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Preface / Introduction and Overview

Levan Lim

The term "diversity" is often used to describe differences, but it also refers to the notion of inclusiveness, - an inclusiveness of individuals who are diverse in ability /disability, age, economic status, ethnicity, gender, language, national origin, race, religion, and sexual orientation. This inclusivity can be a framework for managing diversity.

Social justice and respect for all individuals are important values in workplaces, where people seek to create a culture of inclusion that actively supports diversity in people, who live, work, and serve together. Attaining social justice and respect requires all members of the community to recognize that diversity in all its dimensions contributes to workplaces and other learning environments, thereby enriching the community, and improving opportunities for human understanding.

Work settings are also "educating communities" where children from dysfunctional families, young people or individuals with disabilities are introduced to values, attitudes, and skills that can either support or hinder the inclusion and acceptance of diversity. They all have personal views and values on how to relate and interact with diverse others, which shape society. For example, teachers have numerous possibilities to reach people. "*The promise of an inclusive society finds its seeds in how the young are educated to relate and deal with difference.*" (Lim , Thaver, & Slee, 2009, p. 104).

Opportunities to facilitate the introduction of values, attitudes, and skills necessary to become inclusive of diverse others, are given in many professions. Given the need for mutual relationships and a sense of community, Vanier (1998, p. 18) wrote:

> Can we reasonably have a dream, like Martin Luther King, of a world where people, whatever their race, religion, culture, abilities, or disabilities, whatever their education or economic situation, whatever their age or gender, can find a place and reveal their gifts? Can we hope for a society whose metaphor is not a pyramid but a body, and where each of us is a vital part in the harmony and function of the whole? I believe we can, because I believe that the aspiration for peace, communion, and universal love is greater and deeper in people than the need to win in the competition of life.

Self-acceptance.. How can those human "aspirations" set the stage for increasing inclusivity within ourselves and encouraging it in others? If we think about what impacts our opinions and decisions, we have to admit that it is oftentimes through adaptation, blindly accepting and following "the way things are." Some beliefs or "*deep-seated aspects of self*" (Lim et al., 2009) are hard to access and to transform. They are beliefs related to the way we cope with life. They may be based on previous experiences. In order to adjust to new realities and situations we need to unlearn and relearn (through reflection we de-construct our position, e.g., with regard to

disability). If we reference that to our personhood, i.e., to who we are and who we are becoming, we are reconstructing our position. It is important to learn "*to recognize your inner thoughts and feelings and develop self-acceptance for them as they are part of the learning journey*" (p. 97). Self-acceptance requires humility and we need this foundation to learn our way out of every pit.

Reflexivity. Our perceptions and behaviors of reality are also impacted by historical, political, cultural, economic, institutional, and contextual factors (e.g., school systems). It is through reflection that our perceptions can change and that our beliefs and assumptions can come to a conscious level. Therefore it is important to develop our reflexivity, the "*capacity to develop critical awareness of the assumptions that underlie practices*" (Edwards, Ranson, & Strain, 2001, p. 533). This includes also not turning a blind eye to our own unexamined attitudes (Gaine, 2010, p. 117). Reflecting one's attitudes and practices is key to processes of professional development and lifelong learning but putting the results into action is even more important.

Values. It requires a stable foundation of values and convictions with regard to dealing with difficulties to become more professional and experienced, e.g., the ability to accept oneself and others, to communicate, and to enter into genuine relationships and dialogue. It is through dialogue that differences can be embraced and it is dialogue that enables people to move "*beyond what they know*" and beyond prevailing practices and structures (Lim, Thaver, & Slee, 2009, p. 37). Isaac's (1999, p. 19) definition of dialogue is "*a conversation in which people think together in relationship.*"

> Thinking together implies that you no longer take your own position as final. You relax your grip on certainty and listen to the possibilities that result simply from being in a relationship with others - possibilities that might not otherwise have occurred.

In many ways we may take diversity for granted and forget that it can be uncomfortable and even threatening, e.g., when it comes to prejudices, which would hinder us from seeing and rejoicing in the common humanity we share. Developing our own personal pedagogy of inclusivity is a struggle. We need to trust that every struggle is also an opportunity for learning and growth and that we can make a difference by sharing our own experience and supporting others to share theirs as well.

Overview of the chapters

Presentations from the annual workshops in Sassary (Italy) in 2010 and in Heidelberg (Germany) in 2011 have been combined in this volume. The book has ten chapters. We have decided to divide it into two parts: Reflections on Values and Diversity (Part I), Methodological Impacts (Part II). All chapters are related to a

specific aspect of diversity and have been presented at either one of the workshops in Italy or in Germany.

Research on early childhood and elementary school teachers is important because of the foundational nature of those early years. Teacher stress is an international phenomenon with many international complexities.

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Reflections on values and diversity

01:
Reflecting on ethical values in research with people with intellectual disabilities and the impact on methodology

Alex von Lautz

Abstract

In this article the methodology of researching with people with learning disabilities is discussed concerning the terminology of the respondents group itself, their uncommon position in society including the academic discourse, the terminology used to label them, a discussion of different methods helpful to keep research candid and equitable as well reflecting on the special relationship between researcher and respondents.

Different approaches, tools and processes are reviewed and examined with regard to their helpfulness towards an inclusive research process.

Introduction

This article provides an introduction into reflecting research design based on ethical values when working with people with intellectual disability. It is based on the assumption that people with intellectual disabilities have historically and are still currently treated on different ethical grounds as people without (Dederich & Jantzen, 2008).

These reflections on methodological issues concerning research with people with intellectual disabilities are an essential part in the preparation of the author's dissertation on gendering intellectual disability. Even though medical research on disability is still often prevalent in publications and funding, the social approach to researching disability has led to fundamental paradigm shifts such as perceiving intellectual disability as a social model it self.

It is unquestionable that methodology and methods in each research field have to be reflected thoroughly. But the consequences reflections have upon the work itself and how they were developed and by which ethical values they were influenced might have different impacts depending on the research field.

When researching with people with learning difficulties these reflections are indispensable and should be openly reflected upon in each published work in this field. Approaches in medical and social research differ a lot in their ethical values concerning the respondents. Different ethical approaches may also lead to different data from participants.

Especially in qualitative research the ethical way a respondent is treated might have direct influence on the data he or she might be willing or even able to provide.

But the interest in an ethical justification should not only be motivated by the intent to gather the richest data. Engaging in morally tenable research should be an end in itself.

Every researcher has to find his or her own moral tools and guidelines and make them transparent knowing it might make their own work vulnerable to criticism due to those moral guidelines.

Research cannot rely on the guidelines provided for them by law or the academic society but has to critically address and examine them. The legal standards do not suffice to justify the researcher's work. It is the moral justice he or she is bound to (Dalton & McVilly, 2004).

The particular relevance is founded on the uncommon situation of people with learning difficulties with are often labeled as intellectually disabled or mentally handicapped.

Their situation is uncommon because they have a special position in the disability studies and depending on the contexts sometimes are not even included in this discipline.

People with this diagnose or label have had no chance in representing themselves in academic work so far. No person with this label has published studies on his or her own or works on methodology so far. But not only the access to academic discourse is limited.

Even in general public discourse the voices of individuals with disabilities are often scarcely represented. This the case even with respect to issues regarding individuals with disabilities themselves, e.g., topics such as de-institutionalization or personal assistance. Only slowly the perspective on people with disabilities changes towards including their subjective views and emic knowledge (Schalock et al., 2002). During the last decade they have been increasingly perceived as "*reliable informants who hold valid opinions and have a right to express them*" (Stalker, 1998, p.5).

When taking this excluded position in consideration the exceptional need for reflected methodology seems obvious. Just imagining that the research field itself is mostly influenced by the intention to manipulate its inhabitants in a pedagogical sense and research interest is decided not by the needs of those inhabitants themselves but their estimated or anticipated needs, shows how strong the need for reflection and participation of individuals with disabilities is.

This is true even for widespread and accepted policies and strategies such as the concept of normalization, which emphasize the importance of people adapting

or being manipulated to fit into society instead of addressing the barriers society holds for people with disabilities (Grant, 2005).

Not only abstract concepts define the research reality in this field. Funding plays a major role as well. Objectivity of research is important and should therefore not be corrupted by funding providers' agendas; however, it is naive to assume funding is not influenced by research questions. Certain questions are more interesting to providers of funding than others.

Research on disability has suffered remarkably from an undervalued and under-resourced research base (Muir & Gibbs, 2006). The economic interest on people with learning disabilities is near to non-existing, because they are not valued as a consumer group. Most people with learning disabilities have low incomes or depend on governmental financial help or financial support from their family members to survive. This puts them in a economically disadvantaged position, which does not allow them to provide funding for research to be conducted on their living situation.

In Germany for example, funding sources for researching disability are few and provided mostly by pedagogical institutions, parental groups and health or care facilities. These organizations work or live with people with disabilities themselves and thus have their own distinct perspectives and intentions. Caring for and caring about can not always be assumed to be the same or interlinked. When it comes to the efficiency of care-giving, care management or health reforms, the context may influence not only the research question but also the extent of people with disabilities' involvement and contribution to the research.

Reflections on terminology

When the research question has been established, the question of sampling respondents arises. Individuals with disabilities constitute an extremely heterogeneous group when it comes to abilities, competencies, interests, work situation, living situations and social networks. They vary extremely from person to person. Only in the interaction with an excluding society the label of disability becomes homogeneous. Their obstructed access to participate in society, to interact without being stigmatized and to shape their own future is the common ground. Instead of focusing on the labeled ones research has to take their common experiences into account.

Individuals with disabilities have different cultural and economical backgrounds, define their identity through different features such as being a heavy metal music fan, a godmother or an athlete. In appreciating our respondents in all their different characteristics and features we guard ourselves against the danger of othering them.

Like essentalization the danger of othering a group of individuals is most reflected in social anthropology and ethnology.

Learning disability

For researchers in the field of special needs, as it is often called, it is essential to reflect upon the term learning difficulties itself, which may include people who can or cannot express themselves verbally, married people living their life, working hard and raising their children, institutionalized people following a strict daily routine and a multitude of different lifestyles which may not always be in accordance with their ability level.

The terms used to label people, who have difficulties learning quickly change rapidly and even more so in the last three decades.

People, who have been born mentally retarded grew up to be mentally handicapped, got an intellectual disability over time and are now described have a learning disability, but are still the same person and their abilities were not the decisive factors in changing labels or diagnostic terms. The terms used to describe people with learning problems and how those problems and those people are defined, called and treated, are processional and historically developed (Bradley, Danielson, & Hallahan, 2002).

The necessity for those categories or labels is given because the people entitled to assistance or counseling need to be made out or named in regulations and laws. But on the other side the name given to the group imparts false homogeneity apart from their entitlement for assistance (Muir &Gibbs 2006).

The problem is that different needs for assistance can be summarized into one label or diagnostic term. Sometimes political and financial dispositions lead to such a summary. An example for such a politically influenced decision might be to diagnose reading and writing difficulties no longer separately or under the term dyslexia, but as a learning disability. This way people who once had problems reading and writing now are perceived as generalized having trouble learning (Alligton 2002).

Heteronormativity

As researchers we should challenge ourselves regarding perceptions of our own heteronormativity and ethnocentricity. Some context will only be understandable and plausible if we stop assuming heterosexuality and gender based behavioral consequences. To explain different behaviors through participants' biological sex is really not explaining them but creating a dead end to further questioning. A lot of people with learning difficulties, who attend segregated schools or classes are thought very rigid gender norms and those who act contrary to the norms have to suffer through the aftermaths.

Heteronormativity plays an important role in the field of research on disability. The sexuality of individuals with disabilitiles has often been oppressed through mechanisms like infantilization or overly pronounced as something to be avoided

based on the stereotype of the impulsive sexually driven and overly excitable retarded person (Cavalcanti de Albuquerque Williams, 2003).

By assuming same or different goals, attitudes, attractions and relations the matrix of the researchers perspective shapes the perceived into a form understandable to the observer.

Ethnocentricity

The same applies to ethnocentricity. The definition of who is disabled and what disabled means with regard to actual individual living situations and conditions differs depending on cultural background. This concludes learning disabilities are defined culturally and might include and exclude different aspects and facets accordingly. Holding an ethnocentric view hinders us in examining the emic perspective on learning disability which may be influenced by the individual's cultural background (Vogel, 2001).

Relationality and relativity

Relationality and relativity as fundamental dimensions of disability are often discussed, but their connection to the individual's cultural background is scarcely reflected in diagnosing, service construction and assistance or when sampling research respondents.

Fairness of research design

Before engaging in reflection on sampling methods, research question and design need to be established. This includes choosing an appropriate research methodology. Leading this kind of reflection should be the motivation to make research non excluding and fair for our respondents. The fairness referred to here is not a fairness based on anticipated needs but the kind of democratic fairness which allows the people concerned by the research to be satisfied with it as well. To accomplish those standards no other way presents itself to us, but to familiarize ourselves with the expectations and claims people with learning difficulties formulate. Especially the international self advocacy organization *People First* is very resourceful when trying to find statements to these positions (see www.peoplefirst.com).

Some criticize the organization for working with exceptionally well spoken and quick-witted spokespersons who cannot be a representative part of the community of people with learning difficulties, because of these personal qualities.

It does not seem plausible, why the people in the positions of spokespersons for the group of those with learning difficulties should not have better verbal competencies as the average person in the group they are speaking for, since this seems to be the standard for spokespersons overall.

This wellspokenness allows us to refer explicitly to the formulated expectations towards us researchers because they are so clearly formulated.

"See, you need to talk to the people themselves,"says Ian Davis, member of Central England People First (Hagleitner, 2004, p. 5). This implies that people with learning difficulties should not only be asked to participate in tests, experiments, interviews and questionnaire studies. The request to talk to people themselves also speaks to studies on people with learning disabilities, which only included views from caregivers, family members or professionals. Creating a research design can not be a process without the influence from the people with learning disabilities themselves. People should have their say in constructing the research question itself and be part in the research design.

Karen Spencer, member of Central England People First, puts the expectations towards research intentions into the following words: *"We should be working in partnership in researching ways to improve our lives rather than what you think. As people with learning difficulties we should be fully involved in the research process. My friends and I are sick of being continually patronized (...)."* (Hagleiter 2004, p. 51) In order to establish such a partnership the appropriate methods, which prevent patronization and hierarchy, need to be chosen.

Methods

In the quest for research without patronizing and to be inclusive one has to open one's mind to learn from other disciplines. Many have worked with marginalized groups and stumbled over similar problems.

Feminist methodology can be very resourceful when this issue arises. The role of a consciously partial researcher has been well reflected and the motivation to change the living situations of those we are researching. Even making the participants conscious of an inequitable situation concerning themselves is not seen as a breach of researchers' objectivity but part of the dialectical view on research itself.

Of course these positions will not be shared by every researcher, but it is important to reintroduce these positions into academic discourse. For example Maria Mies' *Postulate for methods in women studies* can be a rich text to reflect upon what the position of a person without diagnosed learning disabilities as a researcher is and which intentions he or she has when designing the research.

Not only the reflected partiality, the wish to change circumstances which are oppressive but the influence on participants on the research work itself by reforming the asymmetric relationship into a subject-subject relationship can be reflected using the seven theses from Maria Mies (1978).

Feminist methods and reflections on methodology have been building the basis for emancipatory research. This attitude towards research and methods

connected to it are not limited to researching marginalized women in a patriarchal world but can and are used to research other marginalized groups.

Emancipatory research's major feature is the researcher's accountability. The participant's needs and opinion can not be ignored when following this method or methodological approach.

People with physical disabilities have already claimed and in many cases achieved their right to participate and be heard in research in relation to themselves or their lives.

In the field of disability studies emancipatory research has been established as the widespread accepted method and hopefully the research field of intellectual disability will follow with adapted methods (Grant 2005).

It is not possible to present all the methodical possibilities to realize emancipatory research in this limited setting. Because of this *Participatory Action Research* should act as an example in the following. It is especially prone to serve as an example because it has already been used in adapted forms to realize inclusive research for example in the United States (Flieger, 2003).

Participatory Action Research (PAR) has already been used in very different contexts as for example work place analyses or examining cooperations between different people and organizations. It can be used in its most primary form as the cyclical research method with the direct goal to improve conditions for all participants or to find solutions to problematic consequences. This is done by working out an intervention, examining the intervention's consequences and constructing another intervention benefiting from former experiences.

All participants are involved in all the processes such as construction and implementing the intervention but evaluating and examining the consequences and expenditures as well.

Since all input is valued and everybody concerned is as well involved in the research process and his or her participation meet with high regards, the hierarchy between researchers and non academic participants is reduced. Knowledge derived from personal experience in practice and theoretical knowledge derived from studies are both valued in the process and included for their benefits.

This feature of PAR is often perceived as its strongest trait leading the discussion towards accepting PAR rather as a research approach or strategy than to limit it to a method (Doe & Whyte, 1995, p. 2).

Some might even define the claim PAR poses on research as less rigid than that, reducing it to resuming the respondent's interpretation models and patterns as well as structures of meaning (Moser, 1995, p. 61).

Broadening the view and taking into account the experiences researchers from different disciplines have made, the discussion about valuing the emic perspective in social anthropology comes to mind. What makes emic accounts such a rich source of data are the before said interpretation patterns and attributions of meaning.

When trying to avoid a kind of spectator's science (Mies, 1978) and commiting to an observation and examination of mechanisms and evaluations at work with our participants we have to listen to themselves and value their emic perspective.

This demand has been formulated in critiquing former research strategies by Karen Spencer, member of people first UK, in the following words: *"We think that is because you study us rather than listen to us."* (Hagleitner, 2004, p. 51)

At which point there seems to be a consensus with positions from the academic discourse complaining about the lack of emic perspective in research. This deficit has been noted already two and a half decades ago and put into the following words: *"[...] the literature is void of the experience it would presumably portray – that of the retarded individual in his or her own voice."* (Langness & Levine, 1986, p.1)

Reflecting upon the researcher's role now and in the future to come these positions hold a potential for massive shifts.

For one the researcher can see himself or herself in a position of a research manager, a linkman between the different participants, structuring the research processes themselves, organizing peer interviews, interview settings, opportunities for group discussions and always summarizing preliminary findings.

On the other hand a researcher could understand himself or herself as an accountable service provider triangulating categories with interview partners, discussing preliminary findings with the participants and involving them to share their observations and include their suggestions without exaggerated hesitation. A researcher committed to this kind of academic service would give up great parts of his or her autonomy accepting that the research itself should be owned by the participants. This does not mean that the researcher does not gain greatly, sometimes more than anyone else from the research by for example graduating to a higher educational level or qualifying for a profession or receiving honors for publishing.

But if the research's intention is to provide meaningful information to the participants the publication must be made available to them directly. Neither an article in a scientific journal nor in an academic compendium does satisfy this demand.

Special tools have to be used to make the results available to the public with learning disabilities. Most of these tools will also prove to be helpful in creating an inclusive research design.

Inclusive tools

The use of easy language might well be the most powerful tool in making one's research inclusive.

Mostly easy language is seen as a reduced form of conventional language which should make it possible for every person who speaks the conventional one

to switch easily to the easy form. However, every academic who tried it, will deny this claim.

First of all awareness of foreign or complicated terms has to be established, then the content we want to formulate deductively put into small sentences which contain no more than one or two informations a piece. Depending on the participants some informations may require several repetitions or visualization aids.

There are a multitude of different symbol and visualisation aids available and local communities of people with learning disabilities probably already use one or more of them.

If people using talking aids are participating in the study the symbols their talker uses can be used for everybody. If necessary new symbols can be introduced as well and be well explained in easy language.

This will take time and slow down conversation. But thinking plans and presuppositions through cannot be wrong. And talking others through one's research design has been proven to be productive on more than one occasion. An even greater challenge for researchers might be listening to the ones researched which on occasions might say things to rattle the foundations of the work itself.

But the way the researcher presents his or her ideas to the participants should not only be adapted in relation to language use, time frame and repetitions.

The direct relation between learning disability and gullibility even credulity as a basic feature of learning disability has been studied (Greenspan, Loughlin, & Black, 2001).

This is prone to influence the ability of the participants with learning disabilities to criticize flaws in the researchers' perception of their living situation or opinion. They might be socialized to believe a person with no diagnosed learning disability will know even the things better they themselves are experts for, e.g. their opinions and living situations.

This deficit in communication might be compensated through the social strength of the research relationship. Creating an atmosphere in which everybody can speak his or her mind freely without the fear of ridiculing oneself or meeting aggressive resistance could help with the communication.

The research relationship

It would be naive to think that as a researcher we can establish a relationship to our respondent with learning difficulties outside society's labeling processes. Every contact is system immanent and works within society's script for these interactions.

The status difference, which is regular when people with learning difficulties are concerned will reflect upon the research relationship as well. It is important to appreciate the differences in living situations instead of only trying to find common ground to gain trust. When the same rights to a pursuit of happiness are assumed

the difference in living conditions might strike harder and might be a topic to talk about.

But it would be utterly wrong to disguise professional research interest as authentic concern. It is only natural that some respondents seem more likeable to the researcher than others. And even with an extremely likeable interview partner a conversation item which the researcher has already heard a subjectively endless number of times from various respondents might not generate authentic interest.

Being able to disguise authentic feelings can be part of the process of gathering rich data.

But the true nature of the professional relationship should never be disguised, even if it provides the researcher with even richer data.

If a respondent is lead to believe the newly established relationship might be or evolve into a friendship, disappointment will immediately follow when the truth is revealed.

The frequent disappointments people with learning disabilities experience in search of friendships with people who do not have learning difficulties to the same extend cannot be disregarded. Negative experiences in this field may have made the respondent more vulnerable when it comes to social-emotional conflicts. Studies even suggest that there is a inter-relationship between social-emotional problems and learning difficulties themselves (Donahue & Wong, 2002).

But being aware of the need to keep the nature of the research relationship transparent should not be reduced to the learning difficulties of the respondents but their possible loneliness in a group home and lack of other friendly contact or just someone who listens.

The fair way to handle such a potential problem is to be open about one's intention.

It is important to let research participants know that our intention as researchers is to write and publish a book. The respondents are helping us in doing so. It is fine to be grateful for this help, but the chance of establishing a relationship that will outlive the research might not be prevalent.

Since the relationship between researcher and respondent might be one of the few or the only relationship in which the person with intellectual disability receives undivided attention and is encouraged to open up, inner conflicts and trauma might surface.

The prevalence of sexualized violence against people (both men and women) with learning disabilities in institutions as well as the early separation from loved ones or harassment from nursing staff are all factors to contribute to the stressfulness of some of our respondents lives (Zemp, Pircher & Schoibel, 1997).

If we encourage them to open up and attend to these or other conflicts we cannot leave them alone with freshly surfaced conflicts after we gathered our data. A helping and concomitant support system must be created to continue dealing with conflicts that may have surfaced during interviews.

It is best to organize such a support system or to search for already existing support structures during the design process of one's research instead of waiting until the first respondent experiences a crisis. The possibility of online support groups or forums should not be disregarded right away. On the one hand technologies are advancing and eliminating many barriers such as not having to read all the text but having it read to you or using illustrations to make the information more accessible.

On the other hand research results suggest that social contacts through the internet can help to relieve people with disabilities from loneliness and can support peer contacts (Margalit & Al-Yagon, 2002).

If our respondents have their own personal internet access they can get into contact with others and support each other during inner or outer conflicts. Of course this kind of support system does not make a counseling or therapeutic setting obsolete by itself. It may be helpful for some individuals with disabilities to overcome the gap a researcher leaves behind when the research is over and loneliness seems immanent.

Conclusion

The purpose of this paper was to show how tangible consequences for research designs can derive from reflecting the ethical values underlying the work itself. When succeeding the presented trains of thought the following tangible consequences become clear.

When trying to construct a research both equitable and candid which values the emic perspective of people with learning disabilities' point of view their participation is not only valued but indispensable. In the initiation of research one can turn to self-advocatory groups for help on the reflection of the research question and who is concerned by the research question and should participate in the process of studying it. In such a reflection process it is important to not be mislead by fluently shifting terminologies categorizing the persons with learning difficulties, but focusing on who could be concerned by the research question. Then these persons are asked to shape the research process itself instead of just answering questions or being observed. The research process should not be lead by hegemonial power structures but one's own heteronormativity and ethnocentrism taken into account to prevent it from distorting the study's findings.

Hierarchy should not taint the research relationship either. Instead the relationship should grow in an atmosphere of reciprocity and trust where it's professional nature is always made transparent. To prevent participants from being left alone and struggling with conflicts surfaced during the studies the research should organize a support system to help the participants with their needs. This way making sure that the participant does not suffer because of participating and to make sure he or she even benefits from the participation, be sure to make the

findings available to the community with learning disabilities. Sharing one's methodological insights and reflecting on the underlying ethical values helps other researchers in the field of intellectual disabilities.

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02:
Common values, controversial facts: enacting dialogical ethics[1]

Adolfo Estalella

Abstract [2]

This paper proposes research ethics as a dialogical practice with research subjects. Drawing on my fieldwork I discuss the conventional assumption of research ethics that we now in advance which values should be preserved in a research; I elaborate the idea that although we agree on common values, when we discuss particular facts values become very controversial; so drawing on the concept of enactment I then propose to think in terms of values enacted in practice. My argument is that researchers should articulate their ethical responsibility in the field not as a search for ways to respect a set of common values defined a priori but as an instance that reflexively questions their research practice in a dialogue with the other, trying to understand the values of others.

Introduction. Fieldwork among passionate bloggers[3]

As a young anthropologist I work on the field of digital technologies. For the last years I have tried to understand how digital technologies are incorporated into the daily life of people, transforming (or not) the way they take part in the cultural production, the way they relate to other people and the way they are engaged in political action. A consequence of incorporating the Internet to the fieldwork of anthropologists and other social scientist is that a vast amount of personal data is easily accessible to researchers without any need of negotiation. Familiar and

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[1]I want to thank Tiberio Murias, Mechthild Kiegelmann and Taylor Christl for their invitation to take part in the 11th annual workshop of the Center for Qualitative Psychology. This is an elaboration of the lecture I gave on it; while I have modified the tone of the lecture I still take some licenses in my writing as it is not conceived as a paper.

[3]Any academic writing is a collective work. A large part of the ideas that are on the base of this paper are the product of previous writings and discussions with Elisenda Ardévol and Anne Beaulieu. I want to give credit and thank them.

personal photos and videos, cultural tastes expressed in terms of lists of music, books and movies, political options materialized in articles and personal writings, Many of these forms of expressions were previously located in private and domestic spaces and were only accessible after negotiating with their owners and producers; however, they are easily accessible on the Internet.

But all these accessible information has posed social scientists intense ethical questions referring to the conditions under which these data could be used. Since the second part of the nineties social scientists researching the Internet discuss this issue. In my fieldwork along the last years I have faced the same dilemmas. Part of my ethical concern is a consequence of the deep engagement that I have had with the collectives I have been researching. So my discussion will draw on my fieldwork experiences and the anxieties that I have experienced when deciding whether I could use, or not, particular kinds of data registered from the Internet. The domain in which social researchers locate these dilemmas is research ethics, a domain predicates on the preservation of values when doing research.

Ethical dilemmas in the field

Research ethics is a domain focused on the ethical obligations that social scientists have to assume in their research practices. It involves many different fields of responsibilities: with society at large, with their own discipline, with students and, of course, with the people taking part in their research. I will focus my discussion on this last dimension: the responsibility that social scientists, and particularly anthropologists, have with their research subjects.

In the years 2006 and 2007 I undertook an 18 months ethnography researching the intense and passionate practice of blogging in Spain. As any other anthropologist and social scientist, I took for granted a set of common values that I should respect on my research: privacy, dignity, safety of the people involved in my research. Research ethics is conventionally formulated from this perspective as a decisional framework in which socials scientists should look for ways to undertake their research respecting these values. However, what I found in my fieldwork was that the values that I assumed in advance that should be protected were not the same values that people I was researching were most concerned about.

My aim is to question the conventional assumption of research ethics that we know in advance which values we should preserve and that we know how we should preserve them. In order to do this, I want to bring to the fore the notion of values in practice. Drawing in my fieldwork I discus a field encounter to argue that while we agree on a set of common values, when we have to consider particular facts as private, public, anonymous, etc. we, however, disagree. While we agree on common values we disagree on how these values are, or should be, put into practice. My last objective is to propose research ethics as a practice that is focused on the generation of questions and not on the production of answers. That means that researchers should articulate their ethical responsibility in the field not as a

search for ways to respect a set of common values defined a priori but to reflexively question our research practice in a dialogue with others.

Fieldwork among passionate bloggers

One of the objectives of my ethnography was to shed light on the diversity of the blogging practice. People use and relate to blog, and other internet technologies in very different ways. For some of them they are only instruments while for others they are objects of intense attachment. Some people use it occasionally why others establish intense temporal practices to the point of performing their identity in relation to this artefacts: "I am a blogger", is what my research subjects said of themselves in conferences and blogger meetings. Not all technologies produced this kind of intense relationship.

The individuals I was living with and whom I tried to understand for more than one year, and the blogs that they created, are in no way representative of the majority of blog users; on the contrary, their blogging practice is quite exceptional: they are passionate bloggers. Their blogging practice is intensive in terms of their temporal organization: they write everyday or at least a few days per week, something that only a small part of blog users do (PEW REF); they write about their personal and professional life, the things that they are interested in, the latest news that they have read; and they deeply believe at that moment that blogs could transform society.

Another practice that characterizes these passionate bloggers is their reflexivity. They write very often on the social dimension of the internet and digital technologies, and as part of these debates they reflexively write and discuss their own blogging practice. A common theme on these discussions is formulated in terms of the expectations that blogs (and blogging) can transform society. These deeply reflexive bloggers pose high expectations on what is conceived as the power of blogs for transform traditional institutions like science, education, politics and mass media. And, convinced as they are of this, they try to enrol other people in blogging; persuading their partners, friends and relatives to open a blog; and they organize conferences and meetings for debating on blogs and for them.

A last characteristic of these bloggers is that they are engaged not only with blogs but with other technologies, too. They are extensive practitioners of internet technologies: they use Internet visual technologies for watching or uploading videos, for publishing photos; they share their bookmarks, upload presentations to the Internet, etc.

My fieldwork combined different forms of articulating my presence and the relationship with my correspondents in the field. I read blogs every day, watched the videos and images that they published on the Internet and followed the links they published. Moreover, an important part of my fieldwork consisted of attending to more than a dozen face to face meetings, both formal and informal.

Sometimes I spent two or three days in a conference organized by bloggers and in other occasions I just went out to have a drink with them.

A key methodological decision consisted of blogging during my fieldwork. I opened a 'field blog' for my fieldwork drawing on my previous experience researching an Internet collective gathered around a news site devoted to the publication of free software news. The field blog allowed me to establish rapport with my correspondents; blogging the way they did it, exposing myself the way they did, I gained their confidence and established a close relation with some of them. Blogging myself I experienced what it meant being a blogger, an intensive blogger; so engaging in blogging was a way to reflexively interrogate the technology, or even, let the technology to interrogate me. And third, the blog allow me to make bloggers be aware of my presence in the field; I explained in my blog that I was doing research. Therefore, to a great extent it was a strategy to articulate my ethical concern and alleviate my anxiety in the field; I will come back to this later.

Researching the Internet: ethical challenges

The result of my fieldwork was a heterogeneous set of empirical data of very different nature. I produced four different formats of data in three different contexts: texts, photos, audio recording and videos that were registered in face to face encounters, on the Internet and in interviews (both face to face and online)[4]. I produced textual data attending to events and taking notes, but I also produced a large set of textual data by registering the Internet in my daily interactions reading what other bloggers where publishing, mainly blog articles, but emails and chats, too. Depending on the format and the context, different questions are posed to researchers when they try to articulate their ethical decisions in the field. I want to briefly consider visual data to illustrate two of the main methodological issues that represent the incorporation of the Internet in social research.

While I didn't expect to use visual data in my research, taking photos and publishing them on the Internet came to be a significant practice among the passionate bloggers I was researching. Bloggers published an enormous amount of images, hundreds of them, on the events that during my fieldwork they hold for discussing blogs. It was very common to see bloggers taking photos during talks and workshops and even in the breaks and spare time during the meetings. I remember an after-lunch in Seville in which ten bloggers in a terrace took out their cameras and started to take photos of the other people seated at the table, who were also taking photos of the other people. Taking photos was, for them, a playful practice. A large part of them published personal photos of their daily life on their

[4] I distinguish face to face encounters from interviews because the last one is a different methodological context, although most of the interviews were face to face.

Flickr account, a platform for publishing photos in the Internet. As a result, photos became a relevant and large set of my empirical data that I produced in two different contexts. The most part of it came from registering photos that bloggers published on the Internet; but I took pictures on face to face events, too.

A decade ago, photos taken by research subjects were usually only accessible after negotiating with them; on the Internet they are extremely easy to access. Moreover, when researchers take pictures on face to face events, they are very visible and usually they are forced to negotiate with the people involved. On the Internet, on the contrary, collecting images is extremely easy and nobody knows if you are doing that; even more, owners have not the ability to prevent you from collecting this data. Considering visual empirical data it is possible to point out two of the significant methodological issues the Internet poses to social scientists: the first one is the vast amount of social data that circulate on the Internet; the second one is the easy access of this data to anyone, including researchers; I have discussed this issues and its methodological consequences elsewhere (Estalella & Ardévol, 2010; Estalella & Ardévol, s/d). In the nineties, some scientists thought of this as a dream come true; because it represented the opportunity to undertake non-disturbing research, especially when using participant observation. However, collecting all these data has posed researchers in the last decade the questions of whether it is legitimate to collect these data or it is necessary to ask their authors for informed consent. Usually, a basis for deciding on this is to establish whether a piece of information or a space is public or private. I want to get into some details on this dichotomy.

Private and public on the Internet

The distinction between public and private is a fundamental axis for taking ethical decisions on any social research (Estalella & Ardévol, 2007); a distinction that is especially relevant for participant observation and ethnography, in which researchers establish close relations with their informants and have access to much information that could be compromising for them. Codes of ethics of most disciplines establish that public data can be freely collected by researchers; however, when data is private they have to ask for informed consent. A television broadcast, an event on the street, a public discourse or a print newspaper are public data, public communication or public spaces; researchers don't have to ask for consent for collecting data in these situations. A letter, a diary, a phone conversation or a living room, are most of the time private so researchers ought to ask for inform consent; explaining the people involved about their research and asking them for permission for accessing these spaces and collecting this information.

There are exceptions to this rule depending on the format of data produced. The National Committee for Research Ethics in the Social Sciences and the Humanities of Norway, for instance, established that when researchers are doing participant observation in a public space using video recording or taking photos,

then they have to at least advise of their presence (NESH, 2001). The public/ private dichotomy is then a key axis for establish whether researchers can freely collect information or they need to ask for consent of the subjects involved. When this dual way of thinking, in terms of public and private, is translated to the Internet the situation gets complicated. It is not clear what is public and what is private on the Internet.

When social scientists researching the Internet have tried to answer the questions on the private and public drawing on the conventional codes of ethics of their disciplines they have found many difficulties because they provide no orientation for deciding on this issue. So for the last ten years there has been an intense debate and a growing literature in the field of Internet Research Ethics that has led to the elaboration of specific codes and guidelines for Internet Research (Buchanan & Hess, 2008). Many concepts, assumptions and conventions of research ethics have been questioned to the light of the ethical dilemmas that the Internet research has posed to social scientists. Internet research ethics has become then a field for elaborating a broad reflection and discussion on research ethics in general.

At the end of the nineties, social scientists researching the Internet started to develop specific ethical guidelines for Internet research (Walter, 2002). A key advance took place in 1999 with the publication of a guideline by the American Association for the Advancement of Science (Frankel & Siang, 1999) and the later publication in 2002 of the ethical guidelines of the Association of Internet Researchers (AoIR) (Ess, 2002). Both of them recognize that although conventional codes of ethics valid for the Internet and principles that researchers should respect are the same (dignity, safety and privacy of research subjects), putting these values into practice gets complicated on the Internet: Which kind of data can be made without asking for inform consent? Which computer mediated interactions are public and do not require for asking for informed consent? Is public the information that is accessible, without password? What does it mean to maintain the anonymity of people who chats using user names in a publicly accessible chat room?

The approach of some researchers at the end of the nineties was that "free access" meant public data, as Storm King has criticized (1996), and so there was not any requirement for researchers to ask for informed consent. Joseph B. Walther considered at that time that a free accessible forum on the Internet was equivalent to a newspaper library and that participants should be aware that their communication was accessible and public: "any person who uses publically available communication systems on the Internet must be aware that these systems, by their very nature and by definition, are mechanisms for the storage, transmission and recovery of comments. While some participants have certain expectations of privacy, they are somewhat misplaced" (Whalter, 2002:207). Other authors, drawing on the metaphors of the Internet as a public space, assumed that collecting data from the Internet was equivalent to collecting data from public spaces and so it didn't require obtaining informed consent.

A completely different approach led to other authors to rearticulate the responsibility of deciding on what is public and what is private not on the part of the researcher but on the part of the research subjects. Storm King provided evidence that the conceptions that participants on computer mediated interactions have of the nature of their interactions do not often coincide with that of external observers (Sharf, 1999; Allen, 1996; Bromseth, 2002); that is to say, subjects interacting on the Internet have certain "expectations of privacy" (King, 1996) that are not the same of those not taking part in these interactions. That way, these authors have argued that accessibility of data should not be taken as equivalent to public nature of data: "the people trust the rules of confidentiality in the community of which they form part" (Elgesem, 2002, p. 196).

Taking into account all these problems, some researchers have started to explore new concepts to articulate ethical decision for Internet research. Trying to leave aside the dichotomy between the private and the public, Maria Bakardjieva and Andrew Feenberg (2001) have proposed two concepts as an alternative decision framework; one is objectification and the other one is alienation. The first refers to how people construct their identity on the Internet; they objectify their identity in digital objects like texts, images, videos, etc. The other concept, alienation, refers to the appropriation of these digital objects for purposes never intended by their authors; for instance, for research purposes. Bakardjieva and Feenberg (year?) pose as a main issue for researchers the consideration of the intended uses of these digital objects. That is to say, researchers should ask themselves not if something is public or private, but if people who write something or publish a photo had in mind that it could be used by other people for different purposes, like academic research. So, instead of thinking in terms of public and private, they propose to think in terms of objectification and alienation. Was it in peoples' mind that this information could be used for research purposes? So their proposal looks for new concepts (alienation and objectification) instead of privacy, and so they can pose new questions from these new concepts. My aim is not to propose an alternative framework for deciding whether something is public or private, but to illustrate that researchers can understand the value of privacy in different terms than the people they research.

Enacting values

So for summarizing this debate: deciding what is public and what is private on the Internet is highly controversial; deciding when the researcher should negotiate their presence with the research subjects or nor and which data he could use without asking for informed consent is highly controversial. So, while most researchers agree on the idea that privacy and other values like confidentiality or anonymity must be respected in their research practices, when they have to decide whether a

particular space, an object or a practice are private or public, anonymous or confidential, agreement is difficult to reach and things get controversial.

The debate on privacy illustrates a crucial controversial issue: while we agree on a set of common values, we disagree on how we understand these values and how we, and other people, put them into practice. So, in the movement from the discursive domain of values to their practicality, values become quite controversial.

I want to delve into this idea of values in practice because most of the debates on research ethics are not about values in abstract but about values in practice. Values in practice are nothing else but facts; facts that have to be considered private, public, confidential, etc. For dealing with values in practice I draw on the concept of enactment proposed by the philosopher and ethnographer Annemarie Mol. In her book *The body multiple* (2002), Annemarie Mol tries to understand the way in which medicine deals with the body in two Dutch hospitals. Mol proposes a turn in her ethnography, instead of asking the doctors and patients about the body, she proposes to move her research from the discursive domain to the domain of practices:

> "The ethnographic study of practices does not search for knowledge in subjects who have it in their minds and may talk about it. Instead, it locates knowledge primarily in activities, events, buildings, instruments, procedures, and so on" (2002, p. 32)

And it is by studying the practices of the people involved in dealing with the body and diseases that she shifts her research from the epistemological to the ontological domain: "the driving question is no longer 'how to find the truth?' but 'how are objects handled in practice?'" (2002, p. 5). She proposes that reality, in that case the body, is brought into existence by very different material practices; this thing called 'the body' is something completely different for the pathologist in the laboratory whose responsibility is to measure the levels of cholesterol in blood, from the doctor in her office that listen carefully to symptoms of the patient, or to the patient himself. Each of them brings into existence the suffering body of patients by very diverse practices; each of them enacts different versions of the body.

What I want to preserve for elaborating my discussion on values is this idea that reality, no matter if we are speaking of bodies or values, is brought into existence in practice. I give a couple of very simple examples related to the issue of privacy to illustrate this idea. Imagine that you are surrounded by people in a room and you want to maintain the privacy of what you say, then you whisper to your listener; or imagine that you don't want to be seen when you are in your office so you close the door. All these are instances in which you do something in order to perform a certain value, whispering to make your conversations private and closing the door to avoid being seen by others in your office. You do something to enact a certain value. Having this idea in mind, that values are always enacted in practice

and that different practices enact different values, I return in what follow to discuss an encounter of my fieldwork.

Blogging the field: between privacy and authorship

Many of the bloggers that I have been following have spent more than five years blogging in a daily basis, or at least a few times per week. At the time of my fieldwork, this was something really exceptional because most of the blog users write occasionally, only a few times per month (Lenhart, 2006). An enormous amount or personal of these bloggers was on the Internet and was easily accessible. No matter if their blogs were not 'personal', like for instance all those who write on technology; at the end, they published personal photos of their home and their family, videos, information about what they do and what they are interested in, the book they were reading or the music they liked. Somebody could be tempted to say that they are not worried about privacy or that they are exhibitionists, as they are sometimes simplistically portrayed; however, they take care of what they make public and they care about privacy, but in particular terms. I describe the worries of one of my correspondents in the field to illustrate this last point.

She was, at the time of my fieldwork, a young assistant professor in a university in Madrid. She wrote, and still writes, very often in her blog about education and technology. One day, she realized that her blog was configured to publish the precise time in which she published her articles. The atmosphere in her department was not precisely the friendliest at that time so anything could be used against her by some of her colleagues. She was worried that her workmates could reproach her that instead of working she was wasting time writing the blog in her working hours so she decided to remove the temporal data of her blog articles.

She was not worried about all the things that you could read about her in the blog, but about a very precise piece of data that appeared in every article. The thing to protect was not what she wrote about herself but the time in which it was published (and not necessarily written). It is not that she was not worried about privacy, but she understood, and understands, privacy and practiced it in a different way to many other people who, for instance, would never publish photos or would never write about themselves on the Internet. She enacts privacy in a particular material practices.

But privacy is not a topic that bloggers mention or debate very often. I have discussed it because it is important for researchers, because privacy is a main axe for articulating ethical decisions on research, as I have argued above. However, among intensive bloggers there is a different and much more discussed value: authorship. During my fieldwork, I found intense debates on authorship; for instance when a mass media took some information from a blog and elaborated a piece of news based on that information without properly referencing the blog source. Properly referencing means providing the hyperlink of the blog in the piece

of news. Bloggers give credit by hyperlinking other blogs; it is not the only meaning of hyperlinking, but it is an important one. It is considered even an "ethical imperative" by some bloggers to link to those whose information they have used to elaborate their article.

Blogging as fieldwork

A part of my fieldwork consisted of blogging every day. By blogging, I established rapport with my informants, reflexively interrogated the technology and made bloggers be aware of my presence in the field. One of the specific practices that I used to make bloggers become aware that I was interested ion them was linking to their blogs instead of leaving a comment or writing them an email, for instance. Writing on the same topic that they had written and discussing their ideas was a way to introduce myself and to make myself visible during my fieldwork, avoiding under cover research. And it was by blogging that I experienced by myself the value of authorship.

However, being visible involved new and unexpected ethical problems that I hadn't foreseen at the beginning. Hyperlinking to the bloggers I was following, making me visible and trying to respect authorship, I involuntarily exposed my informants, an issue that Anne Beaulieu and I have discussed in detail (Beaulieu & Estalella, 2009). If you search for my name on Google, you will find my 'field blog' and from it you can follow the links to the blogs I have been researching. By participating in blogging I am traceable on the Internet, and by being traceable I expose my informants and make it very difficult to protect their anonymity and so their privacy, because it is possible to identify who I am writing about, even hiding their names.

Anne Beaulieu and I have discussed at large the ethical problems pose by the methodological election between making the researcher visible in the field and exposing the identity of informants (Beaulieu & Estalella, 2009). Taking this dilemma, I want to add a new level to this discussion shifting the issue at stake, because the point is that bloggers are not really worried about privacy, but about authorship. The discussion of privacy has more to do with how social scientists have traditionally understood privacy and anonymity and how they have protected it (by hiding the names of their informants, for instance), than with how bloggers understand and enact privacy in their blogging practice.

So, bloggers understand and enact privacy in certain ways that are different from the way other people enact it, the way anthropologists traditionally understood it; even more, privacy and anonymity are not what worry them the most, it is, on the contrary, authorship. And this brings back the questions that I posed at the beginning: which values should we, social researchers, protect? And how should we enact them?

Conclusion: Searching for the right questions

I have posed two arguments drawing on my fieldwork that refer to common values like privacy, anonymity and authorship. I have presented a fieldwork encounter to argue that although we agree on values, when we discuss particular facts, these values turn to be quite controversial. We don't agree on defining particular objects or spaces as private, public, anonymous, etc. I have proposed that we should consider at any time how values are brought into existence by specific practices, how values are enacted. A second argument elaborates the idea that we cannot assume in advance what the relevant values of our research subjects are. It is not only that we cannot assume how they enact particular values, but that it is not possible to take for granted which values they are most concerned about.

By actively participating in the collective I tried to solve some of the ethical problems that I foresaw in advance: avoiding under cover research and making bloggers be aware of my presence. I opened a 'field blog' for alleviating these concerns and articulating my ethical responsibility in the field. Blogging myself meant being open to others, offering them ways to question me and trying to establish symmetrical relations. However, I unexpectedly faced new and unexpected ethical problems. However, by engaging with technology I have tried to pose an argument in favor of dialogical ethics whose main objective is to unveil others' values; experiencing the technology that they are engage with was a way to understand values like authorship or privacy. While my argument has been elaborated drawing on the empirical data produced by ethnography, the essential elements of my arguments can be extended to other methodologies.

In conclusion, I have tried to show that the ethical challenge of social researchers is to understand others' values and to enact them in their research practices. Assuming this as our point of departure will be quite uncertain. To a large extent this makes the way Institutional Review Boards works impossible, as they decide in advance which values should be protected and how the researcher should do it. However, this uncertainty that is full of risk is the most honest position we could adopt with respect to our research subjects; this uncertainty is the starting point for not making a decision for them.

Assuming this uncertainty would mean to reformulate the practice or research ethics in the sense that the ethical responsibility should not be articulated as a search for the right answer to the questions that we pose a priori, questions like: How should we protect privacy? Or how should we preserve anonymity? Research ethics should be, on the contrary, a practice in search for the right questions; a practice in search for the questions that touch on the values of the people that we research. And these values are not necessarily the same that we imagine, even more, this values are not necessarily enacted in the same way. This is our responsibility with the people who help us to understand the world.

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03:
From empathy to its Finnish equivalent, or how should we understand experiences?

Teemu Suorsa

Introduction

Whether it is possible for psychology to create universal basic knowledge, even if its "particular empirical evidence is always unique to the given place, its history and current orientation to the future" (cf. Valsiner, 2006, p. 601), is a continuously topical question. Jaan Valsiner points out in his article "*Dangerous curves in knowledge construction within psychology*" that

> "[t]he postmodernist ideology of localizing knowledge within social contexts has undermined the task of generalization in social sciences. As a result, science becomes swallowed by society, rather than providing that very society with knowledge for further development." (Valsiner, 2006, p. 609.)

Valsiner (2006, p. 609) figures that psychology should "remain primarily a basic science – aiming at universal knowledge through learning from many different societies". The "pleasurable curvy road to general knowledge", as Valsiner (2006, p. 609) sees it, would run "through respectful investigation of local phenomena". To generalize from the unique and local phenomena is, of course, far from a simple task. It is clear that critique and contributions from the international scientific community are required in this process. Before we are that far, a few thoughts should be given to what it actually means to investigate local phenomena respectfully.

When we are conceptualizing phenomena scientifically, we do not begin from nowhere. Each discipline has its more or less well-established conventions for conceptualizing its object of study. Quite often it is necessary to know the history of the discipline to understand the current research problems and concepts. In addition to the dimensions of history of science, the concepts we use have also their everyday dimensions. This is particularly true in psychology where everyday language is often interlaced with scientific one. For example "unconscious" has a supposedly fully different meaning for a layperson, practising psychoanalyst, and another expert from a different field of psychology.

The history of words and concepts does not, of course, end to the point, where they are started being used, justified and studied systematically. In language there are historical layers through which the words can refer to very different forms of life and practices, in comparison to the one(s) in which we find ourselves today. Words carry meanings which are nowadays hardly, if at all, comprehensible, or even

recognizable. Do these meanings play a role in psychological research? In science we have good grounds to call for strictly defined concepts that exclude the obscurities and inconsistencies of everyday language. Transparency in relation to the concepts and methods being used belongs to science.

Psychology is not an exception to this principle of transparency. On the other hand the particularity of the object in psychological research – a being determined through, and determining its, circumstances – requires a special attention (also) to the way this "object" relates to language (as a "circumstance"). If we are interested in somebody's experiences, we cannot exclude the meanings that are obscure or illogical. Neither is the language of the researcher, even if it is marked by his education, something fully under his control. Language which is older than the individual and more comprehensive than any psychological terminology, determines – together with (personal)history – what is understandable in a given situation. The following allegory should elucidate the lengthy and difficult subject:

> "Let us imagine three concentric semi-circular forms of different sizes, and call these the forest, the garden, and the house, from the biggest to the smallest. The forest is its own, it does what it pleases, regardless of human not to speak of natural laws. It changes slowly. Living in the forest demands knowledge of flows, circuits, connections that span over individual lifetimes and personal capacities. A garden can be cleared and cultivated in the midst of the forest. It takes constant care, attention and struggle to make the garden prosper and not to be overtaken by the forest. One needs fences, pathways and systems of irrigation. Looking from the garden, the forest becomes the wilderness. The garden, in turn, surrounds the house, where things have their place, where the subject is best protected and life at its most economical.

Here the forest illustrates the area of a subjective experience that is unpredictable, unrepeatable and independent of us. The fenced garden is the site of constant struggle between the inseparable flows of the forest and the reified and objectified economy of the house, where weeding, planting and harvesting are needed. In the house devoted to human purposes calculation can start. Here things have their uses, and behavior its rationale.

These three areas form human experience, from the asubjective forest to the economical pinnacle of the subjective and objective. It should be noted that the asubjective is not the same as the unconscious, even though it is not a part of the self. In a similar way, language doesn't belong to the house only. [...] Language is asubjective when it is not the manipulation of word-objects by a communicative speaker-subject. For example words like 'mother', 'death', 'friend', 'sea' pertain to experiences that do not support a clear subject-object division." (Vadén, 2006, p. 223-224.)

Language, and being human, can be characterized "generally" this way. Language also has a local dimension. It's connectedness to place, to history, to "cur-

rent orientations to the future" proposes a question concerning the originality of different languages. This question concerns also the possibility of discussing these originalities over the language regions. Vadén writes:

> "Languages as interconnected networks are not identical with each other. [...] Language is inseparably tied with ways of life. Ways of living create systems of meaning. Unique, untranslatable language can exist, when unique, untranslatable ways of life exist. If there are ways of life that are in a meaningful way different from other ways of life, then there are possibly (linguistic) meanings that can not be translated without residue. Such untranslatability is relative, not absolute. Translation and learning are often possible, if one is willing to take great pains and use a lot of time: if one is willing and able to experience and live in a new way. However, choosing or adopting a way of life is not something that one person or subject can do at will, and the process of learning to live in a new way can easily last longer than the life-span of a generation." (Vadén, 2006, p. 220-221.)

This would mean, as Vadén formulates it, a nominalistic position. It means we would "have to concede that being human, for instance thinking or experiencing, are not universally same or identifiably similar, but vary both in time and place in possibly incommensurable ways" (Vadén, 2006, p. 222).

With this introduction in mind, I will in the following pages study the concept of "empathy" which denotes a phenomenon, on the other hand belonging to the object area of psychology, and which, on the other hand, can be seen as a part of a methodical "equipment", which enables the knowledge of this very object area. I begin (1) by describing shortly how the phenomenon of empathy has been conceptualized at the end of 19th century first in aesthetics, and later in psychology. Thereafter (2), I will make a historical leap to the end of 20th century, and present two different interpretations of empathy, psychoanalytical and existential, that are still closely related to the earlier formulation of empathy in the field of aesthetic, or psychology of aesthetics – which nowadays also corresponds more or less with our everyday conception of empathy. In the next chapter (3), I will return to everyday concepts, particularly to a Finnish "equivalent" of empathy which in a closer study seems to be articulating (also) a different kind of, and a more profound, phenomenon. Finally (4), I will present some concluding propositions to be discussed.

My aim here is not to give an encyclopaedic answer to the question of the possibility of respectful investigation of local phenomena in psychology. Rather I am trying to present an "example" of how a local originality can contribute to clearing up some more wide-ranging problems on the methodological or categorical level. This example will hopefully be followed by multifaceted discussion of the possibilities and limitations of this approach.

Einfühlung: Vischer and Lipps

Everyone knows what "empathy" means. Empathy is stepping in someone else's shoes, identifying with someone else's situation. It is possible for me to know how You feel because as a similar being I can imagine myself being in a similar situation.

Despite this simplicity there is a growing number of literature concerning empathy. Respectively the definitions of empathy may seem quite different from each other. For example in psychoanalytical tradition(s) empathy has been characterized inter alia as knowledge, attitude, communication, capacity, process, expression, ability, experience, form of perception and as non-rational way of understanding. (See e.g. Reed, 1984, p. 12-13. On the relation between "empathy" and "sympathy", see e.g. Pigman, 1995; Black, 2004.)

In this variety, however, one can recognize how each writer has a feeling of dealing with a very profound phenomenon. Freud, for example, believed that empathy enables the relating to another mental life in general (Freud, 1921, p. 110). Respectively, Christine Olden stated that the phenomenon of empathy is "as deep and early as the first days and weeks of life", when there was neither "outside world" nor "I". Olden suggests that this earliest experience

> "of unity with the world and the mother may possibly be the root and pattern of our later feeling of comfort when an empathic contact is made, and of discomfort when we have not successfully achieved this." (Olden, 1953, p. 114.)

Empathy was coined in English as a translation of German "Einfühlung" (see Titchener, 1909). To begin with, however, "Einfühlung" was a concept of aesthetics. Robert Vischer used it in winter of 1890 in his presentation *Über ästhetische Naturbetrachtung* in Aachen and Stuttgart when describing the perception of natural objects, as he found it articulated, e.g. in Goethe's poetry. There he finds "sich wiegende Zweige" and "sich bückende Kippen", where, so Vischer, " [d]ieses Sich [...] nichts anderes [ist], als das den Zweigen, den Klippen [...] unterschobene Subjekt, das hineingedrungene Ich des Betrachters". (Vischer, 1927, p. 64.)

It might here seem as "Einfühlung" was for Vischer simply a projection of the "I" into the landscape. It is however noteworthy that this "Einfühlung" of the "observing I" would not be possible without these two having the same origin, "gleichen Ursprung". (Vischer, 1927, p. 75.) For Vischer the verses of Byron (transl. O. Gildemeister, cited in Vischer, 1927, p. 57) were something to be taken seriously:

> "Sind nicht die Himmel, Meer und Berg ein Stück
> Von meiner Seele, wie von ihnen ich?
> Ist sie zu lieben nicht mein reinstes Glück?"

This means for Vischer that his attempt to elucidate "wenigstens das Wesen unserer Betrachtung der Natur" must remain incomplete, "weil die Natur selbst ewig unbekannt bleibt".

> "In Ihrer Fremdheit verschwindet auch unsre Selbsterkenntnis, denn im ästhetischen Akte wirken ja Natur und Phantasie in innigster Verschmelzung durcheinander. […] Und so sind wir wieder zu unserem Ausgangspunkt zurückgelandet, stehen wieder vor dem Rätsel der Natur und müssen uns gestehen: Ihr Seelenschein bleibt, wie sie selbst, ein Geheimnis." (Vischer, 1927, p. 75-76.)

In his *Ästhetik – Psychologie des Schönen und der Kunst* Theodor Lipps introduced the concept of "Einfühlung" in to a psychological discussion. His conceptualization made a deep impression, for example, on Freud (see Freud, 1986, p. 235).

As for Vischer's Byron, there was no clear difference between the experiencing I and the nature being experienced, it was also important for Lipps that in "Einfühlung" – resulting from instinctive imitation – there was no duality being experienced, but "volle Einheit" (Lipps, 1903, p. 122). Lipps elucidates this in his famous example with an acrobat:

> "Ich vollziehe in solcher 'inneren Nachahmung' – nicht die Bewegungen, die der Akrobat vollzieht, noch einmal, sondern ich vollziehe unmittelbar, nämlich innerlich, oder 'in meinen Gedanken', die Bewegungen des Akrobaten. Ich vollziehe die Bewegungen, soweit dieser 'Vollzug der Bewegungen' nicht ein äußerliches, sondern ein inneres Tun ist, in dem Akrobaten selbst. Ich bin nach Aussage meines unmittelbaren Bewußtseins in ihm; ich bin also da oben. Ich bin dahin versetzt. Nicht neben den Akrobaten, sondern genau dahin, wo er sich befindet. Dies nun ist der volle Sinn der 'Einfühlung'. […] Ich fühle mich in der optisch wahrgenommenen Bewegung des Akrobaten, also im Akrobaten, so wie ich ihn wahrnehme, ich fühle mich darin strebend und innerlich tätig." (Lipps, 1903, p. 122-123.)

The difference between the acrobat and the observing – and empathizing – I appears only afterwards:

> "Und gesetzt endlich, ich bin aus der Einfühlung völlig heraus getreten. Die Einfühlung fand statt; und ich blicke jetzt auf den erlebten Sachverhalt zurück, dann bleibt immer noch in der Erinnerung das erlebte ich an den Akrobaten unmittelbar gebunden. Es ist also, wenn ich in der Erinnerung den Akrobaten und seine Bewegungen mir vergegenwärtige, immer noch in ihm ein Ich und ein inneres Tun, nur eben ein bloß vorgestelltes. Dies vorgestellte Ich und sein Tun steht aber zugleich gegenüber meinem realen Ich, nämlich demjenigen, das an den Akrobaten sich erinnert. […] Hiermit erst ist die

> Scheidung zwischen mir und dem Akrobaten vollzogen." (Lipps, 1903, p. 124-125.)

Lipps (1903, p. 125) sees an "Einfühlung" where the differentiation between the I and the observed does not appear as "eine vollkommene", that is, as "ästhetische Einfühlung" which he (p. 126) sees as more original form of "Einfühlung". Differentiating experience can, according to Lipps, be "potentiell mitenthalten", but can not in actuality appear simultaneously together with "vollkommenen Einfühlung". (Lipps, 1903, p. 125.) It is noteworthy that in the quotations cited above, in addition to the differentiation between the I and the observed, there is also a differentiation between "vorgestelltes Ich", namely the remembered I (and its remembered action) and "reales Ich", namely the remembering (as the present activity) I. I will return to this in the next chapter.

After this short "historical introduction", we can now move on to a concept of empathy which is seen more directly in relation to understanding of the thinking, feeling and wanting of the other human being. I will proceed to the end of 20th century in order to point out that there are elements of "Einfühlung" – as it can be found in Vischer and Lipps in relation to aesthetic experience – also in attempts to conceptualize the psychotherapeutic understanding, where it isn't any more about experiencing natural objects and landscapes, or a plain human body as an aesthetic object.

Empathy: Psychoanalytical and existential interpretation

In Lipps' description seems to be outlined the central difference between emotional contagion and empathy which has been important in psychoanalytical tradition. Louis Agosta points out, however, in his article "*Empathy and Intersubjectivity*" (1984) that despite the differences, there are elements of emotional contagion in empathy:

> "In emotional contagion a representation of the other's feeling is aroused in the subject. That is all that happens. In the case of empathy, in addition to this first representation of the other's feeling, a second representation is mobilized. The subject becomes aware that the other's feeling is the source of his own. Thus, this second representation — which is indeed a representation of the *other* — is conjoined with the first.
>
> This, then, is the crucial and irreducible difference between empathy and emotional contagion. Empathy involves a double representation. [...] Thus, what differentiates empathy from contagion is the emergence, the distinguishing of, a representation of the other as the object as well as the cause of what is being felt." (Agosta, 1984, p. 55.)

Whereas for Lipps "die vollkommene Einfühlung" was still the one without experienced duality, with Agosta we talk about empathy only after the difference has been made. What one concludes from this conceptual differentiation, varies also in the field of psychoanalysis from writer to writer. But whether empathy is seen as a result of "direct intersubjective communicability of emotions" (Agosta, 1984, p. 55) or as enabled through identifications "based on the totality of verbal and nonverbal clues of the object's inner experience" (Tähkä, 1993, p. 118), I would argue that Black articulates the common tendency rather well in the following passage:

> "[B]y empathy we make a trial identification with the other, without losing our secure stance in ourselves, and as a result of empathic contact we can relate our interpretations accurately to patient's internal state." (Black, 2004, p. 580.)

Even if the "trial identification" seems to have a more voluntary character than Lipps' immediate "Vollzug der Bewegungen", there are similarities: there seems to be, on the one hand, an identifying, "vorgestelltes ich", and on the other, a "reales ich" who is reflecting her inner activity, and who is able to separate herself from the "vollkommene Einfühlung" (as well as from an involuntary contagion). Lipps (1903, p. 191) did indeed suggest that "Einfühlung" between persons "ist der gleichen Art, wie die Einfühlung in ein Naturobjekt", say, to a rock. This gives us of course reasons for doubting such a conception, when it comes to understanding other human being. It does not seem unfounded to suggest that the reasoning should take a substantially different direction here.

In the *phenomenological movement* in Germany and in France, the question concerning "Einfühlung" has also been of decisive importance since the beginning of the 20th century (see Zahavi, 2001). Here it is quite often the Lippsian conception that is being criticized. For Heidegger, for example, empathy was indeed something that phenomenally and in the first place characterizes understanding of the other. He stresses, however, it should therefore not be taken as something originally constitutive for being with the other. In *"Sein und Zeit"* he sees "Einfühlung" rather as a substitute for authentic understanding of the other to which one resorts because "die verschiedenen Seinsmöglichkeiten des Daseins selbst das Miteinandersein und dessen Sichkennen missleiten und verbauen". Further along he suggests that

> "[i]hre spezielle Hermeneutik wird zu zeigen haben, wie [...] ein echtes 'Verstehen' niedergehalten wird und das Dasein zu Surrogaten die Zuflucht nimmt; welche positive existenziale Bedingungen rechtes Fremdverstehen für seine Möglichkeit voraussetzt." (Heidegger, 1976, p. 164)

For Heidegger this was a question of not seeing a human being as a being among rocks, tables and hammers, but as a special being whose speciality was to be

studied carefully before further arguments could be made. In a Heideggerian sense Zahavi points out that "the very attempt to thematically grasp the emotions or experiences of others is the exception rather than the rule".

> "Under normal circumstances we understand each other well enough through our shared engagement in the common world, and it is only if this understanding for some reason breaks down, that something like empathy becomes relevant. But if this is so, an investigation of intersubjectivity that takes empathy as its point of departure and constant point of reference is bound to lead us astray." (Zahavi, 2001, p. 155)

Recently the "assignment" – to hermeneutics of empathy – given by Heidegger has been taken into account by Lawrence Hatab, although in a different manner than Heidegger proposed. Whereas Heidegger was trying to overcome the concept of empathy, Hatab is trying to give it a more appropriate, existential, interpretation. To put it short, Hatab suggests we should understand prefixes both in em-pathy and "Ein-fühlung" as referring to human way of coming into existence, instead of seeing prefixes as referring to a projective activity of the subject (Hatab, 2002, p. 255).

This would mean that we should see empathic caring for others as a basic structure of social life. Empathy, interpreted existentially, denotes a common structure of coming into existence. According to this view, negligence is a flawed realisation of this structure. In empathic experience this structure becomes realised (and "visible").

Whereas aforementioned psychoanalytical interpretations of empathy do allow us to see the experiences – and humans – as fundamentally separated, existential interpretation, with Heidegger, stresses their founding belongingness. If what is experienced in (or as) empathy has its "point of reference" in a human way of coming into existence, in a basic structure of social life (instead of an ability or quality attributed to a subject), it would seem that also the very attempt to understand gains another goal: Along with the question of the experiences of the self and those of the other appears the question concerning a basic structure of social life which is being realised in empathy. This would mean that the experience of the other – as well as my own – is never limited to the "private"; rather it should be seen as an articulative step towards understanding the situation which is, after all, common to us. To a challenge (and to a possibility) this turns in a situation giving conflicting experiences.

On the difference between "empathy" and its Finnish equivalent

"Myötäeläminen" – a Finnish equivalent for "empathy", literally "along-living" – can be seen as a typical word in everyday language which is being used in certain

contexts, although one might get in trouble, when trying to explain what, and how, is actually meant with it. "Myötäeläminen" is being used as an approximate synonym for empathy, sympathy, and compassion. It seems also plausible to assume that the word has not existed independently from these. But whereas in Greece originating "empathy" shares more or less the structure of German "Einfühlung", in a Finnish translation/ construct – even if it had its model in German or in Greece – comes along something inharmonious.

In Finnish there are words whose applicability surpasses the sentences with the plain subject-verb-object structure. In fact, there are words, such as "myötäeläminen", which seem to be "reacting against" such structure. It is grammatically possible to say, for example, "I 'live along' You" or "I 'live along' your joy". In the first case, the Finnish expression would be rather awkward, and one is actually tempted to use the anglicism that reproduces "empathy" in a Finnish form. In the second case, the expression gives priority to "the joy": the joy would somehow produce the experiencing "I" in question. Here one is, however, tempted to see this expression as a "poetical" formulation, meaning actually that I am happy because I can understand that you are having this emotion. Indeed it feels also in Finnish less ambiguous to say one is "empathizing".

Should we conclude then that "myötäeläminen" is a failed word that really should be replaced with another one giving more accurate expression to what we have in mind? Alternatively, we can think that in this word something comes to expression that surpasses or goes below the way we nowadays "piece things together". In any case, we can ask *what* we can express with this word. We may also suggest that an old word would be utilized in describing a previously unknown phenomenon.

The existential interpretation of empathy is interesting here because empathy – seen as referring to the way of coming into existence – would seem to have the same direction as literal meaning of "myötäeläminen". It should be noted, however, that whereas the existential interpretation of empathy is deconstructing the way the language is being used (or deconstructing a thought that seems to be included in a word "empathy") "myötäeläminen" is already, has already been, *also* beyond the net of meanings which are being reinterpreted in Hatab's interpretation.

"Empathy" is only hardly thinkable without empathizing subject. With "myötäeläminen" it is the other way around: It is difficult to see "myötäeläminen" as something that a subject does. Rather it is something that happens to – or as – someone.

This line of thought can be taken further: "Empathy", both existentially and psychoanalytically, is only hardly thinkable without an object, or dualism between "I" and "the world". Indeed: it is a word whose purpose is to describe interaction between subject and (other subject as) her object. "Myötäeläminen" seems to leave also the world-side open. The question: Along *what*, and *how*, we are living, then, might have a worthy hint from Vischer: We are standing before an enigma, "*Geheimnis der Natur*". Or with Celan: "*Geheimnis der Begegnung*".

Whereas the concept of empathy seems to carry an answer within – subject empathizes with object – "myötäeläminen", living along, brings along an unending question: Along what, and how? And, since "myötäeläminen" is a word that primarily is not good for describing interaction between subject and her object, one could say, adapting Vadén's allegory (cf. Introduction), that in this word is potentially "protected" something that reminds man in his economically organized house of the murmur of the woods, that is, of the possibility of an asubjective experience.

From the possibilities given to thinking in originalities of a particular language one should not conclude that etymology or grammar, for example, would somehow prove a certain righteous usage or meaning. Appropriating the possibilities of language should rather be seen as one of the steps in concept formation. Thereafter the suggestions should, of course, be tested from other perspectives. The connectedness of etymology, grammar and meaning can however be seen as "useful", as they are providing already existing nets of possible meaning, also meanings which would not otherwise be attainable. The local challenge would be to appropriate these possibilities when articulating the object of study and research methods.

Concluding remarks

In what kind of a relation, then, are "empathy" and "myötäeläminen", (living along), to each other? Taken that the argumentation presented above is plausible – or that its result is plausible – this seems to be an important question. Obviously, we cannot simply abandon the old concept. After all, in many cases empathy is indeed the way we "phenomenally and in the first place" understand each other – namely in those cases where it seems that we don't.

In my master's thesis (2004) I suggested, and tried to show, that it is possible to reinterpret the psychoanalytical conception, particularly that of Veikko Tähkä (1993), of striving toward an empathic understanding as a relevant, although insufficient, step toward the understanding of the "living along"; in other words, in attempt to see the experiences, own and those of the other, as articulative steps with reference to question "along what, and how", that is, with reference to an enigma.

The nature of "living along" might of course be enigmatic only "phenomenally and in the first place", and usually only in a situation "giving" conflicting experiences; perhaps analogical to the way the Finnish equivalent for empathy seemed enigmatic in the first place. The nature of this word is, however, enigmatic and conflicting only as long as it is seen as a translation for an experience articulated originally in a different net of meanings. As soon as one tries to appropriate the meanings that seem to be "included" in the word, it enters into an interesting dialogue with the other, in this case with the other word, and – the other phenomenon.

To understand experiences within their proper context is, in a – at least potentially – very multidimensional world, far from an easy task. To me it seems that this would mean that understanding experiences cannot belong solely to psychology but would stand before us as a continuous interdisciplinary challenge.

To see humanity in numerous localities as "not universally same or identifiably similar" but varying "both in time and place in possibly incommensurable ways", as Vadén (2006, p. 222) suggested, does not make this task a more simple one. Taking this seriously might also not lead to identical terminology or definitions of objects of study in different language regions. Instead it might eventually, through a "curvy road", lead to a more comprehensive understanding of human condition in general.

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04:
Exploring individual differences and values in German elementary teachers' perceptions of classroom demands and resources

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Abstract

Results from previous research found that for elementary school teachers in both the United States and Germany individual teacher perceptions of resources and demands were stronger indicators of burnout symptoms than differences between schools in environmental demands and resources. In this study, research on the relationship of elementary school teachers' experience, stress, and coping resources to burnout symptoms in the United States was replicated with a sample of 469 elementary teachers in Baden-Württemberg, Germany. Levels of teachers' burnout symptoms were examined across groups of teachers with varying levels of stress and coping resources. The psychological assessment tools Classroom Appraisal of Resources and Demands (CARD), the Preventive Resources Inventory (PRI), and the Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI) were used. This qualitative study is based on classroom observations and interviews with 11 teachers, who had indicated their willingness to participate in a qualitative follow-up study. It was found that teachers' guiding principles were related to values and ethics. Ethical responsibility was defined as a set of values common to teaching but also included responsibility towards society at large, the teaching profession, and the student. Four categories emerged and are explained in this paper.

Exploring individual differences and values in German elementary teachers' perceptions of classroom demands and resources

This observational study is a follow-up to a survey, which investigated the extent to which a sample of 451 elementary teachers in the United States and a sample of 469 teachers in Germany experience burnout due to occupational stress (Ullrich, Lambert, & McCarthy, 2009). Results from this survey showed that in both countries individual teacher perceptions of resources and demands were stronger indicators of burnout than differences between schools in environmental demands and resources. This finding suggested to further pursue qualitative research to

examine what it is that has an impact on why some teachers survive and thrive in specific school environments, while other teachers struggle in the same setting. It is this "individual difference" perspective that can help to understand why some teachers cope and others don't.

In the United States, high teacher turnover and a national teacher shortage is a fact (Weisberg & Sagie, 1999). According to Ingersoll and Smith (2004), every second teacher quits after five years. In Germany, 74% of all teachers retired early compared to 46% of early retirements in other professions in 2005 (Weber, 2002). For 52% of those who retired early, a psychological or psychiatric diagnosis was given. It is important to identify factors depleting the teaching force in order to best support teachers. Findings may inform efforts to increase coping skills in teachers to prevent burnout and attrition as well as to promote teacher health and job satisfaction. This would also enhance student achievement.

Research on teacher stress in German speaking countries has largely been based on a model by Schaarschmidt and Fischer (1996), who conceptualized stress based on personal work-related coping strategies and found four groups: Type B - reduced involvement, high risk for burnout if faced with demands (30%), Type A - overcommitted, at risk for burnout (30%), Type S - under-committed, not at risk (23%), and Type G - characterized by clear, not excessive involvement, not at risk (17%).

The problem with this model is that it does not take preventive coping resources into account. Transactional models take individual coping resources into account and are therefore most suitable in investigating teacher stress and coping. They are based on the assumption that our cognitive appraisal of demands and resources is central to the stress response. According to transactional models stress results from perceptions of inequality between resources and demands (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984; McCarthy & Lambert, 2006).

Predictors of stress and burnout

Three groups of variables have been associated with stress and burnout in teachers. They are cultural and societal factors, school-specific, and teacher-specific factors. Culture is an environmental variable that impacts individuals' perceptions and behaviors in different ways. Cultural differences include language, geography, political arrangement, historical development, and work values. Hofstede identified four cultural work value dimensions: Individualism vs. collectivism, Masculinity vs. social consciousness, High vs. low power distance (more collaboration), high (many rules) vs. low uncertainty avoidance. Cultural differences may impact responses to daily demands and choice of coping strategies. Culture has also an impact on educational systems.

Educational systems

In the United States, all students are educated in comprehensive elementary, middle, and high schools. Germany has a stratified school system with 10 different types of schools for children with special needs. After the 4th elementary grade, based on performance, children are selected to attend basic, general or advanced secondary schools. There are also differences in educational leadership training. In Germany, principal training is not obligatory, usually it is learning by doing, only 3 out of 16 "Länder" offer a Master of Arts in school administration (Hancock & Müller, 2008). The US has a long history of principal education programs with well defined standards developed by the National Policy Board for Educational Administration. The literature says clearly that effective leadership is related to lower teacher stress and burnout (Kyriacou, 2001).

School-specific factors

Findings for elementary teachers are mixed. Research has shown that in the US, middle school and special education teachers have the highest stress levels, which may be attributed to the onset of adolescence. Stress levels have also found to be high for teachers of students with emotional or behavioral disabilities. In Germany, basic secondary and advanced secondary (Hauptschule and Gymnasium) teachers had the highest stress levels, which may be related to the stratified school system and parents trying to prevent their children with special needs from attending a special school because it is perceived as stigmatizing. Students from families with low socio-economic status or immigration background are overrepresented in basic secondary schools. School-specific factors also include interactions with students and parents. Nowadays, parents advocate more for their children, which may come with an increased tendency to accuse teachers or to complain.

Teacher-specific variables

Findings for gender, age, and years of experience are contradictory, but experience has been referred to as an internal coping resource. Buschmann and Gamsjäger (1999) found higher burnout levels in divorced teachers. Personality traits include locus of control with inconsistent findings. But there is support in the literature that self-esteem and the level of regard a person has for him- or herself may result in more effective coping with stress. Plenty of research supports the positive impact of social support on stress and health, which can be from other teachers, from supervisors or significant others. Self-efficacy, the belief in one‘s ability to cope with demands is also well researched as a predictor of burnout. Self-acceptance, the degree to which one can accept and overcome personal shortcomings has been identified as a strong predictor of teacher stress, burnout, and health. It can be

considered as conceptually central to the construct of preventive coping (Lambert, O'Donnell, Kusherman, & McCarthy, 2006).

Flaws in previous research

There is still controversy around the question if contextual variables or personality traits matter more. Most research uses self-report measures, whereas observations of actual student-teacher interactions and qualitative interviews may help to measure situational and other aspects that impact teacher stress levels. The role of values such as respect and responsibility is under-researched. Respect can be defined as "*the regard due to me and to all other persons on the planet by virtue of our being human. It's not honor or something we have to earn, but precisely that which we don't. Respect forms the restraint side of morality. It's what I restrain myself from doing because it might harm that which I value.*" (Hanson, 2002, p. 2). The purpose of this study was to examine individual differences and values in the sample of German elementary teachers from a survey study of US and German elementary teachers' perceptions of classroom resources and demands.

Research design

Qualitative interviews based on findings of a quantitative cross-sectional survey were conducted. Convenience sampling was used. The questionnaire consisted of three parts: the Classroom Appraisal of Resources and Demands (CARD; Lambert, McCarthy, Abbott-Shim, & Ullrich, 2009), the Preventive Resources Inventory (PRI; McCarthy, Lambert, & Ullrich, 2009), and the Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI; Enzmann & Kleiber, 1989). Teachers were asked to provide their contact details if they were willing to participate in a qualitative interview.

Classroom resources and demands

The CARD assesses demands of elementary teachers such as classroom environment and material resources available to teachers to meet those demands. It consists of 84 items including demographics and classroom characteristics, classroom demands as well as helpfulness of resources to be rated on a 5-point Likert scale. In accordance with Lazarus and Folkman's (1984) theory, a classroom "stress" score can be created for each survey participant by subtracting the total score for the demands section of the CARD from the total score for the resources section of the CARD. Transactional models of stress and coping would predict that teachers who rated demands greater than available resources would be at risk for experiencing occupational stress.

Lambert, McCarthy, O'Donnell, and Melendres (2007) found high sample-specific reliability for both the Demands scale score (Cronbach's alpha = .92) and

for the Resources scale score (α = .95). In the current sample, all of the subscales and the total score for the Resources section yielded sample-specific information with adequate reliability (.828 to .951).

Preventive coping - self-acceptance

Preventive coping resources allow the individual to recognize and deal with life demands so as to avoid the experience of stress (for a further review, see Matheny et al., 1986, and McCarthy, Lambert, Beard, & Dematatis, 2002). McCarthy et al. (2009) used the total score from the Preventive Resources Inventory (McCarthy et al., 2002) to measure overall preventive resources with U.S. elementary teachers. The PRI measures the five constructs Perceived Control, Maintaining Perspective, Social Resourcefulness, Scanning, and Self-acceptance. Results from a pilot study with the German versions of the CARD and the PRI showed that the survey packet was perceived to be very long. Therefore a modification was made to the research design used by McCarthy et al. (2009) and only the Self-acceptance (SAC) scale of the PRI was used. This decision was based on findings from previous research, which indicated that SAC was the strongest predictor of stress and health. Therefore, a German translation of one scale, Self-Acceptance (SAC), was used as a proxy for overall preventive coping resources. McCarthy et al. (2002) defined SAC as "*a set of beliefs and behaviors indicating acceptance of self, others, and the world*" (p. 25). The Self-acceptance scale consists of 16 items and measures how well a respondent is able to accept personal weaknesses and strengths when faced with challenging life situations. Cronbach's alphas of .708/.850 and in the present study of .835. were calculated for Self-Acceptance (Lambert et al., 2006).

Translation procedures

The German translations of the CARD and the PRI were completed using accepted translation procedures (Hambleton & Patsula, 2000), an expert panel to resolve discrepancies, and conducting a pilot study. Initial translations of the instruments were prepared by a native German speaker (first author) and back-translated into English by a professional translator and a professor from the Department of Language and Culture Studies, who was also a native speaker of German. A panel consisting of one of the authors of the instruments, the two native German speakers, and the professional translator met to compare and reconcile the original and the back-translated source language versions. Cultural and systemic differences in the school systems of the U.S. and Germany as well as language issues were discussed and various discrepancies resolved. This step included examination of semantic and idiomatic as well as experiential and conceptual equivalence (Hambleton & Patsula, 2000). Based on the panel discussion, modified versions of the target language instruments were finalized. The instrument

was then field-tested with a small sample of German teachers from two of the participating schools.

Burnout

The MBI-ES by Maslach et al. (1996) and the German version by Enzmann and Kleiber (MBI-D; 1989) were used to measure teacher burnout. The MBI assesses three dimensions of burnout: (1) Emotional Exhaustion (EE), (2) Depersonalization (DP), and (3) Personal Accomplishment (PA). It consists of 22 items related to the following three scales: EE is the central quality of the complex syndrome of burnout referring to feelings of being exhausted and overextended emotionally by contact with other people and work, DP refers to the development of a cynical stance toward the individuals one is working for, and PA refers to lowered feelings of competence and personal achievement in one's work (Maslach et al., 2001).

Maslach et al. (1997) reported Cronbach's alphas ranging from .88 to .90 for EE, .74 to .76 for DP, and .72 to .76 for PA. The overall Cronbach's alpha for the MBI in a study conducted by Lambert et al. (2009) was .909 with values of .903, .684, and .750 for the EE, DP, and PA scales. Cronbach's Alpha reliability coefficients for the German sample examined in this study were .853 for EE, .619 for DP, and .604 for PA.

Survey procedures

The German sample consisted of 469 elementary teachers (grades 1-4) from 62 Baden-Württemberg schools in four districts (Freiburg, Karlsruhe, Stuttgart, Tübingen). The response rate was 60.56%. Approval of the overall education ministry was secured (Ministerium für Kultus, Jugend und Sport). Principals were then contacted by email and an attached letter, which outlined the purpose of the study and the questionnaire including a cover letter for teachers.

Predictor variables

The independent variables in both samples were perceptions of classroom demands and occupational stress (difference score Demands-Resources) as measured by the CARD, Preventive Coping (US sample) and Self-acceptance (German sample) measured by the PRI and the PRI Self-Acceptance Scale (McCarthy & Lambert, 2001; McCarthy et al., 2009), and the variable Years of experience (number of years at current school, number of years in profession). The dependent variable was Burnout as measured by the MBI-D (Enzmann & Kleiber, 1989; German version).

Survey results

Teachers at risk for stress

The first research question was about the percentage of teachers at risk for stress. Based on the reliability coefficients of the two CARD scales as well as the difference score, a 95% CI was formed around the difference score of 0 to be sure that teachers who were classified as at risk were really at risk. Cut scores were set and participants were classified in three groups. We found that approximately every third teacher was at risk for stress in both samples (D>R).

Associations between burnout and predictor variables

The Burnout means were examined in those three groups. Hierarchical Linear Modeling (HLM) was used to examine the variability in burnout between teachers and between schools (Bryk & Raudenbush, 2002). Differences among teachers can occur based on factors from different levels. Hierarchical Linear Modeling takes these effects into account. Very little variance was found between schools, which suggests that individual appraisal of resources and demands was a stronger indicator of Burnout than school level variables, which confirms transactional models of stress and coping.

HLM was also used to test for associations between the DV Burnout and the predictor variables. In both samples, the strongest predictors were Preventive coping and SAC. The U.S. sample scored higher on EE the longer they worked at a school. The opposite was the case for the German sample: As time spent in a school increased, the level of EE decreased. DP also decreased in the German sample if the number of years at current school increased.

In the U.S. sample total burnout increased with a higher number of years spent at the current school, while it decreased in the German sample. In addition, being a new teacher in the German sample predicted EE to decrease. This result may be explained by the fact that with experience, skills in coping increase and teachers develop routines and a classroom management repertoire.

The fact that DP also decreased for years spent at the current school in the German sample may be due to increased social support through long-term relationships with colleagues. It can be implied that new teachers may benefit from a good system of support or teacher induction process.

According to Shirom and Mazeh (1988), levels of burnout vary across the career span and cycle from high to low over approximately 5-year periods. A higher number of years spent at the same school would then not predict burnout, but a teacher's place in that cycle. Savicki (2002) found that individuals in the low burnout configuration group were significantly older than in the mixed and high burnout configuration groups. The average age in the German teacher sample was higher. This could be a selection bias issue, i. e., only teachers with good coping

skills continue teaching, which may explain why burnout goes down if the number of years spent at current school increases. It may as well be related to the fact that German teachers are well-respected academic professionals. Most of them are well paid, tenured civil servants (Ashwill et al., 1999), which is often a motivational factor to enter a teacher education program (Klinzing, 1990).

Stress did not predict EE in the German sample, only in the U.S. sample. Stress also did not predict DP (evaluation of others component) in the German sample, only in the U.S. sample. It predicted only Lack of PA in the German sample (the evaluation of self component). According to Maslach et al. (2001), EE and DP may emerge from external factors such as work overload and social conflict, whereas lower PA seems to arise more from insufficient personal resources (Maslach et al., 2001).

Qualitative findings

The purpose of the follow-up classroom observations and interviews was to explore and describe individual differences in teacher reactions to stressful situations in teaching. Quantitative data collected by CARD and the Self-acceptance scale of the PRI were used to classify teachers into four groups according to the following criteria (with Resources > Demands indicating low stress level vs. Demands > Resources indicating high stress level):

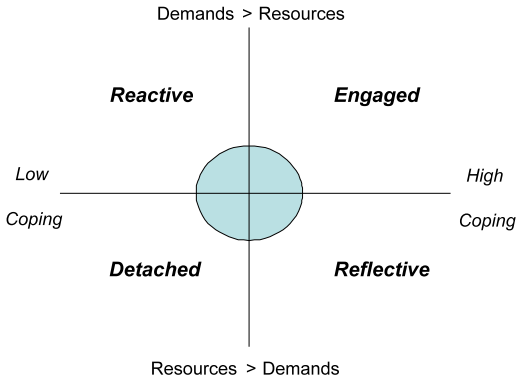
High Self-acceptance/ Resources > Demands,
High Self-acceptance/ Demands > Resources,
Low Self-acceptance/ Resources > Demands, and
Low Self-acceptance/ Demands > Resources.

A subset of seven elementary teachers in the German sample was randomly selected for classroom observations and qualitative interviews. Those were conducted in June, July, and August of 2009. A questionnaire with open-ended questions was used for the interviews. The qualitative data confirmed our theoretically driven predictions and helped to deepen our understanding with regard to individual differences in perceptions of stress and coping among teachers in German elementary schools. We found that an important theme that emerged from the qualitative data was related to values in teaching.

Interview procedures

Teachers who had provided an email address or phone number in the survey instrument, were contacted and classroom observations by the first and second author were scheduled. All interviews were conducted using a semi-structured questionnaire (s. Appendix 1), they were transcribed and coded for themes using

AQUAD (Huber, 2006). Then codes were collapsed into four broader categories (see graph 1).



Graph 1: Follow-up study: Stress and coping

In the interviews, teachers revealed their guiding principles, which were in essence related to values and ethics. They define their ethical responsibility as a set of values common to teaching. In addition, this includes a responsibility towards society at large, the teaching profession, and the student. Ethical concerns emerged for example, when teachers learn about issues in a child's family and feel torn between the ethical obligation to address the issue and to support the child.

Next, those four categories will be described and illustrated with examples. We found that teachers who scored low on Self-acceptance and perceived Demands to be greater than Resources could be described as taking a "reactive" approach to teaching. For example, one teacher reported that she valued care for the environment and was willing to put in extra hours to prepare and to collaborate with a close-by University of Applied Sciences on a project related to the protection of the environment. She also leads a drama group at the school and enjoys working on projects. She places an emphasis not only on the education of her students but also on the relationships she has with them. Justice is very important in her opinion to preserve those relationships and to get along with each other. In order to get along with others the children need to be able to manage themselves first. She feels that she is an important role model for the children. She tries to influence the kind of human beings his students will become. She says, "I feel responsible for them and I also hold them responsible. They know that they can trust me and come to me if something went wrong."

Teachers who scored low on Self-acceptance and rated Resources greater than Demands had a more "detached" approach. One teacher reported that some parents have lost interest in raising their children or they feel guilty and want to

make up for what they know they should be doing but they don't have the time to do it. The same teacher also reported that being active in the school leadership team and cooperating with colleagues was very important to him.

Teachers who scored high on Self-acceptance and perceived Demands to be greater than Resources displayed a "reflective" approach to teaching both in the classroom and in the interview process. For example, one teacher reported that as teachers they are role models every minute and need to be thinking about ways to influence value development and to teach coping skills like impulse control, stress management, and getting along with others. She described how positive reinforcement pays off and works better for students as well as for teachers, school is not only about learning, it is also about being human. What the students understand is that they like to be respected. So if they like respect in the way other people treat them, they will need to treat others respectfully, too.

Teachers who scored high on Self-acceptance and perceived Resources to be greater than Demands demonstrated an "engaged" approach. An example for this category is the emphasis one of the interviewees put on good teaching quality and the importance of virtues like self-regulation and self-control for the children to learn.

Summary

The findings of this study have implications for teacher education. They may inform the development of effective interventions in terms of preparing teachers to capably respond to the more and more complex demands of teaching, while at the same time not compromising their initial motivation to become a teacher and the values related therewith. Being role models, reflective practitioners, and constantly developing good teaching quality and problem solving skills as well as the value of cooperative relationships with both students and colleagues can be considered as central for the development of individual coping strategies.

Stress can be viewed from the perspective of environmental or demand models (Holmes & Rahe, 1967), resource models (Hobfoll, 1989), and transactional models that combine the impact of both resources and demands (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Consistent with McCarthy et al.'s (2009) findings for a sample of US elementary teacher sample, this study found that individual teacher perceptions were more predictive of stress and burnout than school level characteristics. In order deepen our understanding and interpretation of processes related to the role of values in stress among teachers more research is needed that examines if values make a difference in teachers' perceptions of stress. Further research is also needed in other regions and other countries to assess the generalizability of the findings.

As Schäfers and Koch (2000) noted, further insights into the relationship between objective and subjective stressors can only be reached by means of classroom observations. While the qualitative interview approach employed in this study

yielded valuable insights, an ethnographic approach and the methodological approach of discourse analysis seem to be promising in terms of deepening our understanding and interpretation of processes related to stress among teachers in different cultural contexts. In addition, relating observations of specific teacher activity in the classroom with the survey instrument used in the survey study may allow for further important insights.

Providing teacher education candidates with the knowledge and skills to become reflective practitioners is very important. One of those skills is the ability to react intuitively to everyday demands (Hargreaves, 2005) and to handle them well. In addition, students expect their teachers to provide them with a sense of optimism, security, and meaning (Branson, 2005). While "getting the job done" may seem to be teachers' main formal responsibility, they are more so than ever required to model appropriate values such as respectful and responsible behaviors.

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Appendix 1

Questionnaire

1. What stressors do you perceive as most demanding in your job?
2. How strong would you rate the relationship between your personal resources, especially your sense of self-acceptance (define), and your professional responsibilities?
3. Is there anything that you would really like to change about your job?
4. What do you enjoy in your job?
5. Which supports are most important to you?
6. How stressful is your work with students, parents, and administrators?

After classroom observation

1. Was this lesson a typical one?
2. How stressful did you perceive this lesson? How do you feel now?
3. Can you remember one situation during the lesson, which has been highly stressful for you?

05:
Understanding the complexity of the pedagogy instructor's role through teacher-training programs by learning both the instructors' and students' point of view

Heidi Flavian & Betty Tussia-Cohen

Summary

This study revealed different points of view of 118 students and 69 pedagogy mentors in regard to the role of pedagogy mentoring. Although literature presents many ways to demonstrate pedagogy and mentoring processes, practicing these approaches discovers gaps between theories and practice. The desire to minimize the gaps served as the motivator for this study. Integrated opinions of all participants are presented through the paper. These opinions lighten refreshing ways for mentors to better practice pedagogical theories. The core idea is to integrate students' opinions and understanding with traditional theories.

The research is based on questionnaires, focus groups and interviews in order to better understand the participants' points of view. By using a variety of ways to collect the necessary information, participants' opinions are better interpreted and therefore better presented. Students are asked to contribute their experiences and knowledge in order to develop better teacher-training program. The top goal of the study is to provide professional pedagogy-mentors practical and professional ways to lead their students through the process of becoming teachers. The innovative idea as presented here, is the integration of ideas of both pedagogy-mentors and students who participate throughout the process.

Introduction

Anderson and Shanon (1988) define the pedagogy-training process as an inter-personal process that contributes to one's personal and professional development. Pedagogical mentors serve as central figures throughout the process of teacher-training programs in teacher-colleges. They go through the training process with their students while presenting the connections between the theories that are taught and the practice that is needed in schools from their points of view and experiences as teachers. The pedagogical mentors also take part in the practical field experience and give feedback with regard to the theories that have been taught before (Cohen & Gelleman, 1988; Gold, 1996; Zahorik, 1988). By accompanying students throughout all the training process, students acquire the skills they need in order to succeed with the broad variety of activities teaching demands. The pedagogical

mentors act from the understanding that their role is to increase the effectiveness of teaching (Hoover, O'Shea & Caroll, 1988).

Different researchers define the role of pedagogical mentors from different points of view such as:

1. The pedagogical mentors escort the learning process of the students. They teach educational theories, bridge between theories and practice, creating and analyzing teaching situations, give feedback and serve as a "teaching-model" (De Jong & Al, 1996).
2. Pedagogical mentors promote functional skills of evaluation, feedback and reflection of the students by developing their knowledge, judgment, leadership and self-criticism (Emanuel, 2005).
3. The pedagogical mentors should teach as researchers who study their work and cooperate in other studies as well. This way they will develop research groups where all colleagues learn and develop together (Feldman, 1996; Zilbershtein, 2005).
4. Pedagogical mentors should take part in learning-communities in order to cooperate in teaching and learning (Hunson & Huston, 1995).

The common approach all researchers share focuses on the close care pedagogical instructor give to their students throughout the process of teacher-training. They need to promote their students' individual and professional development while they move from the stage of students to the role of teachers. As a result of this approach, teacher-training models that were developed up to today are based on general training without specific reference to the domain of teacher-training. From the same approach that takes a broad view of the process of teacher training, the pedagogical instructor's role includes many activities that relate to many other domains of development and not only to the goal of becoming a teacher. All of the above is in addition to the path of being both a teacher and a leader of the students. Moreover, teacher-training models are based on the relevance of the training as the mentors understand it, from their point of view, without any integration of the way the guided students understand their role as student-teachers (Feiman-Nemser, 2001).

The need to understand the importance of integrating both pedagogical mentors' and students' points of view of the teacher-training program led to this study.

Goals of the study and research questions

The main goal of this study is to develop a better understanding of the pedagogical mentors' role. This goal can be reached by answering the following questions:

1. How do the students understand the pedagogical mentors' role?
2. How do the pedagogical mentors understand their role?
3. What are the practical characteristics of the pedagogical mentors' role?

In order to answer the above questions, a mixed methodology was used.

Methodology

The two researchers of this study work as pedagogical mentors. This fact enabled them to better understand the information they collected, although, at the same time, their professional experience challenged them from an ethical perspective. Based on the fact that the researchers had many years of experience as pedagogical-mentors, they had to make sure not to express their own opinions during individual or group interviews. They also had to be very careful while analyzing the data in order to present participants' opinions and not their own ones.

Another ethical challenge that developed while students were interviewed was the issue of confidentiality. Although researchers committed to use the data only for this study, in some cases students spoke up about subjects that needed to be addressed immediately.

This type of information led the researchers each time to think about the study's goals again. On the one hand the goal was to better understand and to better promote pedagogical instructors' roles. On the other hand, participants brought up the information because they wanted things to be changed. Therefore, questions such as "what to do with this type of information", or "how to deal with it and still keep students anonymous", were types of ethical questions that researchers had to take under consideration throughout the whole process.

Data were collected using questionnaires, individual interviews, and focus groups. This mixed methodology was used in six stages across two years. After each stage data were analyzed in order to better conduct the following research phase. In the following the six stages, their contribution to the study, and the findings are described in detail.

1. Five open questions were given to students in order to better understand their point of view of the pedagogy-mentors' roles. The questions were general and focused on students' perspectives and definition of pedagogy-mentors' role and their role as students. Based on the fact that there was not any previous study that focused on students' perspectives, opening the study with general open questions provided the researchers with basic information that was used lateron in the interviews, the focus groups, and the questionnaires. Eighty-eight students answered these questions.

2. Four separate focus-groups (with a total of 32 students) were conducted with students. During these meetings, deep discussions in regard to the role of the pedagogy mentors were conducted. The discussions were mainly focused on blurred answers that were collected from the open questionnaires.
3. Ten individual interviews were taken with students who did not participate in the focus group. This was done in order to let them express their opinions and points of view without hearing other points of view.
4. A focus group with eight pedagogical mentors was conducted in order to better understand their point of view of their role. During this meeting, the data that were collected during the first three stages were presented and the pedagogy mentors were asked to express their opinions as well.
5. On the base of all the data that were collected up to this stage, a questionnaire was developed and was given to 36 pedagogical mentors.
6. Two focus groups with a total of 18 pedagogical mentors were conducted in order to better understand some of the questions that were raised after analyzing all data collected throughout the study.

At the end of the sixth stage, data were organized in order to better present all pedagogy mentors opinions.

Results and findings

Pedagogy mentors, as it is described in a variety of studies, hold almost any role that may relate to being a general mentor in any area. Through this study we developed a primary approach according to which both mentors and students experienced a mutual and practical process of becoming a professional teacher. For the first time, students took an active role in the "triangle of training" (mentors, students, and the field). They were not told what their part through training was but they were asked. This approach is based on an open and an ongoing dialog between pedagogical mentors and their students. Throughout this dialog, students are welcome to use their previous knowledge and experience and can consult the pedagogical mentors as experts in the discipline of pedagogy. At the same time, pedagogical mentors develop ways to support student teachers to integrate their experiences.

While preparing for this study and organizing previous theories and approaches, it was clear that the pedagogical mentors' role is a very complicated one and that it includes several sub-goals. Therefore, we defined the main goal of the study to better understand the pedagogical mentors' role.

The first stage of the study focused on the students' points of view and understanding. Students were asked (through questionnaires and interviews) to

provide their most efficient definition of the role of a pedagogical mentor and to explain that role. To our surprise, although the participants were independent adults who came volunteering to study at the college, they expected their mentors to be with them at every stage of the training. Students mentioned over 50 sub-roles that from their point of view were mandatory for pedagogical mentors. Students' perceptions confirm the role definition literature presents, but they did not help to reduce the lack of clarity in regard to the pedagogical mentors' role.

Surprisingly, questioning pedagogical mentors who claim that their role is over loaded with too many sub-roles did not make a difference either. By using all students' answers, a questionnaire with 53 roles was developed for the pedagogical mentors. They were asked to rate each role and to mention the roles that from their point of view might not be part of their overall role. All 53 roles were marked as important and significant. Not even one role was marked as one that the pedagogical mentors would be willing to give up on.

Throughout focus groups of students and pedagogical mentors the question of which one of the sub-roles may be part of the pedagogical mentors raised many times. Discussions led to the conclusion that there is not only one answer that will fit all situations of pedagogical mentoring.

While we could not minimize the definition of the pedagogical mentors' role, an important understanding grew from this study. In order to better understand the role of pedagogical mentoring, each situation should be examined individually and an open dialog between all participants (mentors and students) should take place. Trying to have a general definition for pedagogical mentors, a definition that will fit all mentors, all students and all situations is not realistic, not practical and not ethical while considering the humanity of it. Pedagogical mentoring is a process that should be dynamic and should change with regard to the people who take part in it and to the goals of the mentoring.

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06:
Content analysis of elicitation study questionnaires: A missing link in studies on extracurricular activities within the theory of planned behavior[1]

Karin Schweizer & Stephan Kröner

Abstract

Attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control have proven to be valid predictors of intentions and behaviors, and elicitation studies are important tools for developing questionnaires to assess these constructs (Ajzen, 2005; Downs & Hausenblas, 2005). However, elicitation studies have received little research attention (Sutton et al., 2003), they are sometimes dropped from the research process for economic reasons (Romano & Netland, 2008), and the methods used in published studies are often poorly documented. One reason for these shortcomings may be that the existing research manuals do not provide detailed instructions on the content analysis of elicitation study data (Ajzen, 2006; Francis et al., 2004). Methods designed for the analysis of long texts and interviews (e.g., Mayring, 2008) have to be adapted for application to the short, self-contained answers generated by elicitation study questionnaires. This chapter gives an example of the application of these methods to a prototypical elicitation study on student participation in extracurricular musical activities. Elicitation questionnaires with open-ended questions were administered to $N = 44$ high school students aged 17 to 20 years (18 musically active, 26 musically inactive). Qualitative content analysis was applied to their answers, following the suggestions of Mayring (2008). The results show that musically active respondents generated more statements related to attitudes ($U = 141.5$, $p = .03$) and to subjective norms ($U = 130.0$, $p = .01$) than did musically inactive respondents. Furthermore, musically active respondents produced more positive statements than did musically inactive respondents ($U = 141.5$, $p = .03$). The two groups did not differ significantly in terms of the number of statements related to perceived behavioral control.

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[1] We are grateful to Sabrina Hee for providing us with the raw data for this thorough reanalysis (see Hee, 2008).

Taken together, the content analysis procedure applied in this chapter provides a useful guideline for analyzing data from future elicitation studies in the context of the theory of planned behavior. The potential benefits of video recording interviewees and analyzing their nonverbal behaviors to further elucidate the differences between musically active and musically inactive persons are discussed.

Introduction: The role of extracurricular activities in different countries

Extracurricular activities play an increasingly important role in school life and are important tools in the process of school development (Kempfert & Rolff, 1999; Rolff, Buhren, Lindau-Bank, & Müller, 2000). Moreover, by offering different options for different groups of students, they provide a useful means of dealing with increasing student heterogeneity (Arbeitsgruppe internationale Vergleichs-studien, 2007). A study comparing the educational systems of selected PISA countries found that extracurricular activities play an important role in most countries, especially the English-speaking countries (Scheerens & Witziers, 2004). In Canadian schools, for example, where full-day schooling is the norm, various extracurricular activities are offered in addition to the daily program of study. Courses in arts and languages play an important role here, including language courses offered in the mother tongue of immigrant children (Fuchs, 2005). Furthermore, extracurricular activities are offered in the fields of politics and information technology, as well as in business and administration and debating. The same applies to the UK, France, and Sweden, where full-day schooling is also the norm. Schools in the UK offer numerous extracurricular programs to enrich their regular courses, with "extended schools" emphasizing activities that foster the development of socially disadvantaged children. France places a particular focus on fostering cultural participation in early childhood at the so-called "école maternelle," and extracurricular activities are part of national programs in French schools. However, research evidence on extracurricular activities in adolescence is scarce (Bachelet & Mozère, 2009; Fuchs, 2005). In Germany, where full-day schooling is not standard, the establishment of extracurricular activities is still in its infancy. However, extracurricular activities are an important issue in the debate on full-day schooling. Taken together, identifying the determinants of participation in extracurricular activities remains an unresolved issue, not only in Germany. One domain of particular interest is that of arts and music (see Kröner & Dickhäuser, 2009).

The role of music in the lives of children and adolescents

A study conducted by researchers of the German society for social science research in medicine, GESOMED, investigated people's relationships to music in order to develop interventions for addiction prevention (Riemann, 1995). The idea was that music might play an important role in addiction prevention as music-related activities have some characteristics that are comparable to the feelings experienced when consuming drugs (e.g., relaxing, feeling high) and might therefore replace the consumption of psychoactive substances (Riemann, 1995). The survey investigated 803 adults, adolescents, and children. The results showed that music serves various important psychological functions, including that of relaxation. For young people, even passively listening to music was found to reduce the stress of everyday life. However, there were some gender- and age-related differences. Whereas women were more likely to emphasize the emotional aspect of dancing, men were more likely to emphasize the loudness of music. Extroverted types of behavior with music were more important for adolescents than for adults. Music was also more important to adolescents than to adults or children. In summary, the results of this study showed that music-related activities play a key role in the lives of young people.

Despite the postulated beneficial effects of musical activities, many young people are likely to experience barriers to musical activities such as playing a musical instrument in their leisure time. Although there is little research on this topic, young people from families where such activities are not common can be expected to experience particular difficulties. This is where extracurricular activities in schools come into play. They provide opportunities for students to learn a musical instrument, to play in a band, or to sing in a choir, independent of their social background.

Measuring extracurricular activities using the theory of planned behavior

Although extracurricular activities have already been widely studied, research has tended to focus on their consequences, rather than their predictors (Eccles, Barber, Stone, & Hunt, 2003). Research on the determinants of participation in extracurricular activities is therefore warranted. The constructs summarized in the theory of planned behavior are candidates for explanatory variables (Ajzen, 1991). In short, the theory assumes that human behavior is guided by three core predictors that are in turn determined by three kinds of beliefs (see also Fig. 1):

(1) attitudes, determined by behavioral beliefs about likely consequences or other attributes of the behavior (e.g., it is fun to sing in a choir),

(2) subjective norms, determined by normative beliefs about the expectations of others (others approve of the behavior; e.g., my parents expect me to sing in a choir), and

(3) perceived behavioral control, determined by control beliefs about the presence of factors that may promote or hinder performance of the behavior (e.g., I am able to read from the score; Ajzen, 2002).

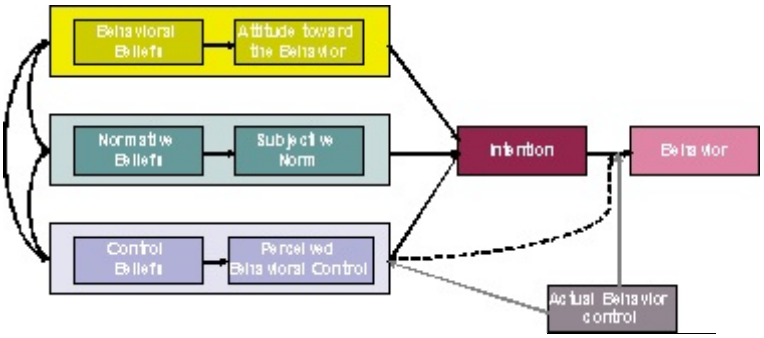

Fig. 1: Model of the factors determining behavior according to the theory of planned behavior (Ajzen, 2005)

As illustrated in Figure 1, the theory assumes that attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control mediated by behavioral intentions are the core predictors of overt behavior. As mentioned above, these three components form a person's intention. Intentions are assumed to capture the motivational factors that influence behavior; they are indications of how hard people are willing to try, or how much of an effort they plan to exert, in order to perform the behavior (Ajzen, 1991, p. 181). Intention is assumed to be the immediate antecedent of behavior (Ajzen, 2002). According to the theory of planned behavior, a certain degree of actual behavioral control is necessary for an intention to be carried out. Thus, especially if it is difficult to observe the behavior in question, it may be an option to measure only intentions and perceived behavioral control along with its predictors (e.g., control beliefs and the other beliefs illustrated in Figure 1).

Before the predictors of behavioral intentions can be assessed by appropriate questionnaire measures, important preparatory work needs to be conducted in "elicitation studies." An elicitation study is a qualitative survey in which respondents' behavioral, normative, and control beliefs regarding a particular behavior are obtained. It is recommended that elicitation studies be conducted prior to any study using the theory of planned behavior (TPB), in

order to establish the cognitive foundation of a population's salient beliefs (Francis et al., 2004).

Despite their importance for the construction of TPB questionnaires, elicitation studies have received little attention in most of the related research to date: Sometimes, the elicitation study phase is skipped altogether for economic reasons. When elicitation studies are performed, the methods used are often poorly documented. For example, it is not always reported whether the interviewees comprised both people who showed the behavior in question and people who did not (see Sutton et al., 2003). Likewise, the approach chosen for the content analysis of elicitation study data is often poorly documented – potentially because the existing TPB research manuals do not provide detailed instructions on this issue (Ajzen, 2006; Francis et al., 2004). In addition, methods designed for the analysis of longer texts and interviews (e.g., Mayring, 2008) have to be adapted for application to elicitation study questionnaires and interviews. Therefore, a key aim of the present study was to provide an example of how the methods of content analysis described by Mayring (2008) can be applied in the context of an elicitation study on the behavioral, normative, and control beliefs that musically active versus inactive students hold about extracurricular activities in the domain of music and culture.

Method

Developing a Questionnaire for an Elicitation Study

As a first step in examining reasons for and against participation in extracurricular activities in the domain of music and culture, we conducted a pilot study with five students, following the suggestions of Francis et al. (2004). The students answered nine questions in open-ended format. After some rewording of questions to address comprehension difficulties that had emerged in the pilot study, the questionnaire presented in table 1 resulted. In addition, we added a further question concerning reactance ("Does it ever happen that you refrain from attending … precisely because someone expects you to attend?"). As reactance proved not to be an issue for the participants in the main study, however, this question is not included in the Results section.

Table 1: Overview of the questions used in the elicitation study (adapted from Francis et al., 2004)

Behavioral Beliefs/ Attitudes	1. What do you believe are the advantages of extracurricular activities in the domain of culture/music? 2. What do you believe are the disadvantages of extracurricular activities in the domain of culture/music?

	3. Is there anything else you associate with the participation in extracurricular activities in the domain of culture/music?
Normative Beliefs/ Subjective Norms	4. Who would approve of your participation in extracurricular activities in the domain of culture/music? 5. Who would disapprove of your participation in extracurricular activities in the domain of culture/music? 6. Is there anything else you associate with other people's view about extracurricular activities in the domain of culture/music?
Control Beliefs/ Perceived Behavioral Control	7. What is your opinion about participating in extracurricular activities in the domain of culture/music? 8. What is your opinion about not participating in extracurricular activities in the domain of culture/music? 9. Are there any other issues that come to mind when you think about participating in extracurricular activities in the domain of culture/music?

The final questionnaire focused on extracurricular activities in the domain of music. It was administered during summer 2008 to $N = 44$ high school students aged 17 to 20 years participated in the elicitation study on participation in extracurricular musical activities ($n = 18$ musically active, $n = 26$ musically inactive).

Analyzing Responses to the Elicitation Questionnaire

The elicitation questionnaire consisted of 10 open-ended questions (see section 4.1) tapping attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control with respect to extracurricular musical activities. We analyzed the respondents' answers using the approach proposed by Mayring (2008). To this end, we summarized the responses we received, using the steps of paraphrasing, generalizing, and reduction, thus generating a total of 440 paraphrased statements. Using the structuring approach, we then inductively classified the paraphrases into a set of subcategories. In cases of doubt, we referred back to the context of the specific paraphrase for any elaborating information. As a result of this process, the set of subcategories displayed in Table 2 emerged. While categorizing the responses, we referred to examples that served as anchors for each subcategory.

Table 2: Categories derived for the classification of student responses

Subcategories of the main category "attitudes"	+/-
Intrinsic value/fun	pos. /neg.
Intrinsic value/community	pos. /neg.
Utility/personal growth in the domain of music	pos.
Utility/personal growth not related to music (self-esteem)	pos.
Utility/personal growth not related to music (other)	pos.
Utility/economic and social distinction	pos. /neg.
Instructional quality/forms of instruction	pos.
Instructional quality/motivation	pos.
Instructional quality/general	pos. /neg.
Nothing	pos. /neg.
Subcategories of the main category "subjective norms"	
Parents	pos. /neg.
Family (not parents)	pos. /neg.
Partner, friends, peers are musical	pos.
Partner, friends, peers, no explicit categorization	pos. / neg
Partner, friends, peers are not musical	neg.
Teacher	pos. / neg
Other adults	pos. / neg
All positive, none negative	pos.
Subcategories of the main category "perceived behavioral control"	
Talent	pos. /neg.
Knowledge	pos. /neg.
Discipline	pos. /neg.
Costs	pos. /neg.
Time	pos. /neg.
Accessibility	pos. /neg.
Academic stress	neg.
Personal stress	neg.
Rehearsal opportunities	pos. /neg.
Instrument	pos. /neg.

Note. Whereas only positive (pos., i.e. reasons *for* participation in extracurricular activities) or negative (neg., i.e., reasons *against* participation in extracurricular activities) statements could be generated for some subcategories, both types of statement could be generated for others.

Finally, responses were independently categorized by a second rater who was not involved in the development of the set of subcategories. Interrater reliability was good (= .86). According to Francis et al. (2004), the set of subcategories that contains 75% of all paraphrases can be regarded as covering the population's salient beliefs. We therefore computed the percentage of paraphrases in each subcategory in order to identify the salient subcategories.

Our findings are presented in Tables 3 to 5.

Table 3: Salient subcategories within the main category "attitudes"

Categories	Frequencies	Percentages	Cumulative Percentages
Positive intrinsic value/fun	39	21.9	21.9
Positive intrinsic value/community	31	17.4	39.3
Positive utility/personal growth in the domain of music	23	12.9	52.2
Positive utility/personal growth not related to music/other	20	11.2	63.5
Positive utility/economic and social distinction)	12	6.7	70.2
Negative intrinsic value/fun	10	5.6	75.8

Table 4: Salient subcategories within the main category "subjective norms"

Categories	Frequencies	Percentages	Cumulative Percentages
All positive, none negative	35	26.7	26.7
Positive parents	23	17.6	44.3
Positive family (not parents)	17	13.0	57.3
Positive teacher	17	13.0	70.2
Positive partner, friends, peers are not musical or no explicit categorization	15	11.5	81.7

Table 5: Salient subcategories within the main category "perceived behavioral control"

Categories	Frequencies	Percentages	Valid Percentages	Cumulative Percentages
Negative time	49	33.6	33.8	33.8
Negative academic stress	16	11.0	11.0	44.8
Negative talent	10	6.8	6.9	51.7
Positive costs	10	6.8	6.9	58.6
Positive time	10	6.8	6.9	65.5
Negative personal stress	9	6.2	6.2	71.7
Negative discipline	8	5.5	5.5	77.2

Comparing musically active and inactive respondents

We first compared the number of statements generated by musically active versus inactive respondents by computing a chi-square test for all statements, regardless of category. There was no statistically significant difference between the two groups, indicating that musically inactive respondents produced as many statements as did musically active respondents. Subsequently, we compared the mean number of paraphrases per respondent in each main category (i.e., attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control) for musically active versus inactive respondents. As illustrated in Figure 2, we found statistically significant differences in attitudes and subjective norms: Musically active respondents generated more statements concerning attitudes ($U = 143.0$, $p = .04$) and subjective norms ($U = 130.0$, $p = .01$) than did musically inactive respondents. The two groups of respondents did not differ significantly in terms of the number of statements related to perceived behavioral control. Finally, we compared whether musically active respondents produced more positive statements than did musically inactive respondents. Aggregated across the three categories, musically active respondents expressed more positive statements than did musically inactive respondents ($U = 141.5$, $p = .03$).

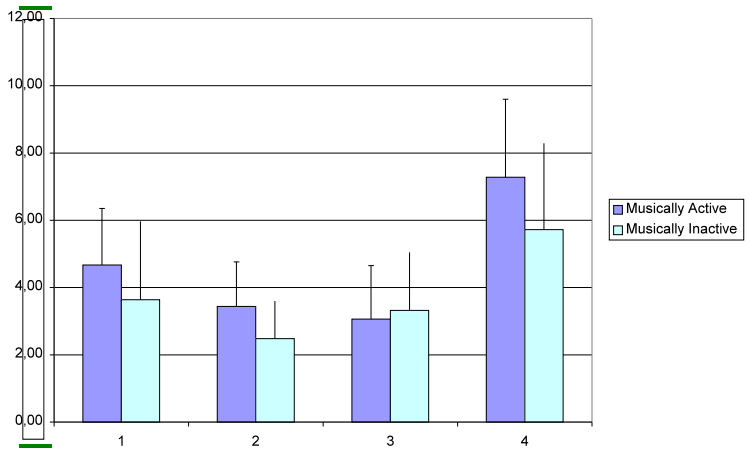

Fig. 2: Mean numbers of statements classified to the different categories (1: attitudes, 2: subjective norms, 3: perceived behavioral control). Category 4 shows the overall number of positive statements generated.

Discussion

The content analysis procedure documented in this study provides a useful guideline for future elicitation studies based on the theory of planned behavior: It resulted in a reliable coding of paraphrases to the set of subcategories identified. For each TPB construct explaining intention (attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control), we identified six subcategories that together contained 75% of all paraphrases. Thus, the procedure of inductive category formation proposed by Mayring (2008) seems to be an appropriate approach in the context of elicitation studies.

Beyond this demonstration of the method, the substance of our findings on the domain of extracurricular musical activities is also interesting: Musically active and musically inactive respondents did not differ in terms of the total number of beliefs elicited. However, musically active respondents reported more beliefs related to attitudes and subjective norms than did musically inactive respondents. Furthermore, aggregated across the three categories, musically active respondents generated more positive statements than did musically inactive respondents.

The set of subcategories derived in the present study can be used as a starting point for future studies involving the quantitative analysis of extracurricular activities in high school and their determinants. However, it may also be interesting to replicate the present study with more refined, combined methods of qualitative and quantitative analysis (i.e., methods triangulation). Analysis of video recordings may provide additional insights here. For example, video recordings of interviewees could be analyzed for nonverbal expressions of positive or negative emotions. This approach might provide an interesting means of analyzing differences between musically active persons and musically inactive persons on a behavioral level. Nevertheless, in the present study, combining methods of content analysis adapted form Mayring (2008) with the established elicitation study approach proved to be a viable strategy for identifying salient beliefs in the context of research on planned behavior, such as participation in extracurricular musical activities.

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07:
Theoretical reflections and methodological implications based on the analysis of interrogation records

Anna Bussu and Patrizia Patrizi [1]

Introduction

This paper is intended as a reflection on the issues and the implications of conducting an interrogation and how to study the latter based on the few available sources.

In Italy, unlike in other European countries, audio and video recordings of interrogations and accurate transcriptions are not compulsory. Furthermore in Italy there are no operational protocols and guidelines that can either offer a guarantee for the Judicial Police, the witness and the person under investigation, or indicate how to conduct an interrogation. This has deep implications for the work of Police Forces, since possible *misinterpretation* and *manipulation* of evidence makes the latter questionable in court. Not only could audio and video recordings of interrogations offer new material for the study of operational practices and interactions between the Police and the suspect, but they could also help to understand a suspect's behaviour.

Thus, our study would like to offer some suggestions for the elaboration of operational protocols and interview grids highlighting the weaknesses and the strengths of in-field training, which should be closely linked to a judicial officer's professional experience and personal skills and competencies.

It is pivotal to briefly discuss the risks that a judicial officer could incur during the interrogation.. One of the key factors to consider is that questions can be formulated in such a way as to easily influence or manipulate the person who is being interrogated. We talk about *suggestion* when a person is led to remember a situation that he/she never lived or to alter one's memory. The degree of suggestibility varies in each individual. One of the main scholars on the subject is Gudjonsson (1984), who studied people's reactions to suggestive settings and questioning. Several studies have been conducted to establish the relation between *suggestibility*, *compliance* (the need to be liked and to avoid conflict with people perceived as in a position of authority – a trait which is typical of individuals with low self-esteem) and *acquiescence* (the need to answer a question coherently).

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[1] Dept. of Economy, Institutions and Society – University of Sassari. Patrizia Patrizi wrote sections 1 e 2 e Anna Bussu wrote sections 3,4, 5 and 6.

While there is no close relation between suggestibility and complacency a significant relation has been found between suggestibility and acquiescence. However, there is no correlation between acquiescence and complacency. Complacency appears in fact to be linked to intellectual capacities while acquiescence decreases with age. Young minors, for example, are more suggestible in a case of pressing interrogation (De Leo, Scali & Caso, 2005).

Although minors are undoubtedly more vulnerable and sensitive to suggestion, this affects adults' testimonies as well. In an interrogation conducted by the public prosecutor or the Judicial Police as well as during a trial where Police Forces can be called as witnesses (art.195 co.4 c.p.p.), deliberately or non deliberately misleading questions are often asked. These contain false elements or information that may distort a person's recollection of real life situations (Varendonck, 1911; Mazzoni, 2003). English scholars call this witness interview technique *interrogative suggestibility*, a definition endorsed by Gudjonsoon (1984), who showed how easily can a person (for example a victim or a witness) insert important elements in the story that were not originally present, just because these were suggested or induced by the person asking the question.

This research, which is still ongoing, proposes to examine the problems raised by the use of interrogation records on the part of Juridical Police and intends to analyse the effectiveness as well the most problematic aspects of the method of textual transcriptions of Police's records. The main objective of this study is to understand whether the analysis of textual transcriptions of interrogations could represent a valid alternative to audio-recordings to study the "methods" employed by Judicial Police to conduct the interrogation. Furthermore the authors are interested in finding out whether the qualitative software ATLAS.ti could offer a valid tool for the analysis of the interrogation records.

This paper is articulated in four main sections. The first part introduces the phenomenon under study and discusses the pros and cons of employing audio-recordings. The following sections present the research project on interrogation records, illustrate the methodology and the research objectives, and discuss the main results (sections 3, 4, and 5). Finally a few considerations and implications of the study are presented in the conclusion (section 6).

Advantages and disadvantages of audio and video recording

Audio and video recordings are a valid source for studying the conduction of an interrogation, but, as mentioned above, in Italy interrogations carried out by the Judicial Police are rarely audio and video recorded. This only happens in the case of particularly heinous crimes such as sexual assault, murder or organized crime, even though it is compulsory when the suspect is in detention (art. 141 bis c.p.p)[2].

[2] Codice di procedura penale (Criminal Procedure Code)

On the contrary, other European countries such as Britain have had guidelines and protocols for conducting interrogations since the 1990s, whereby interrogations that have not been audio or video recorded cannot be used as evidence (Bussu, 2008, 2010). Furthermore, British Police is successfully trained on interview techniques (a term preferred to "interrogation") that aim at obtaining exhaustive and reliable information as opposed to extracting a confession (Caso & Vrij, 2009).

In Italy, when an interrogation is audio-recorded it is particularly difficult to obtain an authorisation to examine the recordings for research purposes. Based on such considerations, the study of verbal transcriptions in Italy can represent an alternative and useful instrument for reconstructing reality. But what could be the concrete advantages and the potential disadvantages of audio-recordings and their use? First and foremost they would allow officers to faithfully transcribe a confession or a witness' statement and in general the content of an interrogation. This would reduce cases of misinterpretation on the part of the interrogator of what the speaker is saying. Judicial Police's records are easily questioned, not only by the Defence when the Police are called to give evidence in court, but also by the Prosecutor that relies on the Police for collecting evidence in order to proceed with the investigation. Another benefit concerns the potential of video-recording as a self-training tool. Discussing with colleagues the different ways of managing an interrogation through re-watching oneself whilst carrying out the interrogation can be instrumental to improving the way the Police work and could help to implement new procedures and consolidate best practices. In fact, video-recordings can help officers to observe their communication styles, their relationships with the persons under interrogation, their competences on exploring the dynamics of the crime and its framework, as well as their abilities to ask questions that follow the flow of the interrogation and how this develops.

Scientific research could employ such records for the study of standard procedures and the relationship between the Police and the suspect and to analyse the behaviour displayed by the latter. However, video-recordings is likely to be met with resistance within the police.

The only obvious disadvantage would concern the Judicial Authority's responsibility to guarantee the protection of sensitive data on the person under interrogation, a problem that also characterises judicial files in general. The absence of operational protocols and guidelines to conduct interrogations or collect evidence represents a serious failing that highlights the difficulty of our justice system to protect the suspect/ witness as well as the interrogator.

It should be emphasized that one of the main reasons why Judicial Police is not using audio and video recordings is purely logistic: no digital audio recorders are provided to them. This reason may seem incredible given the modest cost of the equipment, but it becomes understandable when you consider the state of the Italian judicial system. This is extremely contradictory - on the one hand a law is proposed to make sure that the public administration apparatus is digitalised by

2012, on the other there are few operators and some of them do not have a computer or are forced to work with outdated machines.

Research objectives

The study of transcription and audio and video recordings entails some important reflections on the research method. Our study allows us to analyse two ethical issues. The first one is about managing interrogations in Italy, as explained above. The second ethical issue, which directly stems from the first one, concerns the employment of interrogation audio and video recordings for research purposes. In some cases interrogations are audio and/ or video recorded, but in order to use such files for research purposes one should require permission not only from the Office of the Prosecutor, but also from the defendant under interrogation.

Our study is based on the analysis of transcriptions of Juridical Police's interrogations records. In this respect we aimed at testing the "potentials" of the Police's records through analysing the Police's transcriptions with ATLAS.ti. We discuss whether it is ethical, beyond their undeniable utility, to use audio and video recording and transcriptions, when one considers issues of respect towards and protection of the person under interrogation. We also consider the value added of employing such records for qualitative research purposes, also when considering their use is widespread in international research.

In order to verify the usefulness of studying judicial records and to satisfy our interest in the study of deviancy, we decided to analyse, through a qualitative research approach, the phenomenon of sexual assault. By studying the records we tried to examine the characteristics and profiles of sex offenders and victims as well as identify the "common" definitions of sexual violence and the way they are "reconstructed" both during interrogation and in the investigation stage. Finally, we tried to identify the different types of information gathered during the testimonies which were subsequently recorded. The analysis of interrogation transcripts is all the more relevant when we consider that, as pointed out above, video and audio recordings can rarely be viewed for research purposes and so it is one of the few sources available to investigators or researchers in pursuit of their goals.

Research method

The cases of sexual assault under analysis

Specifically, for the purpose of our research, we have analysed through a special survey sheet *the transcript of the interrogation delegated by the Public Prosecutor* (art. 370 par.1, co.1 e 375 c.p.p.; artt. 64-66 e 364 c.p.p..), and the *transcript of the basic information* given *by a person under investigation* (350 c.p.p) *and by a person other than the*

suspect (art. 351 c.p.p.) (eg direct witnesses), all of which were contained in the judicial files.

The empirical research is part of a study co-ordinated by the University of Sassari's DEIS – Centro Studi Urbani - on criminality in Sardinia, which focuses on psycho-criminal sex offenders' profiles, the interaction between the offender and the victim, the dynamics of the crime and criminal careers.

Since our investigation on judicial files followed a qualitative approach, it has been confined to the Public Prosecutor's office in Sassari. There we have viewed samples of files contained in the registers of identified and unidentified persons concerning cases of sexual assault (art. 609 bis and following c.p.)[3] that took place between 2002 and 2007. The gathering of data on the criminal procedures was carried out using ReGe, a software for the uploading and storing of data used in the judicial system. The number of defined and undefined records was specified as this information is essential for analysing the phenomenon.

We have selected 33 judicial files on *sexual assault* (art. 609 bis and following c.p.4) taking into consideration the significance and specificity of the assault and whether the file was available at the time of data gathering in the summer of 2008. The sample is comprised of cases that took place between 2003 and 2007. Specifically seven cases took place in 2003, 7 in 2004, 7 in 2005, 5 in 2006 and seven in 2007. Sometimes victims of the same crime by the same perpetrator (sexual assault and ill treatment by an ex partner) had already pressed charges several years earlier. The cases have been selected by the Public Prosecutor's office.

It is important to point out that in most cases the crime of sexual assault is unreported, especially when it is perpetrated against minors. In comparison to the number of "estimated" unreported cases very few charges are pressed at a national level. This is partly due to the fact that the assault often takes place in a family context where, unlike what happens in the case of single assaults perpetrated by strangers, a woman feels more vulnerable and is more reluctant to report the abuses of her partner. This is especially true if the couple has children, as reporting the crime could have a negative impact on them.

Investigation tool and mode of analysis

We have created a survey sheet that investigates different dimensions of the phenomenon: 1.dynamics of the crime and existing relationship between perpetrator and victim, 2. type of behaviours exhibited by the sex offender, 3. number, frequency and duration of such behaviours, 4. type of relationship between rapist and victim, 5. place of the assault, 6. reporting and judicial investigation, 7. data concerning the victim/s, 8. data concerning the criminal/s with a particular attention to their crime records and exhibited behaviours, 9. motives, reasons, reactions and consequences of the crime, 10. emotional states linked to the assault.

[3] Codice Penale (Criminal code)

Verbal transcriptions were analysed using ATLAS.ti, 5.6.2 version, a "support software for the analysis of interpretative content" (De Gregorio & Mosiello, 2004, p. 53), which allowed us to investigate the phenomenon by dimensional areas. Specifically, we have set a hermeneutic unit (HU) – the file containing all the interviews or *Primary documents* that have subsequently been codified. The codification consists of extracting parts of the text deemed particularly significant by the researcher (*quotations* or *quotes*). The *Code families* (C.F.) are "the main areas of content (dimensions) that underline the codes" (De Gregorio & Mosiello, 2004, p. 72), which are categories chosen by the researcher "based on pre-existing theoretical models or following a Grounded Theory approach" (p. 55). The Code families allow the establishment of a connection between theoretical models and codes. During this first exploratory analysis, the codification produced 47 macro codes and 15 families (a family is a "theoretical dimension" containing information on the codes, which, on the other hand, are empirical indicator).

Main results of the investigation

First of all we need to clarify that for the purposes of the focus of this paper we will only analyse the results concerning the "method" (i.e. what information can emerge from the interrogation records) (Homan, 1991; Kimmel, 1988) and not, more specifically, those that emerged in relation to the sex offenders' and the victims' profiles and to the dynamics of crime; we will only mention that the crimes analysed were perpetrated either *individually* (the most frequent mode) or *jointly* and that in some cases the victim was a minor (609 quater c.p.); furthermore the sexual assault was generally linked to ill treatment within the family (572 c.p.) or was the consequence of an escalating nagging harassment (660 c.p.).

One problematic aspect concerns the *information* on criminals and victims requested during interrogation or testimony; a record should generally contain personal data (date and place of birth, residence, profession), which, especially in the case of the victim, is often missing. This constitutes a limitation as it would be very useful to have more information on the victim and the criminal in order prepare a truly focused prevention plan. In that sense our survey sheet, when properly readapted, could offer an effective and practical tool to gather important data on victims and criminals at the time the crime is reported, thus allowing the interested parties (judicial bodies, criminologists, researchers etc) to have information which is both useful and comparable over the years.

As far as the studying of *record transcriptions* is concerned it is important to analyze the "social representation" of the crime and of the criminal profiles. A record is nothing more than a synthesis of the "crime reconstruction" as shared by the interrogator and the person under interrogation, but its contents are revised by the Judicial Police, who has its own subjective focus, and pays more attention to certain elements over others. In this respect it is convenient to focus on the use of

"language". For example, the language style used in a record is one that the subjects involved in the crime (criminal and victim) would be unlikely to use and that is particularly evident when the criminal event involves minors.

Language is not just a tool for transferring contents, it also determines the construction of reality. As Wittgenstein (1980) stated "the language we use uses us", the language codes we adopt to describe reality are the same that we use to represent and elaborate our perceptions; *therefore different languages lead to different representations of reality* (Milanese & Mordazzi, 2007).

It would be of great interest to compare the data emerging from the recordings of an interrogation with a transcription of such recording.

We are likely to notice some discrepancies or a different emphasis depending on who is the speaker and what is his/her role. As we have previously mentioned, we were unable to do that and we could only analyse the *judicial records* (interrogation records, judicial casebooks, experts' reports etc).

In order to study the way an *interrogation is conducted* (specifically its contents, the dynamics between interrogator and person under interrogation, the representation of the crime emerging from the records and consequently from the interrogator's interpretation of the language and narration of the person under interrogation etc) it would be necessary to compare the audio or video recording with the written record. This way we could verify the modalities adopted by the Judicial Police for reformulation and synthesis, exploiting the possibility of capturing the right formulation of questions, the presence of inductive, manipulative or suggestive questions, the communicative style adopted, the relationship between interrogator and person under interrogation and the most explored dimensions of the criminal event. All this information cannot be extracted from the written record, which does not even outline the questions but just the answers.

ATLAS.ti. has been extremely useful in analysing interrogation records and in codifying the textual transcription of the interrogation and particularly to analyze technical linguistic codes employed by Judicial Problem.

In relation to language, we have also codified *the terms used in textual transcriptions to define sex offenders and their victims*. Abusers are generally defined by their *legal status* (suspect – defendant), *their family status* (father, uncle etc) and *their age status* (of age vs under age) – all terms that contain no intrinsic value judgement. Victims, on the other hand, according to the Judicial Police's reconstruction are often referred to by the criminals with very strong terms of abuse (dirty, slut, nymphomaniac etc). *Mental deficits* are often found in both the sex offenders and the victims especially but not exclusively in cases of sexual assaults perpetrated by strangers. Probably the abuser presumes that a mentally retarded victim is easier to approach and manipulate. Victims, especially in the case of domestic violence, are described as fragile and lonely women, who often come from a difficult background, such as a dysfunctional family. The *most used terms to define the acts of sexual assault* narrate the sequence of the abuse: "follow", "grope", "force", "threaten" "hit", "tie up" "rape".

This information should make us reflect on the *nature of language* which, as we have already stated, must not be seen as a mere tool for transferring contents, but also as an element that determines the construction of reality. This should encourage reflection and should stimulate research aimed at crime prevention, taking into account the construction of deviancy through language (De Leo & Patrizi, 2002; 2006).

A striking finding was the exceptionally high number of *dismissed cases,* for a number of different reasons: because "the offended party did not press charges within the time period established by law", for "unreliable testimony" or for "insufficient evidence to sustain a trial".

Art. 372 c.p.p. on *false testimony*[4] provides that "Whoever, in the process of giving evidence before the judicial authority, makes a false statement, denies the truth, or omits, whether partially or entirely, what he/she knows on the facts he/she is interrogated on, is punished with a prison term of two to six years." Narration and reconstruction of the event are the central elements of the proceeding; understanding whether the testimony can be deemed "reliable", "believable" and "truthful" is particularly hard, given that different types of testimony that can be encountered: a truthful and reliable one, a deliberately false and fabricated one, and one resulting from a false memory (De Leo, Scali & Caso, 2005). Given the focus of our paper, we will not be able to analyse the different studies and lines of research on false testimony by minors and adults, for which we refer to the consolidated literature on the subject (Anolli & Ciceri, 1994; Bussey & Grimbeek, 2000; Mazzoni & Boschi 1995; Friedman & Tucker, 1990).

Among the reasons behind a false testimony, which, as we have seen, can result in the dismissal of the case or the dropping of the charges, there are often a deep distress on the part of the victim, the fear of retaliation or/and the manipulation of a minor. It could also happen that minors, due to their immaturity or in order to attract attention, report facts that did not occur. Understanding if the case really was one of sexual assault is complex and there is a high risk of coming to a fast and unfair incrimination of the parties involved, which is why in these cases effective interrogations and collection of evidence are even more crucial.

As an example we report the transcriptions of a case of sexual harassment of a minor dismissed for "unreliable testimony", i.e. false testimony. Here the false statement does not seem to stem from a false memory; instead the witness appears to be using the minor for retaliation, following disagreements between her and the public institution where the crime allegedly took place. What appears to emerge clearly is the difficulty to capture the truthfulness of the testimony and the reconstruction of the event solely based on the interrogation records – see below an excerpt from the records of one of the analysed cases.

[4] See aksi gli artt. of the c.p.p.371, 371 -bis, 371- ter

Extract 1

"IN THE MORNING THE WOMAN WENT WITH HER SON TO THE LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITY' S OFFICE. WHILE SHE WAS IN AN EMPLOYEE'S ROOM SHE REALISED THAT HER SON HAD LEFT, SO SHE WENT TO LOOK FOR HIM AND FOUND HIM AFTER 20 MINUTES IN THE FLOOR ABOVE. THE MINOR WAS FRIGHTENED AND REPORTED HAVING BEEN CHASED AND TOUCHED SEVERAL TIMES IN THE BOTTOM BY A MAN SUBSEQUENTLY IDENTIFIED AS DEFENDANT NUMBER 1.

The criminal event as described by the victim's mother

"AFTER PICKING UP HER SON EARLIER FROM SCHOOL THEY WENT TO THE LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITY' S OFFICE. WHILE THEY WERE IN AN EMPLOYEE'S OFFICE ON THE FIRST FLOOR SHE TURNED AROUND AND DID NOT SEE HER SON ANYMORE. SHE WENT TO LOOK FOR HIM AND AFTER 20 MINUTES SHE FOUND HIM ON THE UPPER FLOOR. HE WAS VERY FRIGHTENED. ONE OF THE EMPLOYEES TOLD HER THAT HER SON HAD COME TO THEM. SHE STARTED TO ASK HIM WHAT HAD HAPPENED AND HE TOLD HER THAT A MAN HAD CHASED HIM, PUSHED HIM AND TOUCHED HIS BOTTOM SEVERAL TIMES. HE HAD BECOME FRIGHTENED AND STARTED TO RUN INSIDE THE BUILDING. THE DEFENDANT RAN AFTER HIM. WHEN ASKED WHO THE PERSON DESCRIBED BY THE CHILD WAS ALL THOSE PRESENT REFUSED TO ANSWER. A FEW MINUTES LATER TWO POLICE OFFICERS ARRIVED."

The criminal event as described by witnesses

"FROM THE RECORDINGS OF THE LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITY'S EMPLOYEES IT EMERGES THAT THE MOTHER OF THE VICTIM, A TEACHER WHO HAS BEEN DECLARED UNABLE TO WORK DUE TO HEALTH REASONS, WENT TO THEIR OFFICE TO ENQUIRE ABOUT SOME UNPAID PENSION AND GRATUITY. SHE HAD AN ARGUMENT WITH THE EMPLOYEE AND VERBALLY ATTACKED HER. HER SCREAMS WERE HEARD IN THE WHOLE HALLWAY. WITNESSES FURTHER STATE THAT THE SON WAS TERRIFIED AFTER SEEING THE MOTHER IN THESE CONDITIONS AND THAT SHE WAS PULLING HIM, SAYING SHE DID NOT HAVE THE MONEY TO SUPPORT HIM. THEREFORE THE MINOR, BEFORE THE CONSENTING

MOTHER, WAS ESCORTED BY TWO EMPLOYEES TO ANOTHER ROOM TO BE SPARED THE SIGHT OF HIS MOTHER'S CRISIS. AFTER SEVERAL ATTEMPTS TO SEND AWAY THE WOMAN, WHO ALSO ACCUSED AN EMPLOYEE OF HAVING TOUCHED HER SON, THE OFFICERS' INTERVENTION BECAME NECESSARY."

REASON FOR DISMISSING THE CASE:
"THE MOTHER'S STATEMENTS WERE NOT CORROBORATED BY THE STATEMENTS OF THOSE PRESENT AT THE EVENT"

Final considerations and implications

As we had predicted before starting the research, analysing interrogations records does not allow us to verify whether the interrogation or collection of evidence were conducted ethically without using manipulative and suggestive techniques, since the record is a summary of the interrogation rather than a transcription. The Judicial Police's records can easily be questioned by the Prosecutors, who rely on them for the investigation or by the Defence, when officers are called to give evidence. Audio and video recordings could be a tool for the verification and self-verification of the handling of the proceeding as well as for the protection of the person under interrogation. Moreover, the absence of operational protocols and guidelines to conduct interrogations or collect evidence represents a serious failing that highlights the difficulty of the Italian justice system to protect the suspect/ direct witness as well as the interrogator.

A potentially effective approach to protect the individual under interrogation could be a revision of the way an interrogation is conducted and the elaboration of new "training pathways" for the Judicial Police. These should take into account the Police's actual training needs and study new and more effective ways of handling the Police's relationship with the citizen instead of leaving it to chance or to officers' "common sense". Starting from individual and collective "resources", of which they may or may not be aware, an operative methodology could be built which is both standardised and shared. The social awareness that the Police is using unethical operative procedures (Williamson, 1994) contributes to encouraging a degrading perception of the judicial apparatus. A number of studies highlight the citizens' lack of faith in the Police Forces and the judicial system as well as their sense of "collective" and "personal insecurity" (Moser, 1999).

We believe that it is pivotal to encourage a debate within academia and the Justice System in order to improve public perception of the Police and the Justice System at large. To this respect we believe that it is important to develop this new

branch of research on the Police's operational procedures of gathering evidence during the pre-trial stage, on the relationship between the interrogator and the person under interrogation, and on how personal skills and professional abilities can help researchers and the Justice operators to optimize the Justice System, through reflecting on how to improve and perfect current procedures.

Notwithstanding the Judicial Police's high competence and professionalism, we believe that sharing formalised procedures and guidelines could represent a useful instrument for the Police to effectively carry out their functions, whilst protecting both the Police and the citizens with whom they regularly interact. Linking the knowledge and professionalism of the single justice operator exclusively to individual responsibility, awareness, skills and aptitudes does not constitute an advantage for the Judicial Police, but rather a limitation or a "hazard".

For these reasons, in our opinion, a new line of research on the ethical conducting of an interrogation should be activated and wider scientific considerations on tools and method of analysis of crimes such as sexual assault should be stimulated.

While it is not possible to monitor the whole proceeding (from the interrogation to the recording) by simply analysing the *records textual transcriptions* written by the Judicial Police, not only is this type of source legally relevant but it also offers, through the deliberately technical language used by the Judicial Authority, various information on the "reconstruction" of the crime, the offender and victim's profiles and the focalisations and dimensional areas that have been investigated. Continuing this research in order to discover the operative methods used to write the records can also be useful in relation to the interview grid that is generally employed.

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08:
Evaluation of quality in education: Complementing evaluation scores by qualitative data

Günter L. Huber and Samuel Gento

Background

For a long time children with learning disabilities experienced special education tuned to their particular needs as a form of social exclusion, which gathered them in special educational institutions apart from their non-disabled peers. Parents and their children with learning disabilities experience support and help by these specialized centers, but on the other hand they can add to the problem of social exclusion.

Over the last years, however, there are growing efforts to change the modes of schooling and to include all children. This development demands to adapt teaching and learning flexibly to the diversity of children's individual preconditions. From the 1990s on the term "inclusive education" has spread all over the world in the educational treatment of diversity. Armstrong (1999, p. 76) defines "inclusive education" as "a system of education that gives every child and youngster the right to share a common educational context, where all are assessed similarly independent of perceived differences of sex, social class, ethnicity or learning style ," while for Scruggs and Mastropiero (1995, p. 231) "inclusion consists in politics suggesting that pupils are at the school mainly to be together with mates of the same age and not mainly to learn." In the conclusions and recommendations of the 2008 UNESCO conference on education the delegates affirmed that inclusive quality education is fundamental to achieving human, social and economic development.

The idea of inclusive education is based on general human values such as respect, tolerance, cooperation, caring as guidelines for the promotion of children's development. Principally, teachers, parents, and children are aware of the need to behave along these lines, however the implementation of inclusive education still has to overcome biased attitudes. We seem to have here a typical case of a conflict between "socially acute questions" and the individual persons' value system (Simonneaux & Simonneaux, 2009). These authors found "that the closer the connection between the SAQs (socially acute questions) and the territorial and cultural identity, the more deeply the associated systems of values are affected; and the more the evidence is denied ..." Simonneaux & Simonneaux, 2009, p. 705). They conclude that it is most important in these cases to get people to clarify the values underlying their reasoning.

Therefore, it is necessary, but by no means sufficient to create a suitable organizational and physical structure for implementing inclusive education, but the

people involved have to establish positive attitudes towards inclusive education. Above all, the challenges of inclusive education demand well prepared teachers with positive attitudes towards the aims of integration, with a profound knowledge about the necessities and possibilities of integration, and able to cope with the intricacy to realize them.

Evaluating the state of the art of inclusive education

Profound knowledge about diversity and its educational treatment as well as positive attitudes towards inclusive education are among the main goals of an international Master course on "Educational Treatment of Diversity" offered by the Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (UNED) in Madrid together with universities in the Czech Republic, Germany, and Latvia. As a part of their training in educational research methods the participants in this course had to administer a questionnaire, in which teachers, parents, and students rated their opinions and attitudes as regards the educational approach of inclusion. Afterwards each of the master students had to interview one person ready to offer relevant information on the issue of inclusive education, who previously had filled in the questionnaire. On the other hand, this empirical approach should offer the participants personally meaningful information about the state of inclusive education, particularly attitudes of people involved, as a frame of reference for self-reflection and for critical discussions about inclusive education.

Including all children in one environment of learning and development or separating those with special needs from this common environment is without doubt a "socially acute question." Since Simonneaux and Simonneaux (2009) explained, these questions are deeply anchored in individual social representations and value systems. Thus, when there is no congruence between individual values and these questions, there is a tendency to analyze the facts only superfluously and to rely on weak forms of reasoning. The results of choices between a number of pre-determined alternatives or ratings of statements in a questionnaire may reveal the existence of such discrepancies between the critical question and individual representations and evaluations of the question's content. However, the very nature of these discrepancies needs more thorough exploration. Having people talk about their opinions as regards the acute question and analyzing their lines of description and reasoning will give better insights - both for the interviewing researchers as for the interviewees themselves.

In our study, the master students had to gain experience with administering and analyzing the rating scale, because internal and external evaluations by means of standardized rating instruments form a central part of quality management in education. The detached and anonymous way of rating questionnaire items supports the demand to respect the security, dignity, and self-worth of the respondents in the process of evaluation. However, the qualitative approaches of interviewing people

with experience in educational inclusion (and running additionally a case study, not reported here) should complement the information by the interviewees' personal points of view. This was important particularly as regards teachers', parents', and students' positive or negative attitudes towards inclusion. Detailed guidelines for the interview and the case analysis were provided, which underlined also ethical issues of these approaches.

Combining the usual quantitative rating instruments and qualitative methods should help the participants in the master course

- to better understand the meaning of the quantitative findings, particularly as regards incongruent results,
- to learn new aspects from the interviewees' point of view, and
- to detect inter-relations between the main themes of the rating scale.

In addition, this mixed-methods approach should solve the pragmatic problems related to the rating scale data. While this instrument yields easily comparable results in form of scores, interpreting these scores and drawing practical conclusions appears to be problematic. Two problem areas are of particular importance. (1) The numeric scores inform about the level of positive or negative attitudes, acceptance or realization of certain educational practices, etc. but in case of relatively low scores we do not learn about the reasons that led to lower marks on the rating scale. (2) In case of items assessing necessary changes in educational practice a series of high scores does not allow to decide, which changes are most urgent.

Empirical study

Sample, instruments and methods

The questionnaire was administered to meanwhile more than 8000 parents, students, teachers, school administrators and experts in special education in Spain. The quantitative questionnaire results can be complemented by the results of a computer-supported qualitative analysis of 50 interviews with teachers available for analysis at the present time. For the comparison of quantitative and qualitative data we selected the questionnaire data of about 4000 teachers from the pool of over 8000 respondents.

Both the questionnaire and the interview were structured around the following seven main themes:

- Attitudes towards educational inclusion
- Possibilities of inclusion
- Suitable types of inclusion

- Advantages of educational inclusion
- Possibilities/Necessities of improvement of inclusion
- Educational treatment of students of different cultures (immigrants)
- Educational treatment of gifted students

The methodological approach reverses the usual sequence of qualitative and quantitative components in the design of empirical social studies, that is, here a representative quantitative study is followed by a small-scale, case-centered qualitative study. The interview data thus (1) offer differentiating information that helps to better understand or interpret the meaning of the rating and frequency findings from the questionnaire data. (2) The findings from the interviews supply new aspects of educational inclusion from the interviewees' point of view. These interesting issues were not covered initially by the questionnaire items, because they were either not foreseen during item construction or they were not included due to the inevitable limitations of questionnaire space and reasonable work load, i.e. respondents' time for filling in the items. (3) In addition, in the interview situation the respondents are free to point out clearly inter-relations between the main themes, that is to express how their opinion as regards one particular aspect depends on the actual state of affairs in other areas of the educational domain.

Results

The presentation of results shows the respondents' opinions about the main themes of the interview ordered into categories and compares these findings to the results from the questionnaire analysis. The focus is on the additional value of qualitative data determined by the profoundization design described above. Thus we receive information not only as regards the rating of critical issues, for instance positive or negative attitudes of teachers towards inclusive information, but additionally descriptions of the nature of these attitudes and reasons for them. These aspects are of particular importance for future teacher training and interventions in inclusive school settings.

Attitudes towards educational inclusion

Questionnaire results

In table 1 we see the questionnaire items together with the arithmetic means and standard deviations of the teachers' answers. We describe the attitudinal tendencies visible in these findings, but refrain from any tests of statistical significance, because with a sample of 4000 respondents almost any difference will be statistically significant. Instead, we concentrate on interpreting the meaning of these results.

Table 1: Teachers' ratings of attitudes towards educational inclusion

Attitudes of	arith. Mean	SD
Parents of students		
without special needs	3.06	.937
with special needs	4.18	.810
Pupils/students		
without special needs	3.42	.954
with special needs	4.06	.823
Teachers		
of ordinary centers of Infant Education	3.87	.851
of ordinary centers of Primary Education	3.78	.860
of ordinary centers of Obligatory/Lower Secondary Ed.	3.13	.957
of Baccalaureate/Higher Secondary Education	2.90	.995
of Vocational Education	3.17	.977
of Special Education (with segregated pupils with sn)	3.66	.989
Specialists		
in Therapeutic Pedagogy/Special Education	4.43	.706
Advisors	4.39	.745
Members of psycho-pedagogical teams	4.22	.800

It is obvious that the teachers rate both the attitudes of parents of children with special educational needs (4.18) as well as the attitudes of students with special needs (4.06) more in favor of inclusion than both the attitudes of parents of children without special needs (3.06) and the attitudes of these children themselves (3.42).

The teachers in our sample attributed the most favorable attitudes with lowest variations between the respondents to the educational specialists: The arithmetic means range between 4.43 and 4.22, the standard deviations of the ratings range between .706 and .800.

Most interesting is the decline of teachers' positive attitudes towards inclusion of children with special educational needs with increasing age of their students and correspondingly growing curricular demands (see figure 1). Whereas pre-school teachers (3.87) are seen to be most in favor of educational inclusion, teachers on the second level of secondary education (2.90) are on the average below "frequent" (i.e. rating score 3) positive attitudes towards educational inclusion. The picture is diffe-

rent for teachers of vocational schools (3.17) and teachers of centers of special education (3.66).

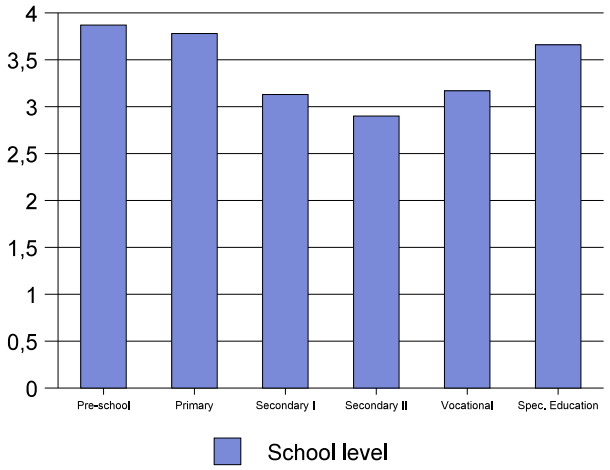

Fig. 1: Attitudes of teachers towards educational inclusion

These differences remain almost stable, if we calculate the average ratings separately for the different sub-samples of teachers. There are two exceptions: (1) Teachers of Secondary Education II rate their attitudes (3.38) and the attitudes of their colleagues in Secondary Education I (3.37) more positively than their attitudes are rated by all the teachers together. (2) Teachers of Special Education generally rate the attitudes of teachers towards inclusion on a higher level.

Interview results

According to the general level of positive attitudes towards educational inclusion, the majority of answers to the first thematic part of the interview expresses strong beliefs in the necessity and adequacy of integration and inclusion of students with special needs in the classrooms of regular school centers. Typical statements are:

Inclusion corresponds to the democratic and constitutional principles.
Inclusion is the adequate answer to diversity.
In a society of equals inclusion or integration must be the trademark.
Inclusion is positive; all discriminative and segregationist concepts have to be eliminated to make progress towards an equality of opportunities.
Inclusion rises the quality of education.
Inclusion is a good idea.

However, the ratings in fig. 1 all stay below the 4-point line on the 5-point scale, and statements like the last one imply that there may be differences between teachers' theoretical principles and practical actions in the classroom. Therefore, the answers expressing some doubts in educational inclusion or formulating necessary conditions for the implementation of inclusion in schools are most interesting. They may explain the resistance of part of the teachers against inclusion of children with special educational needs in regular schools and classrooms. Additionally these answers may show the direction how to overcome doubts and hesitation of teachers as regards educational inclusion. Let us first study expressions of negative attitudes, then look for conditions that could promote inclusion in classrooms:

Negative attitudes:
Special school centers are a better solution.
In Secondary Schools is still a group of people who think that students with special educational needs should be in special centers.
Inclusion slows down the rhythm of learning.
You need so much effort and a big staff to achieve just meager results.
Many agree with the idea of inclusion, but act against it in the hour of truth.
Many teachers feel alarmed if they experience that inclusion may be realized in their classrooms.
Integration is based only on a feeling of sympathy.
There is a hidden attitude among teachers not to accept the inclusion of students with special educational needs in regular classrooms.
I think there are even teachers who oppose inclusion.
The teachers understand integration as a burden imposed by their superior authorities.
The educational system favors inclusion.
The administration decided in favor of inclusion.
Teachers act detachedly and try to avoid responsibilities because of a lack of training.

Four reasons for lower ratings in the questionnaire become obvious in these statements: (1) Many teachers are accustomed to delegate the responsibility for children with special needs to specialized school centers; (2) the relation of educational efforts to achievement seems to be poor; (3) there is hidden resistance among teachers against regulations imposed without their participation by the authorities; and (4) teachers do not feel trained and equipped to master the demands of an integrated classroom. This last argument against inclusion is expressed very differentiatedly in many statements that formulate conditions for a change of teachers detached attitudes:

Conditions for an attitude change:
My attitude is in favor of inclusion, although there are most serious deficits: the lack of resources.
My attitude is positive, but it depends on the particular needs of the students.

I have a positive attitude, but there are children whom you cannot integrate in regular schools, because there are no resources.
I try do care as much as I can, but often I have to chose between putting the group on the tracks and be occupied with these students -- what I usually prefer.
The attitudes of teachers, parents, and students without special needs never is negative, but the grade of acceptance varies.
Parents generally react quite well, if they are informed about the inclusion project.
The attitude depends on the training teachers have received.
The attitude depends on the students' age -- inclusion is easier in pre-school and primary school.
The teachers could improve their attitudes and change their false beliefs, which they have about the difficulties of having a child with special needs in their classroom.
Teachers' lack of training and information about students with special needs plays an important role.
The cooperation of special teachers has improved the attitude towards inclusion.
Teachers have to be really convinced.

The interviewees made the problems of educational inclusion and its acceptance quite clear: Schools implementing educational inclusion need more resources than segregated schools -- both material and personal resources. Teachers must not be let on their own with the organizational difficulties to care for the needs of every student in their classrooms. Otherwise they feel forced to distribute their limited resources unequally between different groups of students (*"... often I have to chose between putting the group on the tracks..."*) and may reject the *"...good idea"*. Above all, teachers (as well as parents and students) must be well informed and prepared for the demands of inclusive classrooms. A major aspect of this preparation should be to create opportunities for them to actively participate in the process of implementation of educational inclusion at their schools and in their classrooms. Administration seems too often to follow the accustomed top-down line of "reforms" and to forget that it is best if those people, who finally have to carry out the decisions, are included and can participate in the process of decision-making. In other words: Approaches to educational inclusion should not exclude the teachers.

Resuming the findings we see in the answers of these teachers a perfect representation of the theoretical structure of the psychological construct of "attitudes": There are cognitive, affective, and behavioral components, which must not necessarily appear in harmony with each other. The main task in teacher training for inclusive education would be to detect attitudinal discrepancies and try to resolve them.

Possibilities of inclusion

Questionnaire results

In the questionnaire the teachers were asked to mark their opinion about the possibilities of inclusion for various types of special educational needs under the item headline: "*Students with special needs must be educated in an integrated and inclusion way, when they show needs of the following types...*". The types of difficulties and needs listed then were *"intellectual," "of vision," "of hearing," "of movement," "of behavior,"* and *"socio-familiar deficiencies."* In each of these cases the teachers had to give separate answers for *"light," "medium,"* and *"profound"* difficulties, i.e. they had to mark whether inclusion was never, scarcely, frequently, almost always or always possible (see above). The tendency was obvious: The more severe the students' special educational needs of any kind are, the less possible seems their inclusion in non-specialized classrooms. Considering the lack of supporting conditions, which teachers complain about (see above), this rating is no surprise. Figure 2 gives an overview:

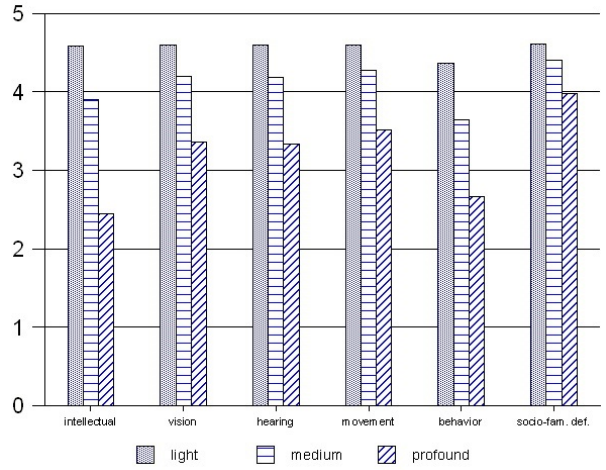

Fig. 2: Teachers' ratings of the possibilities of inclusive education

Interview results

The interview data confirm strongly the teachers' point of view that the possibility of inclusion is declining with the seriousness of children's special needs. In 50 interviews we found 26 formulations saying that "*inclusion is possible with all kinds of special needs, always under the condition that these needs are not too profound.*" However, ten interviewees expressed particularly that "*inclusion of children with severe special educational needs of the intellectual type is not advisable,*" and five teachers expressed their opinion

that *"hyperactive students*" and those with "*character problems*" are "most difficult " and their "*inclusion should be discussed*."

As already said, teachers miss training, resources, and support that would make easier their work in integrated classrooms. When talking about the possibilities of inclusion, they nevertheless underline the significance of this approach: "*Inclusion prepares all students for a true social integration*," but they also elaborate on the conditions necessary for this end. Subsequently we quote only those conditions mentioned more than once in the interviews (frequency numbers in parenthesis). This list appears to be most important for the implementation of inclusion in schools:

Inclusion demands teacher training. (11)
What is needed is the help of psycho-pedagogical specialists in decisions about the type of schooling, both for school centers and for teachers involved in inclusion programs. (11)
School centers should have those personal, material, and organizational resources at their disposal, which are necessary to realize the inclusion of students with special educational needs. (10)
Adequate organization and planning are necessary. (5)
Curricular adaptations are necessary. (4)
The student/teacher ratio must be diminished so that teachers are able to attend to students with special educational needs in inclusive classrooms. (4)

Suitable types of integration

Questionnaire results
In four items the teachers had to rate the appropriateness of four types of integration:

(1) All the time in ordinary classroom assisted by ordinary teacher and by specialists of support: full integration
(2) Most of the time in ordinary classroom and some time in a segregated classroom (assisted by specialists of support): partial integration
(3) All the time in a segregated classroom (assisted by specialists) in the same ordinary center
(4) Part-time in ordinary classroom of ordinary centers and part of the time in segregated specific centers

Table 2 shows a clear preference for the types 1 and 2 of integration, i.e. full integration of students with special educational needs or a combination of inclusive classrooms with and at some occasions teaching/learning in separate classrooms.

Table 2: Teachers' rating of suitable types of integration

Type of inclusion	arith. Mean	SD
(1) Full integration	3.63	1.165
(2) Partial integration	3.89	.967
(3) Segregated classrooms	2.24	1.031
(4) Combination of school centers	2.36	1.051

Interview results

When talking about adequate types of inclusion, 21 of 50 interviewed teachers confirm again that "*total inclusion is the ideal situation*," particularly because "*inclusion promotes social integration.*" They explain, for instance, that "*education in special centers should be an exception only for those students, who cannot be in ordinary centers.*" However, they also mention a number of obstacles (see above), which have to be cleared away. Above all, *teacher training* must be offered, teachers need *time for preparation*, and they need *assistance by psycho-pedagogists or other specialists.* One interviewee demands that "*the regular teacher and the specialist must be together in the classroom.*" For eight teachers partial inclusion is the preferred type, for instance, because it "*can give answers to a large number of problems.*"

As can be concluded from the answers to the preceding question, total segregation in specialized school centers is favored as most suitable type of schooling in cases of severe special needs; five teachers express this opinion explicitly. The answers confirm generally that the teachers assign students with special educational needs to various types of schooling according to the severity of their needs: Students with mild forms of deficiencies should be integrated in regular school centers, students with medium levels of educational needs are also well placed in regular centers under the condition that adequate resources are available. For students with profound needs, most teachers recommend a combination of ordinary centers and special centers.

Summarizing we find a majority of approving opinions as regards total educational inclusion and in severe cases partial inclusion of students with special educational needs. However, the teachers criticized indirectly also in the context of this question the conditions of teaching in inclusive classrooms or formulated their demands for better pedagogical-didactical conditions.

Advantages of educational inclusion

Questionnaire results

The questionnaire listed a series of potential advantages of educational inclusion and asked the teachers to rate advantages of educational inclusion for students with

special needs, for students without special needs, and for the functioning of the school center.

According to the quantitative findings, the teachers see the greatest potential of inclusive education for students with special needs in the areas of social and emotional development and of social acceptance by their own parents and in their community, whereas the probability of improved academic achievement and intellectual development is seen somewhat less positive.

The picture is the same for students without special educational needs in inclusive classrooms: Teachers see the advantages of living and learning in inclusive classrooms for students without special needs in the areas of social and emotional development. More differentiated opinions will be seen below in the analysis of the interview answers.

As regards inclusion and the functioning of the school, all ratinges range between "frequent" (3) and "almost aways" (4), i.e. teachers expect that there are inclusion projects which do not affect positively the school center's functioning. We will hear about their doubts in the analysis of their interviews.

Interview results

As general advantages of inclusion the teachers mentioned (frequency in par.):

- *Development of attitudes like tolerance, respect, mutual help* (4);
- *Higher evaluation of individual differences* (4);
- *To make people accustomed to live together* (3);
- *Development and personal enrichment of life* (2);
- *Teaching to respect and accept individual differences* (2);

Asked to think about advantages of inclusive education for students with special needs, the teachers mentioned above all (frequencies in parenthesis):

- *Promotion of social development and socialization* (19);
- *Improvement of self-esteem* (5);
- *Improvement of academic achievement* (5);
- *Better acceptance by society* (4);
- *Better interaction with peers* (4);
- *Promotion of affective-emotional development* (4);
- *Promotion of cognitive development* (3);
- *Promotion of intellectual development* (3);
- *Relations with people without deficiencies* (2);
- *Development in a regular environment* (2);
- *Better acceptance by parents of children without special needs and by teachers* (2);
- *Better acceptance by other students without special needs* (2);
- *Adaptation to the reality* (2);
- *Promotion of autonomy* (2).

Among the advantages for children with special needs mentioned only once in the interviews, the following seem to be most important:

- *Improvement of motivation and positive attitude towards school*;
- *Availability of positive models for imitation*.

As advantages of inclusive education for students without special needs, the teachers talked above all (frequencies in parenthesis) about:

- *Development of positive attitudes (solidarity, help, cooperation, etc.)* (11);
- *Improvement of the development of respect, understanding, and tolerance* (6);
- *Acceptance and positive estimation of differences* (4);
- *Improvement of social development* (3);
- *Positive evaluation of social well-being* (2);
- *Benefits from support for classrooms with students with special needs* (2);

As advantages of educational inclusion for the functioning of the school center the teachers mentioned (frequencies in parenthesis):

- *Improvement of human and personal resources* (11);
- *Support and enrichment of teacher training* (9);
- *Better coordination among teachers* (5);
- *Application of new methods and teaching strategies* (3);
- *Rejuvenation of organizational, functional, and pedagogical components* (2);
- *More rewards for teachers* (2);
- *Improvement of social relations and cohesion within the center, which leads to better organizational functioning* (2).

Possibilities of improvement of inclusion

Questionnaire results

The questionnaire offered five groups of items to rate various aspects how to improve the inclusive educational treatment of diversity in classrooms. The general statements for these item groups were

- Integration and inclusion will improve with the necessary material resources
- Integration and inclusion will improve with suitable personal resources
- Integration and inclusion will improve with the use of appropriate methodology
- The integration and inclusion will improve as a consequence of more positive attitudes of the following groups
- Integration and inclusion will improve with suitable organization and planning

While the number of integrated classrooms in a school center seems to be less important, teachers rate the necessity of adequate material and architectonic conditions extremely high. All conditions for the improvement of inclusive education listed in the questionnaire items are rated as highly relevant by the teachers. The average rating scores appear always in the range between "almost always" (4) and "always" (5), which means that teachers are convinced that the reality of inclusion will improve with high probability, if the conditions mentioned are given.

Interview results

The situation for decision-making about steps to a better implementation of inclusive programs is somewhat difficult, if the quantitative data show that all conditions are rated as almost equally relevant for an improvement of inclusion. Of course, the ideal solution would be to try to fulfill all necessary conditions at the same time. However, in the real world of education resources are limited. Therefore, it would be helpful and interesting to find out, which conditions seem to be most important for teachers.

In the interviews the teachers were not forced to react to a list of pre-defined possibilities, but could express their own concerns as regards the possibilities of improvement. The frequency of teachers' typical answers to the question how to improve inclusion can serve as a guideline to decisions about the order of necessary changes and improvements. Subsequently, we list the conditions mentioned by our interviewees (table 3) and show them in the graphical representation of a Pareto diagram (figure 3).

Table 3: Most frequently mentioned conditions for the improvement of inclusion

No.	Condition of improvement	Frequency
1	Material resources	22
2	Appropriate methods	18
3	Teacher training	15
4	Organization and planning	14
5	Personal resources	13
6	Teachers' attitudes	11
7	Attitudes of parents, students, others	9
8	Political and legislative conditions	8
9	Coordination	7
10	Participation	6
11	Optimization of available resources	2

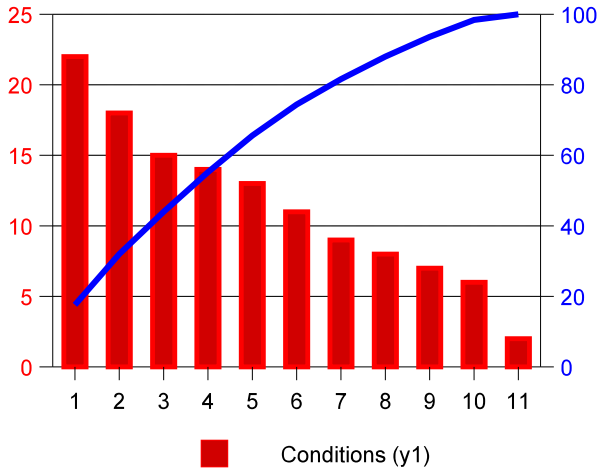

Figure 3: Pareto-Analysis of conditions of improvement

In figure 3 the 11 most frequently named possibilities and conditions how to improve inclusive education are ordered according to their frequency. The left ordinate axis shows the raw frequencies, for instance, teachers talked about condition no.1 (material resources; see tab. 3) 22 times. The right ordinate axis shows the cumulative frequencies expressed in percent of altogether 125 statements. We can conclude from this graphic representation that about 75 % or three quarters of all necessary conditions for the improvement of inclusion would be realized, if the first six demands of teachers listed in table 3 were fulfilled. That is, sufficent material resources, application of appropriate methods, teacher training for teaching in inclusive classrooms, better organization and planning in school centers, more staff - above all specialists -, and caring for the development of positive attitudes towards inclusive education would solve the majority of problems teachers complain about.

Educational treatment of students of different cultures

Questionnaire results

In the questionnaire the teachers were asked to rate in which organzational form students of different cultures, i.e. immigrants, should be integrated into the eductional system. The results show clear preferences. Teachers favor to have all students together in ordinary classrooms of ordinary school centers, however, with personal resources that allow individual support of students. In line with this preference is the high rating of schools adopting an inter-cultural curriculum for all

of their students. Particularly in case of immigrant students' language problems teachers recommend "transitory segregated classrooms" for preparatory learning with the goal of later inclusion in regular classrooms. Segregated classrooms for children with different cultural background are seen as inadequate. Teachers expressed in their average rating of 1.59 that segregation contributes to social integration of these children somewhere between "never" and "scarcely."

Interview results

The findings from the interviews confirm the general preference for inclusive education for all students and show interesting details, above all they underline the necessity of preparing teachers and to provide school centers with adequqte resources. A positive attitude towards integration of immigrant children is not sufficient for the success of inclusion programs.

Most frequently and in similar formulations the interviewees expressed their concern about those aspects of inclusion, which were also rated highest in the questionnaire, but now with including interesting details:

- *Integration by means of activities of reception and acceptance.* (7)
  For instance:
  Classrooms for reception of foreign students within the same ordinary center and part of the day incorporation in their regular classroom.
- *The curriculum should incorporate "intercultural contents" for all students at ordinary centers and cover specific aspects of every culture.* (5)
- *Integration in their classroom in ordinary centers and individualized assistance.* (4)
- *Implementing intermediate classrooms of transition, creating "connection" classrooms in all centers.* (4)
- *By means of an assisting teacher for immigrants.* (2)
- *Information for all parents (immigrants and non-immigrants) by means of parent schools where the goal is to learn about the existing social reality.* (2)
- *Implementing the functions of student tutors and mediating families.* (2)

The general opinion of teachers as regards the inclusion of students with different cultural background was summarized appropriately in the formulation: "*Primero compensar y luego integrar*" (Compensate first and integrate then). Compensation is perceived as necessary primarily for language problems, but also for the lack of general information about cultural dimensions and customs – both for immigrant and non-immigrant parents and students. A need to compensate for is also seen in deficits of teacher training, curricular structures, time schedules for teaching and learning, and personal resources. All these problems solved, the implementation of inclusion of students with different cultural background does not bring up any questions.

Many of the teachers elaborated at this point of the interview about the linguistic aspects of inclusion of immigrant students. They formulated a series of suggestions how to improve the process of integration from the point of view of language problems:

- *Teaching in classrooms of linguistic immersion* (6)
- *In the first place these children need classes of linguistic immersion to master the language. Only then, the students should by progressively incorporated into the activities of their classrooms.* (3)
- *They should be integrated in "wellcome" classrooms, where they learn Spanish as the vehicel of teaching/learning as preparation for their incorporation in regular classrooms.* (3)
- *In the case of pre-school and primary school it is recommended that they are taught the language by the "wellcome"-teacher. During the week they should learn the language in a concrete number of lessons, the rest of their itinerary they should bein their reference classroom.* (2)

Educational treatment of gifted students

Questionnaire results

The questionnaire asked how the educational treatment of gifted students should be realized and offered five alternatives (In ordinary classrooms and centers with personalized support; in ordinary classroom and centers with acceleration programs; in ordinary classrooms and centers with enrichment programs; in segregated classrooms of ordinary centers; in totally segregated centers). The teachers' ratings express clearly a favoritism towards inclusion also of gifted students, however, again successful integration is seen as depending of critical conditions like individualized support, programs of curricular enrichment or acceleration programs. Segregation of gifted students in specialized classrooms ("scarcely" successful) or even specialized centers (between "never" and "scarcely" successful) is on the average rejected.

Interview results

Within the answers to the interview question about the educational treatment of gifted students we found 86 different suggestions, which we grouped into 11 categories. These categories and their frequencies are shown in table 4:

Table 4: Educational treatment of gifted students

No.	Suggestions	Frequency
1	Adaption of curriculum	25
2	Integration in regular classrooms	17
3	Early diagnosis	11
4	Positive attitudes of teachers	7
5	Effects on the socio-emotional dimension	6
6	Segregation	6
7	Acceleration	5
8	Effects on the personal dimension	5
9	Teacher training	2
10	Participation/Involvement of parents	1
11	Vague formulations	1

These findings confirm the questionnaire results: Integration in regular classrooms is mentioned explicitly as the most adequate treatment 17 times, implicitly in formulations referring to particular effects on social, emotional, and personal development as well as necessary conditions (curricular adaption, acceleration programs) 41 times. A graphical representation according to the approach of Pareto is shown in figure 4:

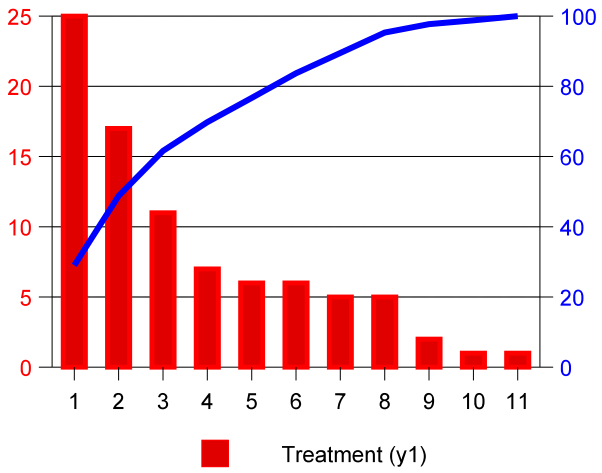

Figure 4: Pareto-Analysis of forms educational treatment of gifted students

The line of cumulative percentages demonstrates that more than three quarters of all suggestions are covered by the first five categories in table 4. In other words, integration of gifted students in regular classrooms with necessary curricular adaptations, early diagnosis of giftedness, promotion of positive attitudes of teachers, and attention to the socio-emotional development of gifted students are seen as most important for the educational treatment of gifted students by our interviewees.

Conclusions

The level of the ratings of the questionnaire items showed clearly that there were remarkable differences between the teachers in our sample as regards their attitudes towards inclusive education. However, from these quantitative results we do not get information about reasons of doubts or even rejection of inclusive eduction. Neither do we learn about the possible conditions under which teachers may be more in favor of inclusive education. In other words: Some of the quantitative findings must not be interpreted as statements of low evaluation of classrooms, where children with and withoput special needs are learning together. but maybe of concerns that without particular resources education in integrated classrooms may result in disadvantages for both groups of children.

The analysis of interviews with a small sample of teachers confirm this interpretation. We understand much better, why and under which conditions teachers

are reluctant to appreciate fully the idea of integrated education. That is, relatively low rating scores informed us about not always very positive attitudes and unconditioned acceptance of the practice of inclusive education, but without insight into the teachers' reasoning accessible via their interview statements, we could have only guessed, which reasons led to lower marks on the rating scale.

On the other hand, generally positive evaluations as well as generaly high need of specific resources expressed in questionnaire ratings proofed not to be very helpful for decisions taking into account the financial or personal limits of concrete educational environments. The repetitions of the same demands by various interviewees, however, allowed to draw a realistic picture, which changes are most necessary to create an environment favorable of inclusive education. Less frequently mentioned conditions may be put aside for the moment and become realized in a later phase of implementation.

Summarizing we may state that teachers hold generally positive attitudes towards the idea of inclusive education, although a number of their questionnaire ratings are not too high. Their explanations when asked to talk in their own words about these topics help to differentiate the picture. In the interview the teachers received a chance to clarify the values underlying their evaluations limited by marking given alternatives on a five-point scale.

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09:
The development of body awareness – Results of a cross-section study among children of preschool age

Annette Schneider and Klaus-Günter Collatz

Abstract

Behavioural biology defines body awareness, an elementary part of child development, as how an individual perceives his or her own body, as regards to motor and sensory skills. Body awareness evolves from the development of several skills which affect and build upon each other. A significant period for the development of body awareness is when children are at preschool age. As part of a large-scale study on body awareness among children and young adults, the sensory and motor skills as well as the body perception and body knowledge of preschool children were examined.

A total of 488 children from 3 to 6 years old participated in the study. By using "Karlsruher Motorik Screening (KMS 3-6)", the motor developmental level of 79 children was assessed by testing four motor abilities. A comparison with reference data shows an average motor developmental level.

Sensory perception and body feeling was examined with a test series of 14 items among 84 preschool children and the diagnostic findings proved that 85% of the children have a very good optical and acoustical perceptual capacity.

In order to record body perception and body knowledge 254 children were given a picture of an empty silhouette, showing a child of their own age, and asked to draw and name everything inside their bodies". Children at that age already have concrete ideas about the inside of their bodies, ideas which grow in quantity and quality according to their age. While younger children usually colour their silhouettes, children older then 4.5 years draw single organs. These are usually such organs which can be perceived in a sensory way, such as bones, the heart, blood and blood vessels. As far as ideal body shape was concerned, discrepancies depending on the gender of the child appeared.

It was possible to confirm that the development of body awareness already starts at preschool age and that it is considerably influenced by sensory and motor experiences. Against the background of the very different environment that most children experience today, which involves less physical activity and exercise and limited sensory influences, we recommend providing more support of recognition of the basic components of movement and perception.)

Introduction

Body awareness is an elementary and important part in child development. If a child feels well with and at home in its own body, it will take care of it and will be more resistant to negative influences such as unhealthy nutrition, alcohol or drugs. The behavioural definition which says that body awareness is the mental estimation of a person's own body, meaning its sensory and motor skills (Haug-Schnabel, 2002) gives us an indication of the influence which motor and sensory experiences have on body awareness. Its development starts in early childhood and evolves from several skills which build upon each other like building bricks.

These skills can be split up into three groups. On the one hand, there is the field of motor skills which includes body movement, movement memory (all body movements that are stored in the brain), and body practice as the sum of all movement memories. On the other hand, there is the field of perception which encloses the components sensory perception (including all the senses), body perception and body feeling, meaning the sum of feelings we have when we think of our body. Finally, there is a third group, the bodily concepts, which can be described as the picture we have of the inside of the body, our knowledge of the body's anatomy and functions. These components have to emerge in a certain way, step by step, and if one component is missing, especially body movement and sensory perception, the others cannot develop.

A significant period for the development of body awareness is when children are at preschool age. As part of a large-scale study on body awareness amongst children and young adults in the fields of Behavioural Biology and Sports Medicine (Schneider, 2007), the sensory and motor skills as well as the body perception and body knowledge of preschool children were examined in a cross-sectional study amongst children of preschool age.

Methodology

A total of 488 children between the ages of 3 and 6 years, all living in Freiburg and the surrounding areas, participated in the study. Because no complete test exists which allows for an examination of all the components of body awareness, it was necessary to use a range of different tests. Some of these are based on quantitative methodology, some on qualitative methodology and in every test only a certain number of participants were interviewed.

All participants were measured in height and weight and the BMI was calculated according to this data. Using the BMI-percentiles according to Kromeyer-Hauschild, it was possible to divide the children into five weight-groups: very underweight, underweight, normal, overweight and obese (Kromeyer-Hauschild, 2001).

- The motor developmental stage of 79 children was assessed by testing four motor skills using "Karlsruher Motorik Screening (KMS 3-6)" (Bös et al., 2004 and Imhof, 2006).
- To get an impression of the children's physical activity, their estimation of their sports abilities and their feelings when doing sport we used a questionnaire. The children's answers were verified by their parents (Bulat, 2007).
- To examine sensory perceptual capacity and body feeling, a test series of 14 items was developed and conducted among 84 preschool children. In order to test visual perception, the children had to recognise four different facial attributes. Acoustic perception was tested by naming seven different noises (e.g. clapping hands, a ringing bell, etc.) (Fick, 2005).
- To get some information about how the children will perceive in adulthood we showed them pictures of three different human figures, a slim one, a normal one and a fat one and the children had to decide which body shape they preferred (Fick, 2005).
- Bodily concepts and body perception were investigated by giving the children a picture showing an empty body outline. This was given to 245 children who were asked to paint and name everything inside their bodies (Schneider, 2006).

Results

Most of the pre-school-age children in our study (exactly 83%) were of normal weight, 6.5% were underweight, 5.6% were overweight and only 2% were obese or very underweight respectively.

The children in this study enjoy a high level of physical activity: 90% of the boys and 85% of the girls are physically active in their leisure time.

Nearly half of the children rate their sports abilities as high, a quarter of them think their sports abilities are average and a quarter of the children claimed they did not know how to rate themselves. Additionally, the subjective estimation of sports abilities shows a gender-dependent difference: boys rate themselves as being better at sport than girls.

Most of the participants (81%) claimed they felt really good when doing any kind of sports activity, 15% sometimes feel good and sometimes bad, and only 4% had a bad feeling.

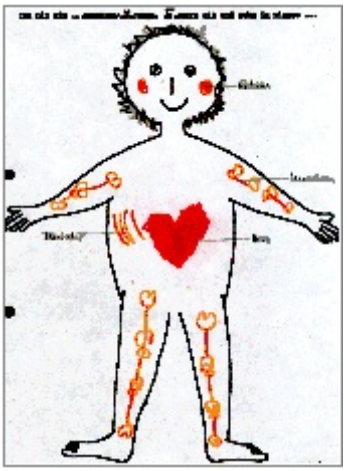
The comparison with the referenced data available for the "KMS 3-6" resulted in an average motor developmental stage: 5 % of the examined children have a good, 75% have a satisfactory and 20% have a adequate test result. The detailed results are as follows:

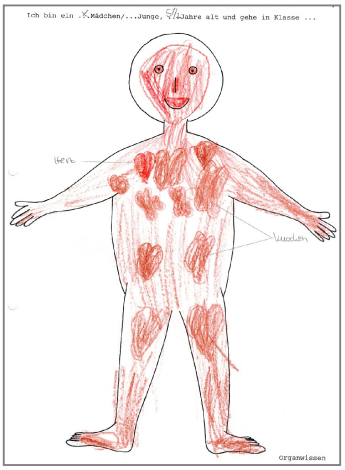
- Coordination: 2.34 (tested by "standing on one leg")
- Strength endurance: 3.84 (tested by "side steps")
- Strength: 3.13 (tested by "standing long jump")
- Flexibility: 3.84 (tested by "stand and reach")

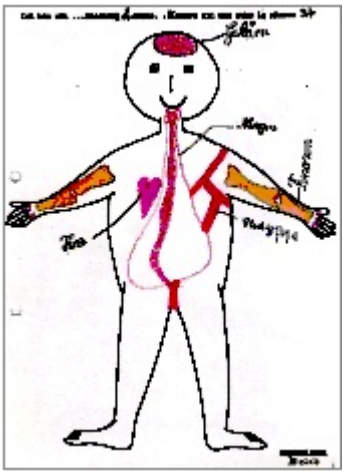
Sensory perception in general is well developed at this age. 93% of the participants were able to recognise the facial attributes and 82% of them could name the different noises.

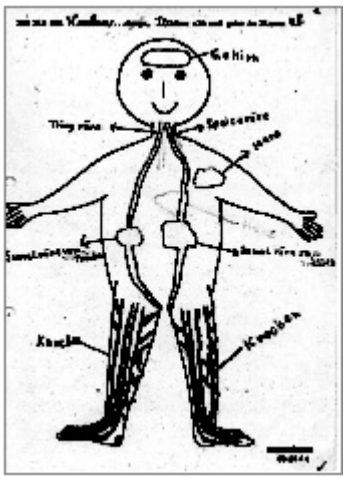
As far as ideal body shape was concerned, the following discrepancies depending on gender: 52% of the girls wanted to be slim and 28% wanted to be normal in the future, whilst 53 % of the boys would prefer a normal body shape in adulthood and only 26% wanted to be slim. A surprising result was the fact that 20% of the girls and boys interviewed claimed they wanted to be overweight in adulthood.

Preschool children already have concrete ideas about the inside of their bodies, ideas which grow in quantity and quality according to their age. While younger children usually colour their silhouettes, children older then 4.5 years draw single organs. These are usually such organs which can be perceived in a sensory way, such as bones, the heart, blood and blood vessels. The following figures will give an impression of the development of the bodily concepts.









Conclusion

In Germany we found that there are currently 15% overweight and 6.3% obese children and young adults (Kurth & Schaffrath Rossario, 2007). That means being overweight and obese has increased in recent years, even in childhood. One of the reasons for this rise is the decrease in physical activity. The guideline activities postulate that children at preschool age should have enough physical activity for about 60 minutes per day so that they break sweat (Bös & Pratschko, 2009). If we look at the results of this study we can see that preschool-age children like doing sports and that they have plenty of physical activity in their leisure time. Even in cases where motor development is only average, we should exploit the children's feeling of well-being while thy are doing sports and should offer them a whole range of exciting and varied sports activities (Schneider & Collatz, 2006). The promotion of sports activity should become a basic part of disease prevention.

The results show that bodily concepts are strongly influenced by sensory perception, which means the children's view of the inside of their bodies based on those organs which they can perceive with their senses, such as bones, heart, blood and blood vessels. Against the background of the very different environment that most children experience today, which involves less physical activity and exercise and limited sensory influences, we recommend providing more support of recognition of the basic components of movement and perception.

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10:
Killer games, the educational process and the effects on video game users – evolution during two years

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Abstract

The research conducted over more than three years is focused on discovering the evolution of video game use in educational contexts and to assess the impact of some killer-games in the development of aggressive behaviours of students.

We have applied quantitative and qualitative methods integrated into the complementary use of questions, groups of discussion and analysis of video games used by students, priority among those aged between 12 and 15.

We focused this research on a cross-sectional study and in the contrast obtained in its implementation in a temporal distance of two years: October-November 2008 and November-December 2010, which have revealed the evolution of the students in behaviour aspects such as the violent video games use, habits of students, classroom environment, relationships between teachers and students and others.

It was found that only in three schools and in some aspects of the questionnaire, the differences were significant at the points indicated, but in most of the questionnaire's dimensions enough differences have not been detected, but there is a trend of change during the biennium towards more intensive use of the mentioned games in the last application.

Introduction

Nowadays, we are living in a stressful society. People are suffering from social and political changes, economic crisis and over exposure of information. In order to palliate this stress, technology has developed new means such as artificial intelligence, telematics and cybernetics.

Cybernetics has created new virtual scenarios for human beings and their own entertainment. In fact, virtual games create illusion, new realities and new ways for leisure. These games are divided in two different purposes: to develop the user's skills and to enjoy. Sports, arcades, labyrinth games belong to the first group, while action games are from the second one.

As our latest research suggests (Medina, 2008; Medina & Cacheiro, 2010), when students grow up they develop tension in classrooms. In fact, teenagers (students

of first and second level of Spanish Secondary Education) have the highest scores. Our aim is to find out whether the abuse of killer games creates a violent atmosphere at schools. Because of this atmosphere, students suffer from bullying, teachers' distance and fights with others.

Cesarone suggests that students' favourite killer games have the highest level of violence. Also, Ballard and Wiest (1995) affirm that there is a strong relationship between killer games violence and development of the users' aggressive behaviour. In fact, Anderson (2002, 2007) supports this idea, because he says that abuse of killer games develops a culture of violence.

Taking into account Huber's contribution: Longitudinal studies are highly relevant to understand and predict the effects of repeated exposure to violent video games. Huesman et al. (2003) support the idea that killer games are in childhood a causal factor of later aggression.

Theoretical frame

The current state of the issue was completed with other contributions that evidence the complexity of the interaction between the use of violent video games and aggression, among other authors pointed out by Griffiths (1999) and extended this study by a comprehensive meta-analysis by Anderson et al. (2010).

Griffiths (1999, p. 203): "The one consistent finding is that the majority of the studies on very young children – as opposed to those in their teens upwards - tend to show that children do became more aggressive after either playing or watching a violent video game". The author continues (Griffith, 1999, p. 204): "In direct contradiction to this, catharsis theory would hypothesize that playing aggressive video games would have a relaxing effect by channeling latent aggression and therefore have a positive effect on children's behaviour."

The purpose of this research is to understand, accept and justify that when students are practicing violent video games they may also experience some positive effects rather than only being influenced negatively.

However, it was shown that there is a correlation between the use of violent video games and aggression, as published by Rushbook (1986), Griffiths and Hunt (1993), Dominick (1984), who evidence "significant correlation between video-game playing and aggressive delinquency;" also Anderson and Ford (1986) evidence "aggression video-games increased hostility."

Griffiths (1999, p. 206): "However, they also noted that correlation results such as theirs could indicate that more aggressive children are drawn to video games rather than and/or addiction to their aggression being a result of this activity."

This close correlation between the use of violent video-game and the complex behaviour, depends and is produced by another variable "low educational attainment, low socioeconomic status, and special familial aggressive behaviour, between all members in home and labour."

Ballard and West (1996) evidence: "Playing aggressive videogames produced increased heart rates and an increase in hostility scores."

Griffith (1999, p. 210) presents the table of categories of video games:

- Sports simulations.
- Racers.
- Adventures.
- Puzzlers.
- Weird Games.
- Platformers.
- Platform Blasterso.
- Beat em ups
- Shoot'em ups (involve shooting and killing only three of these categories (beat, em ups, kind of aggresive element).

Anderson and his team (2010, p. 151): "Meta-analytic procedures were used to test the effects of violent videogame on aggressive behavior, cognition, affect, physiological arousal, empathy desensitization, and pro-social behavior".

The meta-analysis is very important to know the effects of violent video games and violent media on the behavior of adolescents and young adults. There are special meta-analytic reviews to present:

Cross-cultural comparisons.
New criteria studies inclusion.
Longitudinal studies.
Multiple moderator analysis.
Social-cognitive models and cultural differences.

To conclude the evidence, violent video games are "a causal risk factor to increased aggressive behavior, cognition, affect and decreased empathy and pro-social behaviour".

Anderson et al. (2010, p. 152): "Video game violence is the new kind on the medias violence block, having emerged in the late 1980s and early 1990. Play station, Nintendo, iPods, mobile telephony, etc., facilitate the use and application of killer games, and reproduced special and aggressive behavior."

The studies reviewed (Anderson et al., 2010, p. 153) in prior meta-analyses came from U.S. samples or from similar Western individualistic cultures samples (Australia, Germany, United Kingdom, etc), to continue in Japanese studies. There are five reasons to expect that the smaller media violence effects are less in Japan than in Western societies:

- Different title.
- Different contexts.
- Different sport games.
- Cultural differences.
- Parents can watch and monitor what their children practice in games.

In consequence, the aggressive behavior operates according to Anderson et al. (2010, p.154) by "offering cognitive, emotion and/or arousal systems".

Depending on the expectations, attitudes, beliefs and other traits of our personality, the effects of learned aggressiveness are more or less persistence in the time, in the same way, we must express that if there is a constant and repetitive use of violent games, aggressive behavior is more reinforced as compared to only an occasional use of killer games.

Also, different cultures and families and destructured and aggressive contexts will be reinforced the more intense and continued is the use of killer games by the individuals. Thus, if two families or a cultural group develop violent behavior due to the continued use of killer games, they will increase the risk of learning and applying violent behavior more frequently and as a normal guideline for reactions. Anderson et al. (2010, p. 162): "This shows that playing violent video games can increase aggression over time…, fill the main gap in the empirical literature on violent videogame effects. Furthermore, these effects appear to generalize across culture". And: "In sum, this much larger meta-analysis, participant from multiple countries, ages and cultures, yielded strong evidence that playing violent videogames increases aggressive cognition in both short and long term contexts" (p. 163).

Culture (Eastern us-Western) was not a significant moderator in either the experimental or the cross-sectional studies, because in longitudinal studies the violent effects of video games was significantly larger in Western (USA) than in Eastern studies (Japan).

Anderson et al. (2010, p.171): "The simple question of whether violent video game play is a causal risk factor for aggressive behaviour; the scientific literature has effectively and clearly shown the answer to be yes".

Video games are neither inherently good nor inherently bad. But people learn and connect matters.

It is likely that if we design games that serve students for learning to learn, share and create favorable ecosystems and create new and appropriate values will be feasible to extend the learning potential of games. Gentile et al. (2009) and Greitemeyer and Oswald (2009) demonstrate that the games do not increase cooperation and pro-social behavior. The findings of Ke (2008, p. 539) indicated that computer games, compared with paper and pencil drills, were significantly more effective in promoting learning motivation, but not significantly different in facilitating cognitive math test performance and metacognitive awareness the effects of computer games on mathematical learning outcomes.

"Future research should be conducted to interpret the interdependence between a massive multiplayer game and alternative classroom goal structures" (Ke, 2007, p. 556).

"The study confirms that educational computer games significantly promote motivation toward learning", Schrader and McCrery (2007). They analyse the massive use of games and the most valuable results, which is "behaviours strategies and skills exhibited with MMOG environments (Massive Multiplayer Online Games) and they say that "the results are not necessarily conclusive, implications for understanding gaming expertise in contemporary educational environment are discussed".

The findings show some improvements in students' skills in using this set of games (MMOG), such as higher level of socialization, closeness between students and mastery of the technological medium, as a technological environment. Schrader and McCrery (2007): Dynamic, interconnected process that scaffolds both technological skills sets and content knowledge. The environments provide substantial support and developmental tools for focused goal oriented (code geography, learning-story arcs, etc.).

Inquires and discussions held about violent video games use evidence of the double axis in its use:

- Leisure and cathartic function of violent video games.
- Adaptation and didactic use of violent videogames.

We do not have definitive data to conclude that all forms of aggression among adolescents are influenced by the (excessive) use of killer games in a very complex stage of human evolution such as adolescence. However, the interaction between the intensive use of the killer-games, the environment of violence in classrooms and the scenarios of dysfunctional families and high rate of domestic violence, are the scenarios most propitious for increasing the level of aggression in the students and violence in their classrooms.

The second issue is the one which involves us with greater force, due to the symbolization process, the social value of video games and the possibilities of designing new environments to facilitate students' motivation, the search for meaning and future potential that the use educational video games can have.

In this study, at least in the questionnaires, interviews and discussion groups, with the teachers more involved in the "didactic use of video games," we discovered in the line of Aguaded (2010) and Lopez et al. (2011) that an orientation with real pedagogic sense and didactic application of video games (not the killer-games) can lead to improved student motivation, greater use of playful situations in the teaching-learning process and innovative use of digital media (IPhone, Play station, general networking, Web 3.0, etc.).

In the future the major role of experts and professionals in education is to guide and orient the digital media towards a full realization formative facilitating

dialogue and re-encounter with the new digital culture to all humans (family, culture, teaching and learning, community networking and educational communities) steadily growing.

Educational function of games

Games have always been considered as an award in childhood. They motivate children to play, and adults remember this feeling of satisfaction. In fact, cybernetics has created new virtual realities in these new games, where users are the main character.

In primary and secondary schools, teachers develop students' skills by using games and songs. However, these tools are abandoned at the different educational levels. In fact, we see that games are very important in our society and leisure, due to their cathartic value. The following characteristics of these games are:

- Third dimension.
- Interaction.
- Implication.
- Complicity with the user.
- More complexity in design, which improves quality of images.
- The development of digital competence signifies new literacy (Dragon Age Origins, a dark heroic fantasy role-playing game)

Aggressive killer action games

These games represent violent realities, where their characters react with aggressiveness. Participants receive negative messages from this kind of games. Actually, these games show cruel images that the users assimilate as natural.

Killer Games Main Characteristics
✓ Images with violent scenarios.
✓ Situations that make users react aggressively.
✓ Violent tasks.
✓ Aggressive texts and expressions that reinforce the violent atmosphere.
✓ Fights among users.
✓ Degeneration of human relations.
✓ Pessimistic view of reality.
✓ Change of values.

Carmen (2007) made a list of favourite's games to teenagers. He noticed that children from 11 to 12 years were more influenced by these games:

a. Sims.
b. Mario Bros.
c. Harry Potter.
d. Formula I.
e. Eye Toy 3.
f. Age of Emperors III.
g. Nintendo Dogs.

Hypothesis

There are no significant differences between the first and second application in the following dimensions:

- Relationship between violent's video games and domestic violence.
- Violence is usual.
- Good relations between students.
- Conflicts resolve good and quickly.
- There is enmity between groups…

There are significant differences between the first and second application in the following dimensions:

- Frequency of playing adventure games.
- Frequency of playing killer games
- Frequency of paying action's games.
- Frequency of playing video game Half Life.
- To insult (parents to children).
- I was afraid.
- Bullying.
- Aggression against teachers
- Frequency of playing games like Dukenukem, Resident Evil 2-3, Doom…

Aims of our investigation

- Discover the killer games participation at the aggressive students' attitudes; particularly, teenagers from 12 to 13 years old and evolution two years last (14 to 16 years old).
- Assessment of these killer games at schools.

• Identification of the most appealing killer games by students and their level of violence.
• Killer games abuse makes students to be violent in their interaction with others.
• Contrast and complementariness between teacher's and students' visions of killer games.
• Contribution of new educational ideas for these killer games and to design a new model to educative-videogames.

Design and methodology

Our methodological process is based on mixed methods that imply to use surveys such as Huber's, which are coherent and concrete in their questions and late other's which reached a Cronbach alpha = 0.8.

In fact, we focus in our survey on a main idea that is discussed by a group of teachers and students. Actually, these groups value from 1 to 10 several aspects of the killer games. This survey is nameless, and it also YES-NO questions and open questions.

This survey exposes different uses of the killer games by students. Actually, students' answers widen our vision on this future use in their variations. Particularly, this survey has been taken in different places such as Madrid, Jaén (in Andalusia), Valdepeñas, Castilla La Mancha and Segovia.

Discussion groups have been formed by experts and students who have re-elaborated the questions in order to reach to several aims such as:

a. Adequacy of vocabulary to Spanish children.
b. Adjustment of the calendar extension.
c. Re-elaboration of content to Spanish context.
d. Creation of a close, comprehensive and easy way to understand students' survey.

In future, the Spanish team would widen their research in two possibilities. In fact, these possibilities would be tested in Linares. This is the schema that would be followed:

- Study of the games.
- Data analysis.
- Didactic games possibilities.
- Killer games as didactic mean in order to develop self-assertiveness and computer skills.

This survey would consist of several focus groups formed by five experts, twenty teachers and collaborators of four centres.

Data analysis

Taken Munich's survey, we aim to elaborate a synthesis of questions that unify all concepts and students' visions. This synthesis is part of extensive research conducted in Centres of the populations listed below; we have focused on the categories of killer video-games, horror video-games, violent video-games and action video-games, analysing the effects that their use produces in students' behaviour, in relationships with their family, their teachers and between classmates. These categories were assessed in three ranges: never, frequently, and very frequently.

Actually, our exhaustive survey is a descriptive study of all late surveys: scale analysis, Shuster's analysis contrast among different descriptive principles, complementary aspects such as the area, age and nationality. Our research takes two criteria such as:

a. - The city that has had a great impact: Madrid and its two centres, one is private and another is public, intercultural and situated in a conflictive area.

b.- A village public school that has over 2,000 students in 200 kilometres from Madrid, another in Andalusia and one in Castilla La Mancha.

In fact, in these last three centres our survey has been widened by discussion groups that have complemented and analysed the most violent games and their contents. Also, in Linares, teachers have studied the killer games that create violence and their possible use rationally.

Madrid (First)	(Second)
1 private centre.	1 private centre.
1 public centre (Vallecas)	1 public centre (Vallecas)
1 public centres.	
Andalusia	
Bailén	Bailén
Baeza	Baeza
Linares	Linares
Ubeda	Ubeda
Castille-Manche	
Valdepeñas	Valdepeñas
Albacete	

Population and sample

Cities and number of students

	First Application (2008)	Second application (2010)
Madrid-Buitrago	47	88
Valdepeñas	63	37
Úbeda	74	No answers
Madrid-Centro	87	No answers
Baeza	94	No answers
Bailén	85	82
Linares	52	35
Vallecas	21	No answers
Segovia	67	112

	First application	Second application
Girls	285	155
Children	303	177
Total students	588	332

Age

	First application	Second application
Years	Student numbers	Student numbers
11	7	0
12	209	3
13	255	18
14	82	162
15	33	87
16	1	39
17	1	23

Nationalities

	First application	Second application
Spain	544	299
Romania	9	10
Bulgaria	9	6
Ecuador	17	8
Holland	_	3
Colombia	8	_
Bolivia	_	5
Polonia	1	3

Concerning the participation of other nationalities, Ecuador in the first application was the most numerous and in the second one was Romania.

We consider it necessary to clarify that the first application (2008), was conducted with students from First and Second year of ESO (Obligatory Secondary Education) and the second application (2010) with students from Third and Fourth year of ESO; we have tried to apply the questionnaire to the same group of students, but this was achieved only in the Centers of Bailén and Buitrago, except those who, for various reasons, had left the centers during these two years. We can say that it is an independent test because a complete identification of students was not achieved.

Results and discussion

We will make explanatory commentaries of several dimensions, to understand the processes developed around the video games during the biennium.

The dimensions of the questionnaire that we submitted to the study of significance of contrast between the second and the first application are:

a. Adventure games

Frequencies of playing adventure games: (First)	(Second)
51% - never	54.3% - never
25.6% - 1-2 times	25% - 1-2 times
5% - more than 10	2% - 1-2 more than 10
Missing Data: 18.4%	18.7%
Sign. Diff. (z). Valdepeñas .029; Bailén .021	

The Z of the differences is only at the Centers of Valdepeñas and Bailén with a value of (.029) and (0.21), respectively.

However the overall data of the results obtained at the Centers show a decrease in the very frequent use of these types of games, although the percentage of increase is 3% and in the same percentage is produced an increase in students who never use them.

b. Killer games

Frequencies of using "killer" games	
(First)	(Second)
62'2% - never	68'3% - never
16% - 1-2 times	10% - 1-2 times
6.3% - more than 10	3% - 1-2 more than 10
Missing data: 15.47%	18.7%
Sign. Diff. (z). Bailén .021	

The tendency in this dimension coincides with the previous students who use the killer games, having two years more of maturity, decrease in more than 3% its frequent use and more than 6% in the case of those who never use them, also decreased 6% which affects students who use them between 1-2 times a week. Bailén' s students, the differences are significant on a percentage of (.021).

c. Games like Duke Nukem, Resident Evil 2-3, Doom…

Frequencies of playing games like Duke Nukem, Resident Evil 2 -3, Doom, …:	
(First)	(Second)
80-88% - never	79-88% - never
5-11% - 1-2 times	2.3% - 1-2 times
Missing Data: 1%	9.7%
Sign. Diff. (z). Bailén .001; Segóvia .02	

The trend remains to decrease by 3% and 9% the use of this type of video game, showing a decrease in its use, with a significant difference in the case of students from Bailén (.001) and Segovia (.02).

d. Action games

Frequencies of playing action games (last 2 weeks) (First)	(Second)
74% - never	81.1% - never
12% - 1-2 times	6.6% - 1-2 times
3.2% - more than 10	1.5% - 1-2 more than 10
Missing data: 10.89%	10.8%
Sign. Diff. (z): Madrid .015; Bailén .011	

Again there is a decrease between the students in the use of action's games, the percentages in cases of more frequent use, is decreased by 15% and no use is increased this decrease by 7%.

The differences between both periods are significant in Madrid (0.15) and Bailén (011).

e. Video game Half-Life

Frequencies of playing video game Half Life: (First)	(Second)
75% - never	90% - never
10.7% - 1-2 times	1% - 1-2 times
2% - more than 10	0% - 1-2 more than 10
Missing data: 12.3%	9%
Sign. Diff. (z): Bailén .018	

There are further decreases in the use of this game, students who never use it have increased by 15% and those who frequently use it have also decreased, although by 2%.

Differences (z) are significant between the first and second period (more use in the first) in the case of students from Bailén, (.018).

f. Relationship between violent video games and domestic violence

For students who use video games, the incidence in domestic violence the decrease is very small, 0.7% and for those who never use it 1%. Significant differences have not been found between the groups involved.

Relationship between violent video games and domestic violence	(First)	(Second)
87% - never		88% - never
6% - 1-2 times		4% - 1-2 times
1% - more than 12		0.3% - more than 12
Missing data:	6%	7.8%

g. Insults (Parents to children)

To insult (parents to children):	(First)	(Second)
60% - never		60% - never
24% - 1-2 times		20% - 1-2 times
4% - more than 12		4% - 1-2 more than 12
Missing data:	12%	16%
Sign. Diff. (z) Bailén .050		

The decreasing tendency is broken, except for students and families to insult (parent to children) so infrequent (1-2 times), which decreases by 4%. We emphasize that between the students of Bailén School, the differences (z) if they are significant (.050) (probability of hitting 95%).

h. I was afraid

I was afraid:	(First)	(Second)
53% - nothing		57% - nothing
15% - little		12% - 1-2 little
9% - much		4% - 1-2 much
Missing data:	23%	23.9%
Sign. Diff. (z) Madrid .040; Bailén .000; Segóvia .002		

Among the students is evidenced a higher percentage of "nothing" (4%) and in the answer "much", the rise is higher than 5%, which decreases 'to be afraid'.

There are significant differences between students from Madrid (0.40), Bailén (.000) and Segovia (.002).

i. Damage the property

Damage the property:	(First)	(Second)
	85% - never	82% - never
	8% - 1 time	7% - 1 time
	1.2% - more than 5	3% - more than 5
Missing data:	5.8%	8%
Sign. Diff. (z) Valdepeñas .053; Bailén .005		

Damage to property of students who "never" have done it is decreased by 3%, but in the case of those who have done it most often is increased by 1.8%.

The significance of the differences is as follows: (Diff (z) Valdepeñas (0.53) and Bailén (.005), shows that the students of Bailén tend to reach significant differences between both periods, with more intensity of possible damage to situations and properties in the second application of the questionnaire.

j. Afraid and terror at college

Afraid and terror at college:	(First)	(Second)
	3.2% - much	1% - much
	4.2% - enough	2.6% - enough
	25% - little	21% - little
	50% nothing	59% nothing
Missing data:	17.6%	16.4%
Sign. Diff. (z). Bailén .002; Madrid .03		

Again there is a decrease in percentage of 2 to 9% that students live less afraid and terror situations at school.

The differences are significant (z) in the schools of Madrid (0.03) and Bailén (0.002) It confirms the tendency that Bailén's school, has significant differences between the second and the first period (2008), in favor the second, in several of the dimensions above-mentioned, terror and afraid are decreased.

k. Relationship between teachers and students

Relationship between teachers and students	
(First)	(Second)
28% - Very good	13.5% - Very good
47% - good	56% - good
2% - very bad	1% - very bad
Missing data: 23%	29.4%
Sign. Diff.(z) Bailén .000	

There is not harmony in the answers, since is produced a decrease in "very good relations" by 14.5%, which shows a trend. By contrast, in the estimated relationships with a "good" are increased by 9% and "very bad" decreased by 1%.

It creates a situation of decrease in a substantial aspect of relational harmony in the highest range (almost 15%), but in compensation the "very bad" do not increase, but decrease (1%). Differences (z) are significant in the students of Bailén (.000) in this Center relationship between teachers and students are improved.

l. Bullying

Bullying	
(First)	(Second)
50.5% - never	55% - never
28% - 1-2 times	23% - 1-2 times
4.4% - a few	11% - more than 2
Missing data: 17.1%	11%
Sign. difference: Valdepeñas .053 Bailén .0005	

The decrease in bullying situations is incremented by 5%, but the situations in which bullying is produced (1-2 times) decreased by 5%, however those situations where there is bullying at some time have increased in 6.4%.

By increasing the values of "never" and 1-2 times in the direction of greater bulling control and singularly in training activities, the evidence of the immediate projection of aggressive games in students' behavior has to refocused and analyzed more widely. The differences (z) between Valdepeñas (0.053) and Bailén (0.0005) are significant.

m. Aggression against teachers

Aggression against teachers	(First)	(Second)
90% - never		81% - never
4.6% - 1-2 times		7% - 1-2 times
1.7% - few a week		1.2% - few a week
Missing data:	13.7%	10.8%
Sign. difference: Madrid .03 Bailén .002		

The responses had decreased the initial values, the frequency and the percentage corresponding to "never" has decreased, while the situations of video games use and their impact on the aggression against teachers has decreased 2.4% and in the case of higher frequency of these actions has decreased a low percentage (0.5%).

Significant differences, in favor of the second period were: Madrid (.03), Bailén (.002). It is a process in which the aggression against teachers has not decreased.

n. Violence is usual

Violence is usual:	(First)	(Second)
45.4% - never		52% - never
16% - little		21% - 1-2 little
11% - usual		7% - 1-2 usual
Missing data:	27.6%	20%

The value "never" has increased, which shows some improvement and a decrease of violence (normal situation due to greater maturity of students).

Although the more intense situations of violence also have decreased by 4%, the differences in any of the groups-centers are significant.

o. To disturb seriously that classroom

This situation of conflict does not decrease in values"never", still although this percentage is lower, the decline in daily conflict in the classroom is mild (0,5%).

To disturb seriously that classroom	
(First)	(Second)
81.2% - never	74% - never
13% - a few	15% - a few
1.5% - daily	1% - daily
Missing data: 4.3%	9.9%
Sign.difference: Valdepeñas .021; Segovia .059	

p. Good relations between students

Good relations between students	
(First)	(Second)
34.6% - Very good	38% - Very good
23.4% - good	26.3% - good
9.5% - very bad	9% - very bad
Missing data: 32.4%	26.7%

Relations between students have improved, "very good" (3.4%) and have not worsened in a (0.5%), percentages limited, but they set the trend which shows that among students in general remains a tone of harmony. Differences between groups are not significant.

q. Conflict resolution good and quickly

Conflict resolution good and quickly	
(First)	(Second)
15% - Very good	13.% - Very good
9% - good	13% - good
24% - very bad	21% - very bad
Missing data: 52%	53%

The situation is consistent with previous issues analyzed, the most intense conflicts are resolved and the answer "very good", is decreased by 1.6% while that are resolved "good" (4%) and in this coherence are decreased by 3% the ways bad or negatives to resolving a conflict.

r. There is enmity between groups

There is enmity between groups		
	(First)	(Second)
	32% - Very big	39% - Very big
	18% - big	18% - big
	12% - very little	7% - very little
Missing data:	38%	36%

The answer to this question is complex, considering that there is a greater tension on the second period (2010) in the relations of enmity between the groups, results that should lead to expand processes of empathy, relationship and exchange between them. Although in a vision "very little", the enmity has decreased by 5%, which implies that some students observe that there is a small decrease in tension.

s. Fights

Fights		
	(First)	(Second)
	84% - never	80% - never
	9% - 1 time	10% - 1 time
	1% - more than 5	3% - more than 5
Missing data:	5.9%	7%

In the valuation of "never" there is a decrease of 4%; in the others, the fights have increased by 2%, which considers that more than 5 times have been created situations of tension.

Conclusions

The more global vision shows that with increasing age of the students, on the average two years (11,12,13 years first application) (13,14,15 years) in this second application is produced a greater balance in the use of video games, the selection of games in harmony with their interests and also they prefer videogames linked to the personal interests of the group.

Aggression is considered a person's energy, clearly influenced by the use of games, but the use of violent video games is tempered with the new game of creativity and collaboration among equals.

The relationships of aggression intensified by the excessive use of violent video games, are moderated by decreasing to ludic processes own of excessive violence

and it seems to be more influenced by the reasonable evolution and self-control, that the maturity of age (two years more in adolescence) affects the responsibility and the ownership of the projects and processes for greater harmony between students.

Paradoxically, and consistent with the dimensions and preferences of students at that level, the rivalry and pressure are intensified between teams and youth groups, this situation produces a prominent effect, there is less competitiveness and tension on individual relationships between students that in the relationships generated between the teams, micro groups and various dyads present in schools and classrooms.

The assessment of compliance with the intended aims

1. Discover the killer games participation at the aggressive students' attitudes. The games most used, we agree with Carmen (2007), they are Sims, Mario Bros, Harry Potter, followed by "Dragon Age" and in general those related to heroic fantasy and role playing. (Doom, Dukenukem).

2. Assessment of these killer games at schools.
   In the schools studied especially in Madrid, Segovia, Linares and Valdepeñas video game use to support learning and development of new training processes is very limited, except in the pilot class where we work.

3. Identification of the most appealing killer game by students and their level of violence.
   Students have not assessed in a representative way the level of violence in video games used by them, those who use it regularly do not exceed 12%, considering that many scenes defined as aggressive, are not considered in the same way by students.

Between video games considered more aggressive by some students noted:
- Good of War
- Crime Life
- Killer 7
- Rogue Trooper
- Tomb Raider Legend

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11:
Process of drug dependency among Iranian youth

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Abstract

This paper reports on the findings of a study which used the grounded theory approach to investigate the process of drug dependency among Iranian youths. The study is qualitative in nature; the data was obtained through in-depth interviews with 15 young male and female who were drug dependent. The findings showed that in majority of the cases the process of drug dependency was associated with childhood experiences and events which have influenced the lives of participants. The main themes emerging from the interviews were: childhood traumas; submissively trained (suggestible, dutiful, obedient and timid personality); restrained by the social environment and suppressed desires; humiliation; feeling rejected by family/society; lack of affection and attention and poor relationship with family; lack of creative and fun outlets; poor life skills; negative role models; seeking Peer approval; drug using as a social norm and drug availability. These findings provide further evidence for designing prevention models based on more comprehensive actions than those which just emphasize the bad consequences of drug use. Rather than simply focusing on reducing the availability of drugs, it seems to be more important to create supportive environments for young people to obtain pleasure as well as acquiring stronger personality. Conditions should be prepared for the young people permitting them to have good relationships with peers and families and helping them to deal with traumatic situations.

Introduction

Substance dependency is now universally accepted as a significant social problem (Moharreri, 1976; Ziaaddini & Ziaaddini, 2005): a problem which has, in many countries, become a major public health issue. This situation seems all the more ominous when it affects young people, our future leaders (Bryant, 2008). With the highest per capita opiate and heroin use in the world, Iran currently faces a public health crisis (Razzaghi, Rahimia Movaghar, Craig, Green & Khoshnood, 2006). Although the exact number of drug dependent individuals is unknown; according to Rapid Situation Assessments, which were sampled from medical

centers, prisons and the streets of the capitals of 29 provinces in Iran in 2007, the number of drug dependents was estimated around 800,000 to 1,700,000 (Narenjiha, Rafiey & Baghestani, 2009). According to the 2006 census, however, the total population of the country is estimated to be around 70,000,000, and the total number of substance users in Iran is estimated between 4 to 7 million. This suggests that almost one out of every seven to ten adult people living in the country uses drugs (Jafari, Rahimi Movaghar, Craib, Baharlou & Mathias, 2009). Moreover, Iran's national data supports the idea that the total number of drug users has increased from 2,000,000 in 1998 to 3,700,000 in 2005 (United Nations Office for Drug and Crime, 2008). Due to Iran's geographical situation neighbouring Afghanistan, it is confronted with the problem of drug trafficking (Parvizy, Nikbakht, Pournaghash & Shahrokhi, 2005). The 2006 census showed that more than 35 million (or 50%) of Iran's population are younger than 24, making a large part of the population vulnerable to addiction issues (Iran Center for Statistic, 2006). This paper focuses on the process of drug dependency among Iranian youth and presents qualitative data based on the findings of in-depth interviews among a sample of substance users.

Methodology

A qualitative approach was used to allow the researchers to explore each participant's story. The data was analysed according to the grounded theory approach based on Strauss and Corbin and with the help of MAXQAD2 software. Because of its capacity to explore and explain human behaviours, qualitative methods have proved very valuable in demystifying drug and alcohol use and replacing stereotypes and myths about addiction with more accurate information that reflects the daily reality of substance users' lives. Furthermore, qualitative methods are helpful for obtaining rich data from marginalized populations and for gaining a better understanding of behaviours (Neale, Allen & Coombes, 2005). The basic goal of qualitative research in the field of drug dependency is to investigate the experiences of drug-dependent people from their own view-point and to explore the influences of the environment in relation to drug dependency. Therefore, qualitative methods are a suitable way for uncovering the nature of people's experiences and what lies behind these experiences and, in particular, when looking at a phenomenon about which little is known (Yahyazadeh Pirsaraee, 2007).

Data were obtained through individual in-depth, open interviews with 15 young male and female participants (five female and ten men, 18-35 years old). Participants also filled out a form with demographic information. Interviews were audio taped and lasted from 60 min to 150 minutes over one to two sessions. Each interview was subsequently transcribed and analysed by the authors. Each interview was analyzed as a unit and the transcripts were reviewed several times. Analysis began with detailed coding of sections (open coding). In the further

analysis of transcripts, sub-themes emerged which were then categorized and labelled as themes. As the study progressed and key themes were identified, the interview schedule became more focused. According to the grounded theory approach, the aim is to continually reduce the data to a small number of linked core categories which together form a model of the whole process. Credibility was enhanced through member checking, validation of emerging themes in subsequent interview, and debriefing with expert supervisors. Using participants' revisions as a member check, prolonged engagement with participants, peer check and maximum variation of sampling were used to ensure the validity and credibility of the data.

Ethical issues (including: anonymity, informed consent, withdrawal from the study, permission to record the interview) were approved by the Research Committee at the Nursing Faculty of Tehran University of Medical Sciences. Prior to the study, the participants were informed verbally about the objectives of the study. Furthermore, efforts were made for preventing any possible negative consequences due to participation. It was guaranteed that the tapes would only be used for research purposes and participants given the recording of their interviews immediately upon request. Moreover, participants were told that their participation was voluntary and all informants were informed that they were free to leave the study at any time. Ethical principles, including having a non-judgmental approach throughout the research process, taking informed consent and ensuring confidentiality were considered meticulously.

Previous research

Although the literature provides some information about the process of developing dependency, data from Iranian context is scarce. In terms of the methodology, the majority of the studies that have been conducted in Iran are based on quantitative approaches. Furthermore, little is known about the process of drug dependency among Iranian youth. We believe it is important for researchers, health care providers and policymakers to do this type of qualitative research in order to develop a better understanding of this issue and then use this understanding to help in the prevention of drug abuse.

The Asian Harm Reduction Network embarked upon a multi-site research project conducted in four countries in Asia including Iran to gain insight in the drug careers of young people and the impact of their environments. Their study is the abridged synthesis of the Tehran research report which aimed to describe the typical circumstances surrounding initial drug use among young people. It was a qualitative study in which the data were gathered through analysis of interviews with key informants; focus group discussions with family members, Person Using Drugs (PUD), service providers, policy makers, law enforcement officers; and a quantitative survey with 281 PUDs. Curiosity, peer pressure and acceptance

among friends were seen to be the most important factors that drive initial drug use. In particular, having friends who use drugs is an important factor during the initiation stage. Most often, the drug is given for free by friends and taking drugs is done with close friends both during and following initiation. The initial stage of one's drug use tends to be without any serious adverse effects or problems. Problems usually start – or become more serious – when dependency develops and money becomes an issue, which, in turn, can lead to criminal behaviour. The financial consequences of one's drug use are often mentioned as the core problem. As expected, problems tended to become more pronounced, when individuals had switched to injecting or to using opiates (Asian Harm Reduction Network, 2006). Parvizi, Nikbahkt, Pournaghash Tehrani and Shahrokhi (2005) conducted a content analysis with a qualitative approach they interviewed and 41 healthy adolescents. The results of this study revealed the following themes: addiction causes and prevalence; unhealthy friendship and communication and increased rates of cigarette smoking; alcohol and drugs; barriers to and factors in addiction and health; family and addiction. The findings showed disconcerting attitudes of adolescents toward addiction and its prevalence. The authors conclude that the exploration of adolescents' perspectives is not only important but also useful for maintaining a healthy society, and thus, policy makers should develop effective prevention and intervention programs based on these themes. Another grounded theory study was carried out by Pirsaraee (2006) on 41 opium and heroin dependent parents in Iran. The study focused on drug dependency and parenting and explored the links between them in order to understand the impact of drug dependency on parental duties and responsibilities. The finding showed that parental drug dependency affects various aspects of parenting, including children's material needs and basic requirements; parent-child relationships; parent-child communication; and the disciplinary strategies used by parents. The results showed that children's material needs and basic requirements may be overshadowed by parents' drug dependency. Furthermore, Pirsaraee also found that the bonds within families of drug-dependent parents tended to weaken and that control over children, in many cases, almost disappeared. Harling (2007), in his research with the aim of exploring the thoughts and feelings of a group of individuals towards their 'controlled', illicit drug use provided insight into this phenomenon. Here, in-depth semi-structured qualitative interviews were conducted with six participants in order to explore their experiences of recreational illicit drug use. Phenomenological methods were employed to analyse the data generated from the interviews and to develop key themes for discussion. Three main themes emerged from his data: (a) participants were introduced to drugs by someone they knew; (b) certain drugs can fulfil a specific social function; (c) the pros and cons are considered prior to trying a drug. Harling argued that substance use among 'clubbers' indicates a more recreational and social function to individuals' drug use. Moreover, the author discussed the concept of normalization and its link to illicit substance use in some of

the literature. Harling mentions five key factors that have impacted the need to consider illicit drug use from a normalized perspective:

- Increased access to and availability of illicit drugs;
- Increased drug experimenation rate in adolescent and young adulthood;
- Rising rates of recent and regular drug use;
- Social accommodation of sensible recreational drug use;
- Cultural accommodation.

Lam and Shek (2006) describe the findings of a qualitative study on cough medicine abuse in Hong Kong. Focus group interviews were conducted to explore the perceived causes and effects of cough medicine abuse among Chinese young people in Hong Kong. The results from focus group interviews with cough medicine abusers, their family members, and service providers reveal that the primary factors accounting for adolescent cough medicine abuse are social pressure (peer and environmental influences), personal problems (evasion and avoidance), family (difficult relationships or harmful incidents), availability (ease of access), and ignorance. Based on the findings, several recommendations for the prevention of cough medicine abuse are proposed. Problems associated with poor quality parent-child relationships are compounded for incarcerated girls. Using the attachment theory as a framework, Lopez, Katsulis & Robillard (2009) examined how 18 incarcerated adolescent girls made meaning with regard to their parental drug use. They found that eight of the 18 girls used drugs with their parents as a relational strategy in order to be closer with them, particularly with their fathers, or as a means to share time together.

Although there are some studies in the literature carried out in Iran finding many useful factors in relation to addiction, its predisposing factors and its effect on parenting, published works on the process of addiction are few and far between. The results of studies conducted in other countries share many similarities with the results of the present study. However, it seems that due to the differences between cultures and situations, more and more studies are required in different geographical situations. For proposing a proper model, it is necessary to consider cultural, social and geographical backgrounds. The following section presents the results of the present research in which we investigate the process of substance dependency among Iranian youths.

Results

The main themes emerging from the interviews were:

Childhood traumas:

Childhood traumas and experiences like physical, sexual and emotional abuse, exposure to parental violence, living in broken families were hallmarks for the majority of participants. It seems that these experiences might have contributed to these participants' drug use.

- My mother divorced, I experienced a terrible time without her, my father was an addict and couldn't support me, therefore I went to my mother's house, but her husband had dirty thoughts about me. You can't believe how he intimidated me. Several times he tried to rape me. Once he tried to drug me by putting something in my fruit juice, another time when we were alone in his office, he tried to rape me again, but I shouted and we had a fight, so that I was able to escape. I couldn't tell any of these things to my mother because I didn't want to ruin her new marriage. I suffered a lot during my childhood.

- When I was a child our economic situation was really though; because of high mortgage payments and debts. I don't know, may be these things are not related to your work and this is the first time I am telling these things to somebody (tears streaming down his face). I remember once, I asked my mother to buy me some fruit juice but all through the way from shop to our house she beat me up (he stops talking and cries desperately). You see, instead of talking and explaining, she just beat me up, I have many stories like this in my life.

Submissiveness (suggestible, dutiful, obedient and timid personalities):

The majority of interviewees gave some examples of their lives experiences, showing that they were easily influenced by other people's opinions. According to their experiences, it seems that the way they were trained and treated in their families and by the society did not enable them to develop as confident and independent individuals. Moreover, being obedient and following others instructions were encouraged by family and society. Although Iran is a rather modern society, there are still many parents who believe in traditional ways of raising children. In such families children are expected to obey and follow their families' opinions and values without opposition or protest. Gradually these features may affect their characters become one part of their personalities, leading them to accept other people's suggestions without question.

- I suffered from headaches, my boyfriend brought me some tablets that I found out were Tramadol , but at that time I didn't know what they were exactly and I didn't ask him , since I trusted him so much and accepted what he said completely.

- I was so simple minded. Once he put something in my cigarette and asked me to smoke it. He told me that it was really good and it made us laugh and enjoy our time together. Later on I realized that it was Marijuana. I was a fool, accepting every thing he would say, if I didn't believe him, he would have been annoyed. You know, I loved him and I was afraid to loose him. I remember once, he brought something, it was opium and told me that it was an herbal medicine for reducing my headaches, I accepted. In fact I was cursed and brain washed by him.

- I didn't use to talk at all, you know, I learned not to protest against their decisions (snickering). Even if they beat me on the head, I was ready to be beaten another time.

- I was very submissive at home. My parents never allowed me make any decision, even about buying my clothes (tearing up).

Restrained by the social environment and suppressed desires:

It seems that there was a disconnection between family/social rules and values, and what some participants considered as their natural right and desire. These feelings seem~~ed~~ to urge them react negatively and angrily, especially when they found they were not able to confront with the social norms and they were caged in these circumstances. As a result, they appear to have resorted to drugs to suppress their desires.

- In our university we were under close and strict supervision, they were fastidious and fault finders about the way we dressed and behaved our relationships with opposite sex were restricted. We were young, when they forced us to obey these rules we tried to secretly find another way, we planned to use opium and we did it.

- In our house none of us had the right to ask a question. In fact, we were not allowed to ask any questions, we had no choice, always they were the decision makers. If we did ask a question, our parents always reminded us that it was none of our business. We didn't have a warm relationship with each other. I was suppressed in our house and always felt angry about this situation. Maybe that was why I attempted to bully

others and make my classmates and friends my subordinates outside our house.

Humiliation:

Many participants felt humiliated in their lives. They had many degrading experiences which were unpleasant and made them lose respect for themselves. It seems that these kinds of feelings and experiences might have shaken their confidence and undoubtedly contributed to their present behaviour.

- We were living with our grandmother. She was so cruel to me. Now she is dead, but she has never been in my prayers. She always discriminated between me and my brother, for instance, didn't let me have enough food. She didn't pay any attention to me and always called me names (she talks angrily with trembling voice). You can't believe it, I was just a kid but she was telling me that I was a whore, especially when I had my first menstruation, telling everybody that I was a whore, when she noticed about my menstruation, she slapped me in the face, accusing me of doing something wrong, telling everybody that I am a whore. I knew nothing about menstruation, even I didn't have any pads to use, and so I used tissue with cotton to control my bleeding. I was too shy to ask anybody about it (she continues sadly). Because of puberty, my breasts became bigger, my nipples were sore and I had to cover them with bandages. I asked her to buy bras; she not only refused, but also called me names and told me only dirty girls would buy bras before marriage. I always thought that, if I had had my mother by my side, I would not have suffered so much.

- I liked school very much (smiling). At first I was a good student, but when I was in fourth grade of elementary school, my grades dropped because of my family problems. My teacher didn't know about my family life, she punished me and beat me up. She crushed my confidence and made me extremely upset (her voice is trembling). She forced me to stand in front of the other classmates, while raising one of my legs for one and half hour.

Feeling rejected by family/society:

A lack of family bonding was another common experience that was shared by many participants. Many of them claimed that they suffered from the feeling of loneliness and isolation from family and society. A weak attachment to the community and family were common problems, which made them try to find an easy way to get rid of these unpleasant feelings.

- I live a tragic life, I haven't laughed for years. My respected father belittles me; the society doesn't give me calmness, but the crystal (Meth) does. I don't feel happy; my family members don't accept me. Young people are losing their aspirations, I need tranquillity (begins to cry).

- It has been almost 30 years since my father moved far away from me. During all these years I only wish that I could have had my father by my side. If he could feel me a little, he would never treat me so harshly (he cries). At this moment at his retirement, what I need urgently is the close attention he has devoted to all kinds of other things except his family.

Lack of affection and attention and poor relationship with family:

Many of the participants expressed not having very loving relationships with their parents. Some of them were raised in single parent homes or lived with parents who were cold toward them. Some experienced a negative or poor parent-child relationship. It seems that maltreatment and poor relationships within the family especially during adolescence had long-term consequences, including drug use and delinquency.

- My parents didn't treat me fairly. For as long as I can remember, that was the way I have been treated. I was an outcast, nobody hugged me, my parents never showed me much affection. However, at school my classmates encouraged me when I did bad things and said I was cool. Once I hit a student at school and I was encouraged by my friends, while I never experienced any encouragement or confirmation from my family. That made me even more rebellious.

- If I came home late, my father used to lock the doors and wouldn't let me into the house. Once I tried to jump over the wall in order to get in, and my father chained me, and tried to break my feet with a hammer. He beat me black and blue. Instead of talking and giving advice, my parents often used to beat me up.

Poor life skills:

Among almost all the interviewees, it was apparent that their family and the society had no particular and effective plan for solving problems or getting general life skills training. Among all participants there appeared to be a common feature of lacking general problem solving skills. It seemed as though during their upbringing they did not have opportunities to develop these skills in their families or their contact with the wider society and school. Teachers and schools

are commonly viewed as being focussed on knowledge and theoretical things which, somehow viewed by many of them, were not related to their real life. None of the participants told the interviewer about having any particular experiences in their schools, universities or families which could have enabled them to develop appropriate life skills. Poor coping skills seemed to lead them to an easier way (like using drugs) in order to deal with their problems. In this way, perhaps *life skills*-based *prevention* programs could be effective in the prevention of drug use.

- I wanted to escape and leave out my misery. That's why I use narcotics. I lived a life of distress, I had a stressful family life, and I suffered all throughout my childhood, while other children lived their normal lives. Narcotics are the only thing that calm me and help me forget about my problems.

- Football was my life; it was my profession, my friend, my hobby. In fact, it was every thing for me. One day they expelled me from the football team without any reason, they just asked me to pack and leave. I had to turn back to my home, but I couldn't believe what they did to me. For one week I cried secretly in my room. Then I left the house and on my way I saw one of my old friends. I felt terrible at that moment and asked him whether he still used drugs (I knew that he was a user), he said yes and I asked him for a place so that I could do drugs with him.

Lack of creative and fun outlets:

Many of the participants claimed that they had no attractive choices for their spare time. They mostly spent their free time watching TV or hanging out with their friends without any purpose. According to the participants, outdoor gathering and fun outlets for expressing themselves or getting rid of negative feelings were not available. Moreover, some participants said their families were not aware of the importance of spare time and fun outlets or their families couldn't afford good and creative activities for their free time. Some of them had participated in unsupervised activities like parties and using drugs. Unattractive supervision was another experience that annoyed some of them. Some participants were tired of society's and their parents' high level of supervision, especially of their free time and hobbies and tried to find a way to escape from constant supervision. It appears that the extreme supervision and over involvement of the family had a similar effect to that of no supervision by family at all.

- We had no attractive plan for our free time, every thing was boring. Dormitory was like a prison for us, I clearly remember that most of the

students really hated the dormitory; in that situation we couldn't feel happy. You know young people in dormitories and universities were restricted and had no fun, in the university we were under close and tough supervision, they were fastidious and fault finder about the way we dressed and behaved our relationship with opposite sex were restricted. I had a close friend in my university; he offered us to gather together and have fun during our extra time by using opium in the dormitory .We found ways not to be caught in the act. For instance each time we used a different room for using opium and we used a blanket under the door to prevent the escape of smoke. In fact I accepted his idea in order to get rid of that boring situation.

Negative role models:

The interviews implied that close friends and some family members, especially parents, influenced not only the decision to start using but also escalation of the participants' drug use. Having drug user parents was an important factor in tendency of using drugs, it seems parents' attitude toward drug use and what they expected from their children in this regard were significant factors for the young people's use of drugs. Moreover, having a friend who used drugs also appeared to be influential in their drug use.

- I was about seven to eight years old, I always used to see my parents, grand parents and their friends sitting together as a group using, to use opium and drinking alcoholic beverages as a hobby while laughing and having a good time. I remember after they had finished their drinks I used to secretly drink their leftovers (she laughs). Once I was alone in the kitchen and opium pipe was on the stove. I went and smoked it, but I didn't feel anything, I was quite happy of what I had done.

- My father used opium secretly, in fact, he was not an addict, but sometimes he used to use it with his friends, he had a tough personality and always had quarrel with me and my mom. I clearly remember, when ever he used opium he became calm and kind, I thought it was the effect of opium and this believe made me not have a negative attitude about using it. Once I asked my father about his drug use and he answered that he was not an addict and claimed that he knew how to control himself, he added that he would never be the slave of drugs. His idea about drug using was always in my mind, for the first time when I used opium I told myself I was his son and I never would be an addict. I thought that I could control my drug using, but it never happened and now I am an addict. Unfortunately, I have to inject Crack.

Seeking peer approval:

The vast majority of the participants said that they were offered drugs by their friends. Many of them said that a close friend had offered them the drugs for free. Some of them stated that their initial drug use took place in order to socialize with their peer groups or while participating in parties or gatherings where using drugs was common. Acceptance among friends was an important stimulus to start using.

- I was about 13 years old, I remember my friends used to get together and smoke cigarettes and use Marijuana especially in public parks. In parks there have always been many drug dealers and buying drugs is really easy. My friends persuaded me to use it they used to say "let's try it, it will pick you up, it is really nice" I had experienced smoking cigarettes but at that time I made up my mind that I would try Marijuana as well; I wanted to be like them, at the first time I felt nothing especial, it just made me laugh. I didn't have any plans to use it, I had never thought of it as an addiction but that was the beginning of it. Now I have no way out. I use ICE and crack without having any control of my life and I regret it.

- My friend got me into it when I was 14. Her mother invited us to their house she was my mothers' friend and had a daughter; we were the same age. She offered me to smoke Marijuana, first I refused I was afraid of using drugs but she said "don't be so fussy, it is not drug, it is not harmful at all, it's herbal." That was the first time I used it, surprisingly noting happened we just started to laugh, and I though it was a good way to kill time and have fun. Before that I had though "if I used it I would die". Later, using opium became much easier for me. When I was 19, one of my old friends offered me something new, it was Crack. She asked me if I had used it before, I didn't want to look stupid and silly, I wanted to look cool, so I said "I haven't tried it before, but I would like to try it with you". I didn't want to reject her offer.

Drug using as a social norm:

Social factors appear to be very significant in developing an addiction. Some of the informants believed using marijuana, cocaine and some drugs which can boost their mood are quite common and fashionable. Using drugs was common at parties and they had many experiences with drugs by some individuals who were respected by everyone in their family. Some of them explained that using

alcoholic drinks was forbidden according to their religion; therefore they preferred to use opium which was more acceptable than alcohol.

- I thought if it was a bad thing no one would use it, but they were all using it. I have an uncle who is respected by everybody in our family. I remember when I was a child, he used opium while we were in his house. Later on, when I began to use opium I was 15 years old and I was telling myself, "What is wrong with it?" Because many people around me were using it. For instance, many of my friends, my uncle, my boss and all his workers. Even on the countryside many of our family members used opium as a hobby. When I went to military service, I saw some soldiers using it in the barracks.

Drug availability:

All the participants stated that drugs were widely available. Also the prices of drugs were not high, especially heroin and crack. They explained that they mostly started with marijuana, then moved on to smoking opium and finally switched to crack because it was more available, cheaper, stronger and easier to use than opium. According to their experiences, access to drugs was easy, even in prisons, dormitories, parties and military barracks.

- Finding drugs is as easy as buying something from convenience store. You can find them everywhere. Especially in public places.

- My father was an opium user. He always used to buy opium in kilos. That's why at first when I secretly took small pieces of his opium, he didn't notice.

- I was about 9 or 10 years old, my father was a truck driver, most of the times he was on the roads and wasn't rarely coming home very often. My mother was a user and I couldn't tolerate seeing her buying the drugs. I was worried about other people saying things behind her back. This was why I was responsible for buying her drugs from a drug dealer. Besides, since I was a kid nobody was suspicious of me. This was how it all began and how I was introduced to drugs and drug dealing.

Discussion

The present study has shown that drug dependency does not happen over night. In the majority of the cases the process of drug dependency was associated with

childhood experiences and events which may have affected the lives of participants.

The process of drug dependency takes time, even years before having the first experience, their personalities will shape in a way that predispose them to be a drug user.

In this regard, there are many social, cultural and environmental factors which have a detrimental effect. Therefore, drug use should not be seen as an isolated behaviour.

Many researchers have searched for the cause of drug abuse so that effective preventive methods can be implemented. Research has found that the problem arises from many aspects: family sources, such as mother-father relationships, the way parents raise their children, the financial situation of the family, and the community, such as illicit gathering places, wrong or bad values, poor self perception, poor problem-solving skills, lack of cultural awareness, Peer pressure and neglect. The people adolescents spend time with also affect his/her habits (Laoniramai, Laosee, Somrongthong, Wongchalee & Sitthi-amorn, 2005; Bryant, 2008; Nuno-Gutierrez, Rodriguez-Cerda & Alvarez-Nemegyei, 2006; Gorsuch & Butler,1976).

Our participants discussed the impact of their traumatic childhood experiences which is in line with some studies that have found that childhood traumas are significantly related to drug use, depressive symptoms and suicidal thoughts. For example maltreatment during adolescence has a significant effect on broader range of outcomes: official arrest or incarceration, self-reported criminal offending, violent crime, alcohol use, drug use, risky sex behaviours and suicidal thoughts (Thornberry, Henry & Ireland, 2010). Childhood physical abuse and exposure to parental violence are associated with the development of alcohol-related problems in adulthood (Caetano, Field & Nelson, 2003). Childhood sexual abuse was associated with an increased risk of being a heavy poly-substance user in girls (Shin, Hong & Hazen, 2010). Although mentioned studies were conducted in different cultures, it is startling to see the similarities with the experiences of the participants of this study. It appears that exposure to violence and different kinds of abuses while growing up, regardless of the setting and culture is one of the determinants of developing drug dependency.

Furthermore, it seems that the way families raise their children and their approach towards training are important in shaping the personality of children. In other words raising kids in order to have obedient and suggestible children or having children who are able to make decision, solve problems, be independent and have strong personality will affect the tendency of adolescent and young people to use drugs.

Fisher, Crome, Macleod, Bloor and Hickman (2007) conducted a literature review on predictive factors for illicit drug use among young people. They mentioned that adolescents who abuse drugs frequently report their parents to be controlling. In addition, according to their study, adolescent drug users typically

come from homes where there is a great deal of parental pressure. The key elements of family interaction are parental discipline, family cohesion and parental monitoring. Modification of parental monitoring may be effective in reducing adolescent drug use. They continue "although most studies find significant relationships between discipline and adolescent substance abuse, the findings are contradictory". For instance in a study of young problematic drug users in England in 2000, perception of parental control was found to be the best predictor of young people's level of problematic drug use.

Miller-Day (2008) found that youth in families that are based on open communication (where members are permitted to openly express their own thoughts) may develop increased psychological autonomy and self-regulation abilities leading to fewer problem behaviours in adolescence into emerging adulthood. The present study similarly revealed that the family structure and the way family chose to raise their children appeared to be influential in these participants' drug use. The majority of interviewees gave some examples of their lives experiences, representing that they came from authoritarian families or permissive ones.

Having experience of humiliation and degradation might lead to a sense of losing self respect, self esteem and confidence, which seems important in shaping a strong personality. Horst (1994) believes that the manner in which parents valued their children, structured the family to facilitate democratic communication, shared power with their children and spent time with them involved in outside activities and behaviours. Bryant (2008) places emphasis on the importance of self-esteem and discusses that it is important to convey to parents how crucial it is for children to hear themselves being praised for things done well. Parents needed to understand that a strong sense of self-worth goes a long way in helping a child to say no to drug and alcohol. In present study many participants felt humiliated in their lives they suffered from degrading experiences which shook their confidence and self respect.

Two of the main conclusions of this study are "Feeling rejected by family/ society" and "Lack of affection and attention and poor relationship with family". With regard to the quality of family relationships, those who reported a poor relationship had a 6.4 times grater chance of being drug user (Micheli & Formigon, 2002). The results of another study revealed that mother-adolescent conflict predicted adolescent alcohol use, and maternal acceptance-rejection predicted both drug use and affiliation with deviant peers (Brody & Forehand, 1993). Quality of parental-child attachment is a significant predictor of teen alcohol, tobacco, and drug use (Eitle, 2004). Emotional vulnerability was perceived as a consequence of living in a family with recurrent problems such as attention and affect deprivation, faulty communication with parents, and a feeling of being ignored or worthless (Nuno-Gutierrez, Rodriguez & Alvarez-Nemegyei, 2006). A report released by the National Institute on Drug Abuse Notes (2000) suggested that parent-offspring interaction is an important predictor of young people's negative drug attitudes and intentions and may protect youth from future risk of negative

drug-related outcomes (Miller-Day,2008). Adolescent attachment to parents may contribute to youth's social competence, coping skills and self esteem that may lead to a lower need of substance use in risky social situations (Piko & Kovács, 2010). It appears that interviewed subjects similarly represent a lack of family bonding and a sense of isolation as a common experience that were shared by many participants.

In the present study another important theme was seeking peer approval, though peers play a crucial role in levels of current adolescent drug use, the attitudes and behaviours of parents, the quality of family life, and parenting practices play a critical role in initiation and experimentation with drug use (Miller-Day, 2008). However, as the level of exposure to substance-using peers increase, the protective effect of living in a traditional two-family dissipates. Some research suggests that the quality of parenting predicts the level of exposure to delinquent friends, the stronger the quality of parenting, the less likely the teen is to have access to deviant peers or to select them as friends (Eitle, 2005). There is also consistent evidence linking peer drug use and drug availability to adolescent drug use. Drug use is often preceded by the individual being rejected by prosocial peers. The influence of peers increases as the influence of the family decreases (Fisher et al., 2007). The findings of present research confirm the results of earlier studies; according to our data analysis acceptance among friends appeared to be influential in these participants' choices and using drugs.

Poor general life skills have been considered as another probable predictor for drug use. This issue identified in this paper is unlikely to be unique to Iran. Other countries may have similar patterns and trend in drug use initiation. For instance, Botvin, Baker, Renick, Filazzola and Botvin (1984) emphasize the importance of developing general life skills as well as teaching tactics for resisting direct interpersonal pressure to use these substances. Bryant (2008) refers to poor problem-solving skills, and says inability to solve problems in a positive manner may lead to frustration, which may in turn lead to stress. There is the possibility that experimenting with substance abuse may be seen by young people as a way to lessen the tension that stress produce.

The present study suggests that lack of creative and fun outlets, also not having organized leisure time may have been predisposing factors why some individuals started to use illicit drugs. Perhaps this problem will be more important when values and preferences of a society are different from those that some young people consider for themselves. In our country some young individuals may socialize to non-traditional norms, they have access to internet, satellite and many other resources which make them familiar with the norms and values of other countries, especially western ones. Probably modelling other countries' lifestyle, norms and values may put them against their social preferences, bringing them into the cultural conflict. In Islamic countries such as Iran according to the values society put ban on some leisure activities which might be attractive for some groups of young people. Consequently, a number of them may try to find

other ways to release their tensions and energy or have fun with their friends like attending indoor parties which using drugs are common. Gorsuch and Butler (1976) suggest that socializing to non-traditional norms may have been an important factor in some individuals' initial use of illicit drugs. Perez, Ariza and Nebot (2010) conducted a study aimed at investigating factors related to the initial consumption of cannabis among adolescents. They found that among boys, one of the main associated factors was not having organized activities in leisure time. Shinew and Parry (2005) discuss that much of the research over the last decade has focused on the "benefits of leisure." However, there is another side of leisure that has received much less attention. For example, drinking and illegal drugs are popular *leisure activities* for many college students. Guxens, Nebot and Ariza (2007) conducted a survey to assess factors associated with the onset of cannabis use and emphasized the importance of leisure time patterns as facilitators of cannabis use.

According to our study negative role models are another significant theme which may increase the tendency of young people to use drugs. The analysis of the factors influencing adolescent drug habits showed that drug habits of family or friends do influence the risk that adolescents use drugs. This is consistent with the results of the research, which found that the drug use habits of friends were a predictive factor for drug habits of adolescents. They were more likely to be influenced if a member of the family, especially a parent, had a history of drug use (Perez et al., 2010). Bandura's (1986) concept of "delayed modeling" suggests the alternative hypothesis that parental influences may actually increase over the course of adolescence. According to this concept, during childhood an individual may learn and remember how to perform behaviour from seeing it modelled by their parents. However, a long time may elapse before an adolescent is motivated to put into practice the behaviours modelled by their parents. One possible motivator that may increase during adolescence is the desire to see oneself more as being like an adult (Bricker, Peterson, Sarason, Andersen & Rajan, 2006). From the social learning perspective parental drug use is a key predictor of a child's drug use (Jang, Bader & Johnson, 2008).

Drug using as a social norm and availability were other important themes in our study. The normalization thesis points at three major aspects of the normalization phenomenon, namely, a fast growth of the prevalence of *drug use* in young people, the widespread popularity of recreational *drug use* and an accommodating attitude of accepting *drug use* as a normal feature of *leisure time* consumption (Ting, 2004). These findings are supported by a number of reports, for example, Frisher et al. (2007) refer to some important and common themes which were related to drug use in the UK studies including normalization of drug taking and availability (as cited in Galt, 1997); illicit drugs were readily available and accessible and an accepted part of youth culture. In addition, adopting behaviours which they regard as normative for adults could help older adolescents satisfy their desire to be like an adult (Bricker et al., 2006).

Suggestions

The results of this study can help decision makers, health professionals, social service workers, educators and parents understand more about drug use prevention and early detection of drug use. Taken as a whole, the results support prevention models based on more comprehensive actions than those which just emphasize the bad consequences of drug use. A multifaceted health promotion approach appears to be urgently needed to tackle this growing problem. Rather than simply focussing on reducing the availability of drugs, it appears that raising awareness regarding the importance of the social determinants of drug use, such as family structures, parent-child relationships, exposure to violence while growing up as well as the provision of opportunities for children and young adults to develop good life and coping skills would be beneficial.

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12:
Qualitative research in suicidology: Values, strengths and ethical issues

Marja Kuzmanić and Vita Poštuvan

Abstract

The focus of this paper is on qualitative research in suicidology – the science of suicide. It discusses several prominent issues related to the insufficient use of qualitative research in this multidisciplinary field. The authors observe and discuss how the one-sided focus on quantitative approaches in studying the phenomenon of suicide is related to the values prevalent in science generally, and in suicidology more specifically.

By giving a short overview of different kinds of qualitative research in this field, we discuss some strengths and contributions of a rather scarce bulk of qualitative studies in suicidology. Further, we focus on the question of ethical issues that ought to be taken into account in this research context and, lastly, we question the values of the suicidologists themselves and how these might influence research procedures. The overall aim is two-fold: to argue for an increase in qualitative research endeavours in suicidology and, at the same time, to draw the attention to the prevailing values and assumptions guiding our research, some of which we; researchers; might be unaware of. Regardless of the methodology employed in research, awareness and recognition of the researcher's own position is crucial in research with such delicate and complex phenomena as suicide. Collaboration between different methods is required for holistic research advancement in suicidology.

Introduction

Suicide is a complex phenomenon (Leenaars, 2004), which should be explored multi-disciplinarily on the basis of different scientific, theoretical and methodological approaches since it encompasses psychological, sociological, biological, philosophical, anthropological, genetic, legal, ethical and other aspects. Although during the past decade or two some change regarding the usage of different methodologies in suicidology has been observed, qualitative research is still far from being equivalent with quantitative suicidological research approaches in terms of quantity, importance and influence. The need to increase qualitative research stems from the fact that most research in suicidology is still mainly quantitative and aims at explanation and generalization, while failing to account for several impor-

tant dimensions of the phenomena under consideration. A recent study by Hjelmeland and Knizek (2010) assessed the state of the art with regard to qualitative studies in suicidology and found that only 3% of published papers in the three main suicidological journals between the years 2005 and 2007 were qualitative.

To date, the main focus of suicidology has been on three types of studies: epidemiological (e.g. studies of risk and protective factors that influence suicidal behaviour), (neuro)biological (e.g. genetic and brain-imaging studies) and intervention studies (e.g. effectiveness of intervention strategies or therapies) (Hjelmeland & Knizek, 2010). These approaches are indeed valuable but have been criticized as being insufficient and one-sided (Rogers, 2001; Crocker et al., 2006; Hjelmeland & Knizek, 2010). Although exceptions exist, suicide in these kinds of studies is mostly studied in an oversimplified manner and mainly causally. The aim of such research is usually generalization, based on the premises behind the employed methodology. According to Hjelmeland and Knizek (2010), the problem is that such quantitative studies of risk factors (some factors are culture- or population-specific and some more universal) tell us little about how the identified risk factors are related to suicidal behaviour. (Neuro)biological studies are problematic in terms of how the results can be utilized in suicide prevention, and the studies focusing on psychiatric diagnosis and its relation to suicide fail to provide information on how exactly these mental illnesses are related to suicidal behaviour. [1] Most of the people with mental illness diagnosis do not kill themselves and, moreover, this association varies greatly across cultures (Vijayakumar, 2005 after Hjelmeland & Knizek, 2010).

In this chapter we discuss the one-sidedness of suicidology in more detail and relate it to the values, attitudes and representations that are prevalent in science more generally in which the natural scientific paradigm with its focus on causality and explanation has had a prevailing influence on studying suicide. This focus is related in an important way to the common criticisms of qualitative research approaches, which are in our opinion not always substantiated nor do they exclusively concern the qualitative paradigm. The criticisms, if valid at all, are outweighed by the strengths and advantages of qualitative approaches, some of which we illustrate with specific examples of studying either the individual or the social characteristics of suicide qualitatively. The qualitative-quantitative debate in suicidology also touches upon the greatly debated ethical issues of conducting research about this very delicate phenomenon. We point out several of these ethical issues and concerns. Lastly, our attention is given to the values and assumptions prevalent amongst suicidologists themselves, as well as those in a particular social or scientific

[1] The authors speculate whether it is possible that the relationship between mental illness and suicide, as reported in suicidological research, is influenced by the experiences related to the stigmatization of mental illness; instead of mental illness simply as a 'cause' or a risk factor for suicide.

context more widely, both of which might be (especially if not examined and reflected upon) influencing and guiding our research endeavours in particular directions.

One-sided suicidology

Suicidology, as stated above, has had a prevailingly one-sided quantitative character. The focus on quantitative research in suicidology is neither surprising nor is it in opposition to the current broader scientific context. It seems that researchers, publishers and funding bodies do not agree with the stated complexity of the phenomenon of suicide and attention is predominantly given to specific, quantitatively measurable aspects of the phenomenon such as the above mentioned epidemiological, (neuro)biological and intervention aspects. Suicide, a phenomenon that epitomizes almost all of the questions related to the human condition (from biology to sociology and from psychology to philosophy), definitely appears to be an issue that requires a combination of natural science and social science approaches to achieve best results[2].

Wilhelm Dilthey coined the distinction between the social and the natural sciences (Spinelli, 2005) and claimed that they require different methodologies. The natural sciences are based on the search for causal explanations of nature, whereas the social sciences aim at understanding. The social scientist should acknowledge that causal laws, as they exist in natural science, cannot be simply translated into the complexity of social-related phenomena. This view has not been accepted in the fields of psychology or suicidology, where the natural scientific approach has been favoured and adapted to study the phenomena under consideration. *"Research within this frame necessitates either the reduction of the phenomenon being studied to quantifiable terms, or the selection for study of only those aspects of the phenomenon which can be converted into measurable terms…[T]his can only result in a partial picture…one which also misrepresents its holistic, contextual nature." (Kaye, 1995, 46 after Spinelli, 2005, 129).* Recently, there has been a distinct call for a change in focus, for a more meaning-based understanding of suicidal behaviour (Rogers et al., 2007). Suicidology must necessarily involve the investigation of *meaning* and stop taking specific meanings and definitions for granted as has been done to a great extent in the past. The trends of suicide research might have to move from *explaining* suicidal behaviour to (or at least in addition to) giving more attention to the questions of *understanding* and *meaning*. Most suicidological research until now has focused on simplistic linear cause-effect thinking (with quantitative methods) and lacks cultural perspectives and in-depth

[2] Moreover, in order to understand suicide in all its complexities, we are perhaps even required us to refrain from thinking in terms of dualisms between natural and human science, body and mind, individual and social, subjective and objective and so forth.

understanding, which could be achieved with qualitative methods (Hjelmeland, 2008). Suicide and behaviours related to suicide can best be understood through individual narratives (Valach et al., 2002). This focus on the importance of understanding and less on explaining suicide is related to the notion of description of lived experience as, for instance, advocated in phenomenological research approaches or grounded theory research. Both, psychology and most of suicidology have been victims of the application of largely the natural scientific-empiricist methodology to their phenomena of investigation and might have consequently missed important aspects of the phenomena they are investigating.

The search for explanations of suicide and suicidal behaviour stems from the positivist scientific research paradigm that searches for answers to the question 'why?' in order to comply with the fundamental scientific notion of causality. As a consequence the aim of most research is to answer or look for the explanation to the question 'Why one committed suicide?' or 'Why is one considering suicide?'. This not only presupposes a simple causal explanation or answer to one of perhaps most complex human behaviours or actions and disregards the possibility of unpredictability and multi-causality[3] of human behaviour, but also assumes that by answering the question 'why' we will somehow be able to prevent suicide in the future. In such a manner, scientists might be overlooking the uniqueness of each individual and his or her context. In most cases it namely goes unquestionably (perhaps imprudently and even unethically) that all suicide research necessarily aims at suicide prevention without any consideration given to the reasoning behind this premise.[4] The 'why' question poses a challenge in that *"suicide knowledge coming from contemporary sources tends not to serve understanding because it has pre-judged the question"* (Hillman, 1964, 49). By restricting the questions we delimit our possibilities of conducting research and, in this case, the focus remains solely on the causes and explanations of suicide. The aim is to prevent suicide by finding the variables that 'cause' suicide and, consequently, controlling them. Such an approach, we argue, is unnecessarily delimiting and hinders us from being able to look at the phenomenon of suicide from other perspectives. It does not aim at understanding but at explanation and prevention – whether or not (and in what ways) they really contribute to prevention, is a different question (Cutcliffe & Links, 2008). It has been argued that by identifying the risk factors one cannot predict that a particular

[3] It is debatable whether the notion of causality can, at all, be applied to human-related phenomena.

[4] It is beyond the limits and the scope of this paper to consider the ethical and other issues related to the question of suicide prevention. Nonetheless, the authors would like to point out that blindly following suicide prevention without considering specifics of an individual case or examining the underlying assumptions of such proceedings might perhaps result in more harm than work towards actual decrease in suicide rates (Cutcliffe & Links, 2008). It is to this day somewhat unclear what kind of suicide prevention strategies are in fact effective across cultures.

person with such risk factors will in fact commit or attempt suicide. Statistical (epidemiological) studies and studies of suicide risk assessment (risk factors) tell us disproportionally little about the experience of the individual as a unique human being. Furthermore, they cannot predict the course of behaviour or experience of a particular human being nor can they say whether he or she is at risk for suicide or how such behaviours are contextualized in a particular social environment. Moreover, the epidemiology regarding what social factors are related to suicide tells us little about the dynamics between the individual and the social context or environment. In other words, although arguably very informative and necessary, such studies cannot and should not completely replace the focus on the individual as the one who is experiencing, nor can we ignore the context in which this is going on.

"The crude alignment of qualitative research with 'action' or interpretative approaches and quantitative approaches with 'structural' or positivist ones has meant that researchers on either side have tended to become locked into adverse positions, ignorant of each other's work." (Pope & Mays, 2006, 4). As a result of the common oppositions between qualitative and quantitative scientists, the differences are often overstated. These approaches can be used complementary as way to validate results in order to explore a topic simultaneously or subsequently. It has been argued that researchers should give more attention to appreciation of qualitative methods in order to better understand the results of quantitative studies or even to provide sufficient grounding for conducting them. A common criticism of qualitative approaches studying suicide or other phenomena is that such accounts allow for many interpretations. While this is indeed possible, also statistical or quantitative methods, more generally, can be manipulated to show specific results or support a certain hypothesis (Leenaars, 2002), rendering such criticism to a certain extent invalid. Perhaps the best a researcher can do, regardless of the methodological approach taken, is to be honest with themselves, the participant and the reader, to attempt recognize and 'bracket' one's attitudes and biases (Spinelli, 2005), be reflective of the whole research process, and write up the research report transparently (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). Moreover, we ought to recognize what kind of questions can be answered by what kind of methodological approach.

In a paper titled '*Why we need qualitative research in suicidology,*' Hjmeland and Knizek (2010) focus on three main suicidological journals and, while failing to recognize, as can be observed from the literature cited in this paper's bibliography, that plenty of qualitative papers on suicide are published in other journals. Although we do not have a quantitative measure of how much qualitative research is published in such journals, it might also be the case that qualitative studies concerning suicide are not accepted into the mentioned suicidological journals and have to be published elsewhere (for instance in journals on nursing, phenomenological research and similar). However, even if qualitative studies on suicide are published elsewhere their number and impact is still considerably less important than that of the quantitative studies.

As early as 1962, Allport argued for a wider usage of the idiographic approach in psychology, a discipline supposed to be concerned with the 'understanding of man'. But Allport's advocating of individual, qualitative case-study did not focus specifically on the 'first-person' experiences, or on meaning as such (Ashworth, 2003). *"Idiographic approach allows us to do the main business of psychology: the intensive study of the human person"* (Leenaars, 2002, 29) but it has to be focused on the meanings of experience for a particular individual. That is to say, that even within qualitative approaches there are certain differences. Following Allport' s vision, we aim to increase the scientific attention given to understanding people with a suicide-related experience in order to compensate for the unbalanced focus in this field thus far.

Examples of qualitative research in suicidology

Although under-represented, the field of qualitative research in suicidology is rather heterogeneous and too broad for us to be able to provide an in-depth overview of the whole area within the scope of this paper. We provide certain examples of qualitative research to demonstrate some of its strengths and advantages. When studying suicide, an obvious differentiation exists between the focus on the individual aspects and the social aspects – both of which are importantly, if not inseparably, interrelated. In both perspectives the qualitative approach offers certain strengths and contributions to the prevailing quantitative ones – such as, for instance, staying with the individual's lived experience of the phenomenon at hand. In the following paragraphs we would like to point to some examples of such strengths of qualitative studies. As understanding is the key issue, qualitative data provides direct implementation of research data in everyday life. Qualitative data is not concerned with generalisation, but rather provides narratives, stories, accounts of first-hand experience and, therefore, we move from the perspective of probability of events, to individual reasons and contexts of suicide.

Suicide: an individual perspective

Firstly, by approaching the phenomenon of suicide qualitatively we have the possibility to better understand the experience of the individual who has had a particular experience with suicide. Quantitative studies do not capture the individual's perspective and do not see this experience as the guiding principle or even an important concept. Even though the ongoing research is informative and highly relevant for the field of suicidology, we argue that it cannot replace the focus on the individual as the experiencing subject – the main aspect that should also be investigated. Despite the important value of such individual experience, this is still rarely studied. Secondly, qualitative methods are the (only) tools, which can give insight into specific aspects of such suicidal experience. Qualitative approaches in studying suicide from the perspective of the individual include the studies such as suicide notes (Schneidman, 1997; O'Connor, Sheehy, & O'Connor, 1999; Leenaars, 2002),

diaries or other personal documents (Lester, 2002; Leenaars, 2002), third-party interviews or psychological autopsies (Kjølseth, Ekeberg & Steihaug, 2009), interviews with nonfatal suicide attempters (Michel, Valach & Waeber, 1994; Kidd, 2004; Bergmans et al., 2009; Hoffmann, 2004), interviews on grief (e.g. suicide survival) (Ratnarajah & Schofield, 2008), etc. Although individuals with suicidal ideation, nonfatal suicide attempters or suicide-attempt survivors are indeed different from those who successfully complete suicide, they can still provide the closest experience reports to those who have committed suicide (Valach et al., 2002) and can thus be a very illuminating source of information. Similarly, suicide notes or other personal records or interviews with family members can help us put together a more comprehensive and holistic understanding of suicide. It is from the unique, intimate world of one's own phenomenology that suicide is conceived as the answer and, hence, it is important to view individuals who are suicidal as the 'experts' in their suicidality (Rogers & Soyka, 2004; Valach et al., 2002). These sources of information are often disregarded as subjective and 'non-scientific', but one may also argue that the individuals know best what led to the development of the suicide urge and the ways in which this relates to their biography (Valach et al., 2002). This, however, poses a threat to the authority of the scientist who, in contrast to the research subject, is supposed to be the expert. Thirdly, the quantification of personal experiences is artificial, even impossible, suggesting that qualitative approaches are indeed more appropriate for certain research questions. For example, a paper reviewing qualitative studies (from 1997 to 2007) on the subjective experience of being suicidal (Lakeman & FitzGerald, 2008) revealed several common themes concerning the subjective experience of individuals such as suffering, struggle, connectedness, turning points and coping. At this moment we are lacking quantitative research instruments (e.g. questionnaires), which could capture this data in a valid and reliable way. Moreover, recently a personal story of bereavement of spousal suicide was published, which is an important contribution to the understanding of suicide survivors (Watford, 2008). Details that give a reader the overall impression of personal experience could never be captured in quantitative research. The mentioned study uses a reflective self-exploration to question the rationale of concentrating on the differences and/or similarities of people bereaved by suicide versus people bereaved by other modes of death. Similarly, Lindqvist, Johansson and Karlsson (2008) found that when studying the aftermath of teenage suicide with deductive methods, such as a case-control study, such an approach would not properly appreciate cultural and situational circumstances and, subsequently, not catch the cultural forces and motives of an event of this kind. The qualitative approach allowed the researchers to increase their understanding of the circumstances in which these families live. Likewise, the study of Barnes (2006) used an ethnographic approach with qualitative research techniques that primarily relied on personal narratives or stories to learn about a culture from the people who actually live in that culture to do a research on aftermath of suicide survivors among African Americans. O'Donohoe and Turley

(2005) studied the compassion of encounters who receive the *In Memoriam* notices of local newspapers, where quantitative methods would either fail to address the research question or would be inappropriate. Kjølseth, Ekeberg and Steilhaug (2010) studied elderly people concerning the experience of their existence on the basis of qualitative interviews with important informants, who were close to the elderly persons who committed suicide. The study yielded three main elements with certain subtopics, namely experiences of life (life as lived and life as a burden), self-perception (in terms of losing oneself) and the conception of death (acknowledgement/acceptance and death is better than life). The authors came to certain conclusions regarding the interaction between suicide and old age for these individuals and how suicides should be understood as an existential choice: a choice in which, death was seen as a relief. For elderly people, our understanding of suicide should be considered together with their encounters with aging and death. Such conclusions and results can hardly be obtained from quantitative data, which do not allow for emergence of bottom up information directly for the person's experience that the qualitative research data captures. Respectively, the strong contribution of qualitative methods in terms of the individual perspective is their applicability to unusual research settings, which at the end enables us to better understand suicidal behaviour and to broaden the research horizons.

Suicide: a social perspective

Studies show that people view suicide in different ways (Schneidman, 1993; Amery, 1999). Not only do they differ concerning their attitudes toward suicide, leniency or representations of suicide, but also in their direct experience of suicide. Individual experiences of suicide are intrinsically related to the (social) representations of suicide (and even representations of life and death) in a specific cultural and social environment (Bradbury, 1999; Becker, 1973; Yalom, 1980). For these reasons, studies in suicidology should not overlook these social or cultural aspects when looking at suicide holistically. Suicide, as a phenomenon, is on the fine line between the individual and the social and, as such, should not be researched solely from one perspective. It is a phenomenon that by its very nature requires the researcher to be able to bridge the common modern western scientific dualisms between subject – object, individual – social, body – mind and so on. Our suggestion is that this is possible, by means of giving attention to the usage of different kinds of research methodologies without favouring certain aspects as much as before. Qualitative approaches in suicidology are used to study social representations, attitudes and values related to suicide (for example among different groups of individuals such as adolescents, students, elderly, professionals, politicians, etc.), media representations of suicide and so on. However, also in this field the focus continues to be on quantitative approaches, which are potentially limiting in scope and possibility of new knowledge acquisition. Qualitative research opens up the possibility of posing questions – in terms of main research questions as well as the questions that are

posed to the participants. We no longer aim to solely to answer the 'why' question, rather we allow the data to show us the important parts of the experience or phenomenon (e.g. in grounded theory or phenomenological approaches).

Ethical issues

Regarding the ethical considerations of research on suicides, one might first believe that an in-depth qualitative study might be associated with greater ethical issues than a more superficial quantitative study. The in-depth face-to-face interviews are longer, interviewers ask questions that *nobody else* asks, and the setting is rarely like an everyday exercise. Quantitative methods, on the contrary, seem rather harmless, like school paper-pencil tests which '*do no harm*'. This clear lack of understanding resonates from this simplified distinction. While in-depth interviews are no doubt longer and more comprehensive, they provide a place for personal reflexion on one's experience, sometimes give individuals a new personal meaning (e.g. helping science with their own story), and/or have a debriefing effect. The effect of narrating one's story or putting painful experiences into words can significantly alleviate distress (Pennebaker & Segal, 1999). In fact, this is not an everyday exercise, but might be an important and powerful tool for reintegration or growth. As Adler (1955/1997) put it, being able to formulate a narrative that is listened to by the right listener, we can potentially manage our traumatic or distressful experiences with more success. Moreover, the freedom of speech, a universal human right, might also be of concern in quantitative studies, since there is usually no place provided for the individual to tell his/her own story. In quantitative research, it is often difficult to ascertain the motivation of the participant to take part in the study, how involved and interested he/she was in the research process and how he/she experienced his/her participation in the study. It seems impossible to control or even know what kind of processes the questions have provoked for an individual. On the other hand, the usual practice of taking personal considerations for the interviewees in qualitative research is usually lacking in quantitative due to a much greater number of involved persons. Also, the quantitative data rarely provide further explanations of research aims or feedback. Thus, a person takes part in a study he/she cannot really indentify with and he/she may not even understand the aim of the study or might be purposely led astray about the aims in order to keep the study as objective as possible. These points should be viewed as important ethical weaknesses of quantitative methods. All of these things might contribute to the stigmatization of people with experiences of suicide more in quantitative research than in qualitative research.

It is, however, important to bear in mind that qualitative research aims at studying the phenomenon of suicide and is not a form of support or counselling, although it at times it resembles such efforts. Even if an individual experiences relief while participating a qualitative interview, the overall structure of that session

should remain within the spectrum of research and the boundaries should be set clearly by the researcher. Researchers should also receive systematic supervision when handling difficult research topics such as suicide so that they are ~~be~~ better prepared to act as competent and emotionally stable researchers.

Another concern is whether quantitative research, in its effort to *measure*, might actually de-power persons with suicidal experience. In order to counter this possibility, quantitative studies today often provide additional support for their research participants or combine the quantitative methods with qualitative approaches in order to fulfil ethical obligations (e.g. after the assessment of suicidal risk, the emergency cases are invited to do an interview). The aim of research should indeed be the empowerment of persons involved in the study. As this is sometimes difficult or impossible to achieve with quantitative studies, qualitative research might in certain situations be a more appropriate and ethical research method to use.

Another issue rarely addressed in suicidology is the generalisation of the definition of suicide. Statistical figures do not distinguish the differences in different types of suicide, even though the reasons for them, the experience and dynamics behind them might not always have a lot in common. To be more precise, quantitative research can hardly study the difference between a healthy person's suicide and a terminally ill persons' suicide, between the experience of a young and an older suicide survivor or between the inner world of suicide attempter who has attempted suicide several times and person who only attempted suicide once. It is qualitative research~~;~~ which gives us the opportunity to address and understand such questions.

Researcher's values: un(der)examined

The above sections have all, in different respects, reflected the prevalent values and attitudes in western science, in general, and in suicidology and related fields in particular. Before concluding, we would like to focus on the values among researchers in this field and show that these are under-examined or even completely unexamined and how this might exert great influence on the research in this field. Suicidologists, as scientists researching the phenomenon of suicide, are touching upon a field of fundamental and much disputed human and social values. It is undisputable that suicide is a highly value-laden issue that relates to questions of life, death, freedom, choice, religion and many other domains. The values (regarding suicide, death and life) prevalent in a society might not only influence the suicide rates (by influencing individuals' consideration of or attempting suicide) but there is also a need to consider and reflect upon the values and assumptions regarding suicide among the researchers and take into account how these shape and influence the 'hows' and 'whys' of doing or not doing particular kind of research.

Suicide is a difficult and multi-faceted issue and not only for those struggling with suicidal thoughts or those who have attempted to kill themselves, but also for

those conducting research on suicide or even simply living in a world where, whether we like it or not and whether we acknowledge it or not, suicide is always an option. This need not be bad in itself, although western society and science still too often see suicide as something awful, to be prevented or avoided in any situation and at any cost[5]. Nietzsche (based on Yalom, 1980) once said that the thought of suicide has saved many lives. Furthermore, he also said that life can only be lived seriously and fully once one has considered suicide and became aware of it as an option in every single moment. The question of suicide is related to the questions of life and death, meaning in life, freedom of choice, etc. (Yalom, 1980; Amery, 1999; Cutcliffe & Links, 2008). Even researchers, as human beings, are not exempt from having values and opinions regarding these issues. Do we or do we not accept suicide as an option in some circumstances and why? Can suicide ever be the right thing to do? (Cutcliffe & Links, 2008). Our answers to these questions indisputably shape our ways of doing research in suicidology.

Values are understood to be as attitudes toward abstract entities such as freedom, choice, and justice (Bohner, 2001). Social values represent certain patterns of thought and behaviour that a particular society or culture holds in high regard (Reber & Reber, 2001). Values and attitudes of individuals can thus hardly be completely distinguished from the societal ones. It is our aim to raise the question of how much the field of suicidology and the suicidologists themselves are influenced and guided by the prevalent (social) values regarding suicide. At the same time these must contribute to how suicide is perceived. Moreover, it is important to ask ourselves how much consideration is given to the basic assumptions (if they are part of the researchers' awareness at all) guiding the research questions, methods, interpretations and practical implications of research results. How much do researchers reflect on their own views, potential biases and assumptions when they engaged in research?

It appears that especially in suicidology, where in dealing with the question of suicide we are also dealing with questions of life and death (Yalom, 1980), the researchers' opinions and values are of great importance and for the ways in which research is conducted (from the questions posed, methods employed, data analysis to the interpretation of results and their practical application). Is it possible that the

[5] It is important to realize that these ideas regarding suicide prevention or values, representations and assumptions regarding suicide are not the ultimate and unquestionable truths, but – instead – stem from the socio-historical circumstances during which and through which societies have made sense of suicide in particular ways. Although there are some differences between countries in the west, suicide has gone from being a sin, a crime to being a mental illness or at least a result of or very closely related to mental illness. Can we today understand suicide without understanding how our societies have made sense of this intricate phenomenon? Can we as researchers ignore that we are always a part of a cultural and social context with its particular values regarding what is right or wrong, sin or crime, normal or abnormal (Szasz, 1999; Alvarez, 1971)?

'need' to explain suicidal behaviour stems from the fears and anxieties that suicide poses for the researchers and the society in general? If research is conducted without reflexion on the part of the researchers, it might actually tell us more about the attitudes of researchers than the phenomenon researched. It is important to recognize that we cannot simply dismiss our attitudes and opinions but should take time recognize them and attempt to 'bracket' (Spinelli, 2005) them to allow ourselves to get closer to the phenomenon we are researching. In this way, *"identifying and understanding one's own view creates a possibility for new understanding and a new view."* (Haggman-Laitila, 1999, 13). This relates to our introductory debate regarding the difference between explanation and understanding in different research approaches and, at the same time, relates to doing ethical research. However, it is true for any kind of research, that there is the researcher's contribution in the meaning-making process of research no matter how 'objective' the methods may be. This is especially important in terms of doing *ethical* research in suicidology and counters the more or less idealistic view of the objective researcher in quantitative approaches where no possible impact on participants and research results or interpretations is considered. *"The researcher cannot detach from his or her own view. The researcher is able to understand the experiences of an individual only through the researcher's own view. The research process in a balanced co-operative relationship between the subjects and the researcher. Generating knowledge about an individual experiential world is based on both a subject's self-knowledge and the researcher's ability to overcome his or her point of view and to understand another person."* (Haggman-Laitila, 1999, 13).

Some research exists regarding how physicians, psychiatrists or other professionals view suicide. The studies so far showed that individuals who have experienced suicide in some way (e.g. suicidal thoughts or a suicide attempt) perceive the phenomenon of suicide differently than the mental health professionals (Kocmur & Dernovšek, 2003; Michel, Valach & Waeber, 1994; Zadravec, Grad & Sočan, 2006). The individuals understand suicide as a 'way out' or 'loss of control', while the same act might be seen by others (even by professionals) as a form of manipulation, attention seeking or blackmailing (Michel, Valach & Waeber, 1994). *"Many contemporary physicians tend to consider suicide the most self-destructive and evil thing a human being can do and something that should be avoided at all costs. Even the patient's contemplation suicide is often considered harmful and treated as a disease in itself"* (Ventegodt & Merrick, 2006, 562). From the research or professional point of view, the individual's perspective is often seen as very obvious, despite the real evidence. Research shows that there are important differences in how various groups see or experience suicide. It appears especially unethical to disregard the personal experiences of suicide as legitimate source of data in favour of objective measures that might be far away from what real people in real situations are going through in relation to suicide. What is more, the empathy for the patient's story and his/her mental pain, which is of fundamental importance in psychotherapeutic treatment, is often missing in research work. Orbach (2009) emphasises that therapeutic approach begins with the therapist's own confrontation with his/her fear of death,

and later with helping the patient. Perhaps this is similar in the field of research about suicide. In suicidological research, there is a lack of trainings regarding such issues which might be related to the high suicide rates in professions in this field field might also be related to this fact.

More detailed research is needed regarding the values of the people who study suicide. It would, for instance, be very interesting to look at their values and assumptions regarding suicide, death and life in comparison to the population of other scientists or psychologists. Can we, researchers, who are at the same time also human beings, ever be completely objective and detach ourselves from our own background and positions (tradition, culture, language, history, memory….)? In this paper we have argued that this is not possible and the best we can do is recognize and reflect on our values and assumptions that guide and influence our research.

Conclusion

This paper has focused on different aspects of qualitative research in suicidology. We have touched upon how the one-sidedness of suicidological research is related to the wider scientific tradition and values prominent in science. We have discussed the one-sidedness of suicidological research and pointed to the need to give more attention to different, less acknowledged aspects of the phenomenon of suicide (such as the individual experience) that are often best approached through qualitative approaches such as in-depth interviews or focus groups. Further research on the experience of being suicidal, attempting suicide, being a suicide survivor, taking care of suicidal persons and so forth would contribute greatly to our understanding of this phenomenon and perhaps allow for better interpretation as well as implementation of results from other types of research. By pointing out certain examples of how qualitative approaches can increase our understanding of the phenomenon of suicide, we hope to have further supported the need for more qualitative research in suicidology (Hjemeland & Knizek, 2010). It appears to us that qualitative research with individuals with an experience of suicide can be equally if not more ethical and perhaps even beneficial for the participants than the quantitative approaches. We especially believe that researchers should consider and understand their own values, attitudes, biases and responses to suicidal behaviour and include their observations in their studies. Moreover, studies should be conducted regarding these issues to show how such values influence and direct research efforts. The qualitative-quantitative debate well reflects what kind of research is valued and preferred in the present scientific tradition – what is considered more and what less 'scientific'.

It is not our goal to favour one kind of research over another. We wish that the complexity of the studied phenomenon would be taken seriously and that different methodological approaches, stemming from different theoretical foundations,

would be treated as equally important for the advancement of science. This paper has shown that any kind of research can be invalid or purely subjective if the assumptions, biases and values behind the research are not attented to or if the results are manipulated (by means of qualitative or quantitative research methodology) to give answers the researcher is looking for. In this contribution a distinction has been made between different research aims in suicidology, particulary between the desire to *explain* and to *understand* suicidal behaviour, which was shown to be the main difference between quantitative and qualitative research (Hjemeland & Knizek 2010). Of course, the investigation of both the general and the individual is necessary (Leenaars, 1997; 2002) for coherent and beneficial research advancement in this field.

We have to keep in mind the aims of studies in suicidology. The question, or even better the phenomenon in question, should guide us in selecting the method we use and not the other way around. Knizek and Hjemeland (2007) argue that suicidology is a multidisciplinary field, not a unique science. This *"implies that the theories and models in suicidology need to be rooted within different sciences, each with their own tailor-made terminology, and, consequently, will have to deal with a translation problem in the attempt to build coherent models"* (Knizek & Hjelmeland, 2007, 699). By combining seemingly opposing approaches to research from different disciplines, we may be able to move the field of suicide research even further. Suicide is studied from different disciplines and viewpoints, but it is mostly conceptualized and simplified as a "caused" phenomenon – e.g. a consequence of mental illness (Szasz, 1999) and it is commonly considered as a major mental health problem or a public health issue (Westefeld et al., 2000). We should strive to overcome such simplifications and aim for a more comprehensive understanding of suicide.

At the same time, as Estalella suggests (2010), it is important to ask ourselves, which values we wish to respect in our research. Should that be the prevalent scientific ones of the researchers or of the people with an experience of suicide, or shall we in fact aim for enacting dialogical ethics in suicidology (in a way that integrates all different aspects)? Estalella's suggestion is furthermore that "the main objective of research ethics should be to search for the right questions" (2010, 1) - the ones that touch upon and consider the values of the people that we research. In suicidology, we rarely know the values of the individuals experiencing suicide. Moreover, we often assume that their priorities are wrong (e.g. when having suicidal intentions) and we attempt to protect them from their own wishes by labeling them, in most cases, as mentally ill. Are we then enforcing our own values or are we protecting their values as well? With this we would like to show the intrinsic interrelatedness of research values and ethics. Only by respecting and researching values we can aim toward conducting ethical research.

In the end, as Albert Camus (1942/1955, 11) put it in the *Myth of Sisyphus*, *"there is but one truly serious philosophical problem, and that is suicide. Judging whether life is or is not worth living amounts to answering the fundamental question of philosophy."* Suicide, as one of perhaps most complex (Leenaars, 2004) and at the same time fundamentally

important human questions or actions; indisputably concerns each unique individual and touches upon the question of our freedom of choice between life and death (Amery, 1999). In treating the subject as such in our research endeavours by, for instance, increasing qualitative research approaches, we not only respect its nature but also diminish the possibility of rejecting or overlooking the subjective experience. In such a way, we avoid dehumanizing the individual participant by making him/her merely a statistical figure in a situation when this is perhaps least desirable or helpful. As researchers, we need to be ethical both in how we approach the research topic and the research participants. At the same time, we need to consider and reflect upon the values and assumptions regarding suicide among ourselves in order to reflect on how these shape and influence the 'hows' and 'whys' of doing or not doing research in suicidology.

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