

SPIRIT, SOUL, AND STRUGGLE IN SUPERVISION: MY EIGHT ANCHORS OF HONOR

WATKINS, Jr., C. Edward ^{1,2}

¹ Department of Psychology, University of North Texas, Denton, Texas

² Institute of Psychotherapy, Psychological Counselling and Clinical Supervision, Romania
Email: cewatkins54@outlook.com

Abstract: *I have been given the privilege of sharing with you some of my most cherished beliefs and convictions and views about supervision, and I do so subsequently. Although there is a host of beliefs, convictions, and views that I could share, I emphasize eight that are most meaningful to me --- what I consider to be my eight Anchors of Honor. These Anchors, while grounding and guiding my supervisory work, also reflect my way of honoring and holding in mind the awe and wonder of supervision itself, that grandly generative service with which we as supervisors are graciously gifted. What follows is an adaptation of two presentations, first, the Lectio Magistralis, an invited address delivered at the International Conference: Supervision in Psychotherapy, June 7th, 2025 [1], upon conferral of the Doctor Honoris Causa by the “Tibiscus” University of Timișoara (the greatest honor of my professional life) and, second, Spirit, Soul, and Struggle in Supervision, an invited keynote address delivered at the First Latin American Conference on Clinical Supervision, October 9th, 2025 [2].*

Key words: supervision, anchor, honor, development, supervisee identity

1. INTRODUCTION

I am honored to have this opportunity to share with you some of my dearest and most deeply held convictions about supervision. That supervision is oh so very special to me is oh so very true, that has been the case for over 40 years now, and I hope to subsequently provide you with the bounty of reasons as to why that is so. All that I will talk about in the pages that follow reflects my struggle to better understand what I do as a supervisor and why; so, I will ‘think out loud’ that struggle with you here.

But I do believe that there is strength in the struggle, and I hope that my supervision journey --- as has been the case so far --- will forever be an ongoing, lifelong, joyful journey. May that always be so because, as a supervisor, I always want to do better, I always want to be better; and I also always know that I am never ‘there’. So, if there is a single, solid through line in my writing here, it is simply this: *what I want most dearly in supervision --- to be a good clinical supervisor.*

I want to focus on three crucial dimensions of supervision: spirit, soul, and struggle. For my purposes here, I define those terms as follows:

Spirit --- that force which animates; vital essence inspiring action;

Soul --- the quintessential heart, seat, of all that is innermost; life force; vital spark; and Struggle --- contend vigorously with adversity; progress with difficulty; advance with great effort (see <https://www.thefreedictionary.com/>).

Although spirit and soul are defined separately, there is clearly overlap between the two terms. I use them here as inextricably intertwined, referring to that vital essence or spark, the heart and life force that animates, activates, energizes, and inspires. The term, struggle, is self-explanatory and its meaning will be self-evident in the material that follows.

So, I share with you an integrated focus on three ever so vital vitalizers for me: (a) my supervision spirit and soul --- those abiding supervision convictions, practice principles, and watchwords that I have come to hold most dear and that accordingly guide my supervisory self in action; (b) as complement to that supervisor-self focus, I also wish to accentuate the ‘supervisee self’ --- shining a laser light on my view of the supervisee’s struggle of ‘becoming’, the supervisee’s journey to answer that critical identity question of “who am I as a therapist?” and, in the process, to build and broaden, demark and define, a sense of therapist identity or Practice Self; and (c) the intersection of my supervisory self in action (ideally) in sync with the supervisee’s self in the process of building and ‘becoming’.

To capture and integrate my supervision spirit and soul, my view of the supervisee’s struggle of ‘becoming’, and their supervisory intersection, I do so by positing what I refer to as my Eight Anchors of Honor --- those anchors that are forever supervision honoring and forever supervision grounding of my practice and perspective. Because my supervision practice has been exclusively focused on beginning or Novice phase supervisees (ie. those first starting to see clients, making the shift from classroom to clinic), my Anchors are reflective of that reality.

2. MY EIGHT ANCHORS OF HONOR

Clinical supervision, in my view, is decidedly developmental, relentlessly relational, and eminently educational. We as supervisors educate for, and strive to develop, therapist mind, therapist identity, and therapist voice [3]. In that process of developmental facilitation, of striving to be an evolutionary enabler, I have found that I return again and again to these eight helpful and humble touchstones of what I want to remember in supervision, what I hope to do in supervision, and who I want to be in supervision. My eight Anchors of Honor are as follows.

2.1 ANCHOR I: MAY I FOREVER HONOR JOURNEY OF THERAPIST ‘BECOMING’

Developmental conceptualization and research support this assertion: Where there is therapist identity formation, there, too, often goes therapist identity formation struggle [4, 5]. So, just as “Therapy often involves a ‘journey through hell’...training to be a therapist nearly always does [too]” [6, p. 7]. And I want to forever remain most mindful of that --- my supervisee’s identity formation struggles and their Practice Self in the painful process of evolving. May I also remember, stay in close touch with, my own therapist identity struggles because: though occurring long, long ago, I do think that that very

remembrance matters and matters greatly in my being able to better empathize and sympathize with my supervisee's plight of progress [7].

As Joan Fleming [8] so sagely stated 60 years ago, "...we have to take [supervisees] from where they are . . . They are not empty vessels into whom we pour from a jug; nor inert lumps of clay to be fashioned after our own image. We are facilitators; gardeners, accepting the plants that spring up in our gardens and doing what we can by pruning" (p. 420). I hope to be that facilitative gardener, accommodating to the developmental learning needs of my supervisees, and as their learning needs evolve, may my supervisory accommodation accordingly evolve as well [9, 10].

Affectivity looms large in this process [11, 12, 13]. Beginning or Novice Phase supervisees [4] need a sense of safety, a safe supervision environment within which they can freely learn and strive and thrive. Containment, hold, security, anchoring, and grounding would each be important elements in that affective affirmation process. In centering my supervisees' journey to 'become', may I as supervisor do my very best to provide them with a space and place of learning liberation, an interval of freedom, where they are fostered and facilitated, encouraged and educated, reinforced and respected, and valued and validated [14].

2.2 ANCHOR II: MAY I FOREVER HONOR SUPERVISION, GRANTING IT SUPREME, SACRED VALUE

I hope to always hold supervision on high, as a sacred, sacramental practice. Where there is supervisor 'eminent valuation' of supervision, the supervision process is richly advantaged and best positioned to do good [15]. May I do 'good'.

May I accordingly forever honor the supervision space as sacred space, supervision time as sacred time, supervision service as sacred service, always prizing supervision --- because, again, such prizing matters and matters greatly [16]. Where such prizing and valuation are absent or deficient, inadequate and harmful supervision may well become increasingly likely realities [17]. Let me willfully work to banish any such 'increasingly likely' from my practice.

2.3 ANCHOR III: MAY I FOREVER HONOR SUPERVISION AS THE EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE OF HOPE, PROMISE, AND POSSIBILITY

I hope to always hold supervision on high, as a place of infinite developmental possibility. I do unequivocally and wholeheartedly believe in the hope, promise, power, and possibility of supervision. I am convicted because: I have had the grand and glorious pleasure and privilege of bearing witness to growth abundant, as supervisee after supervisee has developmentally emerged with their own Practice Self conviction of "Yes, I can...!" solidly in place, where their doubt has become hope and their hope has become belief.

And in that process, another pivotal shift occurs as well: where supervisees move from the relentless, pulse-pounding urgency of "Don't just sit there, do something!!!!" to the circumspect elegance of "Don't just do something, sit there", because they have learned the value of listening, understanding, 'being with', and relational connection. And they become believers, too; they become convicted --- in the power of the treatment process itself and in their own power to be facilitative treatment providers.

2.4 ANCHOR IV: MAY I FOREVER HONOR THE SUPERVISION RELATIONSHIP AS A SACRED TRUST

I hope to always hold the supervision relationship on high, as a sacred trust [15]. Where regarded as sacred trust, a safe and hallowed bond that binds, supervision learning is increasingly apt to be richly advantaged and best positioned to transpire. May I accordingly forever remember that it is all about the ‘we’, not the ‘me’; that very remembrance matters, too, ever so vital to supervision’s solidarity.

The supervision relationship, as preeminent possibilizer, master mediator, and collaboration cultivator, opens wide the developmental avenues of change and growth for our supervisees; it is the relational repository of all that ‘can be’ in supervision. May I remain most acutely mindful of: where a favorably perceived supervisor-supervisee relationship is established, nurtured, and protected, there, too, goes the increased probability of co-creating an enduring constructive, productive, growth-inducing supervisory learning situation. Let me willfully work to develop, nurture, preserve, and protect all that supervision relationally ‘can be’.

2.5 ANCHOR V: MAY I BE FOREVER FILLED WITH THE SPIRIT --- OF HOPE, HUMANITY, AND HUMILITY IN DOING SUPERVISION

I hope to always hold the oh so ‘humanness and humanity’ of supervision on high, enacting the Platinum Rule in all that I do: Do unto others as you would have others do unto others [18]. My supervisee and I are forever fallible; we can commit errors, make mistakes, become defensive, be unreasonable, have a bad day. May I always remain acutely mindful of and be humbled by that reality [19, 20]. May I grant grace place in supervision. May compassion and self-compassion rain down upon us.

I hope to fulfill this very spirit, so beautifully captured in the words of Lewis [21], in all that I do: “The successful supervisor will be able to allay the anxiety of the supervisee....Here you are not anonymous or abstinent. Here you are a real person. Here you show your warmth and openness and acceptance. Here you praise, support, encourage, and advise. Here you show your empathy to the *vulnerability of a learner*. Here you share your own experiences, your own mistakes. Here you share your own doubts and anxieties as a learner” (pp. 76-77; italics added). May that spirit reign supreme and indwell within me, abiding and guiding, animating and enlivening all of my supervisory work.

2.6 ANCHOR VI: MAY I FOREVER HONOR DIFFERENCE AND DIVERSITY IN SUPERVISION, GRANTING IT SUPREME, SACRED VALUE

As Brown [22] has stated, “In clinical supervision, difference matters....difference is an important and salient organizer of experience” (p. 276-277;cf. [23]). May my supervision practice be forever guided by cultural humility [24, 25]. Culture is purposely defined broadly and inclusively in the cultural humility framework, incorporating such intersecting identities and positionalities as gender, race-ethnicity, sexual orientation, ability status, religion-spirituality, socioeconomic status, body size, and citizenship [26].

Culturally humble supervisors by definition champion a culturally self-aware mindset and an attitude of cultural respect [25, 27, 28, 29]. May I forever and always strive to be a cultural humility supervision champion [30, 31, 32].

2.7 ANCHOR VII: MAY I FOREVER HONOR THE POWER OF PREPARATION AND CONTEXTUAL CUSTOMIZATION

I hope to always hold on high the priceless practices of: supervisee preparation for supervision; and customizing supervision to best meet the developmental learning needs of my supervisee [5, 8]. So, let there be supervisee preparation: role induction and education, education about supervisee development, supervision agreement, and supervision discussion [33, 34, 35, 36] because “praemonatus, praemunita --- forewarned, forearmed” [37, p. 56].

Let there also be contextual customization: tailoring supervision to fit my supervisees’ learning needs, taking into account as best I can developmental, cultural, and contextual considerations [7, 10, 12] because, again, “praemonatus, praemunita --- forewarned, forearmed” [37, p. 56]. Where such preparation and customization are prioritized, supervision, I contend, is again richly advantaged and best positioned to succeed.

2.8 ANCHOR VIII: LET THERE BE JOY AND MAY THERE BE GRATITUDE, TOO!

May I forever practice supervision in gratitude --- deeply thankful for: the delightful pleasure of working with and learning from so many phenomenal supervisees down through the decades; of being a privileged witness to growth abundant, being part of the Practice-Self-in-development Process; and of still being awed by the wonders that can be wrought through the studious, faithful practice of supervision.

My most fervent wish for new supervisors and supervisors in training is this: that you find your own joy in supervising, that you, too, experience the joy of working with and learning from phenomenal supervisee after supervisee; experience the joy of bearing witness, seeing your supervisees’ joy in ‘becoming’ and seeing the joy as they evolve into ‘being’, of their saying and feeling with conviction, “Yes, I can...!”; and experience the awe and wonder of supervision, its joyous rewards and its joyful practice.

3. ANCHOR ENACTMENT

3.1 MISSION FUNDAMENTALS: TRANSFORMATION

I see my supervision mission as most fundamentally being this: to embrace, empower, and emancipate the therapeutic potential of the supervisees who I have the privilege to serve, to help my supervisees unleash the irrepressible hope, boundless promise, and infinite possibilities that lie within them [38]. I want to serve them by being their holder of hope, promissory of promise, and ever possible possibilizer.

Clinical supervision has long had two foundational goals: (a) to develop and enhance the competencies of our supervisees; and (b) to develop and enhance our

supervisees' sense of therapist identity [39, 40, 41]. As facilitators of learning, we do indeed studiously strive to actuate and actualize both goals in our supervisory work, to foster development in our novice, beginner professionals by engaging them in a process of transformative learning [42]: where from the essence of their very person and personhood, the formation of a transformative professional self takes root and begins to emerge [43, 44, 45].

3.2 JOYS OF TRANSFORMATION

And in our facilitating these novice phase, beginner professionals' development, is it not this very process of 'transformation' that we see (or very much hope to see) repeat itself time and time again with each and every beginner trainee? It is where they courageously journey forward into that liminal space --- that unknown, anxiety-provoking, painful, ambiguous place of being in between, of 'not being here' (or where I was when I started) and 'not being there' (where I want to be) but being 'on the way to getting there'. It is where the supervisee learner's 'vulnerability' [21] takes center stage, is put on full display.

But what a joy it is to see when that shift forward starts to occur, when those very novice phase professional trainees begin to really 'get it', begin to transform before our very eyes in ever so small and then ever so big ways, to see them begin to gain confidence and perspective and skills and style, to see their magnificent evolution unfold, to see them move from a deeply doubtful place of "Can I...?" to the candidly convinced place of "Yes, I can...!"

My joy comes in seeing their joy of journeying to conviction, where they evolve to the point of saying oh so loudly and proudly, "Yes, I am a helper; yes, I am a facilitator; yes, I am a therapist." What a most wonderful, wonderful moment that is for me, joyous and thrilling beyond compare --- to bear witness to that developmental process progressing, to bear witness to that process of therapist becoming being fulfilled, to have the honor of contributing to that process of therapist growth in some way --- how blessed I am to have been and still be part of such a grand and glorious generative journey [43, 44, 45].

4. CONCLUSION OR BEGINNING?

And at the very heart of it all, everything again always comes back to this: *what I want most dearly in supervision --- to be a good clinical supervisor.*

I have been enriched beyond measure by my supervisees; whatever I may have given them, they have given me back a hundredfold. And while I have always wished for them transformation, I can assure you that they have transformed me in the process, too. For it all, I am grateful, I am thankful.

I am so very happy to be able to share my joy about supervision with you --- that there is indeed joy in the journey. I am surely a true-blue believer in the power of supervision and, if I have but one supervision prayer, it would be this: As a supervisor, may I always strive to instill faith, inspire hope, and invite wonder in my supervisees. Long may it be so.

REFERENCES

1. Watkins, C. E., Jr. (June 2025). *Lectio magistralis*. Invited address delivered at the opening ceremony of the International Conference: Supervision in Psychotherapy (7th ed.), Timișoara, Romania.
2. Watkins, C. E., Jr. (2025, October). *Spirit, soul, and struggle in supervision*. Invited keynote address delivered at the First Latin American Conference on Clinical Supervision. (webinar)
3. Monroy, K. (2023). The development of an analytic mind, analytic identity, and analytic voice. *Psychoanalytic Inquiry*, 43(4), 258-268.
4. Rønnestad, M. H., Orlinsky, D. E., Schröder, T. A., Skovholt, T. M., & Willutzki, U. (2019). The professional development of counselors and psychotherapists: Implications of empirical studies for supervision, training and practice. *Counselling and Psychotherapy Research*, 19(3), 214–230.
5. Rønnestad, M. H., Orlinsky, D. E., & Willutzki, U. (2025). Exploring influences of supervision on psychotherapists' professional development: Correlates across career-level cohorts. *Counselling Psychology Quarterly*, 38(2), 297–319.
6. Mathers, D. (2009). Introduction. In D. Mathers (Ed.), *Vision and supervision: Jungian and post-Jungian perspectives* (pp. 1–9). Routledge.
7. Watkins, C. E., Jr. (2025). Psychoanalytic supervision, a Self Psychology perspective: Disruptively constructive, constructively disruptive, generatively transformational. *Psychoanalysis, Self and Context*, 20(4), 513-517.
8. Fleming, J. (1967). Teaching the basic skills of psychotherapy. *Archives of General Psychiatry*, 16(4), 416-426.
9. Carroll, M. (2014). *Effective supervision for the helping professions* (2nd ed.). Sage.
10. Watkins, C. E., Jr. (2026). Integrating developmental understanding into psychoanalytic supervision: Siloed no more. *American Journal of Psychoanalysis*. (article in advance)
11. Saralegui, D., Steiner, V., & Valenciano, L. (2023). Affective processes in the supervisor-supervisee relationship as enhancers of the therapist training: Reflections from a scoping review of the psychoanalytic approach. In P. Fossa & C. Cortés-Rivera (Eds.), *Affectivity and learning: Bridging the gap between neurosciences, cultural and cognitive psychology* (pp. 627-644). Springer.
12. Watkins, C. E., Jr., & Scaturro, D. J. (2013). Toward an integrative, learning-based model of psychotherapy supervision: Supervisory alliance, educational interventions, and supervisee learning/relearning. *Journal of Psychotherapy Integration*, 23(1), 75-95.
13. Watkins, C. E., Jr., & Scaturro, D. J. (2014). Proposal for a common language, educationally-informed model of psychoanalytic supervision. *Psychoanalytic Inquiry*, 34(6), 619-633.
14. Watkins, C. E., Jr. (2015). Toward a research-informed, evidence-based psychoanalytic supervision. *Psychoanalytic Psychotherapy*, 29(1), 5-19.
15. Watkins, C. E., Jr. (2018). A unifying vision of psychotherapy supervision: Part III. Meta-values, meta-principles, and meta-roles of the Contextual Supervision Relationship Model. *Journal of Unified Psychotherapy and Clinical Science*, 5(1), 21–40.
16. Watkins, C. E., Jr. (2020). The common core of psychotherapy supervision essentials: A trans-theoretical elaboration. *International Journal of Supervision in Psychotherapy*, 2, 7-30.

17. Ellis, M. V. (2017). Narratives of harmful clinical supervision. *The Clinical Supervisor*, 36(1), 20–87.
18. Pawl, J. H., & St John, M. (1998). *How you are is as important as what you do. . . in making a positive difference for infants, toddlers and their families*. Zero to Three
19. Watkins, C. E., Jr. (2021). Rupture and rupture repair in clinical supervision: Some thoughts and steps along the way. *The Clinical Supervisor*, 40, 321-344.
20. Watkins, C. E., Jr. (2024) When supervisees rupture: Supervisor rupture reactions and repair—further thoughts and steps along the way. *The Clinical Supervisor*, 43(1), 42-69.
21. Lewis, W. C. (2001). Transference in analysis and in supervision. In S. Gill (Ed.), *The supervisory alliance: Facilitating the psychotherapist's learning experience* (pp. 75–80). Aronson.
22. Brown, C. (2010). Perspectives on difference in psychoanalytic supervision. *Attachment: New Directions in Psychotherapy and Relational Psychoanalysis*, 4, 275–287.
23. Brown, C. (2024). Beyond recognition: Rac(ing) in supervision: In relation to global majority therapists-in-training and its relevance to professional identity. In B. Ababio (Ed.), *Intercultural supervision in therapeutic practice: Dialogues, perspectives and reflections* (pp. 21-36). Routledge.
24. Hook, J. N., Davis, D., Owen, J., & DeBlaere, C. (2025). *Cultural humility: Engaging diverse identities in therapy* (2nd ed.). American Psychological Association.
25. Watkins, C. E., Jr., Hook, J. N., Zhang, H., Wilcox, M. M., Winkeljohn Black, S., DeBlaere, C., Davis, D., & Owen, J. (2025). Revisiting cultural humility in psychotherapy supervision: A descriptive status report. *American Journal of Psychotherapy*, 78(2), 103-113.
26. Gottlieb, M. (2021). The case for a cultural humility framework in social work practice. *Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Diversity in Social Work*, 30(6), 463–481.
27. Watkins, C. E., Jr., Hook, J. N., Owen, J., DeBlaere, C., Davis, D. E., & Callahan, J. L. (2019). Creating and elaborating the Cultural Third: A doers-doing with perspective on psychoanalytic supervision. *American Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 79(3), 352-374.
28. Watkins, C. E., Jr., Hook, J. N., Owen, J., DeBlaere, C., Davis, D. E., & Van Tongeren, D. R. (2019). Multicultural orientation in psychotherapy supervision: Cultural humility, cultural comfort, and cultural opportunities. *American Journal of Psychotherapy*, 72(2), 38-46.
29. Zhang, H., Watkins, C. E., Jr., Hook, J. N., Hodge, A. S., Davis, C. W., Norton, J., Wilcox, M. M., Davis, D. E., DeBlaere, C., & Owen, J. (2022). Cultural humility in psychotherapy and clinical supervision: A research review. *Counselling and Psychotherapy Research*, 22(3), 548-557.
30. Watkins, C. E. (2023). Incorporación de la humildad cultural y las pautas de humildad cultural en la relación de supervisión de la psicoterapia: Un compromiso y una promesa [Incorporating cultural humility and cultural humility guidelines into the psychotherapy supervision relationship: A pledge and a promise]. *Revista de Psicoterapia*, 34(126), 9-18.
31. Watkins, C. E., Jr. (2026). Incorporating cultural humility guidelines, Supervisee Version, into the supervision relationship. In H. C. Peters & M. M. Luke (Eds.), *Interventions for anti-oppressive clinical supervision: Navigating critical praxis* (pp. 57-60). Routledge.

32. Watkins, C. E., Jr., Hook, J. N., DeBlaere, C., Davis, D. E., Wilcox, M. M., & Owen, J. (2022). Extending multicultural orientation to the group supervision of psychotherapy: Practical applications. *Practice Innovations*, 7(3), 255–267.
33. Ellis, M. V. (2017). Clinical supervision contract & consent statement and supervisee rights and responsibilities. *The Clinical Supervisor*, 36(1), 145-159.
34. Ellis, M. V., Hutman, H., & Chapin, J. (2015). Reducing supervisee anxiety: Effects of a role induction intervention for clinical supervision. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 62(4), 608-620.
35. Watkins, C. E., Jr., Cadariu, I. E., & Vișcu, L. I., & Rima Viliūnienė (2024). Psychotherapy supervision: An invitational, clarifying, educational, empowering, and transparent (ICEE-T) written agreement. *American Journal of Psychotherapy*, 77(4), 195-199.
36. Watkins, C. E., Jr., Ellis, M. V., Viliūnienė, R., Cădăriu, I. E., Vișcu, L. I., & Callahan, J. L. (2025). A written supervision agreement for psychoanalytic supervision? *Psychoanalytic Psychotherapy*, 39(1), 4-19.
37. Skovholt, T. M., & Rønnestad, M. H. (2003). Struggles of the novice counselor and therapist. *Journal of Career Development*, 30(1), 45-58.
38. Watkins, C. E., Jr. (2012). Psychotherapy supervision in the new millennium: Competency-based, evidence-based, particularized, and energized. *Journal of Contemporary Psychotherapy*, 42(3), 193-203.
39. Bernard, J. M., & Goodyear, R. K. (in press). *Fundamentals of clinical supervision* (7th ed.). Pearson.
40. Borders, L. D., & Brown, L. L. (2022). *The new handbook of counseling supervision*. Routledge.
41. Grazioso, M. P., Fernández-Álvarez, H., Gallardo-Cooper, M., Cobar, A. A., Goodyear, R. K., & Falender, C. A. (Eds.). (2025). *Clinical supervision in Latin America: Voices from the field*. Springer.
42. Mezirow, J. (2003). Transformative learning as discourse. *Journal of Transformative Education*, 1(1), 58–63.
43. Watkins, C. E., Jr. (2020). The psychotherapy supervisor as an agent of transformation: To anchor and educate, facilitate and emancipate. *American Journal of Psychotherapy*, 73(2), 57-62.
44. Watkins, C. E., Jr. (2022). On disruption and construction, reflection and reorganization in psychotherapist development: A taxonomy of transformative learning outcomes. *Journal of Transformative Education*, 20(4), 304–324.
45. Watkins, C. E., Jr., Davis, E. C., & Callahan, J. L. (2018). On disruption, disorientation, and development in clinical supervision: A transformative learning perspective. *The Clinical Supervisor*, 37(2), 257–277.