Vienna June 10-12, 2016.

and training environments (Crehan & Rustin, 2018) [10]. Crehan & Rustin (2018) argued it is possible to discuss race if one holds onto the view that the task of psychoanalysis is to attend to the divergences between unconscious phantasy and reality… but it helps in this task if those engaged in it have a grasp both the unconscious phenomena of phantasy[11], and the 'external' realities in question.

In response, it seems important to bring the realities of racial colouring into more familiar ground, before leaving the introduction and contextualising some key psychoanalytic phenomena related to this thesis (Chapter 2).

[10] This thesis attempts to join and examine these recent discussions of race by purposefully reflecting on the 2018 ACP Conference and psychoanalytic Seminars in Chapter 4.

[11] The psychoanalytic context of this thesis begins with the British schools of psychoanalysis derived from the Freudian, Kleinian and Independent groups. Good introductory accounts of this history of psychoanalysis can be found illustrating the traditional and Independent theory development (Kohon, 1986; May, 2018). Pertinent to this thesis is the theoretical development of transference and *countertransference* theories (Joseph, 1985; Money-Kyrle's, 1956). The importance put on the dyadic element between infant and caregiver as two separate minds interacting (Bion, 1984; Fairbairn, 1952; Kernberg, 1987; Klein, 1959; Winnicott, 1965, 1986), was reflected in the understanding of the clinical encounter between patient and analyst, as psychoanalyst Heinrick Racker (1968, p.132) describes: '… each personality has its internal and external dependencies, anxieties, and pathological defences; each is also a child with his internal parents; and each of these whole personalities- that of the analysand and that of the analyst – responds to every event in the analytic situation'.

Racial colouring: darker skin

Racial discourse often fixates on the structure of chromatically lighter skin as 'White' and darker skin as 'Black'(Stevenson 2010), but rarely is the aetiology of racialised colouring used to contextualise its language and upheld construct.

British historian Prof David Olusoga (2016), notes that the mystery of human physical difference and its causes, led to an exotic and at times erotic fascination of darker people by Elizabethan English culture. The fascination of Shakespearean audiences with human darkness that was influenced by medieval meanings of the colour black as diabolical, of the devil, and white the opposing marker of purity and divinity.

As the British empire grew during the sixteenth century, along with its colonies and commerce, English sailors became involved in human slavery trade. Finding viable colonies on small less significant islands in the Caribbean, Englishmen quickly discovered more than any other crop, cane sugar had the capacity to make them rich. The original system of poor White indentured servants[12], along with some imported Africans, which achieved the first stages of settlement and development, failed to provide tobacco and sugar planters labour to cultivate their estates (Olusago, ibid,). In 1661, the Barbados Assembly passed the Barbados Slave Code. A clear distinction came to be written into the code between 'servants' and 'negro' (darker skinned) slaves; indentured servants remained under the protection of English common law

[12] Poor lighter skinned persons on harsh and abusive 'apprenticeship' schemes from England, who sold their labour for passage to the colonies in exchange for food and shelter.

(with rights to trial by jury if they stepped out of line) which was specifically denied to negroes. It was one of the first time a slave code divided society along lines of 'race'. Poor White people saw their allegiance more with White landowners than enslaved Africans they were surviving alongside.

In need of security (and psychological sanity), pioneers of plantation slavery labelled all Europeans, regardless of social background, into the new category of 'White'. The term had to be explained to newly arriving Europeans who were unfamiliar with the workings of the new slave society (Olusago, imbid.). 'Race' was born out of the will for states to manage land and power. The model quickly spread to other islands. In just over a decade, the English share of the Atlantic trade increased from 33 per cent to 74 per cent[13].

Around this time, American law was also debating what a White person was as they decide who was going to be citizens of the new country. In 1682, citizenship was limited to Europeans. It made all non -Europeans (Indians, negroes, mulattoes, moors) slaves to all intents and purposes. Whites remained citizens if they did not marry outside their race. From the 1700s to 1900s, a mulatto (coloured person) went from someone who had a quarter or more negro blood, to one sixteenth or more negro blood, to any person to whom there is any ascertainable negro blood– many classified

[13]The Company of Royal Adventures Trading to Africa was founded in 1660, the Company of Gambia Adventures a new-joint stock company formed the following year and later the Royal African Company in 1672 under King Charles II, contributing to establishing the business of race (Inikori, 2002). At least 12 million Africans were taken to the Americas as slaves during this boom.

previously as White became legally of colour (Wolfe, 2016). Over time, darker skinned persons (non-Whites), became referred to as Black.

Following the establishment of White as the marker of civilisation, came the need for policing this land, property and power. The idea of policing came gained official status in the 1700 to 1800s, to protect state property against people who attempted to take what is not theirs. In the eighteenth century, policing was organised by local communities based on watchmen; the government was not directly involved in policing. The City of Glasgow police, the first professional police in the UK, was established following an Act of Parliament in 1800. The police quickly used violence where necessary to protect those with power.

The legacy of race management systems across the globe is still alive today[14]. A person of brown and darker brown skin is usually considered Black in the western society thus subject to the stereotypes that come with Blackness, yet the same skin can take on different associations, for example within the colourism societies of Brazil or the Caribbean, where light-brown means middle-class and privileged.

[14] In America, the Thirteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution abolished slavery and involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime. This has led to continual public debate about the exploitation of the American judicial and prison system, which currently incarcerates around 25% of the world prison population. The Sentencing Project in 2016, reported that 38% of prisoners across the states were Black of African American, the largest ethnic, despite this group making up 13% of the entire population. In the UK People from minority ethnic backgrounds constitute only 14% of the general population in England and Wales, but make up 25% of its prison population. Rates of prosecution and sentencing for Black people were three times higher than for others, with Black African women seven times more likely to be detained than White British women.

Britain has a long involvement with colonial human trade, including more modern recruitment drives such as the campaign for African (and other) workers to support the newly established NHS in the 1950s[15]. This history of migration across borders has contributed to decades of complications around the legal definition of a British citizen[16]. Considering this history of race and language, one may then be better able to observe the way psychoanalytic literature has developed based on its historical and geographical context (in nineteenth/ twentieth century Europe), and why race is as a silent topic in the profession[17].

Skin tone significantly affected a person's position in humanity and the social world, including whether they could receive treatment or be a part of the psychoanalytic profession. Race was garnered in the bodies of individual people, it became rooted in political and societal reality, and was passed on through the minds of generations. It

[15] It has been difficult to know the extent to Britain's involvement in the history of racialisation. Operation Legacy was a Foreign Office program from 1950s – 70s, deployed to destroy or hide files to prevent them being inherited by Britain's ex-colonies, protecting against embarrassment to the British government, particularly concerning files highlighting racial or religious bias.

[16] The British Nationality Act 1948 made provision for British nationality and citizenship for the United Kingdom and Colonies. The Commonwealth Immigrants Act was then passed in 1962, authorising controlling of immigration into the United Kingdom from the Commonwealth and deportation of certain citizens. This act changed in 1968 and was replaced by the 1971 Immigration Act. Perhaps the most publicised controversy linked to these developments is the Windrush Scandal, where ex-colonial/Commonwealth citizens were wrongly detained, denied legal rights or wrongly deported.

[17] During Freud's era, global racial politics heavily influenced the individual experience. A darker skinned person would not be seen to be training as a psychiatrist. Legal slavery based on skin colour globally ceased towards the end of Freud's life. Segregation based on skin tone in parts of the world continued past Freud's lifetime, for example in America, a ban lifted on interracial marriage based on skin tone occurred in 1967.

seems vital to hold onto this complexity in psychoanalytic discussion and I hope that this contextualisation of darker skin enables greater mobility (and creativity) in discussions and distinctions between phantasy, reality and psychoanalytic task in the thesis to follow.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1. Search process

The primary object of this review is to establish the literature and discussion on racialised skin colour *within* the writings of psychoanalytic child psychotherapy and psychoanalysis[18]. To achieve this, the main source of this database search was PEP©[19]. A secondary objective of the NR was developed to outline critical social psychological/sociological literature written about darker-skin and race[20]. Considering this thesis' smaller scale, I chose to employ a narrative review (NR) approach to the literature review[21]. The NR method allows for an overview and consolidation of the

[18] A review of a specific discipline has been chosen to create a focus on the context in which the critical incident and research aims are situated. Were the scope of this study beyond the parameters of a doctorate investigation, wider range of psychological disciplines may have been included.

[19] PEP Archive is a major international source of peer-reviewed scholarly and scientific articles in the field of psychoanalysis, holding over, 100,000 articles, books and commentaries, including the full text for 72 psychoanalytic journals.

[20] The social psychological/sociological literature pertains to psychoanalytic theory and importantly analyses the contextualisation of darker skin described in Chapter 1. Social psychological/sociological fields are known for a more extensive literature base on the topic of race than in comparison to psychoanalysis. These support the search for literature in child psychotherapy which produced a small number of results, with some more applicable writings found in psychoanalysis (see Appendix B and C).

[21] For comprehensive explanation of the search design and process, see Appendix B and C.

existing literature to address the research questions of interest (Green et al, 2006). In contrast to a systematic review (SR), NRs have greater flexibility to address more than one question, suited to the exploratory nature of this study.

According to Rosella Ferrari (2015), there are no acknowledged guidelines for NRs. Ferrari set about outlining the form, stating, 'The quality of a narrative review may be improved by borrowing from the SR methodologies that are aimed at reducing bias in the selection of articles' (2015, p.230). As such, I consulted guidelines to literature reviews in both fields to create a mappable search with the methodological rigour of SRs (Green et al, 2006; Ferrari 2015; Bager-Charleson, 2014), protecting against subjective bias (Appendix B).

Review aims

- Evaluate clinical and theoretical literature in child psychotherapy and psychoanalysis with a focus on racialised skin colour.
- Identify the main psychoanalytic theoretical models considering racialised skin colour.
- Highlight the social psychological/sociological literature that pertains to psychoanalytic theory and analyses the contextualisation of darker skin described in Chapter 1.

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2.2. Review

Psychoanalytic Child Psychotherapy

The only article in this SR to feature in the British Journal of Child Psychotherapy comes from Judith Jackson, writing retrospectively on clinical data gathered while observing infants in 1966 South Africa. She deployed the Winnicott (1941) set situation research method - infant responses to presented object stimuli and observed maternal attachments - to examine ways infants' reactions could shed light on their inner feelings and detect early emotional disturbances. Jackson sampled fifty infants aged seven to nine months, divided into three groups: White infants, Black infants, and institutionalised infants. In the second testing, where frustration was introduced, there were significant differences in response between Black and White infants (1996, p357-358):

> I have more questions than answers in considering these findings. In what way, one could ask, do these findings reflect something of the way the Black mother unconsciously conveyed and projected her stresses and despair to her infant, namely, that too much was really out of reach in the Black African's life in the 1960s (minimal support in harsh living conditions).

The strength of this study comes with its uses of standardised testing and statistical analysis. It revealed how emotional experiencing appeared to differ on racial lines. The study is limited to identifying this correlation but as Jackson states, it raises how maternal state of mind and environment can have early effects on infants' emotional states.

The second article written in a child focused journal is Marsha Levy-Warren's (2014) exploration of an adolescent ('Nate') in America. She opens her paper linking racial identity development to core concepts of adolescent development; describing how adolescents enter the cultural world in new ways, shifting away from the interpretation of the outside world through caregivers' eyes. Both Nate and Levy-Warren are lighter skinned (2014, p.90):

> Nate: "Been backsliding. Bros are at each other. Over some bitch. Nigga didn't like his bitch smiling at the White boy… White boy starred him down".
>
> Inside I started to squirm... I felt a tremendous discomfort with the way Nate spoke- I did not know whether to say so, or whether I needed to just let him tell me about what happened in the language he used with his friends.

Some sessions later, Levy-Warren tells Nate of her discomfort with his language. Nate responds saying he noticed her distance and wondered why (2014, p. 94):

> I was flooded with thoughts about how to proceed. I knew, for example, that I could say that I didn't feel distant, but that I did feel offended by his use of language like "nigga" and "bitch". I could also ask him about how it felt for me to be more distant and see where that took us. To me, it was a conundrum that went to the core issues around the clinical frame and relationship.

Levy-Warren argues that her generational experience of race prejudice was different to Nate's, and that her reflexive assumptions about his use of language affected her

capacity to hear him. She believes that people in their twenties and teens are genuinely more colour-blind than those in their 40s and up. This conclusion feels limited, especially considering Nate's skin colour and context (in America). It seems the clinician's own biases interfere with her ability to explore not only the language, but the racialised Whiteness between them in the room. One may wonder about Nate's transference and use of language were the therapist darker skinned.

I think Levy-Warren's paper urgently highlights how thinking about race can impact on the analyst's whole sense of the analytic frame and task. The paper's strength is its ability to use the single case study as a scientific arena for discovery (Levy-Warren saw this patient for four years). Michael Rustin (2003) likens the consulting room to a laboratory where, through the consistency of sessions being at the same time, same day, same room and with the same therapist, the detail of the sessions can be systematically gathered[22].

[22] Most of the literature reviewed in this section comes from the single case study methodology. The main process is the tracking of individual feeling and relational processes, within the psychoanalytic frame of individual therapist/analyst and patient. This close observation of the interaction appears to allow for greater opportunity to communicate the unconscious processes occurring. An in-depth example of this is noticed below where the development of theoretical concepts is manufactured from prolonged and extensive observations from analysts, of their clinical relationships.

Psychoanalysis

The SR in psychoanalysis begins with the oldest results from British sources. Farhad Dalal, a psychoanalytic psychotherapist and group analyst, wrote the paper 'Racism: Processes of Detachment, Dehuminzation and Hatred' (2006; 2002).

Dalal commences by observing a colleague who shared that she felt frightened and alone on a train when noticing she was the only person with White skin – he notes how remarkable it is one can feel alone in a carriage full of people. Dalal uses this example to describe an often, unconscious process of discrimination when faced with differences in race rendering both innocuous and deadly results.

Dalal suggests that psychoanalytic theories of (individual) projection are limited if one were to use them to explain racial discrimination in the psyche. Taking his example, he understood something has occurred in human formation where we simultaneously experience others as different and similar. Dalal describes a kind of hallucination in which people like 'us' appear to be more similar than they actually are, and the gap between the groupings (the 'us' and 'them') appears greater than it is; going on to say 'emotions are called into play to help maintain the distance between us and varieties of them' (Dalal, 2006, p.152). He states that the primary additional mechanism is where 'them' are denigrated and 'us' are idealised. Dalal considers race to be an example of an illusory category of this kind.

Reflecting on the critical incident I observed (Chapter 1), Dalal's theory would argue if external life can produce behavioural reactions based on skin colour, the internal world must uphold some racial colour coding. Dalal believes that the process of

attachment works on an individual and group bases, however subliminal our sense of them might be:

> The fact that we inhabit a racialised and colour-coded world means that, through psychosocial developmental process, each of us, of necessity, imbibes a version of that world order, such that our psyches, too, become colour coded and racialised. And then in turn, we continue to reproduce and sustain the processes of racialisation, despite our efforts not to do so (p.157).

The strength of Dalal's paper is in his review of a range of theoretical concepts (Klein, 1959; Fairbairn, 1935; Winnicott, 1965) to outline how psychoanalysis of the individual can sometimes miss opportunities to explain the processes of group othering (Dalal, 2006, p.158-160). Dalal also notices the words 'White' and 'Black' were both used in the creation of race, crucially inviting ideas of Blackness *and* Whiteness into the conversation. Perhaps missing in the paper (regarding the child psychotherapists task) is detailed exploration of how social racialisation manifests in the individual's interpersonal mind.

Featuring in the British Journal of Psychoanalysis, Frank Lowe's (2008) paper, 'Colonial object relations: going underground, Black-White relationships', uses Kleinian object relations theory to explore the relationship between Black and White people in the individual interpersonal mind. His central premise is that Black and White represent part objects in the mind and constitute a destructive type of object relation inherited from the history of colonisation.

Lowe uses clinical material to explain how unwanted internal aspects of self can be split off and projected into pre-existing aspects of external society as a way of managing one's anxieties of self. He discusses a darker-skinned adolescent patient called 'K' who describes a phobia of small places, linked later in the therapy to an anxiety of being attacked by Black girls:

> K's phobia was therefore a product of colonial object-relations within the psyche, an unconscious identification with White superiority and fear and a hatred of Black inferiority, that is, the Black part of herself. It is significant that K was particularly fearful of 'Black girls', in fact, mixed-race girls as they mirrored the self she feared, hated and wanted to obliterate (2008, p.27).

Lowe believed the unconscious attempt in K for the White parts to control the Black parts in the psyche, is recognisable as it also operates in social structures, as people often equate Whiteness with power (Lowe, 2011). Lowe refers to writings of Fanon (1952), stating that assumptions about race are not only a product of personal history but of social history; in the same way the psyche is a product of both.

Lowe later provides some reflection on how, as a darker-skinned clinician, his skin colour is acknowledged in case allocation, but there can be difficulty to think further about what this means in the clinical encounter. Lowe states the thinking behind the case allocation was fuzzy but moreover, 'opportunities for learning is lost' (Lowe, 2008, p.33) not only because of unconscious forces at play, but also conscious reactions.

I think Lowe's paper begins to provide evidence of the complexity involved in racial discourse at both a clinical and professionally discursive space[23]. The critical incident introduced in Chapter 1 may then be saturated with individual and societal forces that are experienced at different levels of consciousness in any moment.

Barbra Fletchman Smith (2000, 2011) continues the discussion of societal forces in her books on 'Mental Slavery' and 'Transcending the legacies of Slavery'. Through exploring the psychoanalytic treatment of formerly enslaved and colonised people from the Caribbean, she draws attention to transgenerational trauma, progressing understanding of particular themes when working with this group.

Fletchman Smith details how the violent plantation regimes (keeping men and women in separate barracks, rape, mutilation and the sexual exploitation and sale of children between different plantations) should be thought about in relation to psychoanalytic theories of child development, the Oedipus complex and attachment theory, to support understanding of the Caribbean culture that reaches the consulting room. Fletchman Smith clinically illustrates some traumas observable in the common culture of Caribbean clients such as the absence of fathers, difficulties in forming lasting couple relationships, or the violence in males at the service of trying to define and defend their masculinity.

[23] Frank Lowe released a book titled Thinking Space (2014) which continues to think about these issues. He set up a Thinking Space movement in London for staff and trainees across disciplines to think about forms of hatred towards difference in ourselves and others.

Due to her wide clinical material, Fletchman Smith compellingly observes subtle manifestations of trauma, 'as injury to the psyche passed down through individuals of the unformed or broken couple'. Here she notes how children come to the knowledge of slavery through parental anxieties about fears of personal safety, bad sexual intercourse, parental states of utter despair and helplessness or complete rage and destructiveness. There are few publications in British psychoanalysis that help to understand what has been transmitted since slavery in the developing child's mind, in the context of our UK working. Her work introduces a seriousness to the issue of transference and countertransference within the therapy room, where the shared history of slavery, colonisation and power exist, if professionals alongside patients dare to engage with it. Similar frankness has been further explored in the context of America.

Neil Altman, psychoanalyst and Editor of international journal 'Psychoanalytic Dialogues', wrote a 2000 paper titled 'Black and White Thinking'. He believes race emerges from dichotomised Black/White thinking, noting every social dichotomy establishes a hierarchy (Foucault, 1980), including the psychoanalytic frame (e.g. rational/irrational). Altman believes race history of superior, inferior is built into the ways we think, speak, and the concepts and language through which we are socialized. He argues that unconscious racism should be expected to be present in clinical work at this point in history. In one case example, he observes unconscious racist attitudes and stereotyping between himself as a White Jewish man and his African American patient (2000, p.598):

> My resistance and anxiety about becoming the greedy Jew, as well as my fear of becoming the oppressive White man, led me to delay confronting Mr. A about his bounced checks or taking up the issue of racism with him. My level of anger may also have made the spectre of racist violence too powerful a fantasy. Within our intersubjectively created third space, one of us was to be victimised, and the other was to be the victimiser… I believe it might have been helpful if I had used my awareness of racism in myself to explore more explicitly race-linked feelings between us. My failure to do so may well constitute another modality in which my racism, along with my anxiety about racism, was transmitted.

Altman's overriding argument is that it is crucial for the analyst to attempt to become familiar with their own racist attitudes and feelings considering their influence on the analytic process. Altman (2000) manages to communicate his involvement in this intellectually, nevertheless battles with his active interpersonal involvement with his patient's struggle. He states that truly reparative efforts depend on an acknowledgement of racism in the intersubjective transference-countertransference.

In the literature search, several American papers refer to this importance of intersubjectivity (Leary, 1995, 1997, 2008; Holmes, 1992, 1999). There is intersubjectivity between people if (their individual subjectivities) agree on a given set of meanings or a definition of the situation. The idea that follows is that racialised skin colour exists and is experienced primarily as a shared subjective state, more so than obligatory social category.

Dorothy Holmes (1992) a clinician with darker skin, presented five cases; three patients were darker skinned and two were lighter skinned. She demonstrates race

can be operated by patients in both colour groups to express various kinds of transferences. One example was the case of Mr. D; a 24-year-old White man, seeking analysis because of difficulty in intimate relationships (1992, p.6). Holmes noted how the patient's difficult experience of his mother was addressed through an opening of racialised erotic transference:

> Analyst:
>
> You seemed to get uncomfortable as you began to talk about shooting raccoons. Can you say what disturbed you at that point?
>
> M. D:
>
> Your judgement – sex as dirty, darker and degraded
>
> Analyst:
>
> Shootings… the darker… racoons… degraded. You put all of this together in your mind in such a way that you expect a rebuke from me.
>
> Mr. D (after pained silence):
>
> Black men are called 'coons'. They get shot down (long pause). I'm being provocative.

At this point in the session, Mr. D is reported to recall a period in his adolescence when he provoked sexually tinged physical encounters with his mother, ending in a moment when they slapped each other. In later sessions Mr. D goes on to talk about attraction to Black women at his workplace and how the shooting of racoons stood for killing of his competitors, including Black men. Holmes states that Mr. D used race

provocatively in the hope of angering her as a justification for his own frustrations and infantile desires to kill his father.

This case illustrates how race may be unconsciously used with the darker-skinned therapist as a place to discard and not think about the unwanted feelings of a patient. Instead of causing disruption, this moment became central to the work. Holmes believed for many patients, 'even their most irrational uses of race may be accessible in the therapy process and when so, they may helpfully elucidate the transference' (1992, p.11). Holmes believed a common issue with racial conflicts not being worked with, is due to stereotypical White guilt and Black over-identification with the oppressed – creating a collective (intersubjective) tendency to reinforce a racial position, only at the point which it has become unacceptable. I think Holmes is saying the use of racialisation as tool in analysis is not only underused but lacks nuance.

Kimberlyn Leary (1997) agrees noting that race, particularly when observable features of the analyst's self are present (e.g. skin colour), can represent a kind of self-disclosure likely to shape the clinical dialogue to follow. Christopher Bonvoitz's (2005) explicitly states, 'Culture colours the internal world of objects and, not only influences, but participates in constituting the psychoanalytic dyad' (2005, p.76). What seems significant to intersubjective theory is a vital call for psychoanalysis to be supple when exploring racialised skin colour.

Referencing Bonovitz (2005) and Altman (2000), Zelda Gillian Knight (2013) a South African psychoanalyst, tackles this question through a clinical presentation. Writing in the 'International Journal of Psychoanalysis', Knight details her response as a lighter

skinned woman to her darker skinned patients racial struggle. She describes her patient telling a story of being abducted and verbally abused (because of her darker skin), by a fair-skinned Afrikaans traffic officer. Knight comments that stories and events in therapy told by the patients, often carry unconscious messages of how they feel about the therapist and therapy itself. Knight believes the patient wants to explore something of her Blackness and perhaps the difference between them (2013, p.24):

> She began by asking me if I "liked Black people?" It is not my normal practice to disclose to patients. In this case, until she asked me this question, I had not disclosed any of my racial past. I recognised that she brought into therapy the racial 'in-betweenness' of us, and I knew we were on the threshold of something important. However, this question caught me off-guard because I had thought that she was not ready to work with the Whiteness and Blackness between us and I was now the one who wanted to retreat.

Knight describes a paralysing silence, despite her encouragement of race related conversation. She believes something is lost; her patients attempt to connect deeper with her original question, arrested by her own unconscious difficulties. Knight observes the importance of not allowing the patient to bear uncomfortable feelings she could not. Overtime, Knight reconnects with the patient and decides to disclose a little of her own racial past (White Zimbabwean) to enable some working through of racial trauma. I believe this paper shows a suppleness in the choice of 'self-disclosure' as something that seemed developmentally appropriate for the patient in this particularly charged context. The sense of how to allow supple process in local child

psychotherapy work, needs further exploration, something I hope to encourage across Chapters 4 and 5.

Theoretical concepts

The first theoretical concept from the SR, is Fahkry Davids' notion of the 'internal racist organisation' (Davids, 2011, p.31). In his book ('Internal Racism') Davids draws on clinical countertransference experiences, social culture and theory to detail how race can unconsciously impact us in ordinary day-to-day interactions. Clinical material from a patient called Mr. A is central to the understanding of Davids' theoretical developments. Mr. A is a light skinned (White) Englishman, struggling to engage in an analysis following previous failed attempts[24].

In one early session, following a difficulty in emotional contact, Davids (brown-skinned) wonders to Mr. A if he is fearful of being in contact with rage that could be 'enormous' (2011, p.31). Mr. A responds to the use of the word enormous with a tirade about how everybody in his life thought his rage to be as such. Davids observes Mr. A's inability to take a breath, his tear-filled eyes and verbal aggression towards him. Following the session, Davids notes his own deep sense of disorientation. He describes a lingering countertransference into the evening, including revisited personal experiences of racial harassment. Davids comes to the 'puzzling' conclusion

[24] The patient goes on to be seen by Mr Davids for many years.

(Davids, 2011, p.24) that the patient's level of attack was unconsciously racially motivated.

Davids explains a movement between dismissing these thoughts as his own racial preoccupations, to later returning to them when Mr. A alludes to him as a foreign unknown entity, questioning his ability to understand him. Davids decides to discuss the racial difference in relation to the verbal attack and Mr. A retreats. To save himself from feelings of dependency, Davids believes an internal defensive structure in Mr. A pushed any feeling of need back towards the analyst, acted out racially in the transference; the patient's struggles were now the analysts.

Davids describes this internal defensive organisation as functionally dependent on a loss of capacity to discriminate reality from phantasy. From a psychoanalytic perspective, racism is a kind of personality organisation, which projects negative attributes into phantasies' 'others'. Davids details how the projections which are part of this personality organisation could lead to him, as a 'Black therapist', to being perceived in ways little to do with reality. In phantasy, the racialised therapist could be regarded variably as; a patronised object of sympathy, with open contempt (as with Mr. A, Davids is not much good at his job), or as a feared violent or sexualised object (stereotypes attributed to Blackness).

Davids follows psychoanalytic infant development theory to build an argument that the 'racial other' is similar to those objects (e.g. father, mother) that are to be found in every internal world and can thus be thought about as structures of the mind (Davids, 2011, p.38). Davids sees the relationship between self and racial other as

located within a normal defensive organisation, in existence to protect the survival of the self. Once in place it works in the same ways as a pathological organisation, defending against anxiety by asserting its dominance. The projection that lies at its core is built on sophisticated awareness of the social meanings of difference in the outside world. Davids asserted that a pathological organisation results from something having gone wrong during development, but the racist organisation is the outcome of development that has proceeded normally[25]. Davids termed this normal variant of the defence, the *internal racist organisation*.

Davids theory gathers its credibility, in that conscious awareness of an individual's internal racist organisation is variable dependant on one's individual state of mind, and the moment it is in. A book review of 'Internal Racism' by group psychoanalyst Dick Blackwell (2014), acknowledges the courageous importance of the book for challenging psychoanalysis to think about race, but he believes it unintentionally (although helpfully) demonstrates the limitations of an individual psychoanalytic approach for a cultural phenomenon. Blackwell states throughout the book there is

[25] Davids turns towards the work of Franz Fanon (1952) to illuminate how the structure may look in a darker-skinned individual. He believed this was crucial to understanding why the clinical encounter had an unconscious racial effect on him as someone with brown skin. Davids quotes Fanon's idea of 'the Black problem' as critical to understanding his own subjective position, countertransference and reaction to Mr. A. I come to review the work of Fanon in the '*Social psychological/sociological race literature'* below (page 37).

an emergence of the social unconscious which Davids does not acknowledge, implying this is a gap, better fulfilled in Dalal's (2002) work.

Davids' book gains international recognition (International Journal of Psychoanalysis) in a review by Ronald Britton (2011) who conversely describes the book as thoughtfully bringing psychoanalytic understanding and social behaviour together, noting the awareness that subjective shared beliefs of the race phenomenon are not facts. Britton notes how Davids uses the word racism to mean the attribution of unfavourable characteristics to any group regarded as biologically or ethnically distinct; 'Racism is therefore at least potentially ubiquitous and is a potent expression of the inevitable relationship of self and other' (Britton, 2011, p.544).

The second internationally published theoretical model observing race, comes from American based psychoanalyst Lynne Layton in what she calls *normative unconscious processes*. She is interested in two relational experiences most people have: one where we are treated relationally as objects by significant others in life, and one where we are treated as subjects.

Layton identifies a type of socially affected subject-object relating in the psyche, to lead to the creation of normative unconscious processes. These are unconscious collusions with normative demands to split off and project human attributes in order to be recognised as appropriately gendered, raced, classed or sexed subjects. She believes these to be parts of self that have not received social approval, parental love, or that may make a person feel isolated in his or her culture. She argues these parts are formed by cultural inequalities like sexism, racism, classism and neo-liberal

versions of subjectivity. Layton's theory perhaps adds to Davids' internal racist model, by clarifying how a racialised phantasy can become normalised common sense, as it is passed on to its social group members through education and pressures to conform or face rejection.

Layton has investigated how these processes play out relationally in the clinical setting, mostly in relational repetition where therapist and patient play out and repeat these processes that have formed subjectivity in the first place, thus reaffirming a racist, sexist and neo-liberal status quo (Layton, 2004, 2006, 2006a, 2019). Layton highlights the group psychoanalytic and individual psychoanalytic debate noting the tension between the two (Layton,2008, p.66):

> One of the main difficulties for those of us who do recognise the effects of the social, is how to account for the effects of the social without succumbing to the reductionism of social determinism, and how to account for the idiosyncrasies of human subjectivity without removing subjectivity from its social and historical context

Layton observes how normative unconscious processes defensively impact on the interpersonal experience in how we use our investments in class, race and gender to distinguish ourselves as superior to others. An advantage of this concept is that it allows nuance in the experiencing of skin colour not only between different races but within 'the same race' (as seen with Lowe's (2008) patient K's fear of Black girls). In addition, it holds generalisability across different experiences of social imbalance beyond skin colour, and inclusive of the racialisation of Whiteness (Layton, 2006).

Another variance in Layton's model compared to Davids' then, is a more explicit observation of power dynamics in the therapeutic process (Layton, 2008, p.69):

> A psychoanalysis that separates the psyche from the social is likely to collude with individualist trends and to produce healthier versions of narcissism, thereby failing to produce subjects who can see themselves in others outside the intimate circle of family and friends.

Layton argues a psychoanalysis needs to be mindful of the workings of power and cultural constituents of subjectivity in the hope of nurturing a space with the mobility to be both self-critical and critical of authority, acknowledging both destructiveness and vulnerability. Her theory accounts for most of the lines of inquiry in this section, which strive to recognise the relational aspects of racial identity: the necessity to reflect on internal self; to hold awareness of mutual interdependence; and acknowledge that which is outside of the self.

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Conclusion of psychoanalytic perspectives

Psychoanalytically, skin colour is commonly thought about alongside the concepts of internal defence, projection and normalised unconscious thought (Davids, 2014; Layton 2008). These ideas relate to the experience of transference in the clinical setting (what the racialised patient or therapist represent in any moment in the relationship) and resulting countertransference in the therapist (feelings they have when engaged with their patient). The most common finding is that darker skin can

be a receptacle for; negative projections (associated to the history and creation of race), stereotyped emotions (based on societal culture created around darker skin as Black) and inherited unconscious traumatic (feelings like inadequacy, shame and fear).

This individual experience is commonly associated with the binary creation of race as Black (darker skinned) and White (fairer skinned), installed through slavery and subsequently passed on through colonialism and the nation state. Due to the explicit external creation of race, a noticeable area of debate is how, where and when the individual's internal emotional states of racialisation, are mobilised through personal, interpersonal or group processes (Blackwell, 2012; Dalal, 2002). Although too complex to expand upon here, it seems the notion of 'self and other' in individual psychoanalytic relating and the notion of 'us and them' in group psychoanalysis (and ideas of a social unconscious) is where greatest theoretical debate lies.

In part, most literature reviewed is stating that these things cannot exist in isolation. The theoretical concepts around intersubjective psychoanalysis seems to consolidate much argument, suggesting that all interactions must be considered contextually (Layton, 2008; Leary, 2008; Holmes, 1999).

It is interesting when considering countertransference as a tool, that most of the writers are darker skinned. It seems darker skinned therapists and patients are more likely to become racialised in the transference. It indicates that Davids' (2014) idea of a universality to race in the internal mind is valid. This speaks to the external narrative that since the inception of race in the 1600s, while the idea of Black has developed as

divergent, White is assumed humanly (thus invisible component in the mind) - much less discussed externally.

This finding highlights a further gap in the literature being able to consider Whiteness as part of racialisation. Altman (2000) and Levy-Warren struggle (2014) with developing this, while Knight (2013) is more able to use the White in her identity to move on a therapeutic impasse (likely due to the external and intersubjective recognition of White in political climate in which she was working). There is however warning that one must not become too dichotomised when exploring the emotional world of the patient, as a pull towards upholding racialised monoliths could limit development.

The largest gap remains in child psychotherapy. When I consider the psychoanalytic findings of this review, the child psychotherapy literature to come will be faced with the complexity of how to explore skin colour in the developmental mind that; may not have yet internalised the universality of race in its totality, that may be separating from the immediate caregiver environment towards the wider social world, or that may be in care of a new-born.

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Social psychological/sociological race literature

This section makes contextual reference to the pertinent social psychological/sociological discussion on darker skin outside the psychoanalytic profession (with some referenced within it). Psychiatrist Frantz Fanon's (1952)

seminal text, 'Black Skin, White Masks', brought the conversation within a psychoanalytic sphere[26]. Widely cited, it is now one of the most influential texts in social sciences that theorises the experience of darker skin[27]. Fanon used self-observation, psychoanalytic theory and clinical experience not only to understand the experience of darker skin but speak to psychopathology in racial colouring, through the inferiority complex that colonised people experience. Fanon believed the colonised ('Black Man') incorporated a 'White bias' into their psyche, favouring what was 'White' (derived from European and Western culture and ideals), for example; how the negro from Antilles with a mastery of the French language would be experienced as 'Whiter' and hence closer to acknowledgement as a real human being. The colonised may then experience an overriding wish to culturally assimilate into the customs of the new landowner or adopted country leading to a precarious and potential fragmented identity.

Fanon argued that the Black man could become so accustomed to this cultural assimilation, that when they are faced with reality, fragmentation occurred. Reality came in the form of hostile encounters with the White person or more importantly,

[26] It is important to note Frantz Fanon is both cited as trained psychiatrist and psychoanalyst. His work is often considered in psychoanalytic discussion, yet he is rarely considered a psychoanalyst in his own right (it is difficult to know why, though perhaps due to his practice away from the mainstream psychoanalytic movements of the time). Moreover, his original writing was often considered a threat by states and institutions. Black Skin, White Masks was an intended dissertation for his medical degree at the University of Lyon. But his supervisors advised against submitting such an unusual work. Although a trained in psychoanalysis, Fanon's work is often considered outside the discipline of psychoanalysis. Whether he should be included in the 'psychoanalysis' section of this thesis firstly examples how skin colour affected status and importance of this text to the profession and secondly, it is something that should be debated.

[27] 1.12.19 Google Scholar - a 2008 Grove Press addition is cited nearly 3,000 times)

White environment, which reminded them they are different (for example, racist slurs, inequality in law, or denied job accessibility). These reality checks, constantly prevalent in the minds of colonised people, can be experienced as alienating and traumatic and lead to a loss of identity or sense of self. Fanon termed this, 'the Black problem'. Like Davids' (2014) internal racist organisation (page 29), this is deemed an unconscious collective phenomenon among a population (in Fanon's case, the darker skinned only).

Fanon believed the Black man is burdened with the pull towards White because the society he lives in makes this inferiority complex possible, as the society derives its stability from the perpetuation of this complex. Fanon asserts that the Black man thuds has two dimensions; 'One with his fellows, the other with the White man. A Negro behaves differently with a White man and with another Negro…' (1952, p.8).

Previously emphasising this idea of self-division, American sociologist W. E. B Du Bois' book, 'The Souls of Black Folk' (1903), named this division of the waking mind as 'double-consciousness'. He believed double-consciousness to be this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others. Du Bois believed that the laws and society (at the dawn of twentieth century) that had prevented Black people from achieving equality in a post slavery era, would continue to pose a problem for Black identity. He used the term, 'the veil' to portray the way that racism made it hard for Whites to see Blacks as true Americans, and for Blacks to see themselves in anything other than the way they were portrayed by Whites. Du Bois said of the darker skinned, 'One ever feels his twoness,—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one darker body' (1903, p.2).

American novelist, essayist and activist James Baldwin drew on storytelling to evoke the individual's experience in the social system (1953, 1963). His characteristic theory was that the creation of Whiteness was the defining social problem. W.E.B Du Bois (1903) agreed, when he suggested the discovery of personal Whiteness among the world's people was a nineteenth and twentieth century matter. Baldwin exhorted that Blackness and race was as much a problem for the White person as the Black person, in becoming a political reality relied upon so long.

In Baldwin's idea, it seems to me (psychoanalytically) the lighter skinned individual's phantasy of the darker skinned individual as subhuman became political reality (superior White and inferior Black), which in turn has become a widespread human phantasy, so established, the individual has grown to experience it as real. Baldwin deemed for a Black person to assert their right in any sense would be without knowing an attack on the entire power structure of the western world. In his essay, 'Down at the cross', Baldwin (1963, p.88) states that 'Colour is not a human or personal reality, it is a political reality. But this distinction so extremely hard to make that the West has not been able to make yet… It is now a dreadful storm and vast confusion'.

Cultural theorist Professor Stuart Hall had an interest in the Black diaspora of the UK. He wrote of how an individual's identity was an ongoing product of history and culture, rather than a finished product itself. For Hall, darker skin was something that held different meanings dependent on the cultural context of individual. Hall acknowledged that deep-rooted oneness at the core of the Black experience brought people of darker skin in the diaspora together. Hall noted how Black people in the

diaspora are constantly reinventing themselves, with many points of similarity, and significant difference within the collective.

Hall came to insist on a larger vision of politics, one that ventured beyond traditional institutions into more subjective realms. He argued that politics was not simply a matter of government but was present in everything from sport to television. Hall believed the conditions of existence were cultural, political and economic. I think this idea is in tune with Layton's (2008) writings on unconscious normative processes (page 33) - the normative aspect of Layton's theory having to do with cultural and politicised expectations of the self, mechanised by an interest in belonging, status or power.

The import of Hall's idea is that it allows a greater freedom for understanding the meaning of darker skin in the twenty first century UK context, away from and inclusive of its history in slavery. The exploration of meanings of darker skin in Britain may then be both similar and different to that of James Baldwin's America. An example of this is seen in Hall's posthumous memoir in which he comments on how difficult it is to speak about racial experience in *his* contextual environment, as though it's obvious creation, migration and establishment does not exist:

> The matter of race could seldom be spoken of for what it was, or barely even acknowledged. It was all around, in every respect present, but could never quite be located or articulated. At every turn we encountered manifestations of disavowal, of one kind or another, with their profound, unsettling ambiguities and contradictions… the coexistence of absolute authority of the racial order on the one hand, and its perpetual disavowal on the other hand. (Hall, 2018, p.96)

In this, Hall is also articulating how the impress of historical racial subordination in the experience of the darker skinned individual in Britain is one which can be acutely (often rudimentarily) brought to the fore of experience, named bygone, or totally unnoticed. This seems to reflect the introduced child psychotherapy experience of subdued racial discussions, perhaps suggestive of its British context.

British sociologist Professor Paul Gilroy (1987, 1993) advocates not getting stuck in repetitive racial narratives, believing it damages opportunities for evolving understandings of darker skin. Gilroy was awarded the prestigious Holberg Prize in 2019 for arguing that the history of slavery was not an aberration but a central fact in the creation of the modern world. He believed experiences specific to darker skin people's identity - the diasporic Black identity – arose from the experience of enslavement and transcended ethnicity and nationality. I believe this suggests racialisation as psychoanalytically something central to acknowledge and explore, as oppose to overlook or resolve.

In his book, 'The Black Atlantic' Gilroy (1993) offered an alternative to essentialist conceptions of darker skin identity by showing how race, nation and ethnicity (like Hall) are culturally constituted. Gilroy was troubled by the darker skin experience too often only dichotomised through Whiteness and Blackness. He believed this forced Blackness and Britishness, Whiteness and Britishness, African and American, as separate entities lacking symbiosis. Gilroy reflects on key writers about race like Du Bois and Baldwin to argue that the African American, like any Black experience, should

not be encapsulated within nation boarders, or much understanding will be lost from noticing travel, origins and destinations. He uses the image of the ship to represent how authentic Black culture is composed of cultural exchanges. Gilroy's central theory uses the ocean as a liminal space alternative to the highly thought of understanding of race with nation-states.

The theory of liminal ocean attempts to disrupt generative race rhetoric by introducing an interpretive, analytic framework that foregrounds movement and exchange. This seems vitally linked to the idea of the psychoanalytic space and the emphasis put on intersubjectivity (page 25-34). The space where therapist and patient meet could be seen to have this liminal quality – a crossing over between what came before and what is to come. The strength of Gilroy's theory is its applicability to the psychoanalytic child psychotherapist's endeavour which invites the patient not to get lost in repetition and illusion.

UK based Journalist Reni Eddo-Lodge's (2018) bestselling, 'Why I'm no longer talk to White people about race', noting how traditional ideas of race – 'blunt obvious acts of racism' (2018, p. 222) – are the tip of the iceberg, and that people need to address the invisible monolith of race decontextualised from history. She believes the powerful effect of race through time means that today race and social structure are intertwined, often leaving racialisation to be unrecognisable to the masses, and commonly leaves darker skin people to feel as though they are the only ones seeing it. Eddo-Lodge reflexive approach leads her to determine that the politics of Whiteness transcend the colour of anyone's skin as an occupying force in the mind.

The contribution of Eddo-Lodge's writing lies in her ability to interlace the experience of race with other social constructs (namely gender and class), to illustrate the hierarchical nuance of that which is included and excluded in the minds of the ordinary mass culture. In one example, she observes how the Harry Potter (Rowling, 2014) book character Hermione, was due to be played by a darker skinned actress in a 2016 London West End stage show. Hermione belongs to an underclass race of people called the 'Muggles'; a person who lacks any sort of magical ability and was not born in a magical family. Throughout her schooling, Hermione endures spat-out slurs of 'mudblood' from her peers (the derogatory and offensive term used to imply the supposed impurity of Muggle blood). Despite her minority status in the book, the casting of a darker skinned actress caused a media stir and much repulsion across the Harry Potter fan base. Eddo-Lodge notes how suffused Whiteness has become in ordinary, imagined expectation:

> It's sad that Blackness in their heads is stuck in an ever-repetitive script, with strict parameters of how a person should be. The imaginations of Black Hermione's detractors can stretch to the possibility of a secret platform at King's Cross station that can only be accessed by running through a brick wall, but they can't stretch to a Black central character. (Eddo-Lode, 2018, p.139).

Another contemporary writer, musician and journalist Akala (2018), uses autobiography, history and research statistics to frame his modern-day experience of darker skin in Britain. Akala insists on challenging normative ideas of race, with a penchant for highlighting how young people take on these ideas. He details how

culture between darker skinned peoples (in each context e.g. America, Britain or Caribbean) share political roots, though have localised normative social ideas of Blackness (Akala 2018, p.109) as well as internationally mutual ideas, such as Blackness as resistance. Akala concludes here that Blackness is both despised and valued. Encapsulating this complex inference, he recalls British 100-metre sprint champion Lindford Christie winning the Olympic Gold medal, one of only two British athletes to do so since 1924:

> On 1 August 1992 I sat down to watch the final of the men's 100-metre sprint at the Barcelona Olympics. I was just nine years old… Linford was part of a strange phenomenon of Black Brits winning an informal access to a contingent 'Britishness' through sports, culture and entertainment… As Linford ran back around the track, close to tears, draped in the Union Jack, with adoring fans cheering, I doubt he had any idea of how his victory would be conveyed. Watching at the time, I certainly had no idea… I walked into the newsagent's days after Linford's win when I stumbled upon the strangest cartoon (in the newspaper). There had been a hosepipe ban that summer, and this cartoon featured a caricature of Linford Christie with a huge bulge in his trousers. The 'hose pipe inspector' was pointing to the bulge and informing Linford that 'there is a hosepipe ban you know'… In the weeks after Linford's historic victory, media was not focused on his contribution to British sport but instead full of stories about 'Linford's Lunchbox', a less than subtle euphemism for his apparently huge penis'. (Akala 2018, p.89-91).

A chapter of the book is used to describe the social fascination with 'Lindford's Lunchbox' for years to come, and how it sat in the minds of different individuals, including the athlete himself (who eventually featured in television commercials and

underwear campaign's). Akala reflects on how nuanced cultural reflections of race consciously and unconsciously impacted on his child and adolescent development, with as much gravity as the process of trauma described by Fletchman Smith (2000, 2011). He points out how it is rarely acknowledged by any of the parties involved that the roots of this contradiction (Blackness as despised and valued) are both the prison Whiteness has created for its adherents and the revolutionary power of Blackness.

The work of Akala and Eddo-Lodge seems to bring the discussion of racialised skin colour closer to the lived experience of some young people who may access child psychotherapy in British culture. But in any case, I believe there is an accompanying challenge for child psychotherapists to operationalise theoretical racial inquiry, and not run the risk of becoming too intellectual and abstract, a danger of academic inquiry that Hall (2018, p.95) himself describes. Considering this, I make note of a final piece literature that goes some way to suggesting what clinicians should account for when working with racialised trauma.

Clinical trauma specialist Resmaa Menakem's (2017), part narrative, part somatic therapy workbook, 'My Grandmother's Hands', describes how the creation of Whiteness has resulted in a trauma for darker skinned people that needs to be addressed both in body and mind. Menakem believes a Black body to be born into a society in which the White body is the standard is itself traumatising. Reflecting on an American context, he explains that if the mother's body is deemed deviant by society, the amount of cortisol in her nervous system passed onto the new-born is already affecting that nervous system. This link between neuroscience and emotionality is relatively new to psychoanalytic writings (Music, 2015, 2019).

In his book, Menakem describes how transgenerational trauma becomes decontextualized and individualised as/in personality; domesticated as family traits; and in a people looks like culture (tone of voice, eyes and body language). He illustrates how the psoas muscle (which connects the top and bottom of the body) is often braced in Black cultures. Menakem believes those born to people who are already braced pick up in their psoas this braced trauma.

He argues that embodied practices are crucial for healing racialised trauma. In one example, Menakem describes an exercise where Black bodies should orientate to the room (because they are intrinsically braced for danger). He believes racialised interpersonal practice must include embodied exercise to calm the sympathetic nervous system, to increase the space for thought to happen.

Menakem believes one of the difficulties in professionals cross-culturally discussing racialised skin colour often occurs because White bodies are likely to perceive any bodily discomfort (inherited from a certain level of racialised comfort) as a real threat. These observations may link to those introduced in Chapter 1 about the proposed epistemic anxiety that may be evoked when discussing race (Crehan & Rustin, 2018)[28].

Reflecting on the work of Menakem and the writers in this section, a fundamental tool for discovering meanings of darker skin seems to be their use of self-reflective storytelling. The individual narratives are culturally informed, reconciling the

[28] However, some later findings suggest that threat to bodily self, versus the threat to identity should be considered distinct experiences (page 92, Theme 3b).

individual with the collective, thus continually offering novel insights. This finding informed the design of this thesis, and my choice to use the autoethnography method (introduced and narrated in Chapter 3 and 4 to follow) to begin mobilising this topic in child psychotherapy towards conceptions that can be conveyed in practice.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter begins with an overview of autoethnography, applied as a novel research method in psychoanalytic child psychotherapy. Then described are the autoethnography and interview design specific to this thesis, followed by an outline of the data analysis methods chosen, and the ethical considerations.

3.1. Autoethnography research method

Autoethnography is applied across a variety of social sciences, originally in anthropology and sociology, and more recently in psychology (Anderson, 2006; Ellis and Bochner, 2000). It is a reflexive, narrative process by which the researcher-practitioner consciously places their self in theory and practice, and by way of self-reflection, explicates a phenomenon under investigation (Smith, 2004; Langhout, 2006)[29]. Reflexive research had already been introduced by Clark Moustakas in the mid to late 90s, establishing the theory of heuristic inquiry – the exploration of the

[29] What distinguishes the 'auto' from classic ethnography research (Crapanzano, 1985) was described in early methods as researching among one's own people (Hayano, 1979; Strathern, 1987).

subjective experience of a phenomenon within a purposive sample of individuals. Douglass and Moustakas (1990) published guidelines to a reflexive research process[30].

Autoethnography and the traditional idea of heuristics are at times indistinguishable, depending on both the theorist and intention of the study. The autoethnographic written narrative process varies widely, with few rules on how to write up, as emphasis is on the meaning, contrary to convention (Ellis, 2004; Anderson, 2006; Luvaas, 2017). An autoethnographer may use a combination of archival data (e.g., memoirs, photographs), self-observation and recording (e.g., diary), and triangulation through other sources of data (e.g., interviews).

In a helpful publication, Susan Morrow's (2005) framework for quality and trustworthiness of qualitative research should be considered when undergoing an autoethnography. She details how ideally, the written narrative consider theory and reporting of experience so as to: be a faithful and comprehensive rendition of the author's experience; transform the author through self-explication and crucially; inform the reader of an experience he or she may have never endured or would be unlikely to in the future or; of an experience he or she may have endured in the past or is likely to in the future, but has been unable to share with his or her community of scholars and practitioners.

[30] They outlined: initial engagement (researchers begin to engage with the topic, connecting with participants, context and literature); immersion (through interviewing, transcribing, listening, analysing, reading); incubation (a period where research is left to percolate, creating space for development); illumination (new insights and understandings emerge through patterns and themes); explication (articulating and making sense of the material) and; creative synthesis (production of a synthesis that integrates data and reflects).

3.2. Design

Autoethnography

I began developing this project as a second-year trainee on the Tavistock and Portman NHS Trust's four-year professional doctoral program, Psychoanalytic Child and Adolescent Psychotherapy. The critical moment referred to in the introduction occurred during a case consultation I was attending (page 6). When devising the project, my tutors and research supervisors advised I uphold a participant-researcher stance (Bager-Charleson, 2014), and from this point on, I kept a reflexive account of my experiences of skin colour in working life, including retrospective associations.

A later reflecting team (research supervisor, senior child psychotherapist and an independent research chair for the program) discussed the autoethnography method design process in more detail. I spoke to current observations, thoughts and ideas and the members of the team reflected, leading to a consensus that the potential for autoethnographic data was too large for the doctoral research parameters. Overtime, what arose as appropriate contextual sources to pull data from was my natural situatedness in two areas: 1) membership in the 'Diversity, Identity and Difference'

(DID) clinical workshop[31]; 2) participation in the national annual ACP conference entitled, 'Relating to the Other'[32].

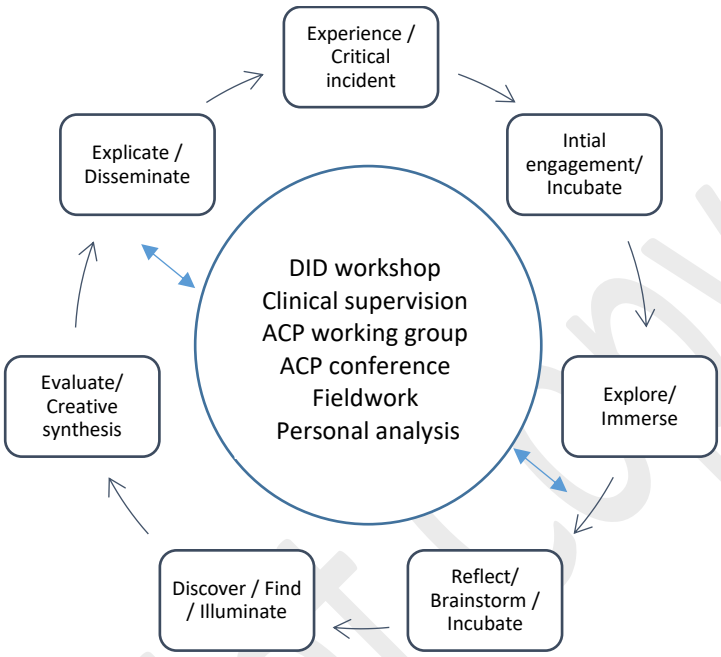

Fig 1. Autoethnographic process in context, with consideration of Douglas and Moustakas (1990) stages of heuristic inquiry.

[31] A trainee is required to choose two clinical specialist workshops to attend to support learning and development in their third and fourth year. As listed to students, the DID workshop offered a space to explore the relationship between clinical experience and questions around difference, identity and diversity. Members' presentations of their clinical work alternated with group reflection and discussions of significant papers. The latter was sometimes led by guest speakers with interests in these fields. (See Appendix D).

[32] I presented a clinical paper and separate essay within a working group presentation (case study of my work with a patient in individual psychotherapy exploring some of the ways in which racial identities were active in the psychotherapeutic relationship). Additionally, I was involved in a working group and presentation called, 'Can we talk about race and identity in Child Psychotherapy culture?' (See Appendix D).

The 'fieldwork' stated in Fig.1, refers to the collection data outside my immediate psychoanalytic and workplace setting. This included reading literature, engaging in films, music, documentaries, talks and conferences, and staging informal individual and collective discussions under the thesis title. I systematically recorded all data as a timeline, through a mixture of field diaries, essays, poems, and voice notes.

The resulting autoethnography narrative detailed in the Chapter 4, is a chronological production of this data, observing my personal experiences of darker skin and connections to professional and wider social culture. I try to capture how the repeated process of reflection, impacted upon and developed my understanding of my darker skin as a child psychotherapist.

Interviews

Four participants were approached based on the colour of their skin tone. This was to allow for comparative investigation leading on from the autoethnographic inquiry undertaken by a darker-skinned clinician. Participants were required to be classified as darker skinned i.e. having a skin tone that is between light brown and dark brown in skin colour pigment. They had to be qualified child psychotherapy clinicians or in

doctoral training in ACP-registered programmes of study[33]. The participants consisted of three qualified child psychotherapists, and one due for qualification at the time of the interviews. The three qualified clinicians were experienced psychoanalytic psychotherapists, working in clinical, managerial and teaching roles.

The interviews were semi-structured, following an informal conversational technique under the research question (Patton, 1990). Whilst trying to avoid directive or closed questions or interpretations, questions were used to promote two-way dialogue with which to explore themes. Each interview was scheduled for fifty minutes. Interviews lasted between fifty minutes and one hour and twenty-three minutes. Each participant agreed to a two-stage interview process to elicit as much information about the phenomenon in the context of personal and professional life separately (Appendix E). The interview schedule was shared in advance with the participants. It seemed beneficial to allow therapists time to recall clinical work in detail.

The first interview part was concerned with 'the self', exploring self-definitions of skin and race, moving on to participants own experiences of their skin during the child psychotherapy training and as analytic patients. The second interview explored 'clinical practice'. Participants were asked to describe in detail their clinical work with

[33] Prospective participants were asked (via email) if they would be interested in being interviewed with race as a focus, knowing they were pre-selected due to their skin tone. Following expressed interest, all agreed.

patients, with attention to experiences of skin colour and race, inclusive of professional supervision discussions[34].

Data analysis

Consistent with the exploratory nature of the research question, a thematic analysis was undertaken to explore the interview data. The aim of this analysis is not to seek patterns in data that are theoretically bounded (as maybe the case with interpretative phenomenological analysis for example) or to produce a grounded-theory analysis, but instead search across a data set of interviews to find patterns of meaning. The analysis followed a classical six phase guide to thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). I undertook an inductive, bottom-up (Frith & Gleeson, 2004) approach to ensure the themes linked to the data. This permitted mobility away from my own questions, thus protecting the coding analysis from pre-existing preconceptions in my mind.

Interviews were recorded and transcribed manually. Transcription provided an opportunity to familiarise myself with the data and get into contact with rudimentary patterns of meaning. Having read and re-read the entire corpus of data (Braun & Clarke's first phase of analysis, 2006, p.17), initial codes were identified through raw

[34] An optional third interview was offered to participants who felt a wish to think more of their experience following the two-stage process. All expressed an interest though no formal interviews were arranged.

segments of data (Appendix F). Coding occurred manually through highlighting and noting on transcribed interview text. A process of coding, un-coding and reusing codes was continual through the data set. Once the codes were developed, reliability of the codes were determined with two independent coders (research supervisor and child psychotherapy colleague). Around 10% of the data set was analysed against the code list. Where there were inconsistencies, the relevant code was assigned through careful discussion or new codes were assigned.

With a list of codes identified (Appendix F), thematic exploration began with analysis refocused at a broader level (Phase 4) as suggested by Braun & Clark, 2006 (Phase 3-5 of thematic analysis, p.19-23). Codes were analysed to consider how different combinations may form overarching themes. Codes were related to across an extended period, interrogating them through visual mind maps, professional discussion, sorting and resorting. Overtime a preliminary set of themes were produced. At this point interview recordings were revisited as themes were reviewed. Some preliminary themes were lost, others collapsed into each other and some were broken off to form new themes (Appendix F). Once the refinements were not adding substantial shifts, the thematic analysis was stopped.

3.3. Ethical Considerations

This research was undertaken following a formal process of approval from the Tavistock and Portman Trust Research Ethics Committee (TREC). An application was submitted and approved alongside supporting documentation (Appendix E). As part

of a professional doctorate in psychoanalytic child psychotherapy, this research was approved and validated by the University of Essex[35].

The autoethnographic narrative analysis, written from a junior position, was protected against a voice that is not simply autobiographical, and one that does not reveal the identity of others (unless agreed). With case notes featuring in the research data, further steps were taken to anonymise material.

It was acknowledged that due to the small number of darker skinned clinicians in the child psychotherapy network, participants anonymity was naturally compromised[36]. Considering the professional relationships between participants and researchers (and the personal and professional life explored), it was not enough to simply follow guidelines laid down by ethics committees due to the complex ethical dilemmas that could arise (Etherington, 2017, p.86). Thus, a relational ethic care was kept in mind, similar to the experience of clinical therapeutic relationships between therapist and client.

[35] In addition, as a research and practitioner member of the ACP, I work under the Code of Professional Conduct and Ethics. These guidelines for responsible practice include adherence to the maintenance of confidentiality and, the management and protection of data. Both are considered and upheld in this project design.

[36] Interview participants were given a copy an information sheet about the research process, consent forms and an ethical and debrief process was explained (Appendix E). An assurance of confidentiality and anonymity was given as regards to any eventual publication or dissemination. All case material discussed was kept confidential and all identifying names and features appropriately anonymised.

Alongside the transparency of the data between researcher and participant, the inclusion of an optional third interview ensured that relational care is taken to participants states of mind following intimate contact. This rigorous consideration placed restrictions on more detailed considerations of individual differences (e.g. gender) that is likely to impact on experience. Closer to the thesis question, the exploration of experiences in differing tones of darker skin (between lighter brown to darker brown shades) was also conceded.

Chapter 4: The internal world does not have a colour: An autoethnography

A wish to be Known

I came to the doctorate training in psychoanalytic child psychotherapy curious, wanting to embark on a journey that would explore what it means to be human. In the spring of 2016, I left a reflective discussion with the twenty other trainees in my cohort feeling a part something. I had recently read Marina Keegan's multi-award-winning essay, 'The Opposite of Loneliness' (2014); It opens:

> We do not have a word for the opposite of loneliness, but if we did, I could say that's what I want in life. What I am grateful and thankful to have found at Yale, and what I'm scared of losing when we wake up tomorrow after Commencement and leave this place (Keegan, 2014, p.1)

I was moved by her simple words but not sure what my opposite of loneliness was. Keegan's essay ends with the line, 'We're in this together, 2012. Let's make something happen in this world' (2014, p.4). I was hoping to feel together in something as a trainee.

“The internal world does not have a colour”. Surely it does, I want to say. The critical incident - winter of 2017. I had not expected to feel so suddenly at a distance from my peers in training. I knew I was the only trainee to have darker skin. But I had not felt this difference so acutely up until this moment. What did this mean, a colourless internal world? I couldn’t make sense of it and I couldn’t let it go.

As described by Thelma Mouque (2008, p.155) in ‘immersion’ of her autoethnography on her resistance to psychotherapy, I became passionately involved in a search for meaning; ‘I had a problem, but I was not able to name it’. I became consumed in a more amplified way than ever before in my life with mediums that spoke to the experiences of skin colour. Douglass and Moustakas call this the acquisition phase, supporting differentiation between true and false in relation to one’s own experience (1985, p.51).

It was the beginning of 2018, and I learnt about the upcoming Child Psychotherapy Annual Conference. Bothered by the critical incident, I questioned my assumption that everyone in psychoanalysis considered race. I consider my darker skin most days. If I don’t, someone or something will remind me of it, more or less consciously. I was surrounded by people who, I thought, probably wouldn’t experience their skin in this way. Compelled, I put myself forward to present, not once, but twice at the 2018 Conference.

In the process of autoethnography method, I went back and forth in a rhythmic dance between the processes of immersion and incubation, within different contexts that nurture knowledge (Sultan, 2018, p.12). Reading parts of Ralph Ellison’s, ‘Invisible Man’

(1953), I recognised his regret in my inability to speak up during the critical incident. Ellison writes, 'What and how much had I lost by trying to do only what was expected of me instead of what I myself had wished to do? (1953, p.256)'. I was confused about why I didn't speak up or ask what was meant by a colourless mind.

This senseless feeling was not unfamiliar. In the first year of training, 2015, I had agreed to a double page spread interview for the prospectus of my training school. (And I would be asked again the following year). In a team meeting weeks later, a colleague assigned me to a case for joint working before saying, "I wonder what the mother will think of seeing a Black man". These gestures were made without further discussion. I felt left with conformity on one hand (in saying yes or agreeing) and rebellion on the other (if I dared ask why?). With this, I at once lost sight of what I myself had wished to do as a trainee.

The conference was to be in July 2018. A statement was released on the ACP website. It read: '…terminology of labelling can readily nullify the complexity of individuality (including fluidity in identity and fluctuations in states of mind) or can occlude what it means to be a part of humanity…' The final sentence of the statement remained fixed in my mind: 'Individuals hold some of the responsibility for the construction and maintenance of these groups which can serve a function at a societal level'.

I was a "Black man". It was a subject of the conference. But in choosing to present in the conference, I felt both subject and object of it. Was I the same individual holding responsibility for the maintenance of essentialist notions of Black by responding to these moments? I was beginning to go mad in my own mind.

I remembered Winnicott's concept of the false self, which he suggested left untreated will lead to splits in the mind and at its worst schizophrenia (Caldwell & Robinson 2016). In search of truth, I hoped to gain sanity.

Legitimising Black

Only two child psychotherapy trainees chose the DID workshop. The workshop felt problematic and seemed to split opinion. In choosing the DID workshop, it was as though I slipped from being an ordinary child psychotherapy trainee to being a Black child psychotherapy trainee. Something unnameable had slid between me and my lighter-skinned counterparts. Any attempts to find words for this feeling, felt like catching sand. I recall the opening sequence of, 'The Souls of Black Folk':

> Between me and the other world there is ever an unasked question: unasked by some through feelings of delicacy; by others through the difficulty of rightly framing it. All, nevertheless, flutter round it. They approach me in a half-hesitant sort of way, eye me curiously or compassionately, and then, instead of saying directly, How does it feel to be a problem? they say, I know an excellent coloured man in my town; or, I fought at Mechanicsville; or, Do not these Southern outrages make your blood boil? (Du Bois, 1903: 2019, p.3-4).

As with Du Bois' words, my soul was present in the interpersonal space. In a moment of realisation, I felt sure of something *inside* me that I believed my counterparts did not have. I was not clear about what, but knew it had to do with the label Black. I gathered some field notes on the DID workshop which observe this realisation:

It is the first session. I am sat in a circle with eighteen others. I am relieved to see another two members with the same colour skin as mine. Nothing has been said but I know two things; one is we'll be addressed as Black, either by ourselves or someone else; another is that we'll assume a common ground with each other, probably because of this, an understanding.

Beginning the first workshop, I feel Blacker than I did before I arrived. I notice the mahogany lines interlacing across the back of my hands. In some light they seem vigorous, in other light, tired. Sixteen other fair-skinned faces will never have this first-person view. It's curious how often I must remind myself of that.

I notice I am the only man in the group. Though to be a young Black male, and what most people in the group probably don't realise, comes with certain rites of passage. I am able to observe these rites of passage in some case material – a patient's tussle to sense what is imposed, expected and desired in this identity. I volunteer to present in opening weeks, craving for the sustenance of interested ears.

The group had questioned what clinical material about racial difference would look like? One question generated was how a presenter could be sure their cases contained characteristics about race…

…To question whether race is a characteristic in the room for me is to question whether I see my true self. It is at that moment that I was reminded about how different my viewpoint is. My typical is not their normal, nor is their typical going to be my normal. I was always going to bring my colour into the room. Often it was present even before meeting the patient. Whether that would ever enter the interpersonal conscious was a different question.

I presented a case assigned to me on the basis that the child would be able to access a Black therapist. Considering the child's background and absent male figures in his life, there was a belief the therapy could give opportunity to identify with a positive Black male figure.

I told the group that despite this racial matching, I had struggled to find safe places (professionally) to explore my racial transference to the child (which for the most part I kept to myself). Periodically this appeared from his conscious mind; like when he spoke about trips to the Black barbershop felt as both intimidating and exciting, or shared beliefs of dying young in hospital or prison like the "rest of them", and how he continuously followed lighter skinned female colleagues outside the room, begging them to pay attention to him. I felt I had nowhere to take these thoughts until now, over a year since the case began.

Towards the end of the material presented, I read the closing lines: "I notice we have five minutes left of the session and this seems to bring the extended break ahead into the space. He tells me he does not want to leave. Suddenly he declares, "We are Black! You are my slave!" as he pretends to strap me into the chair".

The group is silenced. One member describes a sick feeling. I think the group is in shock, but I don't think this was my intention. In the workshop, the group, well-meaning and helpful, support me to think about the child's racialised aggression towards me in the transference. I cautiously agree and want more.

The most troubling aspect of the work is that I was not able to question what was meant by Black throughout this case, and that we did not have time to get to this in the workshop. I wish we had more time. I wanted to observe my feeling that I had already legitimised the Black man by accepting the case, that this boy at times wanted saving from something lighter than me. Was this developmental or not? What would people think?

As my patient did with me, we map what we see. But this too is what we did with my patient's allocation to me, accepting we were both Black. No nuance. A self-fulfilling prophecy for both patient and therapist.

This thing inside me called Black was more than just about the pigment of my skin. It was reality shaping. I enjoyed the DID workshop a great deal. At the same time, I was

left with this darker problem; as Helen Morgan (2008) stated, who's problem is this anyway? Mine, my patients? Or is it as much of a problem as any person wants to make it?

Around this time, I had hit an impasse in personal analysis, pushing my analyst to think more about this Black. In some sessions my analyst, whom I believed lacked stamina for this, implored the world can be rubbish and I cannot change it, suggesting my speech was lifeless (and another time suggesting I play the race card). Those days we did not connect. I remember one moment of truth much later while listening to music, drawing me back to this period.

On his debut album *Psychodrama* (Omoregie, 2019), UK musician Dave explored the unguarded catharsis of a therapy session. The first track is called 'Psycho' and the last 'Drama'. Throughout there is the (acted) voice of a psychotherapist in between tracks. In the music, Dave talks out events of his past, present and future to make sense of himself. My first listening was overwhelming. I laughed at the irony of the concept, but it was the tears that were unexpected, sheer relief to find I was not going mad. It was the third track, called 'Black', which puzzled over the blanket use of the word to describe a multitude of experience. The fourth verse reads:

> Black is people namin' your countries on what they trade most; Coast of Ivory, Gold Coast, and the Grain Coast; But most importantly to show how deep all this pain goes; West Africa, Benin, they called it slave coast; Black is so confusin', 'cause the culture? They're in love with it; They take our features when they want and have their fun with it; Never seem to help with all the things we know would come with it; Loud in our laughter, silent in our sufferin'(Omoregie, 2019).

Dave's Black was full of nuance and contradiction. The more I thought about it, the more Black was confusing. I was unsure where the line started and stopped. The song made sense to me but not to everyone[37]. Silently, I seemed to take up two positions of consciousness; one as a child psychotherapy trainee authoring a paper about race and another, as a person of darker skin embarking on a career full of people with a different epidermis to mine. The former was exciting, the latter was breeding resentment. I felt on edge in every sense. This was the worst place to be. Drafting ideas for my conference essay, I decided to open with a Fanon quote which seemed to explain my cynicism:

> To be the other is to feel that one is always in a shaky position, to be always on guard, ready to be rejected and… unconsciously doing everything needed to be bring about exactly this catastrophe (1952, p.60).

Leading up to the conference, things did feel shaky. The DID workshop was ending, and I was preparing for the loss of this important group. Conversations about race outside the workshop felt lazy and disingenuous. The role of this catastrophic outsider began to follow me. In my essay I referred to myself as a Black child psychotherapist

[37] BBC radio report on listeners complaining about the song as offensive.

<https://www.independent.ie/entertainment/music/annie-mac-hits-out-after-listeners-take-offence-at-dave-track-37857745.html> viewed on 9.9.2019

(which I would not do now). I felt any statement I made could be taken as sweeping for all those considered Black. I was annoyed that lighter skinned colleagues were not at risk of making sweeping generalisations about their skin colour. They were considered people first, not a colour. I felt consistently at risk of projecting what people understood to be true and not what is necessarily true.

I wondered why I had thought little about the positive identifications to Black… you belonged to something in the barbershop. For a period, I did begin to wonder if this was just my problem.

That thing around your neck

Summer 2019: Evaluating my conference data was difficult. The conference had been positive, but my mind was saturated with thoughts of race. A child psychotherapist approached me after my talk to share their gratitude and curiosity about what I may write in the future, but I couldn't find words to write about myself anymore. I felt burdened. The previous year I attended a conversation with award winning writers, Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie and Reni Eddo-Lodge at Women of the World Festival (Adichie & Eddo-Lodge, 2018). A comment of Adichie's spoke to my post-conference blues:

> Adichie: There's a sense that, when being asked to talk about race, after you've written a book, you're supposed to have the answers, you're supposed to have the solution; and while you're having the solution, you're supposed to cater for the emotional needs of the people listening to you (Adichie & Eddo-Lodge, 2018).

Remembering these words in the summer of 2019, I returned to her writing in search of more understanding and was drawn to the title of a short story in her book, 'The thing around your neck' (Adichie, 2017). It was the title that grabbed my attention, echoing my heavy shoulders. She tells the story of a woman finding love in a foreign land - but addresses her protagonist with the pronoun 'you'. It seemed to enable Adichie to observe her character's experience with a particular lens, perhaps one which refers to the protagonist as being addressed together with other people regarded in the same race.

I played with this literary device to explicate my experience of the conference. What follows is material of those three days.

Day 1: Showman

The conference opens with an impassioned paper about primitive anxieties in the face of working with potential criminals. The membership moves to an auditorium to finish the opening day with a performance piece and Q&A. The half an hour performance is by a choreographer and actor who explores mental health as a 'Black person'. It is a visceral one-man dance-theatre piece entitled 'Elephant in the Room'.

The room is silent following the performance. The audience is tense. The dancer draws heavy breaths. Eventually the silence is broken by clapping hands.

The Q&A draws to a close and the membership are told they can 'seize opportunities with the dancer' as he will be available as we exit. An utterance of flirtatious "oohs" percolates across a section of the membership and the majority of the audience begin to laugh. Sat on the end of the row, you turn to observe the faces to the right of you. Smiles and relaxation. Did that just happen, you think to yourself. You watch as the crowd disperses and begins to gather around the dancer. You cannot help but view him as some exotic trophy, owned and othered at the same time. Suddenly you're not quite sure if this is entertainment or not. But too you feel disheartened by your own thoughts. Maybe you are being too quick to judge the response.

But the room is feverish. Whatever pain was felt in the performance is overtaken by a sensual charge. A small part of you is aligned with this, excited to be here and to see what comes of the conference. Another part of you is reminded how ideas of colour have been grossly stereotyped in the minds of everyone in the room, including yourself. You watch.

Shoulders brush past you on route to be witness to the continued questions. Your feet aren't moving. Through the crowd, your eyes pay attention to the sweating brow of the dancer. His darker skin is framed between their fair faces. Despite the noise around you, there is silence in your mind. You're not quite angry. You're not quite sad.

This dancer has become something to understand, touch and be interested in. The dancer is to be made sense of.

I am surprised by how this us of the second-person pronoun pushed me to take ownership professionally of my role in the critical incident that had felt elusive for a long time. It seemed to give me permission to assert my experience. The dancer and dance left a difficult feeling in the silence, the elephant in the room, but this quickly

abated as the dancer become the focus of a sensual charge. I think this happened because his dance exacted difference in a way that rocked people into discomfort.

I did not laugh at the "oohs" because I did not need saving from the tension. I identified with something in the dance, perhaps more so than the majority. Something was familiar to me. It was then that I realised that White is not a racial colour in the same way Black is. They are different things. White is a mindset for anybody. But Black is different. Black is a condition. He had it and I did too. On that day my internal world certainly had a colour, indeed more than one. The next day I presented my essay.

Day 2: Human

For the entirety of the time you read, your skin is hot. It pulses as though on the edge of breaking sweat. They are unaware of how quickly your heart is racing. Your mind is stuck on the moment you joked about needing more analysis because of a racial encounter. Some of the crowd had laughed. It is only afterwards you realise that was the most difficult moment. You feel both shame and pride. You strived to make people feel comfortable about you, not to be too divisive, but at what cost?

The essays have finished, and the room is silent. Sometimes you look up and catch a face in the audience, but mostly you watch the black ink on the white page on your lap. Don't move. People start to speak. The rule is anyone in the room can comment but nobody can ask the presenter a question. The chair is trying their best to manage this. One person shares how desperate they are to ask questions. They want to know how? Why? What's it like? Usually you smile tightly when they ask those questions. But you want them to know how you feel. You don't feel human.

Another person speaks openly about their own minority experience. It has nothing to do with race. You feel reassured by your decision to share. One person then begs for the presenters to come "back and join us". You must make them feel safe. Your mind starts to drift, preoccupied with the tension in the room. It is palpable. The

chair lets everybody know the time is soon to be up. One member shares that they feel overwhelmed; full of emotion with an inability to think that they don't particularly want. It's difficult to hear.

You begin to feel irritated. It's that one that has always been there. It catches you unawares anytime you begin to think about race with the fair-skinned other. It doesn't feel like yours. They are immune to it, but you are a carrier. You see your arm raise for the microphone and you don't know which part of you has taken control. You hear yourself saying to the audience that you, "don't want to be sat here talking about this".

If Black is a condition, some days are worse than others. That day I felt all the symptoms. At dinner, a colleague and friend said he had always thought of me by name before, and only saw me as Black now. He did not realise how actual these words were, testament to how pervasive the condition can be. The next day I presented my clinical paper.

Day 3: Truth

You knew by people's reactions it was different to talk about clinical material. Smiles of solidarity passed through the audience as you finished. People wanted to hear what you had to say. Some even came to ask you questions when the event was over. The clinical material seemed to adjoin the hands of all those in the room. The task didn't involve them, only you and the patient. And the discussion could be confidently navigated. The parts of you that were involved were professional. You

were a trainee, speaking about your work. You were encouraged to, and in doing so, things felt safe. You were one of them.

But you knew this search for truth was just the beginning. You knew not everyone was here. You knew not everyone would hear. In the foyer an older member approaches with an enthusiastic gait. A fair-skinned hand rests on your shoulder for a moment. They say you remind them of a younger version of an esteemed colleague they name. They tell you of their excitement about your writing to come - you feel good and dirty – what about yours, you think?! You are not too sure if you want to write again. But you feel there is much more to the story.

I was grateful for my colleague's comments and I remember a sense of pride as I took the train home. It was an important weekend for the profession, the first conference to address these social constructs in this manner. Yet, something was missing. I was anxious to know more about what my fair-skinned colleagues thought about skin colour, not just their responses to my words. I wanted to know why some were more excited to talk to me than each other.

The week before the conference, I was sat in the Institute of Contemporary Arts (ICA) in London, watching a screening about Frantz Fanon, programmed in partnership with the Stuart Hall Foundation[38]. A 'question and answer' session followed. In a predominantly darker skinned audience, with a darker skinned panel and chair, the discussion turned pregnant with injustice. In one moment, a lighter skinned man

[38] Isaac Julien's Franz Fanon: Black Skin, White Masks < http://stuarthallfoundation.org/what-we-do/events/frantz-fanon-black-skin-white-mask-1/ > Viewed on 18.12.2019

asked a questioned – it was flattened. Thirty minutes later, a similar question (delivered by a darker skinned lady) was eulogised and taken in whole heartedly by the panel. It was in that moment I realised how unwittingly lighter and darker skinned people can slip to speak a different conversation within the same discussion. I raced to my research supervisor, convinced I needed to redesign my work and interview some “white people”. I was discouraged with the advice this, “may be the next step”. But I realised in that afternoon in the ICA, I couldn’t agree.

After the conference I became aware that alongside my passion for truth and curiosity, there was frustration, and a longing for things to shift. On the second day of the conference, I was overcome with a familiar feeling of irritation that I realised was total impatience. I furiously wanted to know what was *really* going on in their minds. It was the height of Summer 2019 and I began to draft a poem of the things I could not express. Recently I completed it:

In the mind of Others

There is no knowing what happens in the mind of others.

What happens when they hear the word race?

Does it make their ears ache? Or does it feel like the things I know exist but will never concern me.

What happens when they hear the word Black?

What would they say if they weren't scared?

Does their breath change? Or do their toes move with irritation for having to remain in its presence.

What happens when I talk about race?

Are they interested? Or do they wish my words away.

What happens when someone calls them White?

What do they feel? Or is it as inconsequential as someone calling their name?

But I,

I should have asked.

I should have interrogated them.

Given them the feeling that their destiny is caught up with mine.

Let them know their niceness is not the answer to understanding,

Knowing privilege, not enough.

Let them know their ears are not enough, their proximity not enough.

They are not allowed to wait out the time.

I should have asked for love of truth.

Fury

I made better sense of my fury later that summer. Sometimes I didn't want to be included in the conversation, nor assimilate into the status quo. I wanted to question why in the first place, deconstruct the history of race that marked me as different. In

these moments I'd defy the system to change; it was not for me to adapt. I didn't want to be polite.

Psychoanalysis was the place to have contradictory relationships to yourself. The place to be both furious and close to love at the same time (Klein, 1946). But what of a psychoanalytic therapist discussing lived experience with colleague and patient? Could we say we don't know, that we hate and love, or did this only belong in our personal analysis?

Following the DID workshop, I developed a serious curiosity for the experience of others whose reality was different from my own. Being the only male in the workshop, I found my self-consuming books from a female perspective. I came across a podcast entitled 'Daddy Issues' by Katherine Angel (2019). She references Winnicott to explain her wish to rage towards the power of men in society. I was not the only one who wanted to shout:

> "Not only is the expression of rage important purely for the expression of rage, but it's an important part of being able to have a real encounter with the other so only, like with the Winnicott idea, it is only through the management of hostility and rage that the relationship between the infant and the mother can flourish and enable the child to become a person. In this what I am trying to make the case for is that in order to fully experience or own subjectivity and personhood , we have to reckon with that anger and examine it from all sides, but we also have to express it to the men in our lives that we love, because if we don't do that we are not really having a real encounter with them because all we are doing is echoing or mirroring their narcissistic fear that we hate them, so paradoxically to say I hate you or I feel rage towards you is one of the steps you have to take in order to fully see each other" (Angel, 2019).

Katherine Angel herself spoke strongly of psychoanalysis as a vehicle for understanding self and other. Because of this, she exquisitely depicted sexism. So, as a psychoanalytic trainee, why could I not express my racial fury to the membership? I knew of Kleinian (Klein, 1959) concepts of murderous rage against the mother (was this my training institution?), or the hate derived in the countertransference (Winnicott, 1947) towards some patients (were these my colleagues?). But what did this have to do with my racial experience? Was my fury akin to Angel's rage as the disempowered other? But then I wondered which men does Angel have in mind. I knew my masculine reality was certainly different to that attested to my fairer skinned male counterparts. And I felt weary to consider 'intersectionality' (Cole, 2009) – a theoretical word that to me felt impassive and risked curtailing knowing about the difference in differences.

I sensed this murderous rage in mind (around race) had a much closer relationship with actual violence. I watched 'The Birth of a Nation' (2016); a period drama film based on the true story of Nat Turner, the enslaved man who led a slave rebellion in Southampton County, Virginia, in 1831. Turner was a literate slave preacher whose owner offered to use Nat's preaching to suppress the supposed unruly slaves of multiple plantations for profit. As Turner witnesses' brutalities from White slave owners against himself and his fellows, he orchestrates a brutal uprising in the hopes of leading his people to freedom.

I reflected on the history of how those with power protect their property through violence if necessary, much like the whipping of slaves in the film. I noticed how when those in power (the slave owners in the film) were comfortable, the underclasses (the slaves) were left to inflict violence on each other. In the moment of challenging inequality, the underclass slaves came together in protest to disrupt this power. Though this was 1800s America (and away from my life) it seemed to me observable in how the police are used to protect those with power, and a challenge to this is often seen when the perceived 'working class' come together to riot or loot (Jones, 2012; Lowe 2011). Power and violence seemed to mean so much more when it came to racialised skin colour, as though it was anticipated.

Painful and disturbing, most of all the film was frightening as I was emotionally on Nat's side. It is now I wonder, considering its murderous history, whether it is this level of latent rage that makes race difficult to talk about. Even though colleagues and I wouldn't act like 1800s America, the threat of such revolt felt close by in the act of discourse.

Etherington (2004, p.150) writes that 'creative depictions give data a life and dimension that convey the visual, intellectual, bodily and emotional qualities of the experiences being studied'. I agreed. This film (and novels and podcasts) could transmit racialised emotion, perhaps in a way that professional psychoanalytic discussions had yet not.

Psychoanalysis: the gift and the curse

2018 ended and the DID workshop had finished. It took me some time to notice why I was able to be excited about writing and presenting my conference paper but not about the essay. I had developed a good working relationship with the DID workshop leaders who offered me a series of meetings outside the group to help structure and edit my paper. The focus shifted from myself to the clinical material, so I felt freer to move in my mind. But not only this; they freely let me know what was on their mind as they felt it.

The workshop group made an effort to sustain creativity. It existed. I didn't necessarily feel totally understood, or completely supported in every moment, but for those seventy-five minutes in the week, I didn't feel alone with my problem. The group was challenging, but there was an element of playfulness in the experience. I found this aspect rewarding. The space grew increasingly open. Adam Philips (2007) wrote that for Winnicott, the opposite of play is not work but coercion. This makes sense to me, because in our playfulness and curiosity, we began to be able to see one another.

I had a similar experience with the supervisor for the case I chose to present at the conference. She was intrigued by the material. Supervision was lively and good-humoured, meaning we came to separate, observe and refine the tapestry of the racial experience. Towards the end of our supervision she said, "You must create a new theory with each patient".

My reflexive journey ended on a break in America, the summer I finished child psychotherapy training. I made contact and was invited to lunch with psychoanalyst

Dr. Veronica Abney of the Institute of Contemporary Psychoanalysis in California, USA. Dr. Abney was involved in the network, 'Black Psychoanalysts Speak' (Winograd, 2017), exploring the history, theory and practice of psychoanalysis through the experience of darker-skinned analysts. She had also written an unpublished dissertation on race called "African-American Psychoanalysts in the United States: Their Stories & Presence in the Field".

From an older generation and now a teacher and training analyst, Dr. Abney told me of her struggles in setting up a recent workshop for students to think about social differences. With little interest from students to register, she decided to change the name of the workshop to "Power and Privilege". An interest developed and the workshop is now compulsory in her institution.

Dr. Abney spoke fondly of her experience in personal analysis with a lighter-skinned analyst. I was most struck when Dr. Abney explained, she and her analyst had presented aspects of racialisation in the transference between them at a psychoanalytic conference. I left stimulated with many thoughts, but most of all was impressed by her willingness to be vulnerable in the service of development.

I have grown to sincerely believe that a subjective experience may not be known but can be recognised by others. Whether the internal world has a colour or not seems to depend on who's looking, where from, when and with what eyes. I want to remain open, without pre-conception, and aware of unconscious self when exploring skin colour with others. I found myself returning to a challenging letter James Baldwin (1963) wrote to his nephew on the importance of serious and committed openness:

> There is no reason for you to try to become like White people and there is no basis whatever for their impertinent assumption that *they* must accept *you*. The really terrible thing, old buddy, is that *you* must accept *them.* And I mean that very seriously. You must accept them and accept them with love. For these innocent people have no other hope. They are, in effect, still trapped in a history which they do not understand; and until they understand it, they cannot be released from it. They have had to believe for many years, and for innumerable reasons, that Black men are inferior to White men. Many of them, indeed, know better, but as you will discover, people find it very difficult to act on what they know. To act is to be committed, and to be committed is to be in danger. (Baldwin, 1963 in 1997, p.17)

These words encompass what I felt in coming to the end of this chapter. As uncomfortable as the topic can be, I believe the sense of discomfort is necessary in child psychotherapy spaces to deconstruct illusion. For child development, it is necessary to speak of truths and perhaps most dangerous to allow indifference.

Chapter 5: Qualitative interviewing of darker-skinned child psychotherapist's

This chapter presents key findings of the thematic analysis of the interview data. Three superordinate themes were identified. Each theme contained several subordinate themes. The results below are presented with reference to examples of interview extracts. A discussion will continue throughout this chapter, reflecting on the reviewed literature. A powerful interrelatedness across the themes is also considered. Research limitations for both the autoethnographic inquiry and the interviewing will close this chapter.

5.1. Results

Theme 1: Race in the eye of the beholder

Data suggests the participants' understanding of their skin and racial self was significantly influenced by the observing individual (who attributes meaning) and the observing culture (which pre-determines meaning[39]).

[39] Specifically observable in Theme 2.

1 (a) Perception: Race in other people's mind

Participants commonly spoke of family, friend and societal perceptions of darker skin as influencing the construction of their idiosyncratic perception of their skin:

> *(Participant C)* … I became very consciously aware of my difference in a way that I remember now, when the song 'brown girl in the ring came out'. It's like a nursery rhyme, where you sing 'brown girl in the ring, tra lala lala, and she looks like sugar in a plum, plum, plum'. People would sometimes put me in the middle and sing...

This perception appeared to rely on the system that darker skin was to be identified and named much more readily than lighter skin, supporting the notion of a universal racialised recognition apparatus in mind (Davids, 2011). Across all accounts participant's genesis to understanding their race came with their earliest memories of being perceived as different; a useful finding when considering work with children. Participant C (above) describes an experience of being racially marked, although experienced this as closer to benign. Rather, Participant D goes on to describe his racial marking as racism, inducing a confused emotional experience:

> (Participant D) *…the one I didn't know asked, 'who's that kid', and one of them, I don't know which one, I think the older one said, who the nigger…. And I didn't know what that meant. So, I asked my dad later on that, so I remember his face changing like I thought I was in trouble or something, and he said where did you hear that...*

Data suggested this primary differentiation of skin was present in all clinical relationships. All findings across this theme, strongly reflect the notion of intersubjectivity (Layton, 2008; Leary, 2008; Holmes, 1999). Leary (1997) suggested that visible features in a therapeutic relationship, like skin colour, can represent a self-disclosure likely to shape the dialogue to follow: There appeared consensus that conscious perceptions of skin tended to arise with younger patients (Participant A below) and unconscious perceptions were more likely felt with older patients or parents (Participant B below):

> *(Participant B)* It wasn't verbalised but he was using stereotypes and clichés that he thought might hurt me, something that meant I wasn't his therapist. He was in a mixed school, an area where mixed cultures were relatively new so he would talk about wanting to attack the Black boys in the school. I took it up as him wanting to attack me. He would deny that for a while but eventually he would say, you do really get on my nerves…
>
> *(Participant A)* We were walking down the corridor and the foster carer who was Black said to me; "Do you know what he said? …he said mum, why do I have to have the Black one?" This was my first time meeting him.

This finding indicates that aspects of racialised thinking should be considered by therapists with both a social and subjective lens (Layton, 2008). As seen with Participant A's extract above, intersubjective theory would suggest it important to consider what is understood in the patient's mind by 'the Black one', as well as

acknowledging ideas of Black in the therapists/carers mind and external world[40]. I think the Levy-Warren (2014) and Altman (2000) papers (page 19, 25) are examples of such attempts, but fall short in exploring the *relationship* between, subjective, objective and societal states, thus closing the relational process at a point it could be broadened.

1 (b) Black as identity?

All participants recognised 'Black' as a pre-existing label to formulise their skin tone and thus a predetermined aspect of their identity. There was evidence each participant had, throughout their lives, thought about what to call themselves, indicating the definition of Black did not carry universal certitude, as seen with Participant A's musings:

> *(Participant A)* I describe myself as Black Caribbean… but it all depends, Black Caribbean or Black British, whichever one I have to put down when doing applications, then I am quite specific, Jamaican and Grenadian. I narrow things down as I go, and I suppose it depends on the context… if anyone sees me, they just know I am Black anyway…

Subsequently, all participants used nationality to define themselves under Black. Here is support of Hall's (2018) idea that individual identity is product of culture and history,

[40] This consideration links to the subordinate theme to follow - 1b.

while acknowledging some emotionality of the Black experience as inviting oneness. Results showed two standardised experiences of Black as darker skin: first as provoking painful, at times traumatic emotional associations; second as identifying as part of a minority group (page 8). One participant chose not to use the word, instead referring to "brown", and another spoke of "dabbling with the idea of another word":

> *(Participant D)* I don't know, I think I called myself brown for a while… and then I stopped calling myself anything… but in my mind I am Black, because when I really think about it, that is the word that comes to mind…

This example reflects the interplay between a pre-conscious recognition of the word Black in relation to their skin and a conscious, vocalised reflection of the word relating to self-racial definition.

1 (c) Zeitgeist

The composition of one's racial perception appeared influenced by time, context and generation. Standardised associations to the notion of Black appeared influenced by what I term, the 'Black zeitgeist'. For example, three participants spoke of 1970s Britain having negative connotations to those that were darker skinned through the labelling of Black as compared to the 1980s and 90s where aspects of Black were considered desirable:

> *(Participant A)* So even my older brother would bring the experience back to the home, saying this is what is going on and that kind of stuff, so I was quite aware of it from a young age, that the 70s was a bit of a tough

> time actually, you know so erm, and then I said there was a bit of this transition bit where suddenly it was okay to be Black, in effect it was really good to be Black really and even my White British friends would kind of identified with a Black culture.
>
> *(Participant C)* I don't think skin was what defined us (growing up), it was about whether you're kind of part of the gang or part of the culture and this idea of Blackness defined that culture whether or not you were White or Black.

In related benign examples, participants referred to adolescents who attached to the Black zeitgeist through their therapist, for example, identifying with stereotypical ideas of Black as "cool" omnipotent figures. Akala (2018, p.122) articulated a similar observation in adolescents, noting that; 'Blackness continues to represent traditions of resistance and rebellion… young people in Britain who are not Black that wish to participate in an oppositional culture flock to hip hop and grime in a way that Black youngsters rarely did to punk or grunge – even if they like both genres'. I am reminded of Gilroy's (1993) theory which encourages one to keep in mind that diasporic Black identity is composed of cultural exchanges.

This finding on adolescent identification weighs Davids (2011) use of language of an internal 'racist' (in its colloquial sense), as race in the mind might not always be considered as mobilising antagonism toward the other. Levy-Warren (2014) and Holmes (1992) elucidate this query, as both describe work with lighter-skinned adolescents who unconsciously use Black zeitgeists to manipulate parts of self (page

19, 26), during classically western stages of narcissistic adolescent development[41]. This differs from Lowe's (2008) patient K who is contending with similar identity formation *and* actualised racialised skin tone prejudice.

This compelling finding ascends race as a significantly active and potentially valuable source in all clinical spaces, regardless of the chromatic composition of patient and therapist.

Theme 2: Race in institution

The data implies that having darker skin made participants tacitly caught up in socially political projections. The subsequent outcome of this was an overlap of the personal, institutional and clinical task. Results suggest this experience needs to be worked with holistically, as opposed to compartmentalised or absolved.

2 (a) Child psychotherapy: the structural status quo

Participants described how the cultural ideologies of education settings, workplaces and communities could be experienced in a manner that brought them into an overt

[41] Whether or not it useful to describe this as a racist process is up for debate. However, I believe if psychotherapy is to be considered a form of social reform, it is worth making these distinctions (and holding onto tensions) especially when working with a young mind who could inhabit a different environment to a previous generation.

awareness of their skin. Participant B describes how the quality of this awareness shifted between spaces:

> *(Participant B)* Each institution, has a unique experience of what racism is, but for some reason in the prison institution (place of work), it was less inhibited (than child psychotherapy institution). It was almost like we don't care, this is how we are going to relate to you… the more educated the system is, or the institution are, the more subtle a nuance it becomes in terms of how its conveyed… you are having this experience of being related to in a certain way.

This suggests that Blackwell's (2014) argument of a social unconscious needs consideration: Participant C described the approach (to discussing race as a trainee) as "not matching the experience"; Participant A noted the institutions cultural approach to race "had not changed much", producing an echo chamber affect across different generations. These statements reveal that something about psychoanalytic institutions sense of race seemed to (perhaps unconsciously) reinforce the idea of an enigmatic struggle to talk about race. Data suggests this sense of race came from the politics of Whiteness transcending the colour of anyone's skin as an occupying force in the mind (Baldwin, 1963; Du Bois, 1903; Eddo-Lodge, 2018):

> *(Participant B)* This thing of assimilating, what has drawn me to this predominantly white, predominantly middle-class profession… I am almost recreating something but it's not hostile, but maybe it is, well I don't think it is, I haven't experienced it in quite an obviously hostile way. Then there is finding myself being the outside of group but still being part of it, being on the edge of something. I find myself sticking out these

> environments and persisting, but I also get something out of it – I always feel like I am advocating for the other.
>
> *(Participant D)* I don't actually (feel part of the ACP). It actually feels like jolly hockey sticks for me when I go to those conferences, or get togethers, it is terrible. I don't mind them, but I don't feel part of it, because the make of the ACP is, white middle/upper class… I found a sense of belonging outside as a child psychotherapist as opposed to being defined by the ACP.

This extract states that darker skin does not devoid one of communing with Whiteness in mind. Blackwell (2019, p.92) describes how psychoanalysis as predominantly White, western, middle-class membership, leads a discourse that tends to be permeated by White, western, middle-class assumptions and presumptions. This evidence redefines the idea of Whiteness not simply as skin colour, but as a mindset.

This finding links to individual identity (Theme 1c), as institutions are made of individual people. Institutional philosophy therefore has a tremendous impact on the therapeutic process. Knight's (2013) paper terrifically demonstrates how the patient demands that the analyst must deconstruct institutional philosophy in herself to be able to offer good care; power is distributed unevenly in the intersubjective dyad, proposing Knight has responsibility to not harm her patient (see Theme 3).

This subordinate theme explicates that darker skinned professionals may have an increased valency (Bion, 1984) for racial discourse, which may need attentive utilising for protecting against institutional re-enactment (Brooks, 2012).

2 (b) Embodied politics

A common representation of embodied politics in the data was descriptions of family migrations to the UK. A professional effect of political migration appeared with some participants reporting being the "only one" (darker skinned) in their training and clinics, leaving them to feel as though they embodied the entire structural narrative of race:

> *(Participant A)* Actually, another little Black child, very complicated history, adopted, one parents from different parts of a continent. Father questionable, even mothers were questionable as they lied. Child removed and placed in various homes, all Black carers. Then child moved to an adoptive placement with a White carer. They did all they could to find out about the child's history and went to the continent of birth. Child had a complex relationship with their identity as adoptive, Black… so again I felt very ,very apprehensive about working with her, the task is too great, to write all the wrongs of birth mother and past carers and carrying the longings for this current White carer.

In Participant A's example, race ran the risk of being entirely located in the patient-therapist dyad, taking on an essentialist view. This narrative links to Eddo-Lodge's (2018) notion that darker skin people commonly feel as though they are the only ones seeing *structural* racialisation (page 43). Participant B recounts a more sinister example of embodied politics between them and a mixed-race patient, succeeding a deliberate allocation of darker skinned therapist and patient:

> *(Participant B)* His skin was kind of abhorrent to him. He would try and scrub his skin, wanted to get rid of his Blackness to be more White British, so there was clear symptoms for this boy who was conflicted about the Black side of his ethnicity… the way he was taken in by his family, they Whitened his experience, race was not talked about or mentioned at all…

This finding raises the question of case assembly and management, including therapist allocation and readiness for individual psychoanalytic work (particularly with complex trauma). This requires more thought, though suggests a call for more considered race specific dialogue and evokes Menakem's (2017) call for an embodied practice when racial trauma is central.

Theme 3: Power and process

This theme fundamentally explains the level of interrelated across the entire data set, providing insight into the nature of racialised skin colour. Participants identities as therapists, family and professional members and citizens, were all forms of groupings where power presented unevenly. This theme exacts the notion of race as political (distribution of power) reality, thus intrinsic human reality.

3 (a) Supervisor and supervisee positioning

A tension discussed was knowing how much to reveal about one's personal self, dependent on one's positioning. Participant D expressed: "I often find myself being quite silent in the discipline meetings, fearing that leading engagement in racial topics pushed them into a "discriminatory position". Another participant referred to a charged supervisor-supervisee positioning when they found themselves on more than one occasion asked to supervise a darker-skinned trainee; they experienced being object of idolisation, which led to difficultly in thinking about their trainee's written assignments.

In a condensed example, Participant B describes a moment as a trainee where numerous decisions in the supervisee process impeded certain developments of a clinical relationship:

> (Participant B) I grew up in a working-class environment… when I was younger I did not know much about it (money), or felt intimidated by it… people from a private background that can use their intellect in a defensive way, to defend against their own difficulty with tolerating not knowing – I guess I have a valency for picking up in that. I remember a young person coming, well-adjusted, super bright, who used their intellect defensively. I just crumbled, incapacitated, just feeling stupid in their presence. It was something in the transference, I had not felt so acutely. He was talking about things I had not heard of, and in a very condescending, patronising way.
>
> *Q. Do you remember being able to talk about that experience?*
>
> No, no, this is the first time I have talked about it – I think I talked about it in analysis. I don't think I talked about it on the training… but, I wouldn't have had anything to hook that (difference) onto. If I were to

> bring it to supervision, that's really personal – I wouldn't have had a framework for there being an understanding, it would have been bringing it all in relation to me – it would have been quite odd.

Here, despite considerable reflection of the interpersonal with the patient, an idea that naming it in supervision felt "odd". Participant B goes on to say (years post qualification); "for me and my team, I'd feel open about it now. I don't know, the discipline moves between having not safe bits and safe bits". This proposes child psychotherapy learning and practice, particularly in the trainee-supervisee position, can be critically affected by the desire to be recognised as a credible supervisee.

Participant B's experience could be understood in relation to 'normative unconscious processes' (Layton, 2008): The supervisee's unconscious collusions with normative demands of race (underpowered voice as darker skinned), professional grade (trainee desire to be recognised as a credible member) and professional status (therapist culture of liberal mindedness), coalesce (with all the supervisors 'normative unconscious processes') and play out unhelpfully in clinic. This suggests a need to challenge normative power demands, outside the therapeutic space, to nurture room (inside the therapeutic space) where young patients can acknowledge both destructiveness and vulnerability in relation to power.

3 (b) Group dynamics and colonisation

It appeared that racial discourse, differed widely depending on whether participants were in a large group, smaller group, or one-to-one setting. Three participants referred to experiences of a group that was unable to think about racial difference or had perceived them in a certain way, and yet, identified individuals in the same group they were able to think with outside of the group setting. Participant C described: "I had to adhere to a model in the group, even though individuals did not 100% subscribe to it".

> *(Participant C)* … funnily even though I expected, I felt quite winded by it, like getting punched in the stomach. And it made me… I never felt a part of that group after that…I never felt part of the group, I felt part of relationships with people in the group, but I never felt a part of that group. I knew what that group was organised around, and my idea wasn't that.

This data suggests that the group culture and mindset (and resulting function) are more commanding than an individual (minority) experience. Moreover, it appears as though stronger membership in one group ('racialised colour minority') is seen as weaker membership in another ('psychoanalysis'). Dalal (2006) states that is the emotional experiencing of 'us' and 'them' which maintains the distance between us, and varieties of them. I think this is observable in Participant C's narrative where the combination of the groups reported dismal, alongside their sense of "getting punched in the stomach", articulates the process of division into something concrete.

This data extract further illuminates repeated evidence that when discussing race, there is a fear that something was to be lost (understanding/ corruption of the group's knowledge). Individual group members appeared more likely to act less cooperatively (or competitively) towards others, because they perceived the situation as dangerous to their self in the group. This perhaps affirms my earlier supposition (page 47) that Menakem's (2017) idea of perceived bodily threat, should be regarded at a distance to Crehan & Rustin's (2018) notion of existential 'anxieties about knowing'. This is a necessary distinction, as the latter anxiety is conceivably bearable if training is to allow discourse inclusive of protracted discomfort.

3 (c) Survival and growth

Intriguingly, the points where individuals moved to survive politics (2b) and group (3b), were points where growth occurred. Most participants described moments when experiencing their darker skin as different resulted in fear of not only belonging but feeling safe in their environment. Participant A spoke of a moment in latency when they observed a secondary school aged sibling being hung and dropped over a fence because of their different darker skin. They recalled panic thoughts: "how do I not go to that school… I have to keep my head down and study".

Professionally, participants acknowledged the need to survive as a "minority thinker" in the child psychotherapy profession:

> *(Participant C)* My experience of "let's have a conversation", is that you sit down and turn the key and there is silence, or there is that sort of

> sound when the engine is trying to start but it is not quite starting and it is very painful and awkward, and will it ever get going – it usually does but there is always that experience. I was thinking in a clinical situation that often, the way it comes up where it is significant for the patient it is extremely hard to get to it in time before they have moved onto something else. Or, just the experience of having to wait, either isn't bearable or maybe the patient thinks, you don't really want to talk about this.

What Participant C appears to allude to is whether talking about race in psychoanalytic environments is worth the risk and perhaps more specifically, whether it is safe. Safety commonly appeared in the form of discourse "behind closed doors" (or away from group). Participant B said: "I think I talked about it in very close friendships with my peers in the training and we would go to the pub after (teaching) and deconstruct it (race), then we would all be quiet in seminars". Participant D discusses a space where they did no need to survive:

> *(Participant D)* …he was drawing a picture of me as we were approaching the ending (treatment)– it got screwed up, thrown in the bin, sellotaped, it became quite a picture. And it was darker brown, it was quite a muddy brown at first. I commented on him making me this muddy brown and he switched saying, "you're not muddy, you're golden!" He spent time trying to make it golden until the end. But I remember feeling something happened between the two of us where I could take up a little my difference and the patients hostility to me that he felt relieved by… he could take it and play with it in a slightly different way and his wish to both tarnish me and make me something nicer he could hold onto inside. I remember the relief in my naming it if he commented on something in relation to my colour. I cannot quite remember what my supervisor but

> she was helpful in getting me to acknowledge myself as who I was in the room with this patient.

This extract points to two disheartening results: Firstly, darker skinned participants were moved to preserve their identity away from institutional forces (as seen in Theme 2). Secondly, theoretical ideas of racialisation were as much a problem for the White person as the Black person (Baldwin 1953, 1963) because vital knowledge risks being displaced outside the profession, arresting development and evolution within it.

***

5.2. Research Limitations

Literature review

The choice of a NR research methodology allowed for a greater flexibility to address all the aims in the current study. However, this methodology does not come with an evidenced-based guideline for validity like PRISMA (Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Met-analyses) for SRs. This permits researchers to ensure transparency in reporting through well-described protocols facilitating the understanding, modification and appraisal of methods (Moher et al, 2015). This further allows for straightforward reproduction of the same literature review topic at a later point in time.

Research design

Having suggested autoethnography's potential for rigor as a qualitative research method, its associated limitations should be recognised. Although some observed processes of thought may be relatable in an autoethnography narrative, the results produced lack generalisability due to the level of subjectivity.

The most significant limitation pertains to its epistemological status as there are limits to self-knowledge (Wilson & Dunn, 2004). This is particularly the case when considering the professional context in psychoanalysis and the limits to unconscious knowing. I hope my commitment in personal analysis supported the reflexivity in the autoethnographic process and resulting narrative. There are merits and problems associated with this triple role of patient-in-personal-therapy, therapist-in-the-therapy and researcher-after-the-therapy that is outside the scope of this article, but important to accept.

The small sample size of participants for the interviews and their proximity to the author, did make it difficult to ensure anonymity was maintained. This limitation comes more with the generalisability of the experience across the international psychoanalytic debate on race as the study focused on psychoanalytic child psychotherapy in Britain.

With the focus on darker-skinned clinicians, the data could not entirely validate how lighter-skinned clinicians experience skin colour within the observed contexts. This could only be articulated via the subjective experiences of the participants and author as opposed to that of lighter-skinned counterparts.

Linked to this, semi-structured interview processes run the risk of being overly influenced and directed by the interviewer's subjectivity. It is hoped the inclusion of the autoethnographic methodology provided an arena for the author to explore their subjective experience away from that of the interviewees.

The analysis of data

As with the narrative review method, thematic analysis is not intrinsically linked to a particular theory (Joffe, 2012). A recent Clarke & Braun (2018) publication emphasises that thematic is not a term for one approach to qualitative analysis, but many. This defines thematic analysis as an umbrella term for a wide variety of approaches. However, as ensured in the present study, thematic analysis holds its credibility by outlining analytic procedures and embedding the process in a theoretical framework. This study was faithful to the systematic approach to data with the aim of describing the bulk of the data, reducing the potential bias towards selected extracts to support an argument.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This closing chapter extends key discussion from the results and highlights the experience of undertaking this project. I will draw out some salient implications of this research for psychoanalytic child psychotherapy.

Closing Thoughts

Concluding this thesis is challenging because there is a wish to get something correct. My opening apprehension to finalise the title of this thesis is like the struggle faced in concluding - there is no specific answer. The most important understanding reached is that how, and crucially *why*, one approaches the topic of race is analogous to the potential benefits of any racial discourse.

If race is considered solely a 'problem' to solve (Morgan, 2008), the search for an answer will feel perpetually paralysing. Similarly, if race is only considered in terms of prejudice, it is difficult for the liberal not to feel tested. In both scenarios, race will remain an enigmatic topic that serves only to push the therapist to decide between a preservation of their own privilege and knowledge, or the relinquishment of both in the name of equality. This would be harmful to both psychoanalysis and people.

Instead race must be thought about as fundamentally relational. This investigation substantiates that skin colour mobilises racialisation in the mind. A useful psychoanalytic framework for understanding this relational process is intersubjectivity; the agreement on a given set of meanings or situational definition. But what makes this topic so compelling is the variety of emotional meanings held in skin colour. Race assumes a place in our mind that is altogether absent, present and fluid; race can become one thing, multiple things at once, or disavowed entirely. Internalising this relational notion of race is essential for enriching racial discourse and clinical practice.

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A key to evolving racial clinical practice is embedded in child psychotherapy's regard for psychoanalytic observation as the cornerstone of inquiry and treatment. Adamo and Rustin (2014) refer to the technique of mindedness, as the requirement to see with an inner as well as an ordinary 'seeing' outer eye, in such a way that learning from experience becomes possible and meaning can gradually emerge.

What the findings say about race culture in psychoanalytic child psychotherapy

This thesis demonstrates that differences in skin colour can result in markedly different conceptions of reality (Theme 1). Findings prove that some experiences of inhabiting darker skin include having race history, racialisation process and Black zeitgeist, automatically attributed to you. This is a socially tolerated interpersonal process; a normal unconscious process (Layton's, 2008; David's, 2011). Darker skin

can be a receptacle for individual, group and societal projections, as well as the inheritance of unconscious trauma correlated with political positioning (underpowered minority) to skin tone.

Navigating these experiences as both a professional in an institution and a therapist in clinical practice, is part of being a darker skinned psychoanalytic child psychotherapist in Britain…

> *…I recall a tension as to whether I could be critical of psychoanalysis throughout this research, as a trainee, and as a person with darker skin - two underpowered identities. The original draft of this thesis submitted for examination did not include the 'social psychological/sociological' section of the NR. I chose to omit this the previous year under the guidance of supervision; that the thesis should sit in psychoanalysis to appear more inviting to psychoanalytic thinkers new to the topic. During the viva examination, the markers observed that reflecting on wider literature would improve the chapter and understanding of psychoanalysis' struggle.*

I include this as a seemingly harmless experience of this sense of having to provide a solution, while catering to the emotional needs of the audience (page 66). At the same time, colleagues were struck by my willingness to be so open through autoethnography. Ironically, I felt my autoethnographic narrative was not particularly personal, but an observable objective experience for those with seeing eyes. But what is most harmful in all this is the potential knowledge and framework for aiding psychoanalytic observation that risks being kept out.

The data in Chapter 5 reports that the present race culture in psychoanalytic chid psychotherapy is struggling, not due to bad influence of an individual but with its battle with political (power) realities. The ACP Conference (July 2018) synopsis stated that terminology can readily nullify the complexity of individuality or occlude what it means to be a part of humanity. It is a hypothesis supported by the findings in Theme 2 and 3, where the child psychotherapists' clinical task is stifled by politics when both the unconscious phenomena and the external (political) realities are not grasped.

One example of politically affected process is the common rhetoric that race is an under-researched area in psychoanalysis. This literature review has importantly illuminated that psychoanalytic thinkers (and other social sciences) have thought extensively about race. If we consider the political reality of 3.3% of the nation's population coming from "Black/African/Caribbean/Black British" groups, in combination with the increased valency of racial discourse associated with darker skinned professionals evidenced (Theme 2a), it is indeed more accurate to acknowledge psychoanalytic literature on race as considerable, progressive, yet silent. This existing literature needs more serious attention.

The psychoanalytic professions, including child psychotherapy, are made up predominantly of individuals with lighter skin colour. The few darker skinned professionals have introduced important transference experiences to the theoretical field that encourage racial discourse. At present, the unfamiliarity with race theory and the lack of experience of racial discourse makes it difficult to bring the conversation into a comfortable psychoanalytic space. Results show that at an institutional, group and individual level, with their varying influences of power, mean

that the endurance and imagination required for sustained psychoanalytic thinking about race is lacking (Theme 3) [42].

The topic of race, with its external and internal vicissitudes, pushes the framework of psychoanalysis to its limits. It demands creativity and flexibility of thought. Holding the view that the task of psychoanalysis is to attend to the divergences between unconscious mind and reality, the potential skill a child psychotherapist has for exploring these divergences are easily forgotten. I think about how diligently child psychotherapists follow issues of gender (masculinity and femininity) unconsciously, yet despite its equivalent external footing in human lived experience (Chapter 1), this approach to race is missing. Consequently, the essential curiosity for the child at the centre of this endeavour is lost.

The "White" voice

Throughout my trainee experience (Chapter 4), I often witnessed a diffusion of responsibility within professional discussion. A common example was the declaration that we did not need specialist agendas to increase racial discourse but that,

[42] It seems to me a greater level of sensitivity is required for the child psychotherapist to navigate issues of power dynamics that may impede on psychoanalytic thought. This is because the child psychotherapist, commonly working with children and adolescents, are working across a range of institutions, including educational and healthcare settings. In addition, the involvement of the child's parent or carer must also be considered, and the child as separating towards the new social world. Contrastingly, the psychoanalyst is working with the adult patient, who in most cases has chosen themselves to seek therapeutic support.

"discussing race should be just given". This perfectly ideal notion meant the reality of the issue was not considered, and the acceptance of being in position of not knowing was denied. A popular response to the lighter skinned professionals' position of not knowing is to focus on their "Whiteness". An example of this is observable in social psychological debates plea for lighter skinned people to reflect on their "privilege" in the social political system, or to ask them to understand their mental "fragility" in the face of racial discourse (DiAngelo, 2018).

Although these maybe valid avenues for self-reflection, I worry that this attitude risks re-enactment of dichotomised approaches to race that prevent psychoanalytic professionals working alongside each other to better understanding. An important aspect of psychoanalytic child psychotherapeutic process is the extent to which an atmosphere of genuine dialogue is promoted. The psychoanalytic task should be interested in how race is lived for the individual. Across professional networks and in the clinic room, this involves the child psychotherapist allowing the underpowered to speak openly, alongside acknowledging the difficult emotions that arise influenced by those in power (whether parent, teacher or government). The call for lighter skinned professionals to admit to or renounce their "privilege" may foreclose the important recognition of *all* emotions that child psychotherapists need to bring into the dialogue; an ability to get in touch with the truth.

Developing observation of racialised process in child psychotherapy practice

"Try again, fail again, fail better".

S. Beckett (1984)

This research occurred when the ACP were thinking about how to make space for issues of race in professional thinking. Findings across Chapter 4 and 5 interpret that cultivation of a culture comfortable in approaching racial topics is most important. I reflected above on psychoanalytic therapists' ability to get in touch with difficult unconscious emotions around gender difference (often explored through oedipal dynamics). This ability comes from a fostered familiarity with psychoanalytic material, unconscious processes in the self (therapist) and understanding of external processes. This existing psychoanalytic framework for thinking need only be applied to racial discourse.

Acknowledgement of external realities and existing literature

My autoethnography emphasised the challenges of registering the others' reality when one has not experienced it themselves. The narrative highlighted how learning through art forms such as literature, podcasts and movies, could be a welcome

addition for promoting critical consciousness and cultivating an understanding of the experiences outside the self that are difficult to be in contact with through psychoanalytic theory alone. As a topic perceivably less acquainted to psychoanalysis, an acknowledgement of external racial realities of young people is necessary for developing and communicating psychoanalytic understanding.

Training centres and learning spaces may then consider the use of various media to stimulate psychoanalytic reflections about child and adolescent racial experiences that may be unaccustomed to their membership. Relevant experiences of the topic could support increased individual awareness of subjective and objective emotional arousal. Material associated with the clinical endeavour could protect against conversations becoming stifled by political infection and a turning away from the lived experience of local children and adolescents.

Following this, existing national and international literature exploring psychoanalysis and race should be introduced across teaching and learning environments.

A comment on process

Reflecting on the Work Discussion Seminar Group process, Crehan & Rustin (2018) stated one pragmatic approach might be to allow the group to conduct its reflections in multi-disciplinary ways, but they reported that multi-disciplinary approaches may well bring confusion rather than understanding. I agree it is crucial for psychoanalytic knowledge and frameworks to be passed down to those entering the profession. Though as the framework resonates with the individual, this thesis validates how

cross-discipline observation widened understanding of darker skin experiences, especially when exploring the relationship between individual internal process and external social process (Theme 2a, 3b).

It is important to remember that cross-discipline working was crucial to the development of psychoanalysis. The movement and exchange of knowledge across different professional and generational lines should be encouraged to ensure an interpretive, analytic framework for psychoanalytic enquiry (Gilroy; 1987, 1993). Evidence suggests that unconscious processes in group and supervision settings can affect the exchange of knowledge (Theme 2 and 3). But the epistemic anxiety and existential security evoked by racial discourse may be reduced if the learning environment promotes the value in different identities and believes that discomfort can be worked with.

Renewed psychoanalytic technique

During my autoethnography, I observed debates about whether the therapist should "wait and see what the patient brings" about race. Although intersubjective ideas of "mummy" or "daddy" are brought knowingly by both therapist and patient to mobilise analysis, honest observations about race are difficult bear (Davids, 2014; Knight, 2013). Good psychoanalytic technique requires personal honesty. It is tempting to assume agreement or ignore one's countertransference when unconscious pressures by the patient to fit in and maintain status quo are live (Altman, 2000; Levy-Warren's, 2014). However, a grounding in psychoanalytic technique entails an honest

acknowledgement of emotion in one's own mind (Winnicott, 1947). This has proved essential for developing the literature reviewed. Further research would do well to continue with clinicians sharing their honest transference / countertransference experiences, particularly lighter-skinned clinicians. Understanding differences within lighter skinned racial experiences would open up possibilities to overcome essentialist thinking. This would encourage a culture that makes use of its ability to bring unconscious racial processes into conscious awareness, where a working through may begin. It is here novel meaning can emerge.

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We must continuously remind ourselves what the aim of psychoanalysis' growing concern with race is. The answer must always be, to better understand and support the people we offer help to. As a fundamental human experience, the exploration of race in the unconscious process appears to be a widely underused topic for observing interpersonal life.

Children make the best theorists, often reminding us how we might see things both differently, and more clearly for what they are. Whether working with a mother and child, supporting a parent to mentalise an adolescent, or embarking on the intimate dyad of one-to-one psychotherapy, the prospect for racialised intersubjectivity is undeniable. Any prospect must be realised in a space open to creation and critique, not dogmatic repetition. I close with the humbling words of Betty Joseph (1917-2013), training, supervising and child analyst in the British Psychoanalytical Society:

I have never understood how I moved from being a really bad analyst to a decent enough analyst: I think the most important thing is a sense for the truth; to have a real sense for the truth in relation to yourself and be prepared to know or try to find out what's going on and how things are hitting you, because only that is going to enable you to really face what is going on in other people... The other thing I think one needs is imagination. If you get stuck, can you let your mind move or think or feel, maybe I am talking in the wrong way, or to a different part of the patient. Can one have the flexibility to move in ones thinking… And, that one has to put up with being a bad analyst. If you cannot bare being bad, dumb and mechanical, you can never be good.

Encounters through Generations – Institute of Psychoanalysis

B. Joseph (2013)

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