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C onstruction of Social Psychology

Editor: Brij Mohan



Advances in Psychology and Psychological Trends

Construction of Social Psychology
Advances in Psychology and Psychological Trends Series

Introduced and edited by: Professor Brij Mohan



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FOREWORD

InScience Press is honored to publish this book entitled *Construction of Social Psychology* as part of the Advances in Psychology and Psychological Trends series.

In this volume, a dedicated set of authors explore the Social Psychology field, contributing to the frontiers of knowledge. Success depends on the participation of those who wish to find creative solutions and believe their potential to change the world, altogether, to increase public engagement and cooperation from communities. Therefore, serving society with these initiatives and promoting knowledge, as part of our mission, requires the reinforcement of research efforts, education and science and cooperation between the most diverse studies and backgrounds.

These series of books comprise authors and editors work to address generalized research, albeit focused in specific sections, in the Psychology area. Contents show us how to navigate in the most broadening issues in contemporary education and research, in the broad Psychology field.

In particular, this book explores seven major divisions within Social Psychology, divided into seven sections: The Archeology of Social Psychology; Contemporary Social Psychology; Social Psychology of Human and Social Development; Social Problems and Social Psychology; Alienation, Exclusion and Terror: Current Issues and Future Challenges; Psychology as Social Practice; Science, Ideology and Social Psychology. Each section comprises chapters that have been peer-reviewed, and authors of the accepted chapters were asked to make corrections and improve the final submitted chapters. This process has resulted in the final publication of 16 high quality chapters organized into 7 sections. The following sections' and chapters' objectives provide information on the book contents.

Section 1, entitled “The Archeology of Social Psychology”, provides selected reviews and studies that unravel historic-epistemological mooring of social psychology as a discipline.

Chapter 1: *Converging Multiple Philosophical Paradigms for the Advance of Social Psychology - Epistemological bases for further developments*; by Eduardo R. Infante. The present work belongs to a massive literature revision of the historical landmarks of Social Psychology from its philosophical roots at the end of the nineteenth century to the present day. A deep reflection of its epistemological background is made, both considering the unit perspectives (individual, group, institutional, and transactional) and historical profiles (psychoanalytical, behaviourist, cognitivist, socio-biologist, and ethogenic) of the discipline onset. Within the revision, bases for a convergent paradigm are proposed

so as to overcome the enduring discipline crisis and to provide lines for further development by surmounting Kuhnian terms and limitations. Special attention is given to ease the discipline shift from the atomist-Watsonian rationalist model to the limited rational model of social sciences, (so called, Simon's bounded rationality). The convergent paradigm nests its rationale in this transformation process which is determined by the following features: political awareness, eclecticism, vulnerability of study object, methodological pluralism, circular world vision, disengagement from quantitative tendency, and scientific relativism. These features are sufficiently well-described to apprehend the complex nature of our discipline and, at the same time, to connect them with meta-theoretical views of Social Psychology.

Chapter 2: *Social Psychology: Discipline, Interdiscipline or Transdiscipline?*; by James Moir. Social Psychology sits at the confluence of two disciplinary discourses: the psychology of sociological matters and the sociology of psychological processes. Of course these are not simply discourses but represent the entire disciplinary organization of social psychology as a subject and what it counts as legitimate areas of enquiry within its academic boundaries. These boundaries cut across the apparent divide between psychology and sociology, between the individual and the social, between the intra-psychic world and the world of human actions. However, this interdisciplinary appeal can also be considered as tapping into two broader discursive frameworks based upon the maintenance of an inner-outer dualism on the one hand and a rational and emotive dualism on the other. This chapter considers the way in which these discursive dualisms have given social psychology its *raison d'être* and its distinct dynamic and appeal as an academic subject. However, the recent turn to discourse within the discipline has not only provided it with the radical potential to study the construction and operation of these dualisms, but has also thrown into relief its interdisciplinary tensions again. This discourse on discourse involves a struggle for explanatory power in terms of either examining the ways in which psychological accounting is implicated in a flexible way as part of social practices at a 'local' level, or moving up an explanatory notch to a consideration of the operation of discourses on a more deterministic 'global' level. The chapter concludes by considering this new discursive territory, rooted in social psychology's origins.

Section 2, entitled "Contemporary Social Psychology", delivers chapters that deal with evolution of this discipline in the context of contemporary advancements and innovations.

Chapter 3: *The Application of Experimental Aesthetics in Social Psychology to Marketing Research in the Motorcycle Industry*; by Azhari Md Hashim. Consumers' emotional response is derived from their perception towards a product. This response undoubtedly plays a significant role in the visual appearance of motorcycle design. This object possess to communicate the aspects of our personality, group membership, and aspirations. Likewise, symbolism is obviously

in related to the motorcycle industry plays as a major role and perceives as a symbol of social status, power, and rebellion. The propose chapter will look further in the area of social psychology as it is discussed the scientific study of how people's thoughts, feelings, and behaviours are influenced by the actual, imagined, or implied presence of others. Limited information about product personality and user's image within the motorcycle design demonstrates a lack of understanding of how people judge the objects and how the objects bestow values upon users. It is mainly focused on the judgment of the product itself rather than how products bestow values upon users. The complexity of the problem arises from the market such varied demographic, the choice of name and colour, and the styling segmentation can be only solved and improved by using an efficient method. The chapter will discuss the studies which were done in order to formulate an experimental aesthetics to a marketing research method in the motorcycle industry. The discussion is then drawn upon psychology effect and possible explanation of the result following to the empirical method of investigation.

Chapter 4: *Methods in the Construction of Social Psychology: From Experimentation to Postmodernism*; by Bernard Cadet, Isabel Cuadrado-Gordillo and Inmaculada Fernández-Antelo. From the end of the 19th century until today, social psychology (SP) has been the field of psychology which has successfully conceived the greatest number of methodological innovations. This chapter deals with the construction of social psychology from epistemological and methodological perspectives. Following a recall of some early milestones, the options that were used to establish SP analyses are presented. The first options were aimed at defining two kinds of links between the object of psychology (conduct) and the methods used to study it (experimentation). But shortly after, it became necessary to invent new “ecological” (naturalistic) methods regarding numerous social situations. Some of them were needed to assess personal values, whereas others were designed to understand the forces and dynamics within the fields surrounding the conduct itself. Recently, the paradigm of complexity together with postmodern options led to the adoption of new tools of theorizing, applicable not only to the limited scope of SP but also to the discipline of psychology as a whole.

Section 3, entitled “Social Psychology of Human and Social Development”, offers a range of research about the nexus of ‘human’ and ‘social’ which impact development.

Chapter 5: *The Social Identity Approach to Mergers and Acquisitions: An Overview*; by Eleni Makri. Since mergers and acquisitions (M&As) clearly require a recategorization process where previously distinct corporate partners are combined into one merged entity (i.e. the new post-merger organization), they point towards the effects of group membership and intergroup relations that often end up in more conflict, decreased motivation and subsequently lowered organizational performance. Often the change that comes along with the merger

process is designed and experienced in discontinuous ways that threaten employees' stability and undermine the strategic and financial goals of the merger. The Social Identity Approach (SIA) which reflects the effects of group psychology on perceptions, attitudes and behaviour, provides influential insights into understanding employees' reactions to mergers. Not surprisingly then, the following chapter presents an overview of the essentials of the Social Identity Approach (SIA) and its implications in merger contexts to better understand the human side of them. We summarize the theoretical assumptions of the SIA regarding identification processes and management of identity in tandem with significant insights from empirical research applying such a perspective that may facilitate achieving favourable merger integration. At the end, we discuss issues and implications for further research.

Chapter 6: *Pain, Patients' Needs and Health-Related Quality of Life*; by Maribel Pelaez Dóro, Aline Cristina Antonechen and Iris Miyake Okumura. Pain is a widely discussed phenomenon due to its complex comprehension and impact on satisfying life condition. It is related to physiological, psychological, spiritual and social aspects. Considering these dimensions, Cecily Saunders conceptualized "Total Pain". Since the person cannot realize working activities, house's expenditure may enhance as total workforce decrease, especially if the patient is the provider. Isolation leads to suffering originated from feelings (guilt, rejection, fear, impotence, incomprehension), because there is a lack of relations and autonomy. It occurs by individual external and internal factors. As one cannot follow his/her social circle, there is a weakened relationship. Depending on the disease, there is social stigmatization on how pain is expressed and cultural environment presents negative prejudice. Pain generates the need to reorganize/adapt to a new health condition, which does not always reflects the earlier lifestyle. Some measures can be taken to minimize suffering from those who live with significant impact on global quality of life. Receptiveness by professionals, family members and society can slow down those consequences. More efforts towards policies that promote a humanized treatment seems important to future's pain management

Chapter 7: *Interpersonal Relations and Personality Traits in Adult Psychology Students: Interdependence Phenomena*; by Galina Kozhukhar. The purpose of this study was to investigate the interdependence between interpersonal relations and personality traits in would-be psychologists. The sample consisted of 115 students (aged between 23 and 45 y.o.), taking a retraining course in practical psychology. The students completed the following questionnaires: The 16 Personality Factor Questionnaire (R. Cattell), Cook –Medley Hostility Scale, Rosenberg's Faith in People Scale, Acceptance of Others Scale (W.F. Fey), Agreeableness Scale (scale from the Big Five), Communicative Tolerance and Communicative attitude Scale (V. Boyko). The results of the multiple regression analysis showed that all types of relations (except cynicism) were predictors of 9 personality traits, and acceptance of others was the predictor of such integral trait as self-esteem. In turn,

several personality traits were predictors of the relations to others (except cynicism too). Thus, we gained a more complete understanding of interdependence between such fundamental psychological phenomena as interpersonal relations and personality traits in psychology students, and the peculiarity of associations between them. The results of the study can help to improve professional retraining programs for psychologists.

Chapter 8: *Social Construction of Spirituality among Teachers and Healthcare Workers in Thailand*; by Dusadee Yoelao and Kanu Priya Mohan. Spirituality at work, is being increasingly explored in multi-disciplinary research from the viewpoint of individuals, their social and professional groups, and also their workplaces and/or organizations. Teachers and Health care workers play an important role in any society as they provide service for the problems and the needs of children and patients. Working in these professions requires a spirit of empathy and selflessness while providing service, and often stirs the spiritual component within the service provider. This chapter is based on an extensive research project initiated by a non-governmental organization to investigate a construction of spirituality, its process from the perspective of teachers and health care workers in Thailand. A research sample of 100 teachers and health care workers were purposively selected from four regions of Thailand. For this qualitative research design, the grounded theory method was used for understanding the social construction of spirituality and its other themes. This chapter shares the research based evidence to explain the meaning of spirituality, the social factors influencing the concept of spirituality, and the consequences of spirituality.

Section 4, entitled “Social Problems and Social Psychology” posits social problems that directly and indirectly influence psychology.

Chapter 9: *Theory of Social Partitions and Identity Dynamics*; by Philippe Castel and Marie-Françoise Lacassagne. The aim of this chapter is to present the theory of “social partitions” and its related methodology (RepMut) using the results of certain research. The theory of social partitions is part of a trend in social categorization started by Tajfel. According to the principle of humans permanently seeking positive identity, it links the social identity levels provided by the SCT with ways of thinking highlighted by the social psychology of language. It also considers the importance of the social scene in the identity dynamic. This theory led to the creation of a software program which is a diagnostic tool of intergroup relations. A set of studies carried out in various fields (sport, discrimination, education, health) using this tool have not only enabled identity strategies in terms of social partitions to be drawn out, but also the understanding of some psychosocial mechanisms to be refined.

Chapter 10: *Attachment Styles and Parasocial Relationships: A Collectivist Society Perspective*; by Juliet Dinkha, Charles Mitchell and Mourad Dakhli. In this study we investigate parasocial relationships in media; more specifically we explore why

audience members fashion attachments with television personalities. The study aligns with previous research in the area by Cole and Leets, 1999 that looked at attachments formed with media figures and the correlation to level of attachments in real-life relationships. In their study, Cole and Leets used a three-dimensional attachment scale that included anxious-ambivalent, avoidant, and secure, and found those with higher insecurity or unstable real-life relationships have stronger parasocial relationships. We surveyed university age respondents and we used the same scales as Cole and Leets to examine whether in Kuwait, where dating violates social norms and looser bonds are found outside of the home, that stronger parasocial relationships with media personalities will be found because of the need to fulfill relationship needs outside of family. Our hypotheses in this chapter is that higher levels of anxious-ambivalents and avoidants both will be found due to the strict collectivist nature of the society forcing many to compensate for lack of real world relationships by forming mediated bonds. Moreover, we posited and discovered that that these two groups also showed the highest levels of parasocial relationships in our sample.

Section 5, entitled “Alienation, Exclusion and Terror: Current Issues and Future Challenges”, explored some burning issues of our times. We are on the cusp of an “age of unreason” (The Economist, July 11, 2015). Aspects of violence shape our beliefs and attitudes. Within our limitations, we could address a few selected issues including homelessness.

Chapter 11: *Identifying Violence – Research on Residential Care Girls’ Recognition of Violence*; by Helena Parkkila and Mervi Heikkinen. The focus of this study is the violence descriptions and definitions of girls aged 14-18, who currently live in child protective institutions under the legal responsibility of the public authorities. A total of fifty-seven individual interviews for target group girls were conducted in nineteen residential care institutions in Bulgaria, Finland, Italy and Catalonia, Spain, in the spring of 2013. With the aim of drawing up a general picture of violence recognition among girls, we use a feminist theoretical discussion and definitions of violence to address the gendered and sexualized forms of violence described by the interviewed girls. In all of the countries concerned, the interviewed girls described physical, mental/psychological and verbal violence. The results of this study suggest that there are gaps in girls’ recognition of sexual violence and violence towards oneself. Girls in residential care institutions are vulnerable to violence due to their age, gender, race and previous and often cumulative victimization with respect to various forms of violence. The study contributes to the development of participatory research methods within a feminist social psychology, by presenting a standpoint on the research making process, in particular by focusing on experiences of marginalized girls in residential care institutions and to their empowerment.

Chapter 12: *Being Homeless: An Empty Self in an Empty World*; by Susan Eustace. Research into homelessness has been predominantly quantitative in design, solution-focused and may have effectively concealed the phenomenon itself. This hermeneutic phenomenological study involved in-depth interviews with six homeless persons currently rough sleeping or staying in temporary hostels in Dublin, Ireland. Participants ranged in age from 19 to 25 years and comprised three men and three women. Five were Irish born and one had moved to Ireland from Asia during the financial boom. Analysis revealed two essential, constitutive characteristics of homelessness, namely boredom as the mood of homelessness and the deeply anxiety-evoking, reduced capacity to care for oneself and to access and utilize care from others. Homeless persons are bored with the relentless waiting that life on the street entails. They live in a state of existential abandonment where the self, cut off from both the past and the future, exists in a meaningless vacuum. Furthermore, homelessness in terms of its origins and continuance can be viewed as a consequence of the breakdown of relationship with self and with others. Homeless persons struggle profoundly to access and maintain meaningful relationships. Through boredom and isolation, homeless persons exist as an empty self, suspended in an empty world. It is recommended that service providers and psychologists adopt more inclusive, creative, caring attitudes and policies underpinned by an understanding of the homeless person's need for meaningful and purposeful engagement in the world.

Section 6, entitled "Psychology as Social Practice" sought to explore certain dimensions of psychology that relate to social practice as a unified discipline replacing the 'departmentality' of bureaucratized disciplines (Mohan, B. 2015: 3-30)¹

Chapter 13: *The Consciousness of Unemployed Workers in Brazil Analysed by Social Psychology*; by Inara Barbosa Leão, Juberto Antonio Massud de Souza and Ana Paula Bessa da Silva. We deal with a social psychology that understands the psyche as an individual psychological instance, coming from the interactions between the social processes and the biological ones in the *homo sapiens* species, that occur in social classes, mediated by the groups in which we live in, leading us to think and act as their members. These determinations were applied to research on the Psychosocial Implications of Unemployment for the Individual Consciousness: Manifestations in Thought and Emotions developed in Brazil with one thousand (1000) unemployed workers. The theoretical-methodological framework was based on dialectical and historical materialism that permitted rebuilding the real movement of the relation between the employed work and the unemployment. We analyzed the processes of consciousness of the unemployed worker affected by the mediation of their families and emotions, when of one of its members lost employment. We concluded that unemployment builds different consciences from the ones that traditional psychology can explain, because it

¹Mohan, Brij. 2015. *Global Frontiers of Social Development Theory and Practice: Economy, Climate and Justice*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

makes it impossible for men to produce their lives. The justification for this is based on neoliberal ideas that allow blaming the unemployed for their own situation, which is represented in psychosocial derogatory terms. Therefore, the psychological work must have a social character that leads to the de-alienation of consciences so that they understand the socioeconomic and policies relations that destroy some working methods, but that can create others.

Chapter 14: *Predicting and Changing Behaviour: The Social Psychology Perspective*; by Shulamith Kreitler. The issue of the relations of attitudes to behaviour has been of central importance in social psychology. The frequent failure of studies to prove the expected relations of attitudes to behaviours has prompted several major theoretical attempts to explain the failure and to create conditions under which attitudes would prove to be related to behaviours. These attempts finally culminated in several models explicating the relations of cognitive contents to behaviours. The major shortcomings of these models were their emphasis on rational decision making as the basis for the emergence of behaviour and reliance on self-reports of behaviour rather than actual behaviours. These shortcomings are overcome in the described model of cognitive orientation which is a general cognitive-motivational approach to understanding, predicting and changing behaviours. Its major assumption is that behaviour is a function of a motivational disposition, based on beliefs of four types (about oneself, about others and reality, about norms and about goals) referring to themes relevant for the behaviour in question, and of a behavioural program. The procedures of predicting behaviour and changing behaviour are described and illustrated.

Section 7, entitled “Science, Ideology and Social Psychology”, seeks to unravel certain behavioural aspects of health, ‘mobile health’, and faith that explain the psychology beyond ideological gloss, scientism included.

Chapter 15: *The Social-Psychology of Religion - The Importance of Studying Religion Using Scientific Methodologies*; by Joel R. Anderson. Religion plays a vital role in the formation of communities and the interaction of cultures, yet is largely ignored in psychological texts. Contemporary religious trends across the globe are rapidly changing. For example, less people are adhering to traditional forms of religious practice, Atheism and secular beliefs are becoming increasingly common and valid, and acts of terror are commonly perceived as motivated by religion. This chapter discusses the operationalization of religion as a variable in scientific research (i.e., religious affiliation vs. use of religion in daily life) before discussing how this operationalization impacts our existing understanding of the relationship between religion and intra- (e.g., coping, personal decision making) and inter-personal (e.g., attitudes and behaviors towards outgroup members) psychological processes. The chapter closes with a discussion of challenges for the future of this field and recommendations for the measurement of this complex variable.

Chapter 16: *Attitudes Toward mHealth: A Look at General Attitudinal Indices Among Selected Filipino Undergraduates*; by Roann Munoz Ramos, Paula Glenda Ferrer-Cheng and Francine Rose de Castro. Mobile phones are increasingly used for Internet access due to their relatively low cost, easy availability and high usage rates. The ubiquity of mobile technology, especially among young people, is being incorporated in healthcare delivery. Known as mobile health (mHealth), it is the practice of medicine and public health supported by mobile devices. In developing countries, such as the Philippines, mHealth is relatively in its early stage. The popularity of mobile devices and applications (apps) among Filipinos may offer advantages and opportunities for local health professionals. However, to maximize mHealth usage, it is important to ascertain the attitudes regarding mHealth. To this end, survey forms were distributed to 811 undergraduates. In addition, a series of focus group discussions (FGDs) was conducted with 76 participants, elaborating on survey responses and centring on themes such as mHealth familiarity and health app usage. Although the participants are technologically adept and active Internet users, majority who responded to the survey are unaware of mHealth (81%). During the FGDs, ambivalent attitudes toward mHealth and health apps are expressed. Despite acknowledging the benefits of mHealth and mHealth apps, crucial issues such as mobile health applications validity are raised.

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December 2015

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INTRODUCTION

Brij Mohan

Social Psychology, a sociological offshoot of psychology, is conceptualized here as a disciplinarity that unravels the human experience in its varied dimensions involving conditions, interactions and behaviors at different levels of human and social development.

Construction of Social Psychology (CSP) is in fact a reconstruction of the duality that forged professional alliances between inter-cognate disciplines. Exploration of human-social interaction and development posits Social Psychology (SP) as an independent field of study and research beyond Cartesian dualism and interdisciplinary hybridism.

I. Mind and Social Consciousness

Pope Francis' homilies delivered of late to the United States and peoples of the world is perhaps the most inspired, powerful, and relevant message that calls for the understanding of human and social development which, I have always believed, is crucial for psycho-social symbiosis¹.

Human quest for believing and knowing preempted science as a method of discovery. It has persisted ever since *Homo sapiens* began interacting with each other as individuals in groups and communities. From times immemorial societies have developed cultural norms that continue to regulate human behavior. Each culture's worldview offers a perspective on life. Human societies, both as abstractions and congregates, embody primordial philosophical paradigms that help the *construction* and *deconstruction* of Social Psychology.

While *psychology* got prefixed with *social* mainly in the post-war era of the 20th century, new realities of the 21st century call for transformative reflection on the nature and scope of its subject. Post-modernity in the digital age posits society in a state of flux unknown in history. On the cusp of paradoxical development when we confront many a social and cultural meltdown, redefinition of *Social Psychology* assumes a special significance.

The factors that account for this new direction are related to: i) rise of inequality in

¹“In *Laudato Si'*, I call for a courageous and responsible effort to “redirect our steps” (ibid., 61), and to avert the most serious effects of the environmental deterioration caused by human activity. I am convinced that we can make a difference and I have no doubt that the United States – and this Congress – have an important role to play. Now is the time for courageous actions and strategies, aimed at implementing a “culture of care” (ibid., 231) and “an integrated approach to combating poverty, restoring dignity to the excluded, and at the same time protecting nature” (ibid., 139). “We have the freedom needed to limit and direct technology” (ibid., 112); “to devise intelligent ways of developing and limiting our power” (ibid., 78); and to put technology “at the service of another type of progress, one which is healthier, more human, more social, more integral” (ibid., 112). In this regard, I am confident that America's outstanding academic and research institutions can make a vital contribution in the years ahead.”¹

globalized culture; ii) anti-state counter-revolutions (ISIS for example); iii) breakdown of social institutions that defined individual, family and marriage, and community, the bases of social contract that lies broken.

It's a tragic irony that philosophy as a discipline is losing ground while techno-material specialties are riding the tide of success. These advancements, we contend, cannot liberate humanity from its innate trappings. Interdisciplinarity warrants unification of knowledge that social practices that attempt to unravel the totality of person in environmental situations breeding functional and dysfunctional behaviors. Kurt Lewin's Equation, $B=f(P,E)$ "stipulates that behavior is a function of the person and environment, and he advocated "action research" applying this equation and scientific methods to address social problems such as prejudice and group conflict"².

This book is a modest attempt to anthologize some aspects of new social psychology that signify Social Psychology's frontiers and challenges in a hopelessly conflict ridden complex world.

II. Construction of Social Psychology

"Of all branches of social psychology, none seems to have as much intuitive appeal as does social psychology" (Baron & Graziano, 1991). In psychology, social psychology is the scientific study of how people's thoughts, feelings, and behaviors are influenced by the actual, imagined, or implied presence of others" (Allport in Aronson, 1985: 5). Experimental and interpretative methods evolved from inquisitive minds' search for understanding behaviors that would otherwise pass for their apparent insignificance.

Fundamentals of social psychology are embedded in the interdisciplinary study of three intertwined aspects of "humanology and technology" undergirding the interactional processes of: i) communication, or lack of, ii) socialization and its developmental facets, and iii) individual in the group (Hartley & Hartley 1961). Social psychology has thus traditionally dealt with inter-personal relationships in a societal context with emphasis on beliefs and attitudes, perceptions and realities that impact social functioning of people in a particular culture in a spatiotemporal context. Implicitly, social conflict, change, accommodation, and cooperation are invisible and invincible forces that impact human behaviors and interactions. Therefore, no static, essentialist theory of social psychological process can be formulated.

Construction of social psychology involves "creative and critical processes" (McGuire, 1999). William J. McGuire studied attitudes, persuasion and social influences that undergird his learning theory underlying ephemeral aspects of human thoughts, behaviors and actions encompassing the whole spectrum of critical processes. He sought to study: "the magical experiments on attitude inoculation showing that small doses of a persuasive message can increase resistance to later larger doses; the construction of self in terms of its distinctive

²<https://www.socialpsychology.org/social-figures.htm#top> (Accessed December 13, 15).

and atypical features; the content, structure, and processing of thought system functioning by balancing logical consistency, realistic coping, and hedonic gratification; persuasion by Socratic questioning that selectively directs attention; and the process of doing research as an exciting and infinitely rewarding activity” (1999: cover).

The “social problem” approach to scientific social psychology involving individual, interpersonal and group processes” (Baron & Graziano, 1991) seems to signify SP’s role from a logical and pragmatic viewpoint. Symbolic interactionism along with internalization and differentiation, socialization, power and deviance has added depth and authenticity to comprehend and resolve complicated aspects of social psychology (Lindesmith, Straus, & Denzin, 1975; Backman & Secord, 1966).

The twenty-first century is striding towards advancements that empower and threaten the basic elements of our civil society and social contract. Concepts of family, marriage and community are changing; institutions that built societal structures are crumbling. Meltdown is not limited to only usually derided ‘underclass’ and ‘developing nations’. Ideologies have disappeared in the name of growth, development and globalization. New frontiers of social psychology are vaguely inherent in the nature of contemporary social environment. I confine this introductory discussion in three subsections³.

1) Frontiers of Social Psychology⁴

In the last seven or eight decades, human ingenuity has brought an order in a rather chaotic world. One could also argue against this premise. Nonetheless, it cannot be gainsaid that human experiences and innovations have metamorphosized social reality. There is a three dimensional paradox of this emerging phenomenon which, I contend, should be the new focus of all SP research:

Exhibit I seeks to interface three intertwined (A, B, C) bases of bio-social-personal foundations of an interactional sphere where roots of human behavior lay grounded relative to a)...b)...and c)... The womb of this bio-interactional design of human-social development is embedded in socio-cultural whole that shapes, modifies and manipulates the raw trappings of one’s intra-psychic world. The major streams of psychological and sociological thought broadly underscore this formulation as illustrated by the following diagram.

³These observations are based on my attempt to 1) integrate environment and human behavior; 2) unify theory and practice; and 3) underscore the value of human intuitiveness that explores socio-psychological frontiers. I have tested out these premises in my recent two lectures/colloquia that I delivered at Lucknow (November 27, 2015) and Delhi universities (December 11, 2015) in India.

⁴This section is based on my lead article that seeks to establish the symbiotic relationship between *environment and social psychology*, launching the first journal on the subject *See the premier volume of Environment and Social Psychology*, 2016 Vol. I, 1 (<http://esp.whioce.com>).

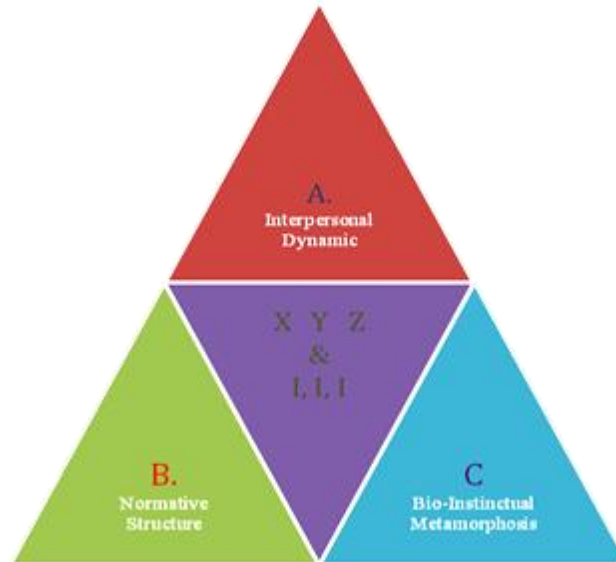


Exhibit I

Emergence of a Discipline: A Framework

- A= Interpersonal Dynamic (ID)
- B= Normative Structure (NS)
- C= Bio-Instinctual Metamorphosis (BIM)

X. Frontiers of a Discipline: Social Psychology

- 1) Contexts: Social, Cultural, Political and Economic
- 2) Development and Techno-Digital Revolution

Instinctual, institutional and Intellectual rational and irrational motives and impulses are embedded in evolutionary and developmental phases of human experience. Social Psychology's frontiers are variegated with limitless possibilities to transform the culture of fear and terror to a new culture of sustainable peace and development. In other words, if A, B, C and X, Y, Z, contextualized within I, I, I as postulated above (Exhibit I), posit of Social Psychology as a discipline that unravels the parameters, principles and promises of a new frontier of knowledge.

In my fifth trilogy on *Human-Social Development* (Mohan, 2007; 2011; 2015), I have endeavored to unify syntheses of overlapping disciplinarity, which exist as islands in the vastness of oceanic knowledge (Mohan, 1999). This thrust is seeks to achieve unification of social sciences that is most conducive to progress.

2) *The Discipline*

In 1694 Steven Blankaart seems to have used Social Psychology for the first time in English implying soul in a body. Psychologiá is owed to Latinist named Marko Marulié. Wilhelm Wundt, credited to found psychology as a scientific study, began his pioneering work. Hippocrates, Plato, Thales, Manu and Chankya have alluded

to mind and soul in relation to feelings, thoughts, dreams, and behaviors in ancient literature. Social psychologists have traditionally studied their behaviors and internalized norms in relation to inter-personal relationships and interactions in situations that are crucial to unravel feelings, attitudes, beliefs, cognitions, persuasions and motivations. Post-War developments in behavioral sciences underscored the significance of such an approach with emphases on individual (American) and group (Continental) dynamics. Thus intra- and inter-personal contacts, relationships and social-psychological interfaces constitute the main realm of this field of study and research.

As elucidated, and conceptualized, the foundation of a discipline is premised on certain notions that are validated by specific, even though abstract, empirical evidence of its need and relevance. Social Psychology (SP) emerged as ‘social’ ‘psychological’ phenomena forged a unified cognate platform for the understanding and interpretation of human interactions, transactions, and relationships that intensified the twine interface of human and social development (Mohan, 2007). While psychologists still continue to study mind and psyche and social scientists remain preoccupied with social processes, SP forcefully emerged as a cognate discipline unifying psychological and social aspects of the human condition. Scientific post-war advisements had reinforced this approach to unravel complexities of human behavior never understood before in a dynamic context emphasizing social, economic, mental, cultural, historical aspects of human development.

Sigmund Freud is dated. Karl Marx is dead. Mao Tse Dong is diminished. Gandhi and Buddha have become irrelevant. Ideology that once tainted intellectual discourse has now become pragmatic and functional. However, race, religion, class and gender continue to fuel the engines of academic discourse. Frederick Nietzsche was perhaps right: There are no facts; only interpretation. This juxtaposition of ideology, science, expedience and self-interest is perhaps the most single factor that has shaped the *construction of social psychology*, a discipline that is embedded in a diverse intellectual genealogy directed toward human experience and condition.

The fundamentals theories, methods, issues and problems of Social Psychology that have been discussed during the last fifty years include a phalanx of authors including Backman and Secord (1966), Baron and Grazzino (1991), Hartley (1961), Lindesmith, Strauss and Denzin (1975), Lindzey (1954), McGuire (1999) and Parker (1998). None of these texts, however, surface on the radar of current SP horizons. A casual Google search revealed 50 most important books written on social psychology⁵. The subjects mainly included in these “most important” books include human behavior and social being embedded in our habits, motivation, persuasion, belief, attitudes, prejudices, likings, attractions, disliking, aggression and deviance that we make us “social animals” (Brooks, 2011).

My approach to “introduce” Social Psychology here is critically constructionist-problem solving. In the new age of information revolution where

⁵See Gregory Ciotti, <http://www.sparringmind.com/psychology-books/> (Accessed December 14, 2015).

media, mass communications, and opinions matter in both public and private sectors, it is imperative that Social Psychology be accorded the status of a discipline that is intuitive and proactive. From hostage crisis to geopolitical issues, one cannot underestimate the power of social psychological methods.

3) *The Human Reality*

If “80% of adults will have a supercomputer in their pocket” by 2020, realities of the “planet of the phones” will change dramatically (*The Economist*, February 28 - March 6, 2015). Still no one knows if this might amount to a return of “planet of the apes”. New realities call for more dynamic synthesis of art and science, body and soul, and values and facts. When Carl Djerassi, ‘the father of the Pill’, taught on *biosocial aspects of birth control*, he was actually predicting a new frontier for all social psychologists. “Observing the future from his sofa...he saw humans decisively uncoupling sex from procreation,” (*The Economist*, Obituary Carl Djerassi, February 7, 2015: 86). Djerassi’s brave new world is an unfathomable realm of human-social complexities. “This baby” (*Time*, February 23, 2015: Cover), “could live to be 142 years old” (Carstensen, 2015: 69-70). In other words, “frontiers of longevity” are no more scientific fiction. If marriage and ‘family’ are dated institutions and fun is the hallmark of a neo-consumerist-hedonist civilization, society and inter-societal interactions inter-personal relationships included are on the cusp of a social revolution.

“Promiscuity and fidelity,” writes *Science and Technology* “seem to be specific biological adaptations. And their manifestations in men and women are not as different as you might expect.” (*The Economist*, February 7-13, 2015: 75). Human sexual behaviors, mores, and mating strategies constitute a new horizon on a primordial need to survive. SP must embrace such frontiers with greater sensitivity that attributed before. Man “has become promiscuous (which will promote caddishness). But humans are unusual in that a father often helps care for his offspring. Those offspring are (at least, on a state of nature) less likely to survive and thrive without him. That will promote caddishness.” (*The Economist*, February 3-17, 2015: 75).

Modernity, innovation and technology will play havoc with traditional mores, values and patterns. Look, how smart phones and social media have changed institutional needs and behaviors. Their impact transcends personal-instinctual boundaries. ISIS is using new technologies to re-establish medieval institutions including slavery, crucifixion, and beheadings as given mandates of Caliphate. Any apostate is liable to be punished in line with the religious doctrines of war. Graeme Wood writes: “Nearly all Islamic state’s decisions adhere to what it calls, on its billboards, license plates, and coins, ‘The Prophetic Methodology’.” (2015: 83)

What do 9-11, ISIS, *The Return of Khilafah*, and I-Phone have to do with SP? They all deepen and expand unbearable challenges of both ‘social’ and ‘psychological’. The ramifications of this development unravel human-social development in light of progressive dimensions of evolutionary processes. Our culture wars often are extended-reflective-ramifications of human conflicts and conundrums that validate socio-biogenic bases of human propensities, proclivities and perceptions. One can

witness cultural warriors practically in every departmental unit on a university campus that allows dissent and diversity but ignores bigoted against the marginalized people of color, LGBT, ‘aliens’ denigrated as apostates of an established order.

Mankind muddles through developmental phases. Contradictions, paradoxes and uncertainties muffle the advancement of a global civil society, which may never be accomplished. “TSA’s emergency powers are doing more harm than good,” writes Massimo Calabresi (2015: 45). The impossibility of international society is embedded in human psyche rather than societal structures and faltering social institutions. “We are all Belgians now.” (*The Economist*, November 28, 2015:50). Lingering human incompleteness since messiahs and paragons of progress have failed challenges Social Psychology. Manmade blasphemies, politically engineered mayhems, and culturally incubated pathologies power and greed sustains primordial prejudices, stereotypes, beliefs and perceptions that are fundamentally flawed.

There are psychosocial imperatives, which ought to be taken into serious consideration. Social Psychology has a much larger burden than psychology has claimed. What if I contend that the real cause of American longevity is more an outcome of its prosperity, level of living standards and better health care? Does it not imply that human and social development are functionally intertwined and materially determined by institutional-structural factors?

Human Sexuality, in post-Kinsley era has mostly been a subject of masculinity. FDA just disapproved a female libido pill⁶ Sexism seems to be an alleged reason for the neglect of this aspect of human sexuality.

Sex and War have been intrinsically embedded in the history of human evolution (Potts & Hayden, 2008). Since the nature of human conflict has apparently broadened beyond the territorial imperative, one cannot ignore the roots and consequences of war. Pacifism, realism, and jingoism have not substantially reduced the dangers of war in a world that is increasingly better equipped to prevent and perpetuate world conflicts. This paradox of modernity involves a nexus of *social* and *psychological* determinants that call for new interpretations of old trappings.

Historian Ian Morris (2013) talks about ‘productive’ and ‘unproductive’ wars. Francis Fukuyama, a conservative theorist, seemingly underscores Morris: “War spurs societies to create institutions that limit violence and create social peace,” (2014: 42).

The operations of hard drug trade in the world are mindboggling to say the least⁷. No one talks about ‘war against poverty’ which half-a-century ago was the foundation of the Great Society. Terror, violence, drugs, arms, and inequality rise alongside growth and development.

⁶“Female libido pill fires up debate about women and sex”

<http://www.npr.org/blogs/health/2015/02/16/384043661/female-libido-pill-fires-up-debate-about-women-and-sex> (Retrieved February 16, 2015).

⁷<http://finance.yahoo.com/news/astounding-maps-show-hard-drugs-122048889.html> (Retrieved February 19, 2015).

American Social Psychology has mostly focused on micro sociological aspects of human interactions. The variegated nature of global social climate that permeates our entire civilization, dictates that we macro-cosmopolitanize SP fundamentally as a problem solving process. Inequality and injustice are global issue.

The persistence of racism cannot be lost even in the world's most advanced nation. Strangely we live in a paradoxically dangerous world. The "risks of conflict are rising" in this "new nuclear age" (*The Economist*, March 7-13, 2015). As global insecurity rises along with risks, human-social interactions are bound to be guided perceptions, not realities. Who knows what reality is? A new perspective on social psychological study and research is a feasible mechanism to confront possibilities of that may further aggravate social and cultural issues that impact the human condition.

III. Construction of Social Psychology: Aspects, Issues and Problems

We live in a dangerously complicated and amazingly transformative world. The contours of life and socio-political environment have drastically changed during the last five decades. This "planet of phones," *The Economist* surmises, "will change everything" (February 28, 2015: 9). Aspects, issues and problems (AIP) that emerge out of this globalized new culture are fraught with unprecedented challenges regarding variegated issues. A few observations are in order.

i) Stereotypes, prejudices and beliefs have long plagued humanity with unjust, undignified and brutal attitudes of discrimination and violence; their blindness has now transcended territorial, parochial boundaries. After horrific terrorist killings of Charles Hebdo and others in Paris, the Islamist fury has bloodied the temples of worship unrelated to Islam and terrorized the agencies of free speech, the hallmark of a civil society⁸. ISIS's attack on Parisians, downing of a Russian plane and the corresponding backlash mark the beginning of end of a civil society, which calls for critical socio-psychological investigations.

ii) As the primordial system of inter-and-intra-social communications has broken down, a new *Social Contract* is in order. How to achieve this avowed goal is beyond the capacity of world leaders. History can neither be reinvented nor forgotten. An awakening based on reason, acceptance and mutual respect might transform generational evolution at the expense of decadent atavism that has dogged this civilization for thousands of years. Social Psychology can be a transformative field. Both *smartphones* and *apes* can cohabit this planet without the fear of mutual destruction.

iii) Social Psychology is challenged by unprecedented social transmutations, which, microcosmically, posit social institutions as mirrors of new patterns of anomy and conflicts.

⁸Shooting reported at Paris magazine Charlie Hebdo, Casualties reported at newspaper that published satirical cartoons of Mohammed, with reports of seven dead (<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/11329949/Shooting-reported-at-Paris-magazine-Charlie-Hebdo.html>; retrieved March 4, 2015)

IV. Conclusion

In the last two decades, social psychology has been at the center of actualist and dynamical investigations. How do we know what really is real? Ian Parker aptly says: “We *must* separate the world from our knowledge of it” (1998: xii). Social Constructionist’s view of reality is a non-essentialist, pragmatic approach to all human interactions and relationships. How objective is this relativist method? Can social psychology be empirically valid? These concerns posit ontological dimensions of experience in both discursive and scientific contexts.

“The terrible loneliness growing up on America,” as Robert Putman puts in his new book *Our Kids: American Dream in Crisis* (2015)⁹, is a manifestation of the hiatus that divides rich kids from the poor ones with immeasurable social-psychological consequences. Racial and economic inequalities compound the misery of the underprivileged, single parent families who are pushed to the edge of survival. The myth of “culture of poverty” still prevails in the minds of the policy makers and public. I reiterate, its moral-analytical opposite: It’s the *poverty of culture* that sustains dysfunctional social institutions (Mohan, 2011).

Social psychology’s day of redemption has come to weld perceptions with reality. In domestic and international arenas, a corroded structure of communications divides peoples and nations from each other. It is hard to repair a rusty social fabric of society when race, class, gender continue to dehumanize marginalized people. Education, health care, opportunities matter. The bedrock of a civil society rests on sustainable human conditions bereft of fear, insecurity and injustice that demonize “the others” in obsessive-compulsive systems of tyrannies of mistrust fueled by bigoted persuasions. *Going Green* is a way to empower women (Agnimitra, 2014). Society as a whole is the quintessential lab for theoretical and experimental social psychological inquiry and research. The scope and nature of subjects within individual-societal spectrum is boundless. “Recent debates about human shields in the summer bombardment of Gaza raised the question of how the unarmed human form comes to be regarded as a military instrument. To what extent does the racialized structure of the visual field become instrumental to justifying the unjustifiable?”¹⁰ The continued duality of micro-macro experience and approach has impeded SP’s potential strengths to resolve variegated issues in a complex world. In a counter- intuitive culture, institutional dysfunctionality breeds intolerance, anxiety and fear. Constructive Social Psychology will go a long way to salvage an otherwise catastrophic situation. In 7 sections, our contributors’ 16 chapters represent some of the facets of Social Psychology’s contemporary zeitgeist.

⁹<http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/wonkblog/wp/2015/03/06/the-terrible-loneliness-of-growing-up-poor-in-robert-putnams-america/> (Retrieved March 7, 2015)

¹⁰<http://www.lse.ac.uk/newsAndMedia/videoAndAudio/channels/publicLecturesAndEvents/player.aspx?id=2859> (retrieved February 15, 2015).

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Section 1
The Archeology of Social Psychology

Chapter #1

CONVERGING MULTIPLE PHILOSOPHICAL PARADIGMS FOR THE ADVANCE OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY Epistemological bases for further developments

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ABSTRACT

The present work belongs to a massive literature revision of the historical landmarks of Social Psychology from its philosophical roots at the end of the nineteenth century to the present day. A deep reflection of its epistemological background is made, both considering the unit perspectives (individual, group, institutional, and transactional) and historical profiles (psychoanalytical, behaviourist, cognitivist, socio-biologist, and ethogenic) of the discipline onset. Within the revision, bases for a convergent paradigm are proposed so as to overcome the enduring discipline crisis and to provide lines for further development by surmounting Kuhnian terms and limitations. Special attention is given to ease the discipline shift from the atomist-Watsonian rationalist model to the limited rational model of social sciences, (so called, Simon's bounded rationality – Simon 1976). The convergent paradigm nests its rationale in this transformation process which is determined by the following features: (1) political awareness, (2) eclecticism, (3) vulnerability of study object, (4) methodological pluralism, (5) circular world vision, (6) disengagement from quantitative tendency, and (7) scientific relativism. These features are sufficiently well-described to apprehend the complex nature of our discipline and, at the same time, to connect them with meta-theoretical views of Social Psychology.

Keywords: epistemology, social psychology, paradigm, historical landmark, meta-theoretical theories.

1. INTRODUCTION

We are obliged to avoid losing track of our steps in our scientific production and, from the point of view of an outsider, to be aware of what we are doing. As warned by anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn, *"It would hardly be fish who discover the existence of water"* (Kluckhohn, 1944, page 11). At a certain point in time, science forces us to rethink the contents and methods we use in order to grasp our signs of identity signs. This is a must in a discipline such as Social Psychology, which is considered to be an interstitial area between Psychology and Sociology, among other similar disciplines. The search of our inner understanding is part of the defense of our professional identity and it serves as a springboard to the future activity. As stated by Spanish philosopher Ortega y Gasset, *"in order to overcome the past it is important to maintain its contact because we are travelling on it"* (Ortega y Gasset, 1962, page 314). This chapter stems from an in-depth historical revision of the discipline of Social Psychology and considers philosophical tendencies of the past century. Both epistemological roots (individual, group, institutional, sociobiological, and transactional) and historical profiles (psychoanalytical, behaviourist, cognitivist, socio-biologist, and ethogenic) of its origin are reflected, to end up in present times. Feuerbach's point of view is adopted in a double attempt: at first, a hermeneutical task by which we search for the essence of the psychosocial phenomenon throughout philosophical and meta-theoretical contributions, and secondly, a *pars destruens* task in

which these contributions are to be constructively criticized whilst bearing in mind current internal and external science production constrictions. Moreover, bases for a *convergent paradigm* are set to overcome disciplinary crises and to contribute towards the on-going theory and practice of the discipline under Kuhnian terms, by which a dominant corpus of theory—named as paradigm—is said to be substituted by a new revolutionary corpus that excels in encompassing explained phenomena.

2. BACKGROUND

A *deconstruction* view is mainly taken to guide the present work. In this sense, each selected theoretical perspective or medium-range theory is critically analyzed from the outside as a social construction product, and therefore, subjected to personal wishes and weaknesses. In doing so, this article reflects in and on the content and process of developing knowledge in Social Psychology, and thus, in meta-theorizing on the discipline. Coherent with this view, my personal opinion as the author must also be considered because my thoughts and past work determine the message of this chapter. Consequently, it is to say that my research has moved from the quantitative approach, through which I was taught as a student and researcher, to a set of qualitative methodologies, which were found to be more suitable to control both research subjectivity and data analysis ‘manipulation’ (Germán Morales, 1997). Moreover, the impact of my qualitative research outcomes on participants or on my previous knowledge is greater and more enjoyable compared to past research experience. Along these lines, I do consider that most quantitative results derived by experimental designs remain largely inapplicable to society and serve strictly within the academic realm.

3. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

Social Psychology is an interstitial discipline, i.e., it stands between Psychology and Sociology. In this sense, we can describe two types of bidirectional dyadic relationships: individual-group and individual-society (and *vice versa*¹). Consequently, the various conceptualizations of Social Psychology as a discipline can be grouped into the following perspectives (Blanco, 1988, 2000; Staeuble, 2001): (1) group, (2) individualist, (3) institutional, and (4), transactional. This classification might sound rather artificial because authors’ ideas can be ascribed to more than one perspective, but complex analysis allows double categorization (Philogène, 2012). In the following, historical landmarks that contributed in some way towards the development of Social Psychology as a discipline are revised within each of these classifications.

The *group perspective* is strongly influenced by the holistic tradition in French Sociology. This perspective considers that social life can be explained by references to a supra-individual psychological entity with its own features. Hence, Social Psychology would be the study of group psychic phenomena (group mind, group conscience, collective memory, group thinking, and so on) whose effects condition both social events and individual behaviour. This kind of *psychologization* process of small to medium-sized group characteristics is seen as autonomous from the group-individual dyadic. The biggest contributor to this perspective is Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) whose anti-psychologism, equally supported by A. Comte (1798-1857), rejects any interpretations that undermine

¹In both cases, the relationship can be unbalanced, i.e., individual affecting the group (e.g. a leader) *versus* the group affecting the individual (e.g. group polarization).

underlying psychic facts. Durkheim's wish to develop a new discipline – i.e. Sociology – stands as a starting point for the onset of a psychosocial point of view that would feed the relevant literature on the so-called *Collective Psychology*, i.e., *Mass Psychology* and W. Wundt's *Völkerpsychologie*² (popular or socio-cultural psychology).

The *individualist perspective* is historically represented by ideas of W. McDougall (1871-1928) and F. H. Allport (1890-1978) and promotes the individual as the study object in the psychosocial analysis (Parkovnick, 2000; Blanco, 1988). Social Psychology would be part of General Psychology and its study nature should be *psychologist*, i.e., prone to be located intra-individually. The oldest known root of this vision is placed in Aristotle's aphorism of "*man is by nature a political animal*" and thus, there is no need to relate to external, extra-individual entities to explain (his) behaviour in society. Various contributions stem from McDougall's instinctivist perspective, W. Dilthey's ideographic approach, Allport's group fallacy, and, more recently, H. Simon's science of design and artificiality, among others (Simon, 1976; Parkovnick, 2000; Blanco, 1988, 2000; Allport, 1923).

From an *institutional perspective*, the individual is simply a socio-cultural product since human behaviour is determined by his/her belonging to certain (ethnic) groups. Most explanations of social behaviour from this vision drive us to *social determinism*, by which individuality is subjugated to society, but without being the same entity (G. Tarde, E. Durkheim). The individual does not act in isolation but is instead a social emissary of the position in social and family structures in which (s)he has been embedded since birth. Many theories on outlying social determinism can be traced from greatly differing scientific roots. Known for a long time as *spiritual science* by W. Dilthey (1833-1911), Psychology splits human nature into body and mind, and therefore divides its structural elements into static, non-temporal, disaggregated elements. For instance, a vast number of proposals from the *social conflict theory* have directly or indirectly mentioned the determined character of human behavior and named as pathological any type of behaviour differing from socially agreed behavior (Machiavelli, Hobbes, Marx, Freud).

By adopting a pan-cultural dimension approach, social determinism can also be found in the epistemological attempt of *indigenous psychology* (Allwood & Berry, 2006), which, based on the "one-mind, many mentalities" principle, aims to develop theories representing both the universal mind of human beings and also the particular mentality of people in a given society (Hwang, 2012). The universal mind of ontological realism would be rather an institutional product of human beings while indigenous communities would develop their own subcultural products. In a cultural system approach, Hwang (2015) advocates then for the construction of culture-inclusive theories by multiple philosophical paradigms separate from positivism or constructivism.

Finally, our historical journey through the onset of the Social Psychology discipline, which refers to the individual-group dyad, can provide a fourth perspective. The *transactional perspective* allows bilateral relationships between the two dyadic entities. Supporters of this perspective understand social behaviour as stemming from collective and individual factors that are in constant interaction and never isolated. According to Serge Moscovici (1970, 1978, 1984), psychosocial nature is defined as the interaction between individuals sharing a common environment, both symbolical and real. Instead of listing discipline contents, *transactionists* would prefer to adopt a specific way of looking at the surroundings and thus, in Lewinian terms, extend the study object to the understanding of

²Wundt's *Völkerpsychologie* would be more devoted to the society-individual dyadic and anthropological perspectives but presented a relatively collateral production in comparison with his vast literature in Experimental Psychology.

social behaviour and problems. In other words, the psychological (the individual) and social (the collective) nature are both embedded in any social issue, so it is the *interaction* between these two entities that really defines the object of study of Social Psychology (Rodrigues, 1976; Newcomb, 1960; Asch, 1952; Bogardus, 1932). The oldest support in this perspective might be found in *Plato's utilitarianism* through which individuals search for interactions in their attempt to satisfy basic needs (Plato, 428-348 B.C). In the philosophy of Hans Berger (1873-1941), man is defined as a relational human being and his internal structure is changed by (external) relationships. In this sense, the individual is perceived as a *radar man* in search for his identity by relating wishes and behaviours to others. An interaction approach is also perceived by H. Mead (1863-1931), later on by G. Tarde (1843-1904) and by many theorists of mind/brain evolution (Spencer, Luria, Piaget, and Vygotsky) who do not apprehend human development in isolation from social or environmental processes (Infante & Irizo, 2009).

4. HISTORICAL PROFILES IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

It was once stated by the father of Psychology, W. Wundt (1832-1920), that our (general) discipline would never be complete if we fail to consider the social environment surrounding the psychic productivity of human beings. In fact, his experimental psychology was just one side of the same coin that represented the nature of Psychology that also enclosed the study of *higher mental processes* such as culture, language, and even attention. These processes are collective constructs to be analyzed by historical approaches and were labeled as *Völkerpsychologie*, i.e. a kind of Folk Psychology.

However, Psychology, as a "scientific" discipline, was born within *behaviourism* thanks to the significant contributions of J. B. Watson (1878-1958) and E. Thorndike (1874-1949), and later on those of Albert Bandura (b. 1925) and B.F. Skinner (1904-1990). This perspective was thoughtfully embedded in Cartesian dualism, in John Locke (1632-1704) empiricism and associationism, in Comte's positivism, in the hedonist vision of Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), and also in Charles Darwin's (1809-1882) evolutionist theory. Therefore, its early connections with intra- or supra-individual entities were purposely limited (*see* Bandura, 1982). However, sound contributions to the emergence of Social Psychology were made by neo-behaviourists, such as E.C. Tolman (1886-1959) and C.L. Hull (1884-1952) who adopted a less radical position in positivism. Their influence is clearly shown in the theories of aggression by L. Berkowitz (b. 1926) and Bandura (1982), in the social facilitation theory of Zajonc (1965), in the learning theories of Miller and Dollard (1941), in those of Hovland, Janis and Kelly (1953) on persuasive communication, and even in the interpersonal attraction theories of Lott and Lott (1965), Byrne (1965) or Newcomb (1960).

Psychoanalysis is also worth mentioning. Although it is clearly intra-individually centered, there is interactive, dialectical, and slightly psychosocial support in S. Freud's (1856-1939) theories. Somehow, Freud pointed out the psychosocial nature of any endopsychically-rooted Psychology by indicating that there is always an *alter entity* in the emotional life of an individual which serves as a model, adversary or object and from whose relationships psycho-affective equilibrium is derived. In the psychoanalytic profile, a human being is determined by the conflict, produced between his/her animal nature and society, which is driven by the compulsion of pleasure and reality principles. Psychoanalytic proposals have long influenced other psychological perspectives and sub-disciplines close to Social Psychology, such as those provided by L. Lanwell, A. Maslow, J.P. Sartre, Th. Adorno, T. Parsons, R.F. Bales, and E. Berne, among many

others. Controversies amongst neo-psychoanalysts have triggered an internal debate, mainly between those that consider society as the source of conflict for human beings (so-called *left-sided* Freudians, such as Fromm, Horney, Thompson, Sullivan), while others admit a kind of individual adjustment to his/her social environment (*right-sided* Freudians, such as Reich, Marcuse, Roheim).

There is also a long tradition of *cognitive approaches* in Social Psychology that were especially strengthened during the 60s of the last century (Moskowitz, 2001). In fact, according to Zajonc (1980) and Fiske and Taylor (1984), Social Psychology has always been cognitive. At least two approaches can easily be identified within this historical profile. On the one hand, there is the *intra-individual approach*, which is based on the influences the subject receives from his/her social environment that cause certain cognitive effects. Therefore, the effects of certain social variables (for instance, group belonging) were studied on the appearance of the cognitive processes involved (such as membership). The concerns of how human beings apprehend and capture social reality is a tradition rooted in Gestalt contributions, continues in Lewin's field theory, and currently resides in the socio-cognitivist perspective. On the other hand, the *interpersonal approach* of this cognitive profile seeks significant research products that emerge from social and cultural interactions, irrespective of the states or mental processes that might be involved. Both symbolic interactionism and social constructivism inspire this second approach.

Another epistemological contribution in the history of Social Psychology can be traced in *sociobiology*, which is based on Darwinist theoretical roots. Since Edmund O. Wilson's (b. 1929) book of 1975 "*Sociobiology: the new synthesis*", and "*On human nature*", 1978, this science has made riveting efforts to link anthropology, sociology, ethology and social psychology. The Socio-biologist perspective admits that social behaviour is genetically determined and its statements are strongly evolutionist and biologicist. Initially centered on the description and explanation of gregarious animal behaviour, socio-biologists have expanded their theories to the understanding of human behaviour by applying Darwin's theory of the evolution of species.

Once the paradigmatic crisis of Social Psychology had ended, several theoretical and methodological alternatives were proposed for future advancement (Parker, 1989). According to Ibáñez (1988, 1990, 1991), most of these alternatives, although different, share features of the so-called *ethogenic approach*, i.e. the rejection of positivism, the recognition of human beings as active agents, the historical character of psychosocial events, the consideration of a practical rationality, and also the interest in daily aspects of life including reflection on available knowledge. R. Harré (1995) defined ethogenics as an interdisciplinary social science that attempts to explain how individuals attach meanings to their daily actions, and hence how they create their identities by linking themselves to social structures, norms and roles. This view sees human beings as socially determined by experience and social roles. Therefore, their social scope would not be imposed but naturally created.

5. THE CONVERGENT PARADIGM

In general, modern Social Psychology is portrayed as ethogenic *in content* and emancipatory *in process*. It is sustained in the pragmatism of William James (1842-1910) as stated in "*Pragmatism: a new name for some old ways of thinking*", later strengthened in the experimentalism and instrumentalism of John Dewey (1859-1952), and more recently found in neo-pragmatics, which states that a statement is true when it works. Due to methodological constraints, pragmatism is rather irrational, subjective, and leans

towards scientific relativism. However, structural analyses are enriched by neo-pragmatics by introducing previously ignored variables, such as race, social class, and gender (Musolf, 2001). New scientific proposals are supported by thoughts of modern philosophers, such as Nietzsche, Heidegger, Wittgenstein, Foucault, Popper, Lakatos, and Derrida (Infante & Irizo, 2009). From rather different points of view towards science, all of these philosophers agree on postmodern, post-positivist, and/or post-industrial ideas. While admitting the value of theory construction (Hwang, 2012), the key element in a post-positivist perspective is that which admits that theory precedes observation, the lack of theories in any fact, and that theories are socially constructed (Good, 2000; Torregrosa, 1989; Blanco and De la Corte, 1996).

A revision of the literature enables the following features to be identified in the so-called "convergent paradigm": (1) political awareness, (2) eclecticism, (3) vulnerability of study object, (4) methodological pluralism, (5) circular world vision, (6) disengagement from quantitative tendency, and (7) scientific relativism. The following pages explain each of these aspects, and other meta-theoretical proposals are discussed in connection with them (Good, 2000; Lubek, 2000; Parkovnick, 2000; Munné, 1989, 2005; Lamo de Espinosa, González & Torres, 1994). In an abridged content effort, the main characteristics of the foreseen convergent paradigm that promote epistemological changes can be described as follows (Infante & Irizo, 2009):

- *Political awareness*: psychosocial science aims to have an impact on society/community more than ever before in order to solve real, down-to-earth problems. The revolutionary attitude of Marxism is recovered and can be found in many contemporary lines of research, such as feminist theories, gender theory, and phenomenological approaches. This provides a game of *deconstruction*³, where one starts with a Foucauldian critical analysis prior to building practical alternatives full of political or self-serving interests that reinvent (*re-construct*) social reality. This evidence forces researchers to position themselves within the topic under consideration and encourages institutions to check internal organizational life that constrains its production. Since a strict control of research variables is impossible, I. Lakatos proposes the selection of favourite topics of social changes to the detriment of scientific rigor. In this sense, social research becomes more applicable and social-friendly.

- *Eclecticism*: the non-determinist criterion of knowledge, by which it is admitted that there cannot be a unique theoretical model explaining social reality, is gaining supporters. Instead, we opt to apprehend reality in small approaches with the aid of multiple and diverse perspectives. Theoretical eclecticism encourages us to evaluate any point of view without prejudices and to research inside multidisciplinary work groups. Social reality would be like a Necker cube whose image can be altered quickly according to the chosen angle but the cube is, in essence, the same entity with all the colored faces composing its nature. Consequently, the creation of a theory is simply a collection of forms for the organization of ideas and facts, and involves different ways of looking at the world (Feyerabend, 1975, 1978). However, it is not just a mixture of ideas, but also offers reconciliation between different perspectives of the same complex reality.

- *Methodological pluralism*: paradigmatic crisis of our discipline helped to broaden epistemological, methodological, and technician selections. Many researchers are in favor of adopting a flexible mind in methodological issues and to erase traditional limitations of

³Although there is a timid presence in the phenomenological methodology, the concept of deconstruction was coined by French philosopher Jacques Derrida (b. 1930) in an attempt to subtly dismantle all knowledge built from Plato to Hegel.

laboratory experiments and statistics (Wallach & Wallach, 2001; Stam, Radtke & Lubek, 2000). Along these lines, research in natural settings is fostered with new complex techniques and criteria (Infante, 2011; Munné, 2005; Cassell & Simon, 2004). Essentially, it is the methodology at the service of researchers, and not *vice versa*. Others, such as Gergen (1973), defend a methodological approach contingent with the problem to be investigated, first in *ideographic* terms, and then *nomothetically*.

- *Vulnerability of study object*: predictability in social sciences is certainly limited because of the freedom of human behaviour and its multi-causality (Munné, 2005, 2007). Consequently, a good theory is not that which best predicts but best describes social complexity in a certain situation and at a certain moment. Moreover, the value of the theory will depend on the quality of the behaviour proposed for the actors in the social scene. Positivists' procedures to prove the truth of a theory were placed on logic and their chances of being empirically tested. However, this scientific replicability was criticized by Sir Karl Raimund Popper (1902-1994), who unveiled the limitation of social sciences in the prediction of facts by means of rationality. He introduced the *falsifiability principle* by which a scientific statement can be empirically false but is capable of being tested.

- *Circular world vision*: science is cyclic, like history. Its products and relationships are always the same in essence and they appear from time to time in periods of fashion or fads. All ideas seem to have already been invented, at least in the epistemology of the social knowledge; theories might change in words but the hidden messages are already known. For instance, the materialist consumption in the late twentieth century was a renewed presentation of classical hedonism mentioned by Greek philosophers. Work stress, long studied in the 80s, has 'passed the baton' to fads of a more contemporary nature, such as the organizational mobbing that captures our serious attention today. Cases involving stress or mobbing cannot be denounced in cultures where human rights are limited, and therefore those cases appear to be more invisible for their sciences and societies. In fact, they are probably perceived as normal working conditions or even opportunities for self-challenging.

- *Disengagement from quantitative tendency*: following Nietzsche (1869, read from Maudemarie, 1990), the madness of mechanical positivism strives to reduce all quality to quantity, and thus builds a fixed, lifeless world. The quantification attitude was humorously criticized by *The Little Prince* character (Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, 1943) who complains about the social obsession for numbering people's life (salary, age, children...). As stated by Gergen (1973, 1997), the display of empirical data to justify and evaluate a theoretical proposition is no longer laudable. As a reaction, many social sciences scientists and researchers are opting for qualitative methodologies in order to apprehend the vast complexity of the social world and its subjectivities. This might imply the abandonment or limitation of statistics, at least of parametric analysis, together with the emergence (or rebirth) of other methods more in line with the nature of psychosocial phenomena (discourse analysis, group discussion, ethnomethodology, grounded theory, phenomenology, etc.) (Infante, 2013; Cassell & Simon, 2004). Nevertheless, it is also true under Bhaskar's philosophy of Critical Realism (*see* Hwang, 2015; Collier, 1994), that if culture-inclusive theories for social mechanisms can be constructed, then those theories can be used for either qualitative research on social events or quantitative research on empirical experiences.

- *Scientific relativism*: we must admit the impossibility of creating a universal model of reality because any proposition can be potentially true depending on how it is presented or advertised (Infante & Irizo, 2009; Munné, 1993). In fact, a given theory can only explain those aspects that are coherent with its epistemological framework. This relativism is part

of a current on-going social movement that is expressed in many issues (morality, politics, religion...) (Simon, 1976; Rojas, 1996; Savater, 1997). In summary, the validation of theories and models cannot be carried out in terms of absolute, objective truth but according to social, temporal consensus between scientists, agents, and practitioners.

6. FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

We must remain hopeful in the wish to see more research performed in the realm of qualitative investigation that could enrich past decades of positivist heritage. The *new* Social Psychologies, such as chaos theory, historical Social Psychology, emancipatory lines, and complex theories, are exploring riveting content areas that join theory and methodology with flexibility. However, high-profile journals are still reluctant to shift away from empirical studies that employ statistics and research methods as in the 'pure' scientific disciplines from where they were inherited (e.g. physics, engineering, and chemistry). At least in the social sciences, the role that statistics has played within experimentation – once defined by Robert E. Park as the *talking magic*—is nowadays an exhausted role since we have learnt to use it for our own internal purposes of pseudoscience with little positive impact in the social world apart from (university) captive samples. Qualitative research is being fostered in the effort to approach social science close to communities. However, we need to search for adequate criteria of reliability to better assess qualitative investigations in order for them to be shown as more than just ethnographic reports full of value judgments. In doing so, it is important to consider the new principles that are beginning to define and support research practice in our discipline (Jiménez Burillo, 2005; Lamo de Espinosa, González & Torres, 1994; Barriga, 1993):

- *Naturalization*: in future research, there is little or no distinction between context of discovery and context of justification, and thus, it is society that proposes and provides 'raw material' for research.

- *Relativism*: as we have seen, there is no universal criterion to prove the truth of a statement / hypothesis. In this sense, the advance of science is only a continuous process of negotiation between researchers and its immediate community and not a product of paradigmatic confrontation and shifts as indicated by Kuhn in 1962.

- *Constructionism*: scientific knowledge is not a pure representation of reality and does not emerge from it. Research experience is never neutral because it is produced inside a specific environment with personal constraints (past learning, culture, politics, etc.). In fact, many sound discoveries in Social Psychology appeared in relation to the identification of bias during the research process, such as the Rosenthal effect, the Hawthorne effect, and severity *versus* benignity in selection processes. Swiss psychiatrist Pichon-Rivière (1985) even identified 'epistemological anxieties' of researchers when trying to apprehend their study object.

- *Social accusation*: as stated previously, research activity is conditioned by previous theories and the internal interests of both the researchers and supporting agents (investors, institutions, sponsors). Impartiality cannot be taken for granted and this evidence is not an inner constriction of the present research but an honest declaration of hidden worries and limitations, mostly external, which drive our daily work.

- *Instrumentality*: scientific knowledge is similar to any other kind of knowledge but has potentially greater decisive ability and/or options of applicability.

7. CONCLUSION

Social Psychology is a complex social science because it was born in the middle of interrelated classical disciplines that study society and mind in its various forms or strata. The long-standing historical debate, regarding into which entity the discipline is to be incorporated, concluded by admitting its embedded nature in the realm of social behaviour. In this sense, is it not what we look at but how we look at it that defines Social Psychology. Although the discipline reflects many scenarios, it almost always declares interdependence between human beings and their social surroundings in mutual enrichment relationships.

The ephemerality of (scientific) knowledge affects both social life and, consequently, our discipline (Torregrosa, 1989). In fact, it is proved that the research process is a *serendipitous* outcome that is conditioned by the research agents and their own environment. Notwithstanding this inevitable limitation, a Social Psychology researcher would rather take an active part in the process for the sake of positive impact in the study object or community. Active participation should be half-consciously controlled and it may enhance greater discoveries than the post-facto manipulation of the study object data from disguised subjects that are being left isolated, passive, and unanswered. The will to act on people is part of the deconstruction duty of social practitioners and researchers. The deconstruction process invites us to intervene while researching, to assess the impact of all our research steps and to provide consequent feedback to society. This convergent paradigm frees our discipline from strict internal rules and enables researchers to act with creativity and practical attitudes. For instance, consider the *photo-elicitation technique* used in the study of organizational attitudes and expectancies, which combines projective testings with discourse analysis (*see* Cassell & Simon, 2004). The technique helps those employees with problems of written expression to portray their thoughts and working attitudes by observing significant pictures. It is a creative and pragmatic attempt for which research success is guaranteed; the (positive) effect created during the interaction arises in a given social context and not under the hazardous game of numbers and jargon talks of disconnected and socially desirable participants.

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Chapter #2

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY: DISCIPLINE, INTERDISCIPLINE OR TRANSDISCIPLINE?

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ABSTRACT

Social Psychology sits at the confluence of two disciplinary discourses: the psychology of sociological matters and the sociology of psychological processes. Of course these are not simply discourses but represent the entire disciplinary organisation of social psychology as a subject and what it counts as legitimate areas of enquiry within its academic boundaries. These boundaries cut across the apparent divide between psychology and sociology, between the individual and the social, between the intra-psychic world and the world of human actions. However, this interdisciplinary appeal can also be considered as tapping into two broader discursive frameworks based upon the maintenance of an inner-outer dualism on the one hand and a rational and emotive dualism on the other. This chapter considers the way in which these discursive dualisms have given social psychology its *raison d'être* and its distinct dynamic and appeal as an academic subject. However, the recent turn to discourse within the discipline has not only provided it with the radical potential to study the construction and operation of these dualisms, but has also thrown into relief its interdisciplinary tensions again. This discourse on discourse involves a struggle for explanatory power in terms of either examining the ways in which psychological accounting is implicated in a flexible way as part of social practices at a 'local' level, or moving up an explanatory notch to a consideration of the operation of discourses on a more deterministic 'global' level. The chapter concludes by considering this new discursive territory, rooted in social psychology's origins.

Keywords: cognitivism, discipline, discourse, dualism, interaction.

1. INTRODUCTION

It was over a century ago in 1908 that two books were published that first bore the title 'social psychology'. Although these books addressed social psychology, they did so in divergent ways that were to set the course of this academic area as a discipline, interdiscipline and eventually perhaps, a transdisciplinary endeavour. The British psychologist William McDougall in his book examined basic instincts and the emotions that accompany them. Whilst, his book has had little influence on modern social psychology, he nonetheless set out the course for psychological social psychology (PSP) as being concerned with explanation 'down' at the level of the individual, including how people behave in relation to others. For example, McDougall sought to explore the nature of the gregarious instinct and how this is manifested in relation to others. In the same year sociologist Edward Ross published his book on social psychology which considered imitation and the mob mind. This book set the course for sociological social psychology (SSP) in terms of people's behaviour and thought processes as the result of social interaction and in particular related to 'social problems'. This has persisted over the ensuing century with topics such as rioting and violence attracting considerable research funding for social psychologists, and linked to seeking the means of social control.

These psychological and sociological strands have remained largely distinct and segregated during the course of the past century. This twin focus on the social and the

psychological has led to different disciplinary emphases as well as the creation of an interdisciplinary academic area which draws upon sociology and psychology, as well as other social scientific disciplines. Social psychology straddles these two disciplines and, as such its *raison d'être* involves examining the ways in which both social and mental processes relate to people's actions. What, precisely, this means however, remains a matter of historic debate both between and within the disciplines of psychology and sociology. What weight is to be given to the social, the psychological, and the interaction between the two? Is it the study of the psychology of sociological matters, or the sociology of psychological processes? These questions raise the issue of very different levels of explanation.

In attempting to understand how people interact with one another and live their lives, psychologists are inclined to give greater attention to the notion of mental processes and characteristics of the person. They track back to the 'inner' world of the person, so to speak. Sociologists, on the other hand, are inclined to give greater attention to the social settings and social relations. Instead of focusing on the 'inner workings' of the person, sociological attention is directed toward action and meaning, to *how* people maintain or challenge the meaning of what they do *through* interaction. To put it another way, rather than assuming given characteristics of personhood, sociologists, start by looking at the ways in which we *do* society: how the interaction we engage in is shaped, and in turn shapes, the social order. Sociologically-inclined social psychologists are more likely to examine patterns of interaction in order to understand how social institutions, identities, and actions endure or change. Perhaps these differing perspectives are best explained by analogy based on an old joke: "A blind Venetian is not the same thing as a Venetian blind." Social psychology can be different things and its location at the confluence of sociological and psychological concerns makes for considerable fluidity of theory and methodology.

2. THE DISCIPLINE OF PSP

The object of PSP is the individual mind. This is its explanatory patch, its academic territory. However, Howitt et al. (1989) point out that much of what is considered as social psychology is the leftover areas from its parent discipline of psychology. Areas such as developmental psychology, organisational psychology and clinical psychology all involve a great deal of social explanation but have carved out for themselves levels of explanation that arguably have a poorly developed inclusion of the 'social' in their theories and applications. However, it is the grip of cognitivism that has dominated PSP in terms of a focus on intra-psyche explanation of social behaviour. This focus has manifested itself in a concern with various forms of mental architecture or machinery such as attitudes, attributional processes and social representations. Leaning in this direction has placed social psychology very much within the mainstream concern with cognition but arguably at a cost of a poorly defined concept of where the *social* lies within social psychological explanation.

This came to a head in the 1970s in what became known as the 'crisis' in social psychology. Social psychologists such as Gergen (1973) began to point to the historical dimension of what were considered as psychological universals. Alongside this there was a questioning of the role of experimentation and a recognition that social psychologists were operating within a disciplinary boundary that was stifling any concern with wider socio-political issues. However, in spite of some trenchant and hard-hitting critiques that emerged out of this period (e.g. Henriques et al. 1984; Parker, 1989) PSP remained wedded

to an intra-psychic level of explanation, for example in the notion of social representations (Moscovici, 1982; 1984).

PSP has largely remained bound to a set of topics that have now become ossified as being the main concerns of social psychology. These are recognisable in many social psychology textbooks (e.g. attitudes, social influence, attribution, self-concept etc.). As noted above this collection of topics has come to define the 'objects' of social psychological investigation within psychology departments as well as being passed on to generations of undergraduate students. This is particularly the case in the USA where the connection between social psychology and sociology has become much weaker over the course of the past half century (Oishi, Kesebir, and Snyder, 2009). However, in contrast to this, there has been something of a revolution or more accurately evolution, especially in British PSP, that has taken place over the past couple of decades and that is the turn to discourse analysis and qualitative research. Much of this derives from the 'other side' of the disciplinary divide, SSP.

3. THE DISCIPLINE OF SSP

Mead (1934) is often credited with being the sociologist who most influenced the course of SSP, and it is interesting that his focus was the issue of symbolic representation, largely through language. This focus on the social nature of language and representation is a trademark feature SSP and sits in opposition to more psychological concerns with language as a window onto cognition. In this sense the contrast between the two approaches to social psychology is clear but there is, often as not, a space left in SSP for an assumed psychological architecture that mediates between the self and others in interaction. This can be seen, for example, the work of Parsons where the social actor is guided by internalised rules, roles and norms (Parson & Shils, 1951).

However, this defining sociological concern with the nature of social order was to find later expression in the work of Goffman, but most important for later developments in SSP, in the Garfinkel's project of ethnomethodology, and its offshoot in the form of conversation analysis. This kind of approach differed markedly from PSP by drawing upon ethnographic accounts or an examination of the minutiae of conversational exchanges in 'naturalistic' setting in order to show the nuanced and delicate procedures by which social order is constructed. This kind of approach was later imported as a kind of Trojan horse in PSP, notably in the seminal work of Potter & Wetherell (1987), *Discourse and Social Psychology: Beyond Attitudes and Behaviour*. This kind of approach is addressed in more detail below but suffice to say that it has perhaps more than any approach to date gone some way to unseating the centrality of PSP as the dominant approach to social psychology.

4. INTERDISCIPLINE

As Weingart (2000) has observed, talk of interdisciplinarity is fraught with paradoxes and although social psychology can be considered an interdisciplinary field its parents still tug it in one direction or the other, as if they were engaged in the affections of their offspring after a divorce. Certainly interdisciplinarity is often regarded as 'desirable' and is set in contrast to being overly specialised. However, the disciplinary organisation of sociology and psychology has generally meant that a genuine interdisciplinary approach to social psychology has proved elusive. This is unfortunate and has meant that social psychology has arguably suffered in terms of lacking an over-arching theoretical perspective. There have been attempts, notably through the work of Parson but also

Moscovici (1982, 1984) in his attempt to make use of Durkheim and to theorize the notion of the 'thinking society'.

However, it is also apparent that social psychology has considerable scope to involve other disciplines such as anthropology, political science and linguistics. Each of these areas has contributed to some degree or other a more interdisciplinary form of social psychology. For example, the importance of culture has aided social psychology in providing a broader perspective on gender, whilst the inclusion of a political science perspective has helped in studying political persuasion and voting patterns. However, it is the turn to language where the greatest degree of cross-fertilisation has occurred, and it is to this area that I wish to turn to in greater detail next.

5. TRANSDISCIPLINE

Perhaps the most significant impact on social psychology over the past quarter of a century or so has been the turn to language. This is now constitutes a major body of work but again there are divisions that are rooted in social psychology's project of linking whatever is taken to be the 'social' and the 'psychological'. Perhaps the most influential approach has been that of discursive psychology (e.g. Edwards & Potter, 1992) which has fed through into an impressive range of work on a variety of topics. This work is heavily influenced by conversation analysis and, as such, considers in detail the ways in which psychological discursive formulations are produced and oriented towards. This involves an agnostic stance with regard to the internal status of psychological phenomena. These psychological representations provide the means for a varied way of engaging in social and institutional life and a means of making it intelligible and orderly. Cognitive references to 'thinking', giving 'reasons', 'knowing' 'interpreting' or 'understanding' provide publicly accountable criteria for agency. They provide both the means for ordering people's lives as the basis for agency and a way for others to consider, judge and assess these actions in the way that they are orientated towards in terms of duality of inner mind and external world.

The emotional basis for action that can be presented as understandable, as a means for literally moving a person to do something, or indeed for inaction. It is often portrayed as an influence on how people think, where thinking is taken as reasoning and emotion as providing a means of supporting this as in terms of action or as something that skews or bypasses the reasoning process. Reason implies stability and order in how people conduct themselves; unchecked emotion can be seen as threatening in terms of association with lack of order.

This duality is interesting in terms of the ways in which emotion discourse can be a flexible and useful means of characterising action. As Edwards (1997) notes emotion discourse can be put to a great variety of uses within a range of social practices due to their flexibility as an accounting resource:

- a. They can be contrasted with cognitions in terms of their less deliberative nature.
- b. They can be taken as being as 'understandable' and appropriate as how any reasonable person would react.
- c. They can be characterised as being the outcome of events or in the nature of the person.
- d. They can be treated as being kept under the control of a person's reasoning or as reactions that resist control.
- e. They can be presented as the interaction of mental and physiological systems, as natural, or as derived from moral and ethical concerns.

Studying participants' orientations, either in terms of direct psychological accounting, or in terms of orientating towards aspects of the inner/outer dualism allows for a level of analysis in terms of the study of the orderliness of social action. In this way a major cultural dualism is maintained: taking people's 'outward' accounts and actions and considering these as representations of what they are like 'inside' as thinking and feeling agents. This derives from accountability within practices rather than as being taken as the result of some sort of inner mental cognitive processing and exchange of representations.

The notion of these two separate realms is therefore a major rhetorical feature that is incorporated into how people interact with one another. It provides a means of trading on notions of 'sense making' as well as the portrayal of people's inner mental states. There is a huge cultural imperative to be seen to be intelligible and to be able to convey one's 'thoughts' and 'feelings' in the form of judgments, reasons, and evaluations as the outcome of some kind of mental *process*. In perceptual-cognitive processing terms it is an "input-process-output" model.

The nature of this order is therefore seen as being founded upon a discourse related to mental processes in order to account for how we perceive matters and as the basis for action. In this way events are placed prior to this operation, as having happened and needing to be communicated, to be 'understood' in terms of emotional response. In this communication model there is a realm of people placed in amongst events and occurrences and a realm of mental operations requiring to be brought together. Here rationality is associated with the psychological notion of 'perception'. Accounts of an about actions are presented as part of texts of 'meaning' in which a mental processing system is assumed to be brought to bear upon matters in order to display these as the result of psychological agents who reach 'decisions', *have* feelings, have deliberated on something or other or who have can account for something in a way that 'make sense' to others who can understand a course of action. It is interesting to note here how even accounts that allude to emotions as the basis for actions may nonetheless be treated as rational in terms of their accountability or intelligibility. We can see why a person might act in a particular way given certain circumstances and the way they react to and deal with these.

By not starting with some pre-defined model of the actor, especially the traditional cognitivist model in which the 'problem' becomes one of understanding how people perceive matters, it is becomes possible to treat 'knowledge' and 'reality' as cultural categories maintained or challenged within a range of social practices. The significance of such an analytical move is that it allows the focus of study to become how the relationship between 'mind' and 'reality' is not, for most people, some philosophical issue but a rather a practical sociological construction. Much has been written recently about the discursive means by which people construct such an association (e.g. Edwards & Potter, 1992; Edwards, 1997; Potter 1996; Potter & Edwards, 2001; Potter, 2003; te Molder & Potter, 2005; Weatherall et al., 2007). Potter (2012) perhaps best sums up this approach by referring to it as a more "naturalistic social psychology" that is rooted in everyday practices in which analyses are situated within the social, physical and institutional context of interaction. However, there is another stand of discursive work that attempts to examine these constructions in terms of structural constraints and issues of power and it is to this that I now wish to turn.

Perhaps the most well know work in this area is associated with that of Parker (e.g. Parker & Burman, 1993; Parker, 1998). This work draws upon a Foucauldian notion of discourse and is seeking to examine discourse as linked to subjectivity and power. This form of discourse analysis is often subsumed under the broader heading of *Critical Social Psychology*. Now whilst this work has an explicit political dimension it has been challenged for offering an overly deterministic explanation of discourse. Of course the counter to this

has been that the more conversation analytic inspired form of discourse analysis has little to say about power. There has been some attempt to pull together both of these areas (e.g. Wetherell, 1998) but for the most part they have remained segregated. Parker (2013) has recently attempted to categorize different approaches to discourse analysis into eight different types; from the more conversation analytic end of the spectrum through to critical discourse analysis. This discourse on discourse analysis has itself attracted critique in terms of drawing boundaries and lines of demarcation between different approaches, as well as generating hierarchies of criticality (Augoustinos, 2013).

However, there is another strand of work that can be thrown into the mix; those who argue that recent discourse work have failed to understand and grasp the significance of Ludwig Wittgenstein's later philosophy. A key proponent of this view is Coulter (2005) who brings to ethnomethodology a Wittgensteinian attention to the logical grammar of concepts and argues that conceptual analysis is invaluable in appreciating language use in logico-grammatical terms. Language, as Coulter (2010) later argues, is not a system to be conceptualized in terms of a tripartite division between grammar, syntax and pragmatics but rather is a very much related to logico-grammatical usage in which the words themselves are self-sufficient. This approach is critical of the search for the psychological in discourse, implying that, far from eschewing mentalism, it is in fact a form of "closet Cartesianism" (Sharrock, 2009). Neither does the sociological application of generalisations escape this critique, for as Sharrock and Dennis (2008) argue in examining the concept of rule-following, people may on occasion need rules explaining to them in order to understand a person's actions, but they do not need how rules explain explained to them.

Yet there are other approaches in social psychology that have also taken an alternative, and yet broad philosophical perspective in attempting to bridge socio-psychological analytical dualism. Notable in this regard, is the work of Hwang (e.g., 2012, 2013, 2015a, 2015b) who has argued in favour of a culture-inclusive psychology base on a "one mind, many mentalities" (Shweder et al., 1998). In this approach the aim is therefore to formulate theories that represent what is considered as the universal nature of the human mind as well as the mentalities that derive from particular societies. The approach draws upon critical realism (Bashkar, 2008) and the analytical basis of the socio-psychological dualism in seeking to bring together universal mechanism of the human mind with culture-inclusive theories on Confucianism. While this chapter is not the place to give a detailed explanation and critical appraisal of this approach, it worth pointing out the breadth and reach that it aspires in seeking to adopt multiple philosophical paradigms that offers alternatives to the mainstream presumption of individualism. This takes social psychology into new territories where it can act as a means of forging linkages between other philosophies, paradigms and cultural understandings. Indeed, to further shake up investigations the social psychological terrain, Shotter (2015) has recently argued, it is time to move beyond assuming and seeking after-the-fact patterns and regularities of pre-existing entities to thinking in terms of before-the-fact indeterminate and ephemeral things. In other words, to focus on humans deal routinely with the shaping of the 'thisnesses' or 'thatnesses' of events in the course of interaction.

What these kinds of different positions indicate is that social psychology can also be considered as a transdiscipline; a perspective that cuts across many other areas and disciplines (Scriven, 2008). It not only involves *drawing* on other disciplines but arguably these other disciplines seek to draw upon it, not as a disciplinary field, but rather as a *discourse* about the place of the social and the psychological in our lives.

5. CONCLUSION

This twin focus on discourse at the local as well as more global level is again part of the legacy of social psychology. The need to connect local actions with wider social forces is both at one and the same time social psychology's strength as well as its problem. Although the recent turn to discourse has eschewed the atomism and individualism that was part of earlier work it has still thrown up issues of trying to connect how people act at a local level with a broader framework. Thus whilst discursive psychology is capable of showing how people orientate towards each other in their discourse as being driven by an internal machinery of mind, it offers little in the way of explaining where this derives from.

Those who adopt a broader explanatory framework in terms of the structural constraints of discourse fail to adequately offer a social psychology of action. Instead what we have is a very broad brush picture of how discourse operates. The origins of social psychology in both psychology and sociology effectively make this local/global split inevitable as it pulls in these different directions. This need not be a problem in the sense that this tension has kept social psychology as a thriving discourse and academic pursuit over the past century. Perhaps the challenge now is to consider social psychology not so much as a discipline but a dynamic cultural discourse.

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Section 2
Contemporary Social Psychology

Chapter #3

THE APPLICATION OF EXPERIMENTAL AESTHETICS IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY TO MARKETING RESEARCH IN THE MOTORCYCLE INDUSTRY

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ABSTRACT

Consumers' emotional response is derived from their perception towards a product. This response undoubtedly plays a significant role in the visual appearance of motorcycle design. This object possess to communicate the aspects of our personality, group membership, and aspirations. Likewise, symbolism is obviously in related to the motorcycle industry plays as a major role and perceives as a symbol of social status, power, and rebellion. The propose chapter will look further in the area of social psychology as it is discussed the scientific study of how people's thoughts, feelings, and behaviors are influenced by the actual, imagined, or implied presence of others. Limited information about product personality and user's image within the motorcycle design demonstrates a lack of understanding of how people judge the objects and how the objects bestow values upon users. It is mainly focused on the judgment of the product itself rather than how products bestow values upon users. The complexity of the problem arises from the market such varied demographic, the choice of name and colour, and the styling segmentation can be only solved and improved by using an efficient method. The chapter will discuss the studies which were done in order to formulate an experimental aesthetics to a marketing research method in the motorcycle industry. The discussion is then drawn upon psychology effect and possible explanation of the result following to the empirical method of investigation.

Keywords: experimental aesthetics, innovative method, product transference.

1. INTRODUCTION

The appearance of automotive design strongly influences the consumers' perceptions in the global market. Consumers' perceptions response is derived from their emotional plays a significant role in the visual appearance of motorcycle design. These responses are gathered through market research data collection techniques by company to formulate and develop an effective marketing research method. This technique improves their marketing strategies for new motorcycle development and increases sales for the company. With current globalisation and trade liberalisation, traditional research techniques are no longer efficient in generating sales in motorcycle market. An exploration of new techniques is crucial and important for the motorcycle industry. Despite the various methods and techniques that have been applied to the investigation of the emotional relationship of consumers with automotive design, there is a lack of publication devoted specifically to the consideration of the value a product bestows upon the user. Limited information about product's personality and user's image within the automotive design field demonstrates a lack of understanding on how people judge the objects and how the objects bestow values upon users. At the moment, market research methods are mainly focused

on the judgment of the product itself rather than how products bestow values upon users (Md Hashim, 2012b).

Consumers' reaction to products strongly influences automotive sales in the market. According to Isac and Rusu (2014), customer satisfaction or dissatisfaction is not an emotion, but rather the evaluation of an emotion. This consumer's response of the product's styling appearance is fundamental to a design and more so to the company. Formulating an effective market research method is important for companies to explore their strategies. In order to achieve this, the appearance of a vehicle is a critical factor in the profitability of automotive industry. Automotive forms are more complex and subtle than any other types of product. In order to achieve this, establishing the style of automotive is crucial and been given high priority in the development resources (Tovey, 2002).

Nowadays in the automotive industry, user satisfaction became a major determinant in designing any strategies of a company. In relation to this, user satisfaction relies on the values that are driven by the emotions response from: 1) the used of product; 2) symbolic values referring to the product's reflection on its user; and 3) character values relating to the personality of the product (Demiröz, 2007). According to Demiröz (2007), products carry two different kind of symbolisms; self-expressive, which relies on the user's identity and expression of group membership, social position or status. Thus, symbolism plays as a major role in the automotive industry. Cars tend to be said as an extension of ego and personal lifestyle (Demiröz, 2007).

Theories approaches in consumer satisfaction were used to explain the relationship between disconfirmation and dissatisfaction. These approaches can be seen as variations of the consistency theories and focused on the nature of the process of comparing the consumer's post-usage (Isac & Rusu, 2014). Theories of consumer satisfaction include the Assimilation theory (Anderson, 1973), the Contrast theory, the Assimilation-contrast theory (Hovland, Harvey, & Sherif, 1957), the Negativity theory (Carlsmith & Aronson, 1963), and the Hypothesis testing theory were achieved under the theories of consistency. The theories of consistency suggest that when the expectations and the actual performance of the product do not fit, the consumer will accept a certain amount of tension. To avoid this, the consumer will try to adjust both expectations and perceptions on the actual performance of the product. However, consumer's satisfaction is dominated by the paradigm of disconfirmation. As suggested by Isac and Rusu(2014), disconfirmation can be achieved through several methods, offered its advantages and disadvantages according to studies.

'Religious, economies or erotic desire can be displaced to an object. One way that an object's social value is over determined is through the demonstration of excess capability that suggests a latent property to deliver human qualities. A car can have an excess of power that cannot actually be used on the road but a powerful car makes the driver powerful' (Green & Jordan, 2002 p. 78). By exploring the aesthetic responses to automotive design, it suggests to designers to create an automotive personality which will satisfy consumers. As a result, designers concentrate on visual impact and visual research methods (Kälviäinen & Miller, 2005). According to Kälviäinen and Miller (2005), in order to achieve this task, it is a need to develop other research technique that is important to produce suitable products for user experience. This study suggests the needs for the development of visual experience studies and analysis into design research. To achieve this, it is important to combine research design into two former traditions of visual research: 1) supporting the designer in creation and analysis to produce meanings, and 2) providing the means to anticipate and test how user will interpret and experience the visual messages in products (Kälviäinen & Miller, 2005).

Within the automotive industry, a wide range of market research methods have been adapted by companies. In addition to this, design market research which is increasingly

integrated knowledge from other disciplines such as human factors/ergonomics, social sciences and market research (Langford & McDonagh, 2002). Research, therefore, is absolutely necessary to uncover the emotional responses to the design of products. The fields of interest include aesthetics, psychology, consumer research, sociology, marketing, and semiotics (Crilly, Moultrie, & Clarkson, 2004). The complexity of the problem arises from the market such varied demographic, the choice of name and colour, and the styling segmentation can be only solved and improved by using an efficient method (Md Hashim, 2012a). In response to this, a range of method and techniques have been adapted and applied in the automotive industry. Hence, motorcycle industry is adopting and applying these methods and techniques.

1.1. Value a product bestows upon the user

The characteristics of the product onto the owner can be overt or more subtle. In the overt category, owner of a new Rolls Royce will indicate wealthy status, and this crosses national boundaries. Ownership of such vehicles confers wealth and status that impose an image of success on its owner. In addition, status of success is also apparent in the ownership of a Bentley, Lamborghini, Ferrari, and down to the second level of Mercedes and BMW. Similarly in the developing nations, these characteristics are indicated by ownership of certain vehicles.

The objects we possess communicate aspects of our personality, group membership, and aspirations. Like wise, symbolism is obviously in related to the automotive industry and plays as a major role in it. It typically perceives as a symbol of social status, power, and rebellion (Graves-Brown, 2000). Thorsten Veblen in his classic book, 'The Theory of the Leisure Class' articulated this aspect invented the term 'conspicuous consumption', where he described the role of possessions in the definition of our social identity (Veblen, 2005).

In this study, symbolism is identified in the presence of motorcycle. Currently, market research methods are more focused on judgment of the product itself, overlooking a key feature of products, namely the capacity of the product to confer its characteristics to the owner.

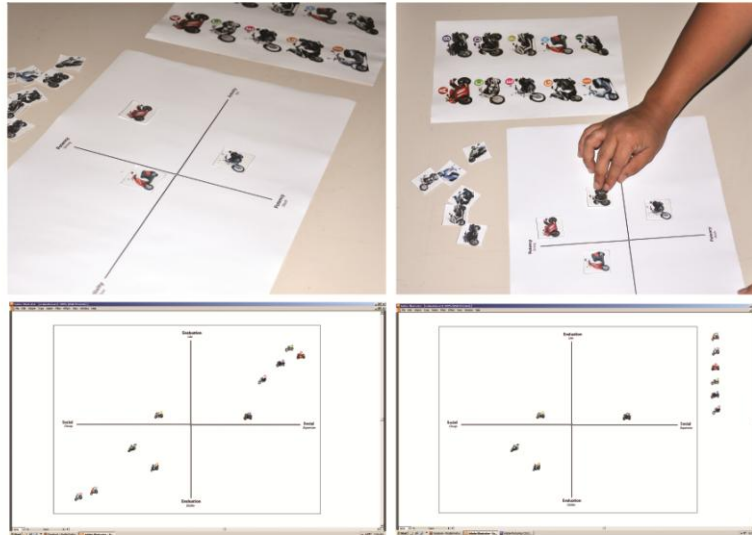
2. METHOD

An experimental aesthetics technique has been conducted in this study. In order to assess user requirements and to establish how they perceive competing motorcycle models, methods are required that could be cost effective and adaptable in various markets. Participant in this study were chosen from university students from non-design courses in such that prior knowledge of similar research would not affect their responses (Wilson & Mackenzie, 2000). Since it is known that product judgment can be influenced by background factors such as age, education and socio-economic status, students were selected to form a relatively homogenous group (Babbie, 1990; Punch, 1998). This experimental aesthetics technique resulted in two methods: 1) visual positioning task; and 2) room affect method in assessing the capacity of the product to confer its characteristics to the owner.

2.1. Visual Positioning Task

For the visual positioning task, a qualitative approach had been applied derived by combining two methods of the Semantic Differential (Osgood & Suci, 1955) and Multidimensional Scaling (MDS) (Antikainen, Kälviäinen, & Miller, 2003).

Figure 1. Motorcycle positioning task



This method uses a visual field format whereby participants maneuver and position products relative to one another in a visual space. Essentially, it adopts the format of Multidimensional Scaling (Schiffman, Reynolds, & Young, 1981), whereby products are positioned in a proximities space: the closer together in the space, the more similar the products. However, unlike Multidimensional Scaling, the dimensionality of the proximities space is predetermined. And it is here that the dimensions commonly identified in Semantic Differential studies can be used. Alternatively, different dimensions can be imposed according to the interests of the designer-researcher. While the above may sound complex, in practice it is extremely easy to set up and analyse, participants also find it is easy to use. From the standpoint of both the designer and the participant, it requires neither verbal articulation nor an understanding of numbers-statistics. In addition, it will generate a visual output (Md Hashim, Effendi, Allan, & Jackson, 2009).

The method conducted which participants from different nationality were given one task involving motorcycle. The participants were asked to position the product pictures on the visual axis of a plot that was proved. The first plot used an Evaluation axis consisting of like – dislike and a Social axis consisting of cheap – expensive, positioned orthogonal to one another. The second plot used a Potency axis, strong – weak and an Activity axis, slow – fast. The results from each participant were combined into the mean position for each of the stimuli.

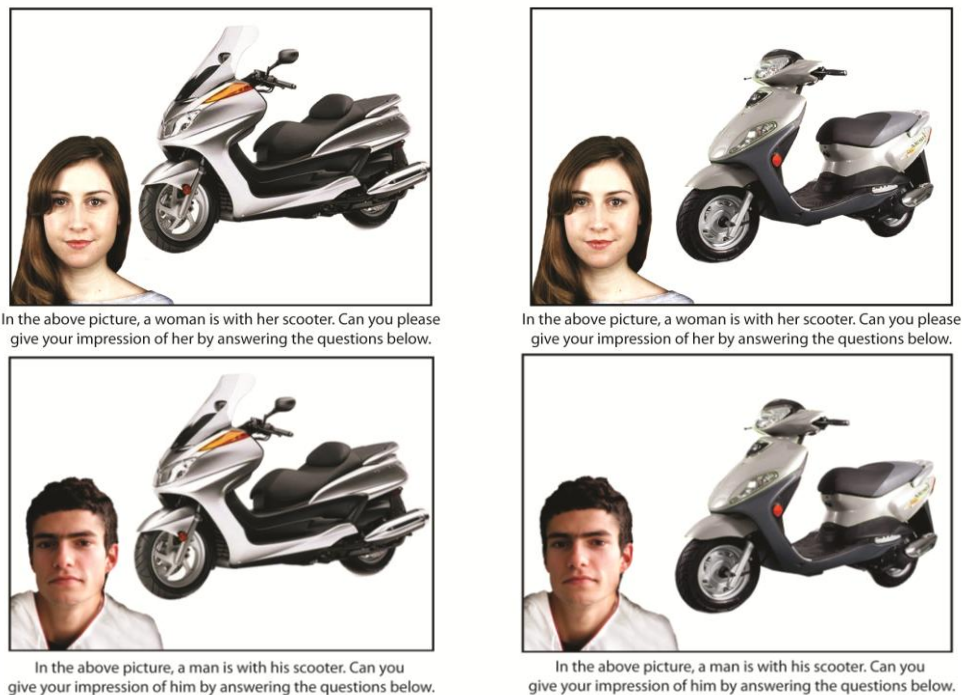
2.2. Room Affect

For the second method, a quantitative approach has been applied and derived by combining two methods of Room Affect (Canter, West, & Wools, 1974) and Personality Traits (McCrae, R.John, & Oliver, 1992). The Room Affect is derived from environmental psychology. In 1974, Canter, West and Wools (1974) found that the characteristics of a room were transferred to its prospective occupant (Canter et al., 1974). A warm room would equate with a warm occupant and a powerful room with a powerful occupant. Earlier, in 1956, Maslow and Mintz (1956) observed a similar Room Affect, whereby the characteristics of the room impacted upon judgments of people's faces associated with the room (Maslow & Mintz, 1956). For example, faces in a 'beautiful' room were rated higher

in 'energy' and 'well-being' levels than those in an 'average' room, which in turn were rated higher than those in the 'ugly' room. Campbell (1979) also found an association between the design of a professor's room and the presumed characteristics of the professor who would be found there.

Participants in this study were given a paper based questionnaires. In order to test for possible effects, the clear different products were paired and shown in every page of the questionnaires. These pictures consisted of Vespa against Modenas motorcycles. Each of these pictures was positioned similarly to the vehicle, and the motorcycles were digitally modified to be as similar in size, orientation and colour as possible. Participants then evaluate the pictures by answering the 9 likert scale questions derived from a standard five-factor model of personality traits covering Extraversion, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, Neuroticism, and Openness to Experience (McCrae et al., 1992). The result then had been analysed by using statistical analysis software SPSS, which is now known as PASW.

Figure 2. Stimuli picture of room affect method



3. FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

The purpose of these studies was to assess the feasibility of using these techniques to gain insights into products in particular motorcycle models. An experimental aesthetic was conducted to give an insight judgment of respondents for both methods. Further directions of this study will focus on the data analysis on visual representations. The possible technique by using internet applications will create an easy and sophisticated application to test this possibility. The output therefore will consist both qualitative and quantitative approach that will enable more specific questions to be answered in social psychology.

4. CONCLUSION/DISCUSSION

Visual positioning task method was conducted to investigate the effectiveness of task for participants in position products within a two-dimensional space characterised by two orthogonal scales. Furthermore, are these methods effective cross-culturally and cross gender? If the design appearance of the tested products fails to influence the participants' judgment of the products', then these would be. From the inspection of the results, this is apparent for participants; that is, the spread within the space is less for the Potency-Activity factor than for the Evaluation-Social factor. The above effect gives further confirmation in the meaningfulness of the task. The presence of such effects for the two distinct nationalities lends further weight.

Room Affect task method was conducted to investigate the possible carry-over of the Room Affect into products. Would the product influence perceptions of the person associated with it? The results reveal some distinct product effects and also both gender and nationality differences in such effects. Initially, the application of statistical analysis software SPSS with ANOVA test was performed to determine where differences lay and then t-tests to isolate such differences. The results prove confirmatory. However, highly significant differences were observed for some of the measures used, with indications of strong cross-cultural agreement of difference nationalities for some and less for other participants. Nevertheless, the results suggest that the Product Effect was more pronounced for the females associated with the motorcycles, reflecting a gender effect. These findings are supported by the research of Baker and Churchill (1977), which indicated that automobile advertisements using female models resulted in the car design being perceived as more appealing, lively, youthful, and better designed. Their work also concluded that the physical attractiveness of the model was positively related to the evaluation of the product, such that a more attractive model would result in the car being rated more favourably (Smith & Engel, 1968).

Adapting a combination of manipulation of visual images with the Five-Factor Model of Personality traits, in supporting the Room Affect method, possibly served the purposes. The psychology effect in measuring human personality is believed to be the best representation by using the Five-Factor Model of Personality traits. The study concluded that it would be reasonable to extend the concept of the Room Affect into the Product Effect. Given the empirical verification of the method from the results, the study confirms that association with a product involves transference of product qualities to the person associated with it. Aside from the specific findings from this study, investigations of the Product Effect could be extended to other designed products, with the potential to generate new knowledge in social psychology.

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Chapter #4

METHODS IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY: FROM EXPERIMENTATION TO POSTMODERNISM

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ABSTRACT

From the end of the 19th century until today, social psychology (SP) has been the field of psychology which has successfully conceived the greatest number of methodological innovations. This chapter deals with the construction of social psychology from epistemological and methodological perspectives. Following a recall of some early milestones, the options that were used to establish SP analyses are presented. The first options were aimed at defining two kinds of links between the object of psychology (conduct) and the methods used to study it (experimentation). But shortly after, it became necessary to invent new “ecological” (naturalistic) methods regarding numerous social situations. Some of them were needed to assess personal values, whereas others were designed to understand the forces and dynamics within the fields surrounding the conduct itself. Recently, the paradigm of complexity together with postmodern options led to the adoption of new tools of theorizing, applicable not only to the limited scope of SP but also to the discipline of psychology as a whole.

Keywords: experimental and ecological methods, personal values, dynamic complex systems, postmodernism.

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the construction of social psychology (SP) considered in terms of epistemology and method rather than with reference to the nature of its thematic content. This choice, which is uncommon, is justified by a straightforward observation: this sector of psychology is the one which, since the advent of modern psychology (in the late 19th century), has been the crucible of fruitful innovations. The chosen perspective seeks to reconstruct the evolution of social psychology on the basis of the different methods it has used, whether by borrowing them from other areas of psychology or from related disciplines, or, and this is where it becomes more interesting, creating its own methods that it found itself needing to deal with issues that were very specific. Social psychologists have been responsible for two major categories of innovation. Firstly, the *concepts*: these permitted the study of the influences of social components on individual behaviour, which began as a novel line of research. And *secondly*, the *methods*: having to deal with these issues, social psychologists would come to construct quite original methods of evaluation, which, beyond the strict purpose of the measurement itself, would lead them ultimately to consider new forms of modeling and of constructing theories.

After recalling some preliminary landmark works, and presenting the options used to explain the construction of SP, we shall discuss each of the characteristic choices of method that have gone into that construction, marking in particular their distinguishing specificity.

2. OPTIONS, AND PRELIMINARY LANDMARK WORKS

2.1. Time Frame

Essentially, social psychology arose in a period that the History of Science calls the "modern era" (Everdell, 1997; Lattal & Rutherford, 2014), which corresponds to a period of discovery in all fields of scientific activity. Overall, the modern era stretches from the Renaissance to the first half of the 20th century. The subsequent years constitute, in science, postmodernism (Cilliers, 1998). The distinction between these two eras is based, again, in science, on the methods of knowledge construction which, in the 1970s, underwent a partial change. The foundational epistemological options of scientific psychology, such as positivism (Comte), functionalism (Dewey & William James), and constructivism (Piaget), found themselves challenged by post-structuralist conceptions that question the previous ways of thinking by introducing disorder, chaos, and nonlinearity as potential organizing conceptual principles of the world.

2.2. The Field of Social Psychology

There is a consensus that social psychology as a scientific discipline was created in the second half of the 19th century. It takes some of its roots from the work of French sociologists (Tarde, Tocqueville, Comte) focused on objectifying the organization of society and its influence on individuals. But social psychology introduces a new and specific perspective by taking as the unit of study the conducts or behaviours (its link to psychology) that depend on (or are influenced by) social or group characteristics. Allport, in a widely accepted definition, assigns to social psychology the following objectives: "... to understand and explain how the thought, feeling and behavior of individuals are influenced by the actual, imagined or implied presence of other human beings" (Allport, 1954, p.5). Such a characterization endows social psychology with both specificity and a very broad scope.

The specificity, which distinguishes SP's objects of study from those of both sociology and political science, is that it shows how individual behaviours are constructed or modified when they take place in the presence of others or, more generally, in the presence of any social influence. The behaviours involved are many in number and different in nature, but behind this definition there is the suggestion of the existence of forces which are activated by interactions. These forces arise in both directions between the individual concerned and the "social component" (i.e., either another individual or a group, whether this latter is formal or informal, and regardless of whether it is clearly constituted).

2.3. The Adoption of the Experimental Method

Jahoda (2007) points pertinently to the influence of the ideas of the Enlightenment on the construction of social psychology. Even before it exists as a discipline in its own right, philosophers such as Locke, Condillac, Maine de Biran, and, later, Tarde, will explain the construction of knowledge by introspection applied directly to information provided by the sense organs. Tarde takes imitation to be one of the decisive social characteristics for the development of individual behaviours. Epistemologically, the position taken is to consider the data thus acquired as fully valid indicators with which mental inferences can be formed about concepts without any form of control.

To be able to claim the status of a science, social psychology needed an appropriate method to use. It would find this in neighbouring disciplines, and it is the opposite of the methods used by the "social philosophers". While the latter have total confidence in introspection, the new psychological discipline promotes a novel epistemological approach

based on doubt. In the second half of the 19th century, in the natural sciences (as they were called at the time), and especially in physics, the experimental method clearly demonstrates its effectiveness with much supporting evidence. Thanks to this, all the foregoing great "scientific" myths whose scope of application had been unlimited (which only seemed to reinforce their validity), such as phlogiston, spontaneous generation, intentions and purposes borrowed from nature, the life force, and, in psychology, human nature, etc., collapse as "explanatory" concepts. The demonstration of their emptiness effectively marks the entrance of the corresponding disciplines into the modern era.

Experiment translates a postulated view into an action of doubt, part of the notion of hypothesis itself. It involves the creation of conditions to carry out research that are quite clearly specified: a situation reducible to variables that are hypothesized as being in relation with each other (independent and dependent variables), a manipulatable arrangement designed by the experimenter (later called "experimental design"), a well-defined location (laboratory), and a purpose for the actions – lifting the initial doubt thanks to obtaining new and crucial information.

3. THE OPTIONS TAKEN TO RESTORE THE CONSTRUCTION OF SP

Presenting retrospectively the modalities of the development of SP is a less obvious undertaking than it at first might seem. One must be wary of a totally externalized vision that would consist in restoring the development of SP as if it had solely been a temporal continuum dotted with historical landmark works.

3.1. A Construction under Constraints

Any conception that sets out to be exclusively chronological runs the risk of being overly simplistic because it does not take into account the local and momentary conditions that have shaped the evolution of SP. The metaphor of a river that carves its way through limestone terrain, with the turns and curves resulting from the interaction of its own impulse and the peculiarities of its environment (the relief, the nature of the rocks encountered) is suggestive of how this present work intends to conceive the construction of SP. The conceptual itinerary that we now recognize was determined by interactions and the resulting forces in the situations encountered in the social field, and by the conceptual and methodological toolkit that was available to the discipline to address its objects of study. It is not excessive to speak of a construction under constraints, in which the deficiencies faced by the new discipline were turned into a powerful incentive to invent methods to overcome the various obstacles. This is thus the "interior" of SP, whose construction we shall endeavour to explain by valuing the dynamic components, the "evolutions" rather than revolutions (Nickles, 2014), and the forces represented therein.

3.2. Epistemology of SP: Forces in a Specific Complex System?

In this chapter, SP is conceptualized as being a complex system, i.e., according to the perfectly functional definition of von Bertalanffy (1968), as "*a set of elements interacting with each other and with their environment*". Like any system, SP has an identity, a specificity, determined by its object: the evaluation of social impacts on the development of personal or group behaviours. The line of study of how "forces" act in a given defined "field", as suggested by the commonest observations, was opened by Lewin, whose contributions we shall analyse later in this chapter. They quite directly foreshadow the latest conceptualizations in terms of systems and complexity that encompass an epistemological construct that is more general, and therefore more effective. SP constitutes

a comprehensive system with clear, although modifiable boundaries. Its functioning is based on forces and interactions (often nonlinear) which are carriers of dynamisms that cause the entire system to evolve under the influence of its internal characteristics and/or external conditions (Cilliers, 1998).

3.3. Validity and Facets

The notion of a complex system, while conceptually appealing, involves a somewhat delicate consideration: How does one evaluate the functioning of such a system? What indicators shall one use? Faced with this same difficulty of evaluating complexity, physics took the criterion of available energy, and formulated the laws of thermodynamics. Despite some attempts in this direction (Tooby, Cosmides, & Barrett, 2000), psychology does not have such a comprehensive and effective referent.

In the current state, a complex system in the human sciences cannot be characterized in terms of its predictive validity but only in terms of its content validity, by collecting evidence from indices produced by the functioning of the system. One of the most revealing of such indices is the concept of "facet". Introduced in the Radex model of the social psychologist Guttman (1954) precisely to deal with complexity, this concept has, however, been little used for this purpose because of the lack of technical means with which to measure specific effects. Its best-known uses have been those directly related to factor analysis (Cattell, 1966). More recently, the concept of facet has been taken up by contemporary information sciences (Stankov, Boyle, & Cattell, 1995; Spiteri, 1998) to determine classification indices that can be used by software tools.

We attach to the term "facet" the major property of its characterizing semantics which is: "*Any of the definable aspects that make up a subject [...] or an object [...]*".¹ A facet expresses a homogeneous and visible property of a system which, by definition, comprises several of such facets. It goes without saying that the more different facets one has then the better one can determine the potential of the system (in this case, SP). Applied to the construction of SP, the notion of facet has four advantages: (i) it allows one to address complexity (this was its primary purpose); (ii) it does so by illuminating the object being studied under different lights; (iii) it marks some particular given aspect without cutting into the whole; and (iv) it allows dynamics and interactions to be considered together in the analysis, referents that are poorly represented in structural models.

4. EXPLORING CONDUCTS IN NATURAL CONDITIONS

The most visible initial methodological options of SP lie in the choices implemented at the data level.

4.1. The Reference to Field Data

Quickly, however, the inherent limitations of the experimental approach become manifest on several fronts: too many variables, impossibility of making them operational, the existence of rapid fluctuations, importance of evolutionary aspects, ethical principles and deontological rules to follow, etc. Therefore researchers began to leave the laboratory and all of its related conceptions and procedures to instead work directly in the field. They would operate in the natural medium, or, in the words of Brunswik (1954), "*in ecological conditions*" (with the term to be taken in its etymological sense).

¹From the free Merriam-Webster Dictionary.

This option of an open and natural field of research asserted itself early on. It is found in the social distance study by Bogardus (1926), a notion evaluated in an "*in town*" sense. A few years later (Bogardus, 1933), this resulted in the construction of a social distance scale from a selection of statements corresponding to real situations. Then in a famous work, Festinger (1956) studied the psychological mechanisms developed by a small group to explain "*the failure of a prophecy*" (the end of the world). The instrument used had nothing to do with experiment. Instead, it defined a new methodological approach that has been particularly fruitful for social psychology. This process, called "field studies", spread rapidly. It implies the primacy of the object, with scrupulous respect for the way it presents itself in natural conditions. This relationship allows one to conceive of a given study using different methods to examine different aspects of the entity under study. Thus, the study by Cunningham (1989) on the strategies used by pseudo-clients (men and women) to make contact with customers in a bar in the suburbs of Chicago made use of several very different methods to address the same subject.

4.2. Statistical Control of the Situation

Operating in a natural environment means losing the control of the situation, at least at the material level, that the researcher has in the laboratory. Indeed, the laboratory is a privileged place of control, disconnected from the world. No longer used, it is necessary to define other forms of control so as to relate a set of active postulated variables. The effects of independent variables (IVs) are studied at the level of dependent variables (DVs). The effect is not provoked, it is observed and evaluated. Research in the natural environment entrusts statistical methods with the task of ensuring this mission through processes of statistical control (Gschwend, 2004).

This statistical control is performed making use of the techniques of multivariate analysis which "*consists of several methods such as principal component analysis, multiple linear regression, canonical correlation, discriminant analysis, and factor analysis. Use of each of the methods depends on the nature of the data*"² (Josaphat & Ismail, 2012, p.189). A variable is considered materially operative on the basis of a statistical criterion, usually a probability (p) of its occurrence under a null hypothesis, such as $p < 0.05$. The study conducted by Josaphat and Ismail (2012) of the determinants of the attitudes of a group of 118 people towards their own particular job and towards work in general illustrates perfectly this type of methodological approach. A factor analysis allowed the authors to conclude that there was an influence of five factors which corresponded to dimensions of variations in attitudes.

5. MEASUREMENTS OF PERSONAL VALUES

Social psychology will show its colours brilliantly in another field previously regarded with suspicion: the measurement of personal values.

5.1. New Concepts of Measurement

The study of an object that is quite specific to social psychology – attitudes regarding social "objects", such as leadership, authority, racism, forced submission, minority groups, etc., and of the situations or people supposedly representing them – led to the development of a current of research on measurement in psychology and its conception in a completely novel form.

²Underlined by the present chapter's authors.

As recently noted by psychometricians (Furr & Bacharach, 2008; Rust & Golombok, 2009), and for far longer by specialists in the construction of measurement scales in psychology (Guilford, 1954), any approach to measurement must present certain methodological guarantees (validity, reliability, etc.) and make reference to external objective indices (the most often used being completion time, or the number of correct responses) and/or global criteria that will allow a score to be determined.

However, in the measurement of attitudes, the magnitudes concerned are private, internal, and unique to each individual who has been led to express their own opinion. By definition, there is neither an objective index nor an external criterion available. (Indeed, this is stressed in the guidelines to the respondents when passing out questionnaires – that "*there are neither good nor bad responses*".)

There was thus a major challenge faced by researchers in social psychology: it was necessary to justify a stable, valid scale of opinions which varied simultaneously in both nature (diversity of opinion) and intensity.

5.2. New Methods for the Construction of Scales

Since the options selected to construct attitude measurement scales are widely known, they shall only be briefly recalled in this present study.

In chronological order, different solutions were contributed by: Bogardus (1926), using "*social distance*"; Thurstone (1928), applying the psychophysical method of equal intervals; Likert (1932), requiring the subjects to express degrees of agreement or disagreement with "*graduated*" propositions; and Guttman (1941), using the properties of hierarchical structures to situate an individual in a broader context and Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum (1957) referring to semantics.

These methods are all intended to express the intensity of magnitudes experienced by each respondent with respect to situations of their social life. They are thus subjective values (in the etymological sense of the word: specific to a subject) determined using criteria themselves subjectively evaluated.

5.3. Introspection, Subjectivity, and Objectivity

The "subjective" qualifier that perfectly characterizes these approaches was not used at the time (instead, one spoke less precisely of internal states, personal arrangements, etc.). One probably has to see there the influence of behaviourism, which was triumphing at that time and which attaches a negative connotation to the word "subjective". By directly quantifying the magnitudes belonging to the subjective register, social psychologists managed to open up a major breach in the behaviourist construct. Their studies brought introspection out of the ghetto of non-scientificity in which it had been confined by a current in the discipline that had made its rejection a founding condition of scientific psychology.

Can introspection be a useful source of information in the study of behaviours? Early on, Floy Washburn (1922) defended against Watson the value of introspection on the basis of methodological arguments and the observation that it had been applied successfully in other "*descriptive sciences*". Much later, the cognitivists, in binding introspection to consciousness and language, would become divided in their opinions about the value of this source of information. For instance, Overgaard (2006) defended its usefulness whereas Nisbett and Wilson (1977) rejected it. Jack and Roepstorff (2002), using brain mapping, concluded that introspective data constitute a reliable source of information.

5.4. The Contributions of Personal Values

There is no doubt that the methods dealing with personal opinions and attitudes have paved the way for the subjective, instrumented, and reliable exploration of behaviours that has been extensively used in cognitive psychology from the 1960s onwards. Works on judgement, decision-making, and risk assessment would come to be supported on such concepts as subjective probability and the subjectively expected consequences of the choices of action (Edwards, Miles, & von Winterfeldt, 2007). In addition, dealing with subjective (personal) values leads to consolidating the constructivist component in the study of behaviour in the sense that a normative perspective (prescribing purposes for a behaviour) becomes less interesting than a constructive perspective (inquiring into how behaviour develops).

6. WHEN METHOD IMPOSES ITSELF ON THE OBJECT

A strategy that is the opposite of the previous one is to choose a method with proven value and capable of application to all behaviours studied, regardless of their specificities.

6.1. The Prevalence of the Method over the Object's Properties

Doubtless the outstanding success of the experimental method prompted researchers of the time to prepare its transfer to psychology. Indeed, this is evidenced years later in the "behaviourist manifesto" of Watson (1913) (Lattal & Rutherford, 2014) which contains the following well-known and radical assertion: "*Psychology as the behaviourist views it is a purely objective experimental branch of natural science*" (Watson, 1913, p.158). Method emerges as the criterion for scientificity, and the object studied should be considered, not as it exists in reality, but in such a way as to allow the application of method. The objects studied are simplified, schematized, and reduced to those variables that can be manipulated to satisfy the conditions for the application of the experimental method. The characteristic of the approach to research is that it sets the method as having prevalence over the object which has to be re-elaborated or adapted to the method. Hence, $M > O$.

6.2. The Knowledge Produced

Method (M) as the primary choice always demands operationalization on some concrete content (O). The foundational act of this association occurred very early on – in the work of Triplett (1898), an author now recognized as one of the founders of social psychology. Triplett (1898) notes that behaviours, otherwise identical in all respects, while involving the individual realization of psychomotor actions, are performed more efficiently when they are carried out in groups than when they are done individually. The group context makes it easier for each individual to execute the task (which will come to be called social facilitation). It was around this specific contribution of the group to each of its individual members that the area of psychology legitimately qualified as "social" was to develop. The experimental conception adopted by Triplett was very close to the method of "contrasted groups", the independent variable (IV) being group work, and the dependent variable (DV) the performance achieved. Triplett interpreted the results using the premonitory designation "*dynamogenic factors*", which we shall return to later.

During the 20th century, group influences on individual perceptions and behaviours are beautifully highlighted in experimental social psychology, and have now become an integral part of its "war chest".

The most famous contributions concern:

- social norms (Sherif, 1936). Social norms are constructed as the result of dynamic processes of each individual's seeking to fit in with the group.

- conformity (Asch, 1951). Asch highlights the critical importance of conformism: the values thought to characterize the group strongly condition individual assessments.

- cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957). Dissonance occurs when an individual is engaged in conduct that is contrary to their opinions or values. The person concerned will implement cognitive processes of reduction of such dissonance.

- submission to authority (Milgram, 1974). The Milgram experiment showed how willing most people may be to obey someone they recognize as an authority figure, even though the behaviour demanded of them goes completely against their conscience.

7. FIELDS, FORCES, AND DYNAMICS

The next stage is closely linked to the concepts of an author who has left a deep imprint in the construction of SP: Kurt Lewin. Three contemporary contributions (Lewin, 1936, 1938, 1939) came to define a conceptual framework for the study of social influences known as "*dynamic psychology*" and to connect "*the conceptual representation and [the] measurement of psychological strengths*" (Lewin, 1938). That this conception of social psychology has already been presented in the specialist literature (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2014) allows us to address just the extremely original epistemological and methodological aspects contributed by this current.

7.1. Fields, Forces, and Topology

Lewin's fundamental approach seeks to align the conceptualizations of social psychology with those of physics, aided by two notions: that of forces (represented by vectors) and that of field, divisible into subspaces. Lewin introduced a topological perspective (Lewin, 1936) in which the field is not a homogeneous surface. Instead, it is structured according to areas of high or no activity corresponding to positive or negative psychological investments (valences). The field is traversed by forces (Lewin, 1938) that produce dynamic effects which may be negative (e.g., frustration) or positive (attaining a desired goal, resolution of tensions). The forces that manifest themselves in the field are the determinants of different behaviours, as shown by the fact that modifying the data of the field modifies the behaviours and releases energy.

7.2. Methodological Innovations: The Abandonment of Experimental Variables

All the methodological concepts presented above referred to variables either selected on the basis of hypotheses or emerging from statistical processing. Lewin renounces reference to such quantities since they do not leave room for the treatment of many classes of information on behaviour because they had not been initially characterized as variables. Positing a hypothesis is to select certain dimensions while at the same time neglecting others whose possible importance one might be unaware of. To avoid this form of reductionism, Lewin chose a holistic perspective (Lewin, 1936). He rejected any selection of the sources of variation. De facto, he abandoned the notion of variable that had up to then been an absolutely necessary condition for any research process. Moreover, no longer reducing behaviour to a few dimensions, maintaining its global and integrated character, and highlighting the forces and dynamics that animate it became the major operations of its conceptualization and its measurement. "*Theoretical psychology in its present state*

[i.e., 1936] must try to develop a system of concepts which show the characteristics of a Gestalt in which any part depends upon every other parts" (Lewin, 1936, p.viii). In a review of Lewin's conceptions, Rainio (2010) points out that he revolutionized the way of thinking about psychology: "He [Lewin] found that in description of behaviour (and of cognition), the reality needs to be formed and organized in a new way: In psychology, the world needs to be differentiated to such separate states which have meaning³ to the subject, the psychological process being a locomotion in such a space, i.e., transitions from a meaningful state to another meaningful state. According to Lewin, only these states with meanings have relevance⁴ in psychological description" (Rainio, 2010, p.1).

8. COMPLEXITY AND POSTMODERNISM

Lewin's concepts largely prepared the way for the appearance of the next step – that which marked entry into the world of the postmodern "reading grid". The term used to designate this period is in itself characteristic: it in effect suggests that the advanced part of scientific knowledge (modernism) is itself surpassed by other modes of the construction of knowledge (postmodernism).

8.1. Postmodernism

The reference to postmodernity originated in architecture. But it was in philosophy that it became conceptualized (Lyotard, 1984), giving rise to criticism that was equally vehement in its support as in its rejection. Long considered to be avant-garde, postmodern conceptions are relevant in the present context in that they illustrate other modes of apprehending and representing the conceptualization of behaviour that are different from those previously taken to be canonical. Thus, in the postmodern approach there is no representation of the need for an operational method, for economy of explanation (Occam's razor), for setting up hypotheses, for verification procedures, etc., whereas everything referring to "*destabilizing forces*" (Cilliers, 1998) is extensively present. Nonetheless, this expression is not to be understood in the negative sense of destruction but in that of "deconstruction", a term used to characterize this current.

Among the many meanings attached to postmodernism, that which we shall consider will be of an epistemological nature: it reflects the expression of doubt about the ability of science to represent, through a single integrated model, the objects being studied. In its most comprehensively accepted sense, postmodernism considers the object of study (here, social behaviours) not to be bound to a single discipline but to be studied under different aspects by different disciplines. Each of these disciplines characterizes the object in terms of distinct properties and by constructing different representations of the same object. Thus, attitudes can be studied with reference to very different disciplines (sociology, social psychology, history, political science, anthropology) which may shed light on different, but complementary, conceptualizations. Cilliers (1998) called these representations "*local narratives*", they exist in large numbers, highlighting the benefits for the construction of knowledge that are provided by multidisciplinary approaches.

The lack of consensus and the attraction for "deconstructivism", the necessary abandonment of certainty, as is also understood in SP (Haslam & McGarty, 2001), that characterize postmodernism might make one feel somewhat dizzy, but fortunately its initially speculative concepts have spread throughout the "operative" human sciences by fusing themselves with the paradigm of dynamic complex systems. The work of Cilliers

³Underlined in the original.

⁴Underlined in the original.

(1998) is an opposite analysis of the forms of reciprocal support and conjoint functioning of these two notions, in which the author emphasizes their contemporary character.

9. RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS: TOWARDS NEW SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY RESEARCH STRATEGIES

9.1. Re-Evaluation of the Scientific Status of Behaviours in SP

The adoption of the conception that social behaviours are determined by a common basis formed by the union of a number of properties – holism, and the presence of linear and nonlinear interactions, of forces, of dynamics, of several active variables, of scalability, and of adaptive self-organization – is ultimately nothing but a realistic way of characterizing these behaviours. This standpoint is merely a generalization of the straightforward and concrete observation of the diversity and richness of the human individual's positive or negative social relationships which they establish with a large number of social groups, each of which may have very different objectives.

9.2. Epistemological and Methodological Implications

Therefore it would seem appropriate to consider that, in its very structure, behaviour is a complex system that cannot be reduced to a few independent variables without seriously distorting the object being studied. Recognition of this complexity and its consequent treatment explain the "scientific revolution" – the paradigm shift, as described by Kuhn (1970) – that took place. This new viewpoint led to the exploration of two major promising lines of study – one epistemological, and the other conceptual.

- The epistemological line is to deal with systems comprehensively in natural conditions (the systemic paradigm) rather than with selected variables, isolated and operationalized in artificial conditions (the experimental paradigm) since the latter at best will only give a partial picture of the behaviour. One recalls the succession of "enigmas" that Mayo had to resolve before the discovery of the Hawthorne effect which showed that an enterprise is not a collection of variables, but a complex system that generates interactions producing significant effects. Subsequently, these epistemological options reinforced the importance of field studies which had already been revalued upwards relative to conceptions that were purely theoretical or hypothetical-deductive.

- The conceptual line has seen, since the year 2000, many innovations (Reis & Judd, 2014). The central issue is to verify the descriptive and predictive validity of the concepts that have emerged from the research, and, in this point, it is important to distinguish qualitative from quantitative methods. Among the former, triangulation is "a method of cross-checking data from multiple sources to search for regularities in the research data" (O'Donoghue & Punch, 2003, p.78). It is a natural process of the mind to seek by different methods the invariants needed for the construction of concepts (Flick, 1998). Triangulation is a very useful tool when the behaviours involve strong initial variations (e.g., in cross-cultural or health-related social psychology). It is also an extensively used method for theorizing about social representations (Moscovici, 2001).

To illustrate the latter, we cannot refrain from mentioning an iconic method based on a principle similar to that of the representative samples used in survey techniques. This is to consider all the output of a system as icons that will provide information about its modes of operation. Thus, when an education system is applied to groups of pupils who are very different in several characteristics (e.g., various ethnic groups), it produces a different icon for each group. Post hoc comparative analysis allows one to evaluate the contributions, shortcomings, and application characteristics. Among the quantitative methods, room

should also be made for simulations. The article that Palys (1973) devoted to them already highlighted their methodological advantages (validity, scalability, and insight into the processes of integration of the information underlying the dynamics of different behaviours). The development of robotics has helped to operationalize the social behaviour of non-human animals as well as humans (see the report of Fong, Nourbakhsh, & Dautenhahn, 2002), with its emphasis on the fundamental structuring role of many interactions which can only be conceived of as part of a complex system.

10. CONCLUSION: TOWARDS NEW FORMS OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE?

In the attempt to illustrate this chapter, our restoration of the construction of social psychology with reference to its methods has gone far beyond merely establishing a chronological catalogue. Of all the notions presented, the only one that is still always present is that of behaviour regarded as an "object" produced by dimensions or variables generating certain "principal effects". Linking behaviour to the complexity paradigm modifies this conception by viewing behaviour as an observable, comprehensive, and integrated result of the forces and dynamics that drive the functioning of a system. This is no longer a case of using behaviour only when validating a formal model, but instead of using it as a productive source of information, and of analysing it in order to extract the characteristics that have permitted its development. One such enterprise has only just begun to be outlined, but SP has yet to complete its evolution. It seems that the modelling or theorizing to come will have to have a two-pronged objective: on the one hand, to enhance the part played by empirical data in constructing theories that are more substantive than formalized, and on the other, following the lines laid out by Lewin and revisited by Rainio (2010), to introduce elements restituting the evolutive dynamics and the chronology of states. Ultimately, this will lead to constructing models in which the current and circumstantial data present in the field are endowed with increasing importance because it is they which give behaviour its specific characteristics.

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Section 3
Social Psychology of Human and
Social Development

Chapter #5

THE SOCIAL IDENTITY APPROACH TO MERGERS AND ACQUISITIONS: AN OVERVIEW

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ABSTRACT

Since mergers and acquisitions (M&As) clearly require a recategorization process where previously distinct corporate partners are combined into one merged entity (i.e. the new post-merger organization), they point towards the effects of group membership and intergroup relations that often end up in more conflict, decreased motivation and subsequently lowered organizational performance (Giessner, Ullrich & van Dick, 2012 p. 2). Often the change that comes along with the merger process is designed and experienced in discontinuous ways that threaten employees' stability and undermine the strategic and financial goals of the merger. The Social Identity Approach (SIA) which reflects the effects of group psychology on perceptions, attitudes and behavior, provides influential insights into understanding employees' reactions to mergers. Not surprisingly then, the following chapter presents an overview of the essentials of the Social Identity Approach (SIA) and its implications in merger contexts to better understand the human side of them. We summarize the theoretical assumptions of the SIA regarding identification processes and management of identity in tandem with significant insights from empirical research applying such a perspective that may facilitate achieving favorable merger integration (Amiot, Terry & Callan, 2007). At the end, we discuss issues and implications for further research.

Keywords: organizational mergers, merger integration patterns, sense of continuity, status differences, leadership.

The present chapter is dedicated to my mother, teacher Georgia Makri.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. The social identity approach (SIA) to organizational context

A well-known assumption and actual realization is that social-psychological insights have been successfully used to analyze issues and concepts from social settings to organizational conditions and the field of organizational behavior. Organizations are seen as social groups and as such, behavior is largely guided by people's membership in work groups and teams. Accordingly, topics related to the ways and norms work groups tend to operate either collectively or by competition, are in effect borrowed and applied by organizational behavior researchers in actual organizational environment. For example, the way an employee sees himself and behaves in relation to his membership in a given organization or work group, is fundamentally guided by the Social Identity Approach (SIA). Conceived by social psychologists and grounded in Social Identity Theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and Self-Categorization Theory (SCT; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987), it stands as a promising social-psychological approach that is influential in improving our understanding of the group processes, attitudes and behavior at work in any given organizational setting.

The Social Identity Approach (SIA) addresses the effects of group membership on perceptions, evaluations, attitudes and behavior. It is constructed upon the critical assumption that people perceive the social environment in terms of social categories they belong to (i.e. groups) (e.g. members of an organization, etc.) and define themselves (positively), i.e. form their (favorable) self-image on the basis of their membership to these particular groups in relation to others. In that sense, people move from the personal self (personal identity) to the social self (social identity) and in effect the organizational self (organizational identity), in other words, experience a transfer from interpersonal to intergroup attitudes and behavior (Giessner et al., 2012 p. 5).

As Ullrich & van Dick (2007) suggest, this concept of self from the personal (or individual) to social (or organizational), spots the “ends of a theoretical continuum from interpersonal to intergroup behavior” (p. 3). In other words, the personal self-concept, i.e., how I perceive myself as a person (or individual), becomes the social (organizational) self-image, i.e., how I perceive myself as a member of the organization I work at, in a distinctive way. This notion is reflected in Tajfel’s (1978) definition of social identity: “the individual’s knowledge that he or she belongs to certain groups together with some emotional and value significance to him or her of the group membership” (p. 31).

Transferring the above essentials of the SIA into work settings in particular, the social self (social identity) becomes the organizational self (organizational identity) through the process of organizational identification, i.e., the psychological attachment with the organization. Mael & Ashforth (1992) suggest that the construct of organizational identification reflects the individual’s “self-definition of cognitive-perceptual group membership” (Ellemers, Haslam, Platow & van Knippenberg ., 2003 p. 14) and mirrors the psychological linkage between the self (individual) and the group (i.e. organization). In other words, the more one perceives himself in terms of him being a member of a particular group, the more probable is that he will behave and proceed in line with the social identity entailed by that group membership (van Knippenberg & Ellemers, 2003). Clearly, organizational identification reflects not only the propensity to perceive himself as a member of the employing organization (i.e. the process of identification per se), but also the positive or favorable self-image that stems from that membership (i.e. the state of being identified) (Ellemers et al., 2003 p. 13). Therefore, it represents the psychological bond or psychological merging (Ellemers et al., 2003 p. 14) between the employee and the organization (or a team and department within that organization).

In that sense, when an employee identifies with his organization, he perceives himself in terms of that membership and focuses on traits shared with other members of that organization, i.e. other employees. As a result, he assumes organization’s goals as his own and exerts extra effort and goes the extra mile in favor of the organization he is a member (van Knippenberg & van Leeuwen, 2001). However, this process of identification with the employing organization refers to sharing salient, i.e. distinctive characteristics of this organization with other members within and in comparison to other organizations.

The degree of distinctiveness may be rendered by contextual factors such as, among others, organizational life restructuring events like mergers and acquisitions that distract employees from adopting a common or shared organizational identity due to feelings of insecurity and threat (Terry, 2001). These feelings, as already known and acknowledged, are associated with the great deal of changes that often come with merger activity (Schraeder & Self, 2003): these involve, among others, changes in management, in culture and procedures of the corporate merger partners as reflected in the merged organization that unavoidably influence job designs and work roles and subsequently, employees’ responses and reactions to the new merger reality, pattern of values, structure and practices (Terry, Carey & Callan, 2001). These may range from adjustment and integration to

conflict and resistance to the new merged organizational rules imposed (Bijlsma-Frankema, 2001), or more notably, to lowered perceived autonomy (Dackert, Jackson, Brenner, & Johansson, 2003), us versus them thinking (Terry et al., 2001) and sense of discontinuity from the previous to the restructured organization after reformation (van Knippenberg, van Knippenberg, Monden & de Lima, 2002).

2. MAIN SECTION

2.1. The social identity approach (SIA) to mergers and acquisitions

During the last years, ongoing economic crisis and recession have stressed the need for organizations to be involved in organizational restructuring and changes like mergers and acquisitions in order to survive. Despite a rather stable wave of mergers and acquisitions in 2013 and 2014, a new volume of deals are in progress (Annema, Bansal & West, 2015). However, mergers and acquisitions either national or cross-border ones, often result in considerable failure rates estimated up to 70-80% (Cartwright, Tytherleigh, & Robertson, 2007), an issue that on one hand, still remains unresolved (Stahl & Voigt, 2008), but on the other hand, people management issues are given less attention at the expense of financial and strategic aspects and are identified as a significant factor in mergers and acquisitions' underperformance (Makri & Ntalianis, 2015; Bartels, Douwes, de Jong & Pruyn, 2006; van Dick, 2004).

The challenge of successful merger integration involves employees cooperate effectively and identify (i.e. be psychologically attached or affiliated) with the merged organization (Giessner et al., 2012). Increased identification with the merged organization has been indicated to lead to favorable organizational behavior outcomes like, for example, enhanced organizational commitment, job satisfaction and reduced turnover intentions (van Dick, Ullrich, & Tissington, 2006; Lipponen, Olkkonen, & Moilanen, 2004; van Dick, Wagner & Lemmer, 2004), while lowered levels of employee identification have been associated with more conflict, diminished motivation and subsequently, lowered organizational performance (Ullrich & van Dick, 2007). These outcomes decrease employees' health and well-being at work, together with the level of social interactions in everyday work life (Giessner, et al, 2012). In addition, the latter researchers also suggest that greater identification with the merged organization is assumed to be favorable to merger integration, as it means that employees adopt the targets related to post-merger identity.

In practice and under real merger conditions which rarely involve equal partners, since one organization is always in charge of another (Wickramasinghe & Karunaratne, 2009), any merger event represents a recategorization of the previously distinct organizations (i.e. corporate merging partners) into the one superordinate merged organization (entity) post-combination (Terry & O'Brien, 2001).

In that event, organizational members (i.e. employees) need to shift and transfer their organizational membership (i.e. identity) from the pre-to the post-merger organization. During this process, the literature so far has been relatively conclusive that "sameness is not a required feature of identity; rather, what is required is a *sense of continuity* (Rousseau, 1998, p. 227), i.e. the feeling that the post-merger organization tends to be (or bears) a continuation of the pre-merger one, in terms of vision, values, practices, operations and systems embedded. This sense of continuity instigates feelings of security for employees after merger as it makes them feel that they continue to work for the same organization as before (Giessner, Viki, Otten, Terry & Täuber 2006; Jetten, O'Brien, & Trindall, 2002) which is now perceived as "their" organization (Giessner, 2011). As a result, it affects

positively their identification with the merged organization (van Dick, Ullrich, & Tissington, 2006) and thereby facilitates behavior directed towards achieving merger goals and integration success (Cartwright, 2005; van Dick, 2004).

2.2. Status and dominance in mergers and acquisitions

As already stated above, most mergers are not mergers of equals (Cartwright & Cooper, 1996) and they usually involve corporate partners that may differ before the merger, for example, in size, reputation or status (Marmenout, 2010). In that respect, any merger event tends to increase status differences between pre-merger corporate partners post-combination and threaten integration success (Terry & O'Brien, 2001). If employees' membership to the new merged organization is perceived as a continuation of their pre-merger identity, i.e. high pre-merger status one, then it is most likely to be transferred to the merged organization, especially if the merged organization is perceived as of being a high-status one (Boen, Vanbeselaere & Cool, 2006). In contrast, in cases where employees perceive they belong to the lower status or the dominated merger corporate partner, then they are most likely to experience a sense of discontinuity (i.e. from the pre-to the post-merger organization), threat to their organizational identity and consequently exhibit negative attitudes and responses towards the merger (Terry, Carey & Callan, 2001).

As such, employees of the lower status pre-merger partner are inclined to feel more threatened by merger integration and likely to exhibit less positive responses towards the merger post-combination, while employees of the higher status pre-merger organization are less threatened by merger integration and thereby more motivated to demonstrate favorable responses and reactions towards merger support (Giessner et al., 2006).

According to the SIA, employees especially those of the low status pre-merger organization, are likely to use a number of strategies to advance their social identity, i.e. to have a positive and distinctive social identity in the new and as a part of the new merged organization (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). For example, individual mobility, i.e. looking for membership in the higher status organization, either by leaving the current organization, seeing the new merged organization as an opportunity to achieve better career prospects, or adopting negative actions like protests, sabotage, gossiping, hostility over members of the other merger partner, or even using new dimensions of comparisons (e.g. better organizational climate) to evaluate positively their pre-merger in relation to the merged organization (Ellemers, 1993; Terry & Callan, 1998; Weber & Camerer, 2003).

Empirical data demonstrate that when employees perceive the merged organization as a continuation of their pre-merger organization, the relationship between the pre-merger and the post-merger organizational identification is stronger (van Knippenberg & van Leeuwen, 2001). Also, the sense of continuity from the pre-to the post-merger organization and subsequently identification, is found to be stronger for employees perceiving their pre-merger organization as of being larger, more dominant, or of higher reputation and status which largely defines the character of the merged organization post-integration (Giessner et al., 2006; Terry, 2003).

However, the issue of dominance and status tend not to be alike and by far, not equal, i.e. the same (Ullrich, Wieseke & van Dick, 2005). Dominance usually reflects the state of acquired vs acquiring corporate partner which is most often clear after combination and most likely to cause sense of discontinuity from the pre-to the post-merger organization, while status usually reflects comparison dimensions in terms of prestige, viability, reputation, etc. before the actual merger event. For example, board of directors, or aspects of culture are likely to be criteria on which one merger partner may dominate the other and ultimately deprive his employees from being identified with the merged organization as a

whole (Ullrich et al., 2005). Or, in other cases, the perceived fame and reputation of the merger partner is found to be related to employees' identification with the merged entity after merger (Smidts, Pruyn, & van Riel, 2001). As implied by the above, the sense of continuity tends to be dependent on certain factors that continue to be present after the merger event and help fulfilling the "gap" of belongingness between the pre-and the post-merger organizations. Or metaphorically speaking, between past and future.

2.3. Observable and Projected Continuity in Mergers and Acquisitions

As stated above, a certain sense of continuity transferred to the merged organization, is considered to decrease the insecurity that often prevents post-merger identification (Boen, Vanbeselaere, Hollants & Feys 2005; Giessner, 2011). The social identity-related merger studies introduce two types of continuity: observable and projected continuity (Ullrich et al, 2005). Observable continuity reflects a sense of continuity where employees compare the past and the present state of their organization, in other words, their pre-merger with the new merged organization, while projected continuity represents employees' perception of the future that their merged organization is likely to have, accompanied by a "road map into the future" (Ullrich et al., 2005 p. 1555), that is, a path of how to get there which reflects, in effect, the merged organization's future identity. Both kinds of senses of continuity and especially projected continuity which represents employees' sense of "where are we going to and what can we do to make it happen" (Ullrich et al., 2005 p. 1562), are associated with lowered feelings of insecurity that often prevent post-merger identification (Boen et al., 2005) and facilitate post-merger organizational identification for both merger corporate partners (Ullrich et al., 2005). In cases where employees experience decreased senses of continuity from the pre-to the post-merger organization, post-merger identification is found to be further facilitated when employees perceive the merger as a meaningful activity that serves the strategic goals of the organization, making them feel less anxious about the future and thereby demonstrate increased psychological attachment with the merged organization (Boen, Vanbeselaere & Swinnen, 2005b; Ullrich et al., 2005).

2.4. Merger integration patterns

Inherent to the SIA to mergers and acquisitions appears to be the path under which merger integration is actually applied post-combination (i.e. the ways merger partners exert their influence during integration process post-combination).

As stated earlier, organizational dominance usually reflects "power relations" within merger conditions (Giessner et al., 2006). Although the high status pre-merger corporate partner often dominates the merger process, organizational dominance is also reflected in the ways merging partners choose to exercise their influence according to the different ways of integration after combination (i.e. merger integration patterns). In other words, whether different dominance positions (e.g. due to the fact that one merger partner is the acquirer and the other the acquired) that translate into an imbalance of influence in the post-merger organization, depend on the merger integration pattern. These merger integration patterns have been suggested in previous and more recent relevant typologies (e.g. Schoennauer, 1967; Marks & Mirvis, 1998; 2001), as follows:

Absorb reflects a complete assimilation of the acquired (i.e. dominated) merger partner into that of the acquiring (i.e. dominating) corporate partner, the most common integration pattern employed (Giessner et al., 2006). In other words, the influence of the dominant merger partner exceeds in absolute terms that of the other dominated merger partner (Lupina-Wegener, Schneider & van Dick, 2011) and its identity is the one

represented in the new merged organization. Blend or integration-equality pattern depicts an integration where merger partners are both recognizable in the new merged organization and exercise their influence and in effect their identity in rather equal terms, while combine (transformation) pattern actually represents a formation of a completely new organization after merger which delineates a new identity representation in the integrated organization (Giessner et al., 2006). In the logic of the low status pre-merger organization, employees are more likely to perceive blend or integration equality merger patterns as of most beneficial due to their status enhancement (i.e. positive organizational identity), while in the high status pre-merger organization, employees are expected to experience absorb or combine merger patterns as most favorable due to their high status maintenance and related identity (Gleibs, Täuber, Viki & Giessner, 2013).

In addition, merger integration patterns affect employees' willingness to support the merger process, especially in cases where portions of each merging partner identity remain observable and distinct (e.g. blend or integration-equality patterns) post-integration. Mottola, Bachman, Gaertner & Dovidio. (1997) indicated that employees seem to be less threatened in relation to their job status and job security and more supportive of merger when aspects of both merger partners are represented in the merged organization. Merger integration patterns are additionally influenced by perceptions of legitimacy and procedural justice (i.e. beliefs of whether merger is legitimate and how employees are treated in the new merged organization (Gleibs, Mummendey, & Noack, 2008). Absorb or assimilation merger pattern is expected to represent a less legitimate integration pattern for members of the low status pre-merger organization as it may increase status differences, in relation to combine merger pattern that creates a new identity-related merged organization and realizes status equality (Giessner et al., 2006).

2.5. The social identity approach (SIA) to leadership in mergers and acquisitions

Giessner, Ullrich & van Dick(2011) argue that the SIA aspect of leadership in mergers and acquisitions has received lowered research attention. However, one can assume that leaders play a critical role in initiating, facilitating and supporting change initiatives especially in the context of a merger and considered to be successful when achieving post-merger identification (Giessner et al., 2012). As such, the SIA essentials to leadership during merger and acquisition activities suggest that leaders need to act not only as change agents by generating, influencing and directing change, but also as agents of continuity by forming a strong sense of continuity for employees during post-merger integration (Giessner et al., 2012).

Closely related to the above stand the concepts of leader group prototypicality (i.e. the extent to which the leader represents and adopts the traits of the organization) and leader group orientedness (i.e. the degree to which the leader is perceived to be committed to the organization's shared interest (Giessner, Horton & Humborstad, in press; January 2016) which act together in facilitating leadership influence (Giessner et al., 2012) by fostering willingness to change (Bobbio, van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005; van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005), support and trust (van Knippenberg, 2011). Moreover, leaders may also strengthen employees' post-merger identification by creating and actively supporting a vision of the organization that guarantees a sense of continuity, in other words, supporting employees' perceptions that the core identity of the organization is not changing due to the merger (Giessner et al., in press; January 2016; Venus, 2013). Further, engaging to fairness actions by using and communicating deferential allocation of resources and outcomes to merger partners during post-merger integration, would also

enhance employees' perceptions of identification with the merged organization (Gleibs et al., 2008; Amiot et al., 2007) and thereby, support of merger integration. The question remains whether these effects are dissipated over time and both in implemented and desired merger integration patterns, as well as in top-and middle-level managers alike.

3. CONCLUSION

Identity-based dynamics highlight the significance of our lives as social beings and emphasize group membership for individuals' perceptions, attitudes and behavior. The current chapter drawing on existing evidence, presented an overview of the SIA essentials in mergers and acquisitions in an attempt to emphasize their contribution to merger management and people identity management, in particular.

Understanding the processes of social identification and self-categorization together with the identity-related factors summarized above, is significant for employee motivation and merger support. However, as Giessner et al. (2012 p. 26) argue, "applications of the SIA in the field of mergers and acquisitions are still rare though", given the innate difficulties associated with the process of data collection at the different stages of the merger process, reflected in modern merger research (e.g. Wickramasinghe & Karunaratne, 2009). In that sense, we believe it would be interesting to explore further the key issues raised above, i.e., the sense of continuity, the status and dominance differentials with merger integration patterns and leadership in cross-border context and across the various stages of the merger activity including both top-and middle-level management alike, as it would help clarifying merger identity development issues further. In addition, we believe that future merger identity-related research should also tap into additional issues (e.g. gender) on different fields (e.g. health) to help us understanding further how we can merge "well".

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Chapter #6

PAIN, PATIENTS' NEEDS AND HEALTH-RELATED QUALITY OF LIFE

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ABSTRACT

Pain is a widely discussed phenomenon due to its complex comprehension and impact on satisfying life condition. It is related to physiological, psychological, spiritual and social aspects. Considering these dimensions, Cecily Saunders conceptualized "Total Pain", in an article written around 1965 (Saunders, 2006). Since the person cannot realize working activities, house's expenditure may enhance as total workforce decrease, especially if the patient is the provider. Isolation leads to suffering originated from feelings (guilt, rejection, fear, impotence, incomprehension), because there is a lack of relations and autonomy. It occurs by individual external and internal factors. As one cannot follow his/her social circle, there is a weakened relationship. Depending on the disease, there is social stigmatization on how pain is expressed and cultural environment presents negative prejudgment. Pain generates the need to reorganize/adapt to a new health condition, which does not always reflect the earlier lifestyle. Some measures can be taken to minimize suffering from those who live with significant impact on global quality of life. Receptiveness by professionals, family members and society can slow down those consequences. More efforts towards policies that promote a humanized treatment seems important to future's pain management.

Keywords: chronic pain, social adaptation, symbolic representation of pain, social practice.

1. INTRODUCTION

Pain is a phenomenon that exposes the person to adverse conditions in both collective and individual contexts. It presents correlations with many life scopes, influencing and being influenced by personal characteristics and mean of insertion. Due to negative interference in psychological and social dimensions, there may be suffering and relation with humor disorders, such as depression and anxiety (Camon, 2012; Marquez, 2011).

Regarding social matter, pain can cause significant impact in patient's support network. Depending on the level of pain and experienced circumstances there may be limitations to the person through the reduction of spare time in psychosocial sphere and life style maintenance. Consequently, losses are from practical order (financial dimensions, routine organization and adaptation) or associated to the subjective (social relationship investment, perception of the lived experience) (Camon, 2012; Chapman & Gravin, 1999).

Pain phenomenon also interferes in the ones who live with the person's suffering. There is a tendency in becoming responsible for psychosocial support, defined as:

“a scale of care and support which influences both the individual and the social environment in which people live and ranges from care and support offered by caregivers, family members, friends, neighbors, teachers, health workers, and community members on a daily basis but also extends to care and support offered by specialized psychological and social services.” (UNHCR, 2009).

Thus it is offered by the individual's support network, usually constituted by familiars. Obligatory support interferes in family structures, once it becomes unstable and needs to recover the balance through the reorganization of occupational roles to supply economic, operational, logistic and social demand. Besides that, family takes care of primary needs and pain treatment, even without being prepared, which can amplify pain to social circle (Lewandowski, Morris, Draucker & Risko, 2007; Metha & Chan, 2008).

Social representation of pain is one of the pillars that characterize social pain. Diseases and social stigmas create discomfort and exclusion for the one who is living certain situations. It raises feelings like anger, repulsiveness, fear, pity, desire of distance from both sides, which leads to a conflictive relationship. In consequence, there is quality decrease of affective bond and relationships consuming.

Considering this background, the present chapter discourses about the interfaces of pain correlated to social dimensions and subjective consequences on the individual's social life.

1.1. Pain

The International Association for the Study of Pain (IASP, 2012) defines this term as “an unpleasant sensory and emotional experience associated with actual or potential tissue damage, or described in terms of such damage”. It is multifactorial and counts with sensorial, physiological, cognitive, affective, behavioral and spiritual components. Subjective elements (underlined ones) will influence on how pain stimulus are transmitted (World Health Organization, 2012).

Another classification system is by pain length: acute and chronic. When it is acute, pain presents short duration and appears immediately after a lesion that justifies this feeling. Chronic pain manifests for a longer period and can be associated to a specific illness. This condition is harmful to quality of life through continuous compromising and temporality of pain effect. The other two categories are less emphasized because they refer to etiology and anatomic location (WHO, 2012; Currie, Stone & Durham, 2015).

According to the World Health Organization (2012), pain can be analyzed by four aspects. There are physiological mechanisms classified as nociceptive (when there is specific pain receptors activation), or neuropathic (when Central Nervous System or Periphic is affected). Also, there is mist pain, in which nociceptive and neuropathic pain co-exist (Werhagen & Borg, 2010; WHO, 2012).

1.2. Subjectivity & pain

When comparing emotional to sensorial experience, pain definition points to the phenomenon subjective relevance. Emotional factor is related to perception, an element built through experiences and representations formed and stored in mnemonic register.

In spite of representational activity being individual, it is directly related to collective context, once it happens in the person's relation with the external world, influenced by cultural conception. It is apprehended and then an internal world is constructed with particular meanings (Jovchelovitch, 1995).

Thereby, social representations are present in society and defined, according to Moscovici, cited in Walmsley (2004), as a “system of values, ideas, and practices that establish a consensual order among phenomena” and “enable communication to take place among the members of a community by providing them with a code for social exchange” (p. 3).

Pre-established definition is interpreted and modified following the way each social group perceives the phenomenon and its value. Regarding pain, social representation is

related to the way pain is exposed, reason, local, gender, previous experiences lived by that group. If a certain community perceives that those who are in pain will soon become sick and decease, then symbolic representation may be that pain is related to death that is why it can exacerbate pain sensation by the collective association with the term death.

In those circumstances, each individual's symbolical pain activity will be associated to perception consciousness and symbolic representation of pain, considering the group's social insertion.

1.3. Total Pain

The terminology was conceived by the physician and writer Dame Cicely Mary Saunders (1918-2005), who asserted that pain embraces physical, psychological, spiritual and social aspects. This definition was created from Saunder's care for terminal patients, in which she noticed suffering was arranged by those components (Camon, 2012; Didwaniya, Tanco, Cruz & Bruera, 2015; Metha & Chan, 2008).

At first, Total Pain was only used to describe terminal patient's perceived sensation; however, the experience of pain does not depend on the disease stage because Total Pain components are present in the entire process, from de etiology until its resolution.

If the individual complains and seeks aid, it is commonly referred to physical pain stimulated by organic causes and perceived in the body (Capelas, 2008; Santos, 2009). It is usually the starter to other types of pain, so the control of physical symptom is prioritized in medical pain treatments. Nowadays, there are studies that search physical pain understanding dissociated to others, in order to help the treatment of those who do not have conditions to express more elaborated feelings, such as children or people with cognitive impairment.

Psychological pain desolates the individual when psychic suffering is presented due to life conditions. It can be broken out by many reasons: impotence towards the discovery of a serious illness, loss of the healthy body (Capelas, 2008; Santos, 2009). Suffering interferes in emotional state and the way to perceive and react in diverse situations. Some people face pain by focusing on the problem itself; others on the emotions and sometimes, no coping leads to suicide attempt. This is not about the desire of death; whoever suffers with pain does not want to continue living in the actual condition. When humor is altered, pain can be intensified and depression can manifest. A simultaneous treatment for both comorbidities is necessary to obtain effective results (Holmes, Christells & Arnold, 2012; Ohayon, 2004; Trivedi, 2004).

Spiritual pain is connected to the meaning an individual gives to existence and balance of life. It has strong influence in religious beliefs, once religions often bring conceptions about origin and appropriate behavior among life and expectations after death (Capelas, 2008; Santos, 2009). Studies show relevance in religious interference and spiritual techniques usage, like meditation to improve physical and mental quality of life (Beiranvand, Noparast, Eslamizade & Saeedikia 2014; Siddall, Lovell & MacLeod, 2015).

Finally, social pain refers to the individual's experienced pain considering the group's social and cultural mean of insertion (Capelas, 2008; Santos, 2009).

1.3.1. Social Pain

Social aspects permeate the entire individual's pain process. There is prejudice in self-world relation and the conflicts of internal (the individual with himself) and external order (individual and social mean) can occur by different involved subjectivities, leading to distinct forms of the phenomenon comprehension.

This understanding can be amplified through quality analysis of social context because of the possibility to present personal or collective risk factor if the condition is unhealthy. For example: working setting provokes emotional and mental fatigue to the employees (difficulty in cognitive functions), besides well-being prejudice (Erick & Smith, 2014; Oberlinner, Yong, Nasterlack, Pluto & Lang, 2015).

Pain can also appear as suffering when its perception is associated to social ruptures caused by separations or alterations in human relationships (Eisenberger, 2012b; MacDonald, 2009; Spears, Lea & Postmes, 2001).

Social pain can be related to health impairment resulting from physical symptoms and diagnosis with reserved prognosis or in palliative care, because such adversities cause suffering and social economical damage that affect personal relationships and social status.

Feelings like rejection, exclusion and isolation in these situations can be understood as an interface between social and psychological pain. Researches in this area already confirm these feelings cause similar physical pain sensations through experienced suffering intensity (Eisenberger, 2012a; Eisenberger, 2012b; Sissa Medialab, 2014).

The present chapter explores the conception of social pain associated to health, mainly physical. We are going to discourse about social pain lived as consequences and connections with other symptoms.

In order to help content comprehension and also exemplify extracts, we will use preliminary results of a research about Quality of Life, Anxiety and Depression in patients with chronic pain assisted in a Chemotherapy Ambulatory. The sample had 52 patients with oncological clinic, who claimed to be in pain for over a month with parameters above 4 in Visual Analog Scale (VAS). 79% (n=41) were women and the mean age was 54,8 years old.

It is important to emphasize that Total Pain is an intertwined multidimensional composition. So, the contribution of interdisciplinary intervention and integrative approach of the person in pain are essential.

2. BACKGROUND

Social pain is characterized by external and internal factors. The extrinsic ones are difficulties came from social context and deficits in the involved people relational quality process; intrinsic factors are the psychic functioning aspects that influence in the relationship with the external mean.

Among external factors of pain, there is social economical prejudice due to the impossibility to exercise labor activity and financial burden proportioned by treatment (Camon, 2012).

These mechanisms are influenced by the context and other social group interests. In diseases and clinical symptoms, social representations vary according to the scientific knowledge acquired from causes and consequences, affected population, contamination risk. Some illnesses are permeated by negative stigmas that become difficult to demystify, such as Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS). Thus, it is viable to reduce carrier's prejudice and increase the effectiveness of health education by professionals and society in general (Arraes, Palos, Barbosa, Teles, Souza & Matos, 2013; Dantas, Abrão, Freitas & Oliveira, 2014; Joffe, 1995).

Work is an essential function for identity formation and social role played by the individual, once the person tends to be recognized by the job done. Damage in this sphere can generate identity crisis, loss of value towards social mean, and, consequently, suffering. Working setting allows social relationships and is where the individual tends to concentrate

most of the time. The absence of this environment may represent significant restriction in social circle (Hogg & Terry, 2001; Haslam, Knippenber, Platow & Ellemers, 2003; Dutton, Roberts & Bednar, 2010). Moreover, it is common that the person has an identification with the profession and the anchored social roll of the labor activity because the individual recognizes and (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Dutton, Roberts & Bednar, 2010).

Financial burden is also an element to the individual's sufferance because it is related to social. Either by the loss of income sources or treatment costs, the lack of financial resources allows fewer accesses to material goods and to places that could proportion comfort and well-being.

Despite the fact that significant pain is related to financial matter, studies point out that social support network has higher value than acquisitive power (Zhou & Gao, 2008). One of social pain's approach can manifest when the individual is not able to keep social relationships due to health conditions. The person perceives as a prisoner of his/her own body, so it is difficult to maintain social bonds, independently of the emotional state. Studies show there is increasing risk of death when the patient's social relationships are quantitatively and qualitatively decreased (Cacioppo & Cacioppo, 2014; Cohen, 2004).

As the main support network is family, the research realized in a Chemotherapy Ambulatory showed that 62% presented familiar caregivers. Familiar support and their help in treatment is substantial to both practical and emotional terms, once the patient is not always able to realize self-care and neither gets motivated to persevere in treatment without closest people's support. Such statement corroborates with other studies in the area with diseases and specific symptoms (Bacigalupe & Plocha, 2015; Takai, Yamamoto-Mitani, Abe & Suzuki, M, 2014).

Many patients from the oncological study revealed their main discomfort was the hard work and preoccupation brought to their family, mainly to the caregiver. Therefore, social pain has to be considered in familiar conjunct because it is complementary to the patient's experienced pain. Usually, family members also live significant losses in routine social role, so they can provide care and necessary support for the patient. Omnipotence feeling related to the beloved's pain can also cause sufferance to the family (Liu, Kim & Zarit 2014; Ovayolu, Ovayolu, Aytaç, Serçe & Sevinc, 2014).

Another extrinsic factor of social pain is gender. The research in a Chemotherapy Ambulatory showed a higher number of women who complain about pain in a higher and more diffuse intensity. It can be associated by many biopsychosocial variables, finances and social role representation (Vieira, Garcia, Silva, Araújo, Jansen & Bertrand, 2012). It infers that men's role in contemporary society is more connected to family's financial maintenance and restrict access to personal emotions. Thus, there may be resistance in expressing pain and difficulties in contact suffering propitiated by this sensation.

There are the intrinsic factors associated to internal aspects of the individual's psychological and emotional issues. In face of extended time exposed to a repulsive stimulus like pain, the person can get discouraged and have negative thoughts and feelings, such as sadness and anguish (Camon, 2012). The way each one deals with the situation will be according to the psychic functioning, coping, risk and protective factors (Bussing, Ostermann, Neugebauer & Heusser, 2010; Kranz, Bollinger & Nilges, 2009; Linton & Shaw, 2011).

One of the internal resources used as self defense mechanism is social isolation. Social contact becomes extremely difficult for the patient, so it is preferable to be alone for a long time. This behavior is justified: if the individual feels to be bothering or a burden for the family; not feeling comfortable to share his sensations; to feel inappropriate or rejected by the insertion group.

Sufferance occasioned by social isolation is related to the insertion context and not only being as an individual and correspond to an impact motivator (Dahlberg & Krug, 2006). A study realized with neurochemistry for pain relief from social exclusion did not present results. This suggests the hypothesis that this kind of pain is not only associated to physical aspects (Miller, Bourrasseau, Williams & Molet, 2014).

Isolation is directly related to morbidity and mortality indexes, including suicide (Cacioppo, Hawkey, Norman, & Berntson, 2011; Gaillardou & Matusевич, 2014). It is an attempt of self-aggression, in which the individual searches for his/her own death. It is connected to diverse factors, to the history of psychic functioning, and experienced suffering, either momentary or extended. Especially in chronic pain, there is an eminent suicide risk, as a trial to escape from that unpleasant sensation and to leave an uncomfortable and permanent life situation (Hooley, Franklin & Nock, 2014; Pompili, Lester, Leenaars, Tatarelli & Girardi, 2008).

3. FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

According to the exposed, there are two subjective aspects wherein social pain is contemplated, both social and individual. Each of these perspectives has its value and influence in suffering generated to the one who is in pain and to the environment components. Further researches can study comprehension and intervention to minimize the impact of social pain.

These professionals are responsible for understanding this complexity and also not letting to be imprisoned in a single line. Reflection allows the malleability needed to Men's social insertion and the construction of complex processes that integrate and make us capable to rebind and restore complex processes that integrate and recompose the comprehension of experience and allows the possibility of emotional elaboration.

4. CONCLUSION/DISCUSSION

For a better comprehension of a social phenomenon, such as pain, it is important to verify a group's values, the manner an individual symbolizes psychic resources to deal with the situation. As a result, is it necessary to understand social and symbolic representation of pain.

Social representation is related to the theory a group creates about someone or something. According to Moscovici, one of the pioneers of Social Representation Theory, there are two main mechanisms in social representation: anchoring and objectifying. The second is when an abstract concept acquires a concrete form, what is in thought is transferred to a physical form. Anchoring is present when a new concept is classified according to a familiar context for a certain social group (Moscovici & Duveen, 2000).

With respect to pain, there are variables that interfere in its social representation, as the social group, etiology, place, consequences of pain in an individual's life. In the conducted study realized with oncological patients there were statements of discomfort and embarrassment to talk about pain outside the hospital environment because it can be perceived as 'foolishness' or 'tiredness'. Thus, there is stigmatization and disqualification of this feeling by other people; and empathy turns out to be. Researches show that even between health professionals, there are different interpretations of patient's pain (Narayan, 2010; Nencini, Sarrica, Cancian & Contarello, 2014).

This condition of constitute and simultaneously being constituted by social and cultural context is allowed because the individual is body mass and also a psychic being.

What we feel, think and perceive form our subjectivity. Social psychology has an important part in this process that contains real and symbolic. Men's incompleteness still guides unending researches (Kruglanski & Higgins, 2007).

An individual's perception is relevant in sickness and its symptoms. It will be one of the parameters for emotional balance, an important aspect to accept clinical conditions and to help cure process. Social and individual are complementary, so it also maintains emotional balance for both support network and patient (Makris, Melhado, Hamann, Walke, Gill & Fraenkel, 2014; Péoc'H, 2012; Pinto, McIntyre, Nogueira-Silva, Almeida & Araújo-Soares, 2012).

The embracement by professionals, social center and society in which the patient and his family are inserted, can help in the reduction of consequences caused by pain and disease. However, social explanation about the phenomenon and the investment in humanizing policies in treatment are necessary, so there is mobilization that allows control and pain management. Therefore, opportunities amplify the improvement on Quality of Life and rescue the autonomy of the constituent and constituted individual's social environment.

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Chapter #7

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS AND PERSONALITY TRAITS IN ADULT PSYCHOLOGY STUDENTS: INTERDEPENDENCE PHENOMENA

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to investigate the interdependence between **interpersonal relations** and personality traits in would-be psychologists. The sample consisted of 115 students (aged between 23 and 45 y.o.), taking a retraining course in practical psychology. The students completed the following questionnaires: The 16 Personality Factor Questionnaire (Cattell, 2008), Cook –Medley Hostility Scale, Rosenberg’s Faith in People Scale, Acceptance of Others Scale (Fey, 1955), Agreeableness Scale (scale from the Big Five), Communicative Tolerance and Communicative attitude Scale (Boyko, 2004). The results of the multiple regression analysis showed that all types of relations (except cynicism) were predictors of 9 personality traits, and acceptance of others was the predictor of such integral trait as self-esteem. In turn, several personality traits were predictors of the relations to others (except cynicism too). Thus, we gained a more complete understanding of interdependence between such fundamental psychological phenomena as interpersonal relations and personality traits in psychology students, and the peculiarity of associations between them. The results of the study can help to improve professional retraining programs for psychologists.

Keywords: personality traits, interpersonal relations, adult psychology students.

1. INTRODUCTION

The problem of interpersonal relations and factors influencing them in modern socio-cultural context becomes more and more urgent. The situation is determined by the fact that in modern psychology interpersonal relations and personality traits are understood as the necessary characteristics and the criteria of professionalism and maturity of specialists working with people (social workers, psychologists, counselors, psychotherapists and others) (D’Alleo, 2011; Malá & Čerešník, 2015; Froese & Montgomery, 2014). For this reason, an important task of modern professional education is to reveal those conditions, means and methods that make it possible to develop positive interpersonal relations and personality traits relevant for professional activity in students. The study is important because it examines the interdependence between interpersonal relations (attitudes to people) and personality traits, one of the cornerstones of psychosocial functioning and personality development.

2. BACKGROUND

The substantial contribution to the study of mutual influence between the system of interpersonal relations and personality traits was made by the classics of Russian psychology B. G. Ananyev, S. L. Rubinstein, L. S. Vygotsky, V. N. Myasishchev, D. B. Elkonin, etc. In particular, Myasishchev (2004) wrote that interpersonal relations are

the basic factor of personality, while the personality itself appears to be the system of relations and its development is determined by the dynamics of its relations to the world, other people and itself. The quality of relations as a fundamental condition of personal development and subjective well-being in different spheres of life was justified by Rogers (1961; 1980). The theory of interpersonal relations by Schutz (1958) describes the influence of personality social orientation towards other people on interpersonal behavior in the society. Psychological ideas about the role of professionally important qualities in the work of specialists are also of great importance for our investigation. We integrated the ideas of the following psychological fields in our study: the ideas of Russian psychologists about the importance of professional qualities (Derkach, 2000) and the psychology of personality (Cattell & Mead, 2008). The work is also based on the researches devoted to various communicative qualities and types of relations, which determine the development of psychology students (Kenkel & Peterson, 2010; Corcoran & Tormey, 2010). It should be said that most researches define such important professional qualities of would-be psychologists, as social and communicative competence (empathy, acceptance, empathic listening, tolerance, ability to control social interaction and predict its results, etc.) (Aminov & Molokanov, 1992; Bodalev, 1998; Kasantseva & Oleinik, 2002; Valeeva & Karimova, 2014). At the same time, aggression, hostility, manipulations, intolerance and others prevent from successful professional development. Thus, the level of development of these characteristics determines professional growth.

3. OBJECTIVES, METHODS

3.1. Objectives

The main aim of this study was to investigate interdependence between attitudes to other people (cynicism, aggressiveness, hostility, interpersonal trust, acceptance, agreeableness, communicative tolerance and communicative attitude to other people) and personality traits in adult psychology students. There were three key-objectives in this investigation. The first one was to make a psychological portrait of adult psychology students, based on their attitudes to others and their personality traits. The second objective was to find out specific attitudes to people and certain personality traits that could be predictors of each other. The third objective was to explore whether interpersonal relationship (attitudes to others) and personality traits serve as dependent or independent factors.

3.2. Methods

3.2.1. Sample

The sample consisted of 115 students, 96 (84%) females and 19 (16%) males, aged between 23 and 45 ($M=32.5$; $SD=9.4$). All the adult students had already graduated from different universities and at the time of the study, they were taking a retraining course in practical (applied) psychology as part of their further education. This study was held within the courses of “Psychology of personality” and “Social psychology”.

3.2.2. Procedure

The students were tested twice. At first, they filled in The 16 Personality Factor Questionnaire (Cattell & Mead, 2008). Then they fulfilled questionnaires investigating attitudes to other people: Cook –Medley Hostility Scale, Rosenberg’s Faith in People Scale,

Acceptance of Others Scale by Fey, Agreeableness Scale (a scale from the Big Five), Communicative tolerance and Communicative Attitude Scale by Boyko).

3.2.3. Measures

To study personality traits of would-be psychologists, the “16 Personality Factor Questionnaire” by R. Cattell was used. According to Cattell & Mead (2008), “The Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire (16PF)” is a comprehensive measure of normal range personality found to be effective in a variety of settings where an in-depth assessment of the whole person is needed” (p. 135). We used the Russian adaptation (version C) of this questionnaire, which includes 105 questions. Version C includes an additional factor MD that helps to evaluate personal self-esteem (Kapustina, 2001).

For the study of different attitudes to other people, there were used various methods: Cook –Medley Hostility Scale, Rosenberg’s Faith in People Scale, Acceptance of Others Scale by W.F. Fey, Agreeableness Scale (one of the “Big Five” scales), Communicative tolerance and Communicative Attitude Scale by Boyko. The Cook – Medley Hostility Scale, Rosenberg’s Faith in People Scale and Acceptance of Others Scale by Fey were used in Russian adaptation by Labunskaya, Mendzheritskaya & Breus, 2001.

The Cook –Medley Hostility Scale (Russian version) contains 27 statements. For each of them 6-point Likert scale (6 = always, 1 = never) was used. Results of these three subscales (hostility – 5 items, cynicism – 13 items and aggression – 9) were processed according of a key.

The Russian adaptation of Rosenberg’s Faith in People Scale is an express diagnostic method of Faith in People. This scale includes 3 questions with two answers for each of them. The total score ranges between 1 and 3 points (1 point - low faith and trust; 2 points – average faith; 3 points –high faith).

Acceptance of Others Scale by Fey (Russian version) holds 18 statements. Items were administered with a 5-point Likert scale (4 = practically always, 0 = very rare). The total point as a result is calculated (Labunskaya, Mendzheritskaya & Breus, 2001).

Agreeableness Scale (scale from the Big Five) consisted of 15 questions, with two possible answers: “yes” or “not” (the 5PFQ adapted by Khromov, 2000).

Communicative tolerance Scale (Boyko, 2004) consisted of 45 judgments. They had to be evaluated using Likert scale from 0 (strongly disagree) till 3 (strongly agree). Indices for 9 subscales and the general index of communicative tolerance were found. In this study only the general index of communicative tolerance was used for the result’s interpretation.

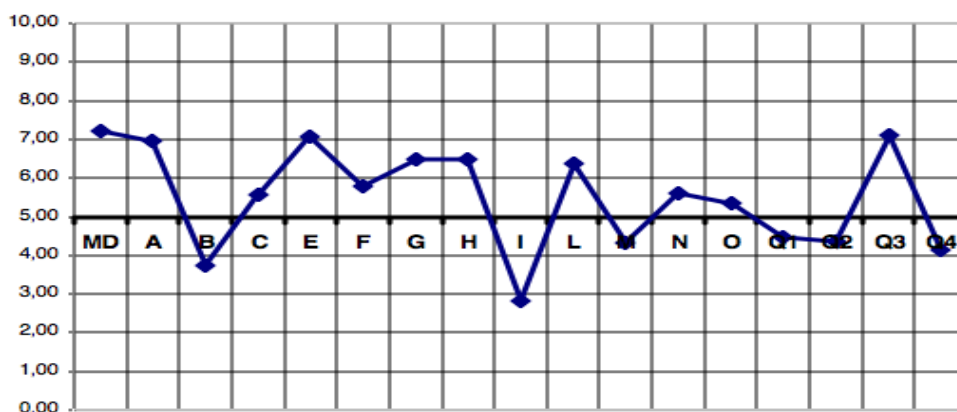
The Communicative Attitude Scale (Boyko, 2004) consisted of 25 judgments that the participants had to agree or disagree with. The scale included 5 subscales describing attitude characteristics. The general level of communicative attitude was calculated.

The data were analyzed using description analysis, multivariate dispersion analysis, Pearson’s correlation analysis, multiple regression and factor analysis.

4. FINDINGS

The results of the study showed that all the personality traits in psychology students are within the norm (Figure 1). At the general scope of variability the data in 10 walls, average values make 5.5 walls. Estimations in 4 and 7 scores specify in insignificant deviations of characteristics of the person from average.

Figure 1. Personality factors (The 16 Personality Factor Questionnaire, Cattell)



Bright expressiveness of quality is connected with an estimation 1-3 and 8-10 walls (Kapustina, 2001). Eight of 115 students (i.e. 6.96 %) demonstrated inadequate self-esteem.

It was discovered that aggression (M=35), agreeableness (9.4) and acceptance of others (M=39) were at the average level, within the norm. Cynicism was at the average level with a tendency to the high (M=54.08; this level has range from 40 to 65). Hostility was at the average level with a tendency to the low (M=16.74; this level has range from 10 to 18). Faith in People was equal 1.3 scores from three marks maximum. Communicative tolerance (M=42.3) and communicative attitude (M=51.38).

We found out a large number of significant correlations between personal characteristics (intellectual, emotional and regulatory ones) and communicative qualities (19 interrelations). The students' orientation to standard behavior was significantly interconnected with a high level of communicative development and successful communications with other people. We also revealed 20 interrelations between various types of attitudes to others. 20 correlations were found between personality traits. Privatness (N) and Self-Reliance (Q2) had no correlation with other characteristics.

To answer the main question of our research about interdependence between attitudes to others and personality traits in adult psychology students, multiple regression analysis was used. We found out that all types of interpersonal relations (except cynicism) appeared to be predictors of personality traits (Table 1). Low level of aggression determined the increase of emotional stability, adaptiveness, maturity (C). High level of aggression was the predictor of such characteristics as Dominant, Forceful, and Assertive (E). Reduction of hostility turned out to become the predictor of higher levels of perfectionism (Q3) (Perfectionistic, Organized, Self-Disciplined). Higher levels of faith in people determined the increase of social boldness (Venturesome, Thick-Skinned (H)) and abstractedness (Abstracted, Imaginative, and Idea-Oriented (M)). Acceptance of others increased Social Boldness, Venturesome, Thick-Skinned (H) and self-esteem (MD) and influenced such features of Abstractedness (M) as Practical, Grounded, Down-To-Earth.

Table 1. Multiple regression analysis: relations to other people as predictors of personality traits

Predictors	Dependent variables										
	A	C	E	F	H	I	L	M	Q3	MD	
	Beta	Sig.	Beta	Sig.	Beta	Sig.	Beta	Sig.	Beta	Sig.	
Aggression			-.286	0.002	.260	0.005					
Hostility									-.213	0.022	
Faith in People					.219	0.019		.344	0.000		
Acceptance of Others					.190	0.042		-.219	0.019	.307	0.001
Agreeableness				.210	0.024						
Communicative tolerance	.275	0.003						-.281	0.002		
Communicative attitude					.210	0.024					

Agreeableness became the predictor of Liveliness (F) (Enthusiastic, Animated, and Spontaneous). The level of communicative tolerance helped to predict Warm-heartedness (Caring, Attentive to Others (A)) and trustfulness (Trusting, Unsuspecting, Accepting (Vigilance (L)). Communicative attitude appeared the predictor of Sensitivity (I) (Sensitive, Aesthetic, and Tender-Minded).

Then the influence of personality traits on attitude to others was studied. The results of multiple regression analysis showed that personality traits also were predictors of attitudes to other people (except cynicism) (Table 2).

Table 2. Multiple regression analysis: personality traits as predictors of relations to other people

Predictors	Dependent variables													
	Aggression		Hostility		Faith in People		Acceptance of Others		Agreeableness		Communicative tolerance		Communicative attitude	
	Beta	Sig.	Beta	Sig.	Beta	Sig.	Beta	Sig.	Beta	Sig.	Beta	Sig.	Beta	Sig.
A										0.212	0.024			
C	-.035	0.359	-.022	0.229	0.011	0.185	0.036							
E	0.337	0.337												
I	0.222	0.222										0.204	0.026	
L									0.220	0.019				
M			0.297	0.001										
H			0.212	0.016	0.178	0.042								
O					-0.196	0.029								
F							0.210	0.024						
MD		0.248	0.006		0.346	0.000						-0.185	0.044	

The results showed that cynicism wasn't influenced by personality traits as predictors. Three factors had impact on aggressiveness: reactive, affected by emotional stability (C), dominant, forceful, assertive (E), and tough, objective, unsentimental sensitivity (I). The high level of students' hostility was predicted by low self-esteem and emotional instability (C). As for interpersonal trust, its main influential personality traits were the following: M (abstract, imaginative, idea-oriented), H (socially bold, venturesome, thick-skinned) and C (emotionally stable, adaptive, mature). Acceptance was predicted by higher self-esteem,

more expressed apprehensiveness, self-doubting, worry (O), and the average level of social boldness (H). Agreeableness was connected with enthusiasm, animation and spontaneity (F).

The major personality traits predicting communicative tolerance were positive rating of Warmth (A) Warm-hearted, Caring, Attentive to Others and negative rating of Vigilance (L) (Trusting, Unsuspecting, Accepting). The level of communicative attitude was predicted by such personality traits as Sensitivity (I) и self-esteem. The more sensitive, aesthetic, tender-minded adult psychology students were, the more positive their attitudes to other people were. Higher self-esteem determined the lower level of positive attitude to others.

Using the results of regression analysis, we studied what personality traits and attitudes to others influence each other. As a result, 7 types of attitudes and 11 personality traits (including self-esteem) in psychology students appeared mutual predictors (Table 3).

Table 3. Interdependent characteristics

Interpersonal relations	Personality traits
Aggression	Emotional Stability (C); Dominance (E)
Hostility	Self-esteem (MD)
Faith in People	Social Boldness (H); Abstractedness (M)
Acceptance of Others	Social Boldness (H); Self-esteem (MD)
Agreeableness	Liveliness (F)
Communicative Tolerance	Warmth (A); Vigilance (L)
Communicative Attitude	Sensitivity (I)

In other words, knowing the level of personality traits, it is possible to predict, what attitude and with what intensity the students will demonstrate towards other people in communication.

To reveal complex factors, explaining interdependence between personality traits and attitudes to others, factor analysis was used (Table 4). The Screen Plot showed two components.

Table 4. Rotated Component Matrix^a

	Component	
	1	2
Hostility	-0.681	
Acceptance of Others	0.611	
Emotional Stability (C)	0.583	
Communicative tolerance	0.494	
Cynicism	-0.488	-0.472
Warmth (A)	0.474	
MD (Self-Esteem)	0.454	
Aggression	-0.442	
Agreeableness	0.418	
Communicative attitude		0.574
Faith in People		0.569
Rule-Consciousness (G)		-0.554
Abstractedness (M)		0.470
Sensitivity (I)		0.444

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Rotatin Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

a. Rotation converged in 3 iterations.

Into the first factor included hostility and acceptance of others, Emotional Stability (C), communicative tolerance, cynicism, Warmth (A), MD (self-esteem), aggression and Agreeableness: six characteristics, reflecting relations to other people and two personal qualities. The second factor included two types of relations (communicative attitude and faith in people) and three personal qualities (Rule-Consciousness (G), Abstractedness (M), Sensitivity (I)). The following personality traits were not included in one of two factors: Perfectionism (Q3); Vigilance (L); Liveliness (F); Tension (Q4); Social Boldness (H); Privatness (N); Apprehension (O); Openness to Change (Q1); Reasoning (B); Dominance (E); Self-Reliance (Q2).

5. LIMITATIONS

The most serious limitations of this research are a limited sample, prevalence of females over males, use of questionnaires to study attitudes to others, instead of studying real life relationship. It is also possible to carry out a comparative analysis between Russian psychologists and psychologists of other cultures.

6. FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

We consider that the further direction of this study could be the investigation of interconnection between interpersonal relations and personality traits connected with beliefs, assumptions and values of psychology students. In the designated context it would be interesting to use the theory of Janoff-Bulman (1989, 1992) which gives the explanation of human conceptual system in terms of higher and lower order postulates. People provided with expectations about themselves, others and the world are able to function effectively and maintain the sense of invulnerability. In addition, we would like to use Schwartz's theory of basic human values because values are a central concept in the social sciences and this theory concerns the basic values that people in all cultures recognize (Schwartz, 2012). Special attention should be paid to Benevolence and Universalism. That is why it is planned to use additionally The World Assumptions Scale (Janoff-Bulman, 1989) and Schwartz value scale.

7. CONCLUSION/DISCUSSION

Based on results of this research, there was made a psychological portrait of adult psychology students that took part in the research. His/her main personal traits were high self-esteem, sociability, both abstract and concrete thinking, dominance tendency, high moral norms, courage in social contacts, high self-control and suspiciousness.

Adult psychology students that took part in our research were characterized by openness, sociability and activity in establishing both interpersonal and social contacts. As for behavior, they showed impulsiveness, social boldness, propensity to risk and readiness to be introduced into new groups and to become leaders. They demonstrated an external orientation towards people and extraversion. Besides, the students possessed such qualities as independence, vigilance to people, flexibility and diplomacy. They displayed conformity reactions of submission to requirements and opinions of the group, acceptance of the standard moral rules and norms, aspiration for leadership and domination (authoritativeness). Emotional features of adult students included emotional stability, high control of emotions and behavior, stress stability to stress caused by self-actualization discontent.

Adult psychology students also had the lowest general communicative tolerance in comparison with tutors, nurses and doctors (research by Boyko, 2004 and negative rather than positive communicative attitude. This fact, in our opinion, can be explained through orientation to norms connected with dominancy motivates adult psychology students to remake, reeducate other people.

Besides, according to Russian researches, many students choose the faculty of psychology in order to learn how to cope with problems concerning their personal growth and development (Dunaitseva, 2005, Priajnikova & Nikitin, 2012).

Comparing students with different self-esteem showed that future psychologists with adequate self-esteem had such personal traits as sociability, emotional stability, high standard behavior, restraint, trustfulness, practicality, self-trust, and boldness, conformity (they followed public opinion, preferred joint activity and joint decision-making, and were guided by social approval). They were characterized by the average level of trust, goodwill and acceptance.

Psychology students with inadequate self-esteem were characterized by high level of emotional intensity, propensity for domination, emotional instability and concrete thinking. High intolerance, negative attitude in communication, low degree of trust, goodwill and acceptance of other people was also typical for them.

According to the results of data analysis, it is possible to make conclusion concerning the first research objective: the majority of psychology students possess personality traits and the level of development of interpersonal relations within the norm.

As for the second objective, it was found out that attitude to other people and existing personality traits are both complicated phenomena and serve predictors for each other. In comparison with all relations studied, acceptance of other people appeared to be the most significant predictor of two personality traits (social boldness and abstractedness) and self-esteem as integral personality characteristic. According to the results of Fey's research (1955):

"Analysis of the data indicated that individuals with high self-acceptance scores tend also to accept others, to feel accepted by others, but actually to be neither more nor less accepted by others than those with low self-acceptance scores. Individuals with high acceptance-of-others scores tend in turn to feel accepted by others, and tend toward being accepted by them" (p. 274).

Another important point is that self-esteem underlies mechanisms responsible for human activity, including professional work. Besides, communicative acceptance between people creates feelings of emotional safety and comfort which is especially significant for psychologists (Rogers, 1980). As the only attitude that didn't predict any personal trait was cynicism, we consider it indirectly connected with personal traits through personal values of students.

The most significant predictors of interpersonal relations among students are proved to be emotional stability and self-esteem. Emotional stability allows to predict the emergence of aggression, hostility and acceptance of others. High emotional stability contributes to better relations to others, as it provides more tolerance and promotes empathy, mercy and balance, which helps to avoid conflicts (Walker & Gorsuch, 2002). On the contrary, people with low emotional stability (with higher neuroticism) tend to manifest anger, flightiness or fickleness, have difficulty in maintaining friendly relations (Klein, Lim, Saltz & Myer, 2004). Emotionally stable people have a positive attitude to others that is an important precondition for developing and maintaining interpersonal relations with colleagues (Xia, Yuan, & Gay, 2009). Psychologists traditionally associate self-esteem with self-worth (Olsen, Brekler & Wiggin, 2008).

Agreeableness of the students was directly interconnected with enthusiasm and spontaneity in relations. It is a fact, that agreeable people are able to establish harmonious relations with others (Ilies, Fulmer, Spitzmuller & Johnson, 2009),

To describe and estimate the quantity of components in a set of observed data factor analysis was used. The first factor was called adequacy and positive attention to other people. Positive communicative attitude and faith in people appeared to be connected with such traits as expedient, nonconforming, abstracted, imaginative, idea-oriented, sensitive, aesthetic, and tender-minded.

The second factor was called sensitive and idea-oriented attitudes towards the world and other people. We believe that the second factor can be understood as fundamental orientation connected to students' values which provide the fulfillment of the first factor in practice. Thus, solving the third problem, we found out that there are two main complex factors which can explain not all the observable interconnections between the studied variables, but some of them.

Interpersonal relations are an integral phenomenon where the change of any characteristic results in changes of all the other parameters and the phenomenon itself. We believe that the average psychological profile demands the development of professional qualities and decrease in the development of those traits that lower its success. It allows setting up specific targets providing the organization of retraining process of adult people for the purpose of changing their personal qualities and interpersonal relations, connected with the efficiency of professional work. To achieve these purpose students-psychologists may attend a course of individual counseling or group counseling as well as take up a specialized course in any approach of counseling.

Aimed at development and optimization of professionally important traits and types of relations, special diagnostics programme was developed. This programme includes primary (when entering the training course) and secondary diagnostics (when finishing the training), individual counseling (10 sessions), taking part in group counseling and communicative skills training for psychologists. This programme is universal, it is adjustable to specific needs of participants. It consists of four main blocks: 1) empathic listening training, 2) empathy training, 3) tolerance scale, 4) conflicts resolution and assertive behavior training. Each block lasts 3 days and 8 hours.

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Chapter #8

SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF SPIRITUALITY AMONG TEACHERS AND HEALTHCARE WORKERS IN THAILAND

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ABSTRACT

Spirituality at work, is being increasingly explored in multi-disciplinary research from the viewpoint of individuals, their social and professional groups, and also their workplaces and/or organizations. Teachers and Health care workers play an important role in any society as they provide service for the problems and the needs of children and patients. Working in these professions requires a spirit of empathy and selflessness while providing service, and often stirs the spiritual component within the service provider. This chapter is based on an extensive research project initiated by a non-governmental organization to investigate a construction of spirituality, its process from the perspective of teachers and health care workers in Thailand. A research sample of 100 teachers and health care workers were purposively selected from four regions of Thailand. For this qualitative research design, the grounded theory method was used for understanding the social construction of spirituality and its other themes. This chapter shares the research based evidence to explain the meaning of spirituality, the social factors influencing the concept of spirituality, and the consequences of spirituality.

Keywords: spirituality, spirituality at work, health care workers' spirituality, grounded theory.

1. INTRODUCTION

Spirituality is being increasingly examined from the perspectives of many disciplines including social psychology, and also from inter-disciplinary perspectives. Nevertheless researchers are engaged in understanding it using various research methodologies, for both developing a broader or generalized concept of spirituality; and also more specific meanings of spirituality that emerge across different socio-cultural contexts. There are two main objectives of the current chapter; the first is to share the findings from a qualitative research about the conceptual development about the meaning, causes and consequences of spirituality among the teachers and healthcare workers in Thailand. The second aim is to illustrate how the grounded theory method of social constructionist approach was used in the current research.

Spirituality is an emergent topic for organizations. The reason for this interest is rooted in the complicated problems ensuing from - major organizational changes, which often result in the demoralization and spiritual disorientation of the employees. These impacts however can be counterbalanced by the positive impact of spirituality (Driver, 2005). Additionally, some research showed that spirituality provided the driving force toward more meaningful work experiences (Gotsis & Kortezi, 2008). Moreover, Fahri (2010) conducted a review on 140 papers on workplace spirituality and found that it positively correlates with employee well-being, and quality of life. Research interest in spirituality and healthcare is not a "modern phenomenon" as noted by Fletcher (2004), and there has been a growing interest in the linkages between the two over last few decades

(De Jager Meezenbroek, et al., 2012; Miller & Thoresen, 2003; Piedmont & Friedman, 2012). However the research on the role of spirituality among teachers and caregivers are limited and more from the perspective of religiosity (De Jager Meezenbroek, et al., 2012). Hence, the current chapter addresses the issue of spirituality through qualitative investigation of the work context of teachers and healthcare employees in Thailand.

1.1. The Background of the Research on Spirituality

Spirituality has perhaps always been a profound mystical concept to be sought after, and has been given several interpretations through the work of philosophers, religious leaders and then through systematic research. After conducting an extensive review of contemporary definitions in 2007, Smith and Rayment (as cited by Smith and Rayment, 2013, p12.) identified some common features, and from these they drew together the following definition: "Spirituality is a state or experience that can provide individuals with direction or meaning, or provide feelings of understanding, support, inner wholeness or connectedness". In a conceptual analysis of spirituality, Sessana, Finnell and Jezewski (2007) found that spirituality was defined within four main themes in the nursing and health related literature: (a) spirituality as religious systems of beliefs and values ; (b) spirituality as life meaning, purpose, and connection with others; (c) spirituality as nonreligious systems of beliefs and values and; (d) spirituality as a metaphysical or transcendental phenomena.

Another aspect linked to the research about spirituality is exploring its development. Spiritual development has been explained by the cognitive approach and social-ecological approaches to spirituality. By the cognitive approach, spiritual development proceeds from intuitive understanding to increasing reflective thought. The social-ecology approach examines various social contexts and the interaction between them (Boyatzis, 2009). The construction of spirituality in this research was investigated using the social construction approach defined as "social process from which emerge commonly shared presumptions about the real, the rational, and the good" (Gergen & Gergen, 2008, p.173). Charmaz (2008) described constructionist grounded theory as an approach that "attends to what and how questions (...) treated research worlds as social constructions, but not research practices" (p. 398).

The research in spirituality and health has been growing over the last decades. Weaver, Pargament, Flannelly & Oppenheimer (2006) noted that there has been a dramatic increase in the rate of publications about spirituality and religion over the last 35 years. But this should be noted with caution since researchers point out that the research in the context of health showed overlapping concepts of spirituality and religiosity (De Jager Meezenbroek, et al., 2012; Miller & Thoresen, 2003; Piedmont & Friedman, 2012). Spirituality and religiosity are conceptually different. However they have something in common including both were cultural facts, multidimensional complex and multilevel constructs, have substantive and functional aspects, and could be developed and change over time. Hodge & McGrew (2005) have reviewed the differences and similarities between the constructs and show that there are overlapping themes. Consistent with other research the categories used to define spirituality were often used to define religion as well, suggesting a degree of overlap between the two constructs (Canda & Furman, 1999; Furman, et al., 2004; Zinnbauer, et al., 1997) Previous psychological research on religion and spirituality consisted of mostly correlational studies and surveys of religious and spiritual experiences.

Researchers note that qualitative enquiry into spirituality has great potential for revealing information that may not be within the realms of a more direct quantitative

approach (Boston, Mount, Orenstein, & Freedman, 2001; Larson, Swyers, & McCullough, 1998). For the method of investigation, this study used grounded theory approach which allows researchers to begin with a research question rather than a theory and specific hypotheses. The grounded theory method has developed over the years, beginning with the collaborative work between social scientists Glaser and Strauss in the 1960's (Charmaz, 1995). By using grounded theory method, one can answer "what" of the person construct and "how" of the social construction process that unfolds (Charmaz, 2008).

In the field of healthcare in Thailand, inadequate number of physicians and other healthcare workers have been reported (Wiwanitkit, 2011). A healthcare provider often has a challenging task of taking care of the needs of the clients and patients which could be emotionally draining for them. When faced conditions of overloaded work, a person may be required to go beyond his given resources and his regular self to not only understand the needs of the patient but also his reliable and respective role. In the Thai educational system, a professional teacher is expected to showed compassion, patience, and tolerance; show ethical behavior in school and in his private life. Professional teachers must also show spirituality, and only this character will differentiate him from a teacher by another job title. There were many definitions of teacher spirituality but one given by a well-known Thai monk Panyananda (1995) explained that teacher spirituality refers to the sacrifice that one has to do for the knowledge and understanding, and the intellectual development of the students. In the Western country there was a holistic education which means development of the whole person. This included the intellectual, emotional, physical, social, aesthetic, and spiritual. The defining aspect of holistic education is the spiritual (Miller et al., 2005). In Thailand there has been a new concept of "Humanized Healthcare" introduced by Professor Dr. Prawase Wasi in 2003 (as noted by Namwichisirikul, 2012). This has led to a "paradigm shift" in healthcare and has awakened the need for "spiritual care" among the health care employees. The humanized healthcare was later adapted to schools and other workplaces to demonstrated their administration using spiritual development policy, spiritual human resource development, effective communication and personal inner-development, organization culture relevant to human rights, and healing structures or environments. For investigating the concept of spirituality among the teachers and healthcare workers though this research, we selected teachers and health care workers from the humanized workplaces; the intention was to understand how spirituality develops and what may be the consequences in the work context of the participants .

1.2. Objectives of the Study

The main purpose of this research study was to explain Spirituality from the perspective of teachers and health care workers in Thailand. For the research investigation, the following objectives of the study were outlined:

1. To construct a concept of spirituality from the empirical data.
2. To explain the perceived causes and consequences of the spirituality.

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1. Research Method

This research used the grounded theory method which begins with inductive strategies for collecting and analyzing qualitative data for the purpose of developing middle-range theory. Grounded theory is a method for understanding research participant's social constructions through inquiry and is based on systematically gathering and analyzing data

for developing the theory. Also grounded theory is a method that researchers construct throughout inquiry by interacting in the research setting, with the data, colleagues, and themselves (Charmaz, 2008).

2.2. Participants

The education participants were 50 educators, selected from school practicing humanized education from four regions of Thailand. The participants composed of school principals and teachers. Majority of the participants were Buddhists; and others were Muslim.

The healthcare participants included 50 health care workers, selected from hospitals providing the humanized care. The participants were working in hospitals which were selected to be representative of all four regions of Thailand. The participants composed of physician doctors, dentists, nurses, and health volunteers. Some of them were Muslim, but the majority was Buddhists.

The participants were divided in four groups according to their region of work. Within each group, the technique of dialogue, after action review, group discussion, role play, storytelling, group dialogue were used to collect data by 2-3 facilitators. Each group met three times, for two days for the scheduled meetings. Each group had a facilitator and note taker. The following topics were discussed among each group: thought and experience of working as a humanized helper, activities and methods of work, aspiration for work, and self-change. Data collecting was scheduled in 2008-2009. Each meeting was videotaped and tape recorded, and then data was transcribed verbatim.

2.3. Data Analysis

Qualitative data was collected for this research. Data were analyzed in three steps of coding. First the open coding or substantial coding was performed independently by one researcher. This coding was further discussed in a group meeting of two researchers. Then all open coding were discussed in the meeting of the complete research team. Secondly, axial coding was performed by two groups of researchers, and verified by the project head. Finally selective coding was done by the project head, and discussed with the research team. Then two external experts in the areas of Philosophy and Psychology examined the axial and selective coding.

3. RESULTS

The data of the research have been analyzed to develop a model of spirituality from the perspective of teachers and health care providers in Thailand. First we will describe the core categories of spirituality, then its manifestation and consequences as experienced by the research participants.

3.1. Core Categories of Spirituality and its related themes

As being shown in Figure 1, through the data collected from the healthcare providers, and teachers it can be said that Spirituality was described as a state of mind, as being able to know one's goal and meaning of his/her life, consciousness of the death, having faith in something or some super power, being understanding and insightful of oneself and of others, and being non-materialistic.

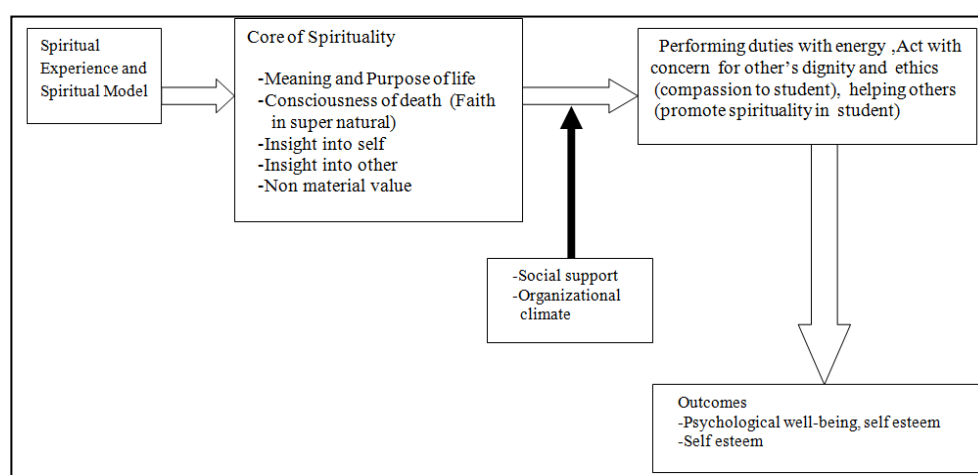
In the group of educators, the causes of spirituality were spiritual experiences, role models, support and climate at work. The immediate outcomes of being spiritual were

compassion to student, spiritual promotion in student, heightened energy in working. The final outcomes were psychological well-being and self-esteem.

In the healthcare provider group the causes of spirituality were spiritual experiences, and the support and climate at work. The immediate outcomes of being spiritual were showing helping behavior towards others, and heightened energy in working. The final outcomes experienced as a result of being spiritual were psychological well-being, happiness and self-esteem.

Each of these five elements, that reflected the core of the concept of Spirituality, as developed from this research, are explained in the following sub sections.

Figure 1. The emerging themes of spirituality



Note: In parenthesis are the results from the group of educators

3.1.1. Meaning and Goal of Life

Meaning and goal of life was described as an awareness of a goal of one life, what one wanted to achieve and understand meaning of one life, use it to determine ways of life. One of the healthcare participant said that, “when I was in college there were many times that I felt good after I took care of the patients as I was told to do, then I love being doctor and intended to do it well”. Another participant said, “I like to set goal and try to achieve it”. A teacher participant said, “I performed my work not because I was told to do but I did according to my goals which are my students”. Another teacher said “I always asked about my life goal, knowing does not understand, not until lately, I realized what my goal is after I attended the Buddhist practices”.

Also some healthcare participants showed that they developed principles or ways of thinking as they go through life's goal, as one said, “Nobody was bad from birth, but there were some environments or causes which make a person bad, and we should try to help them to be happy”. A teacher participant said “Teacher should not only teach the subject but should humanize students”. Another teacher said “A teacher should sacrifice time, thought, spiritual, and material things when we teach”.

Healthcare participants showed their concern about patient's dignity: “I asked if the AIDS patients would be fine if we visit their home because they may not want the neighbor to know”. Or they commented that “when dealing with the patient we should let the patient decide how much he can do or how he wants to do, not demand him to do as we wanted”.

One teacher participant said “Teacher must treat students with fairness and unbiased behaviors”. Another teacher said “Teacher must always forgive student even though he did something bad to you, and made you angry, because student was still learning to be a better person”.

Not only were the healthcare participants aware about their goals but they also reported how they understood the meaning of their life during their work experience: “I looked back to my life and know that nothing lasts forever. There is no problem that cannot be corrected. There is nothing best, but rather we should live for happiness of all people around us, little by little”. The teacher participant said “My happiness is giving to others; giving and receiving are quite different”.

3.1.2. Consciousness of Death

Consciousness of death was described as being emotionally aware of the imminent death of patients and being able to change oneself after that. One of the participants stated that: “I wanted to help a child to recover from a shock one evening, I started the manual heart pumping at midnight without any close supervision, but I could not help him. The child died. I felt so sad and stressed out”.

One of the participant reported that the death of one patient motivated him to become a good doctor: “I was in my 4th year at the medical school, and the patient was a skinny child having pneumonia. He was brought in by his parent, who was a street trash keeper. I took care of him as best I could, but he died. I felt sad as I thought that maybe he died between 2-5 a.m. in the morning when I had gone to sleep. I thought if I was with him, he may not have died. This inspired me to be a good doctor. Ever since that, I go to sleep only when all the patients have gone to sleep”.

3.1.3. Faith in supernatural

Faith in supernatural was defined as an acceptance of supernatural power. One teacher said, “I believed that being good teacher will bring good things to my own child”. Another one said, “Parents must not say bad words to his child, because it will be as said”.

3.1.4. Insight into Self

Insight into self was defined as being conscious of one’s thought and feelings. It had three components- mindfulness, knowing one’s self, and self-evaluation or self-reflection. Participants narrated situations where they listened to others with mindfulness: “my mind was focused on the subject he talked, and I could understand him better”. One participant stated that “when I arrived at the hospital, I leave my bad feelings outside. I think I was good in managing my emotions”. One teacher said, “Being mindfulness help me develop more positive attitude”. Another teacher said “I practiced self-reflection everyday 10 minutes before sleep, recalled what I did, how good or bad, and why I did it”.

Healthcare participants and educators reflected on their past behavior of showing bad temper and evaluated it as being not appropriate. Then they tried to change themselves for better as one said: “I used to be hot tempered, and a lot of people were hurt by me. But now I learned that I should not pass my temper to the patient”. One participant learnt that she was easily hurt by others and became de-motivated or sad. So she tried to cope by attempting to think positive about everything to overcome her feelings. A teacher said, “I thought of time when I ignored student, how I was sorry to let them down”.

3.1.5. Insight into Others

Insight into others was described as being conscious of other’s needs and beliefs. Healthcare participants showed their awareness of others, the patients suffering the effects

of sickness, and tried to help: "Never before I felt aware that how much patients were suffering, but when my mother was sick, I felt such strong emotions with her suffering and almost committed suicide myself".

Some participants showed that they tried to place themselves in other's situation to understand their feeling. Also with their role as a superior, one participant knew how his subordinate felt and tried to help him: "He was an alcoholic. At first I asked him whether he wanted to be in a re-habilitation. The next day he asked for a transfer, and then I knew how he felt. That evening I met him, gave him my hug, told him that I love you, if you need me to help please let me know, but I don't want you to take a transfer. Then he cried. After that he worked better and drank less".

The participants also felt bad when she saw someone didn't aware of others suffering, "sometimes I wanted to cry when I saw some of the workers ignored patients' suffering". In addition, there was evidence that the participants could sense the patients' personal beliefs and help them to fulfill their needs: "I used their cultural beliefs along with my treatment, and I found that they felt better".

Educators showed their concern toward co-workers and students by attending, listening, and empathy. "Teacher was a change agent, when student absent from school, it may be because he did not have uniform, it may be there was only one uniform in the family of several children". "When you observed your worried face, you must go forward to help".

3.1.6. Non Material Value

Non material value was described as the emphasis on the internal value not the external or instrumental value of things. Participants showed the characteristic of this behavior by doing something for its own values against doing it for recognition of others, prize, token, money, or as a mean to other achievement. One participant stated that "I volunteer to do this; the hospital paid some money, but I didn't care much about it. I just wanted to help my human friends". Also one doctor said, "I asked myself while I worked for helping someone in suffering, my friend worked for the sake of a private company, and he was paid ten times more than me; then why did I stay on my job? The answer was because I valued heart more than money". A teacher said, "I worked every day, and on weekends; I didn't ask for overtime pay". Another teacher said "My work did not for rewards, I never reported to the supervisor, never used it for promotion".

3.2. The Process of Spirituality Construction

Spirituality was perceived to be developed by the participant's spiritual experiences and role models. The spiritual experiences were described as learned from religious practices, by being with some persons who were dying or were disadvantaged, like from some minority group, learned from the suffering of problems in personal life, and having directly talked with someone known as a highly spiritual person.

The spiritual role models of the participants were someone in the family, in the workplace, the King of Thailand or someone in the society who acted as a role model of spirituality.

The outcome of being spiritual was engaging in spiritual behaviors, comprised of helping others, performing duties with energy, and acting with concern of other's dignity.

In addition to the direct causes of spirituality, there were two group level factors as support from work and family, and the positive climate at the workplace. Lastly the end result of spirituality was experiencing the feelings of happiness and self-esteem.

4. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

As it was revealed from the findings of this research, the participants showed diverse core categories of spirituality. Among these were: goal and meaning of life, consciousness of death, faith in supernatural, insight into self, insight into others, and non material value.

A review of research evidence indicates that spirituality is shown to have various meanings, and structures depending on the disciplines, culture, and experiences. The findings of the current research are compared with the evidence from previous researches in the Western countries. It was found that there are some dimensions of spirituality that emerge in this research but not in the previous researches.

The findings of this study indicated that some elements in the core spirituality corroborated with the findings of previous researches using empirical data from qualitative studies. Concepts such as goal and meaning of life, non materialism, and consciousness of death were partly found in the study by Elkin, Hedstrom, Hughes, Leaf, & Saunders (1988), which was a study of cross cultural participants. The different subthemes were- an insight into oneself, and insight into others.

Also this study classified happiness and self-esteem as the outcomes of being spiritual, instead of being part of spirituality as was in Elkins' fruit of spirituality. In the study by Elkin et al. (1988), the fruit of spirituality was described as being less stressful in life and being loved by other. It differed from the concept of this research- that of happiness and self esteem being classified as an outcome of core spirituality. But result from both the studies supported the same construct that of psychological well-being. The difference in findings between the two studies may have resulted due to the study participants. In this study almost all participants were Buddhists and some were Muslim, while the participants in Elkins' study were mostly Christian and some were Muslim. In addition participants in that study were highly educated but in this study our participants had low to high education level.

Insight into self and goal and meaning in life overlapped with two out of four elements in the study of Mattis (2000). Concepts of insight into others, meaning of life, faith in super power were found in three of four elements in the study of Chiu, Emblen, Van Hofwegan, Sawatzky, & Meyerhoff (2004). The findings of this study highly agreed with an essence of spirituality in a study by Rich & Cinamon (2007). The difference between this study and the other were that the participants in the other were non Buddhists.

Another study by Pincharoen and Congdon, (2003) investigated the concept of spirituality among Thais elders who lived in the USA, and (Pincharoen and Congdon, 2003), found that spirituality composed of five themes that included, "connecting with spiritual resources provided comfort and peace, finding harmony through a healthy mind and body, living a valuable life, valuing tranquil relationships with family and friends, and experiencing meaning and confidence in death" (p.99). Furthermore that study reported that for the Thai participants, health and spirituality coexisted and were linked to all of life. When compare the current research, the similarity between findings of the two studies were about the meaning of life, and consciousness of death. The differences between the two studies were the ages of the participants, their occupation, and the living context.

The differences of this study, as compared to other researches, have emerged mainly because this study attempted to separate the causes and consequences of spirituality, separate mind from behaviors, separate direct cause from moderators by using perceptions from the participants and knowledge in psychology and behavioral sciences. For example Altruism was defined as element of spirituality by Elkin et al. (1988), but we classified helping others with kindness as spiritual outcome behaviors. Also in a study by

Chiu et al. (2004) power was defined as spirituality but in our study we classified it as spiritual behavior namely, doing activities with energy.

5. RECOMMENDATIONS

The study findings lead to some practical implications. Spirituality in teachers and health care workers were defined more precisely in the Thai culture as having the some of the same core element as in other cultures. Measuring instruments of the core of spirituality and its related constructs could be developed for the purpose of explaining how one's spirituality should be supported or improved. Moreover all the self-report measures may be used to help a person learn more about their own spirituality. The findings showed that spirituality affects the quality of work when there is social support and warm organizational climate. Hence healthcare organizations such as a hospital may provide regular activity for promoting both conditions such as by providing team building activities.

In addition, the study found that spirituality had social causes such as having a spiritual experience and a role model. Therefore in the Thai society there could be more emphasis on creating a spiritual environment by using public media and education as tools.

More research could be done to describe in-depth how spirituality is developed, and what if it was under developed, or what happens to the person having negative spirituality. More research may be done to find the meaning of spirituality within some specific groups involved in other social service arena.

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Section 4
Social Problems and Social Psychology

Chapter #9

THEORY OF SOCIAL PARTITIONS AND IDENTITY DYNAMICS

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this chapter is to present the theory of “social partitions” and its related methodology (RepMut) using the results of certain researchs. The theory of social partitions is part of a trend in social categorization started by Tajfel. According to the principle of humans permanently seeking positive identity, it links the social identity levels provided by the SCT with ways of thinking highlighted by the social psychology of language. It also considers the importance of the social scene in the identity dynamic. This theory led to the creation of a software program which is a diagnostic tool of intergroup relations. A set of studies carried out in various fields (sport, discrimination, education, health) using this tool have not only enabled identity strategies in terms of social partitions to be drawn out, but also the understanding of some psycho-social mechanisms to be refined.

Keywords: intergroup relations, social partitions, identity, discrimination.

1. INTRODUCTION

The promotion of the self, which might characterize certain “individualist” cultures as opposed to other so-called “collectivist” cultures at a given moment in their history, appears commonplace today, particularly with the use of new technologies.

In France, for example, as in the majority of western countries, self-promotion can be found on the social networks, with the selfie and the need to share your opinion on whatever subject with “all your friends” - concrete evidence of how important people consider themselves.

The promotion of the individual is seen increasingly at the collective level, even if this is to the detriment of a fair vision of macro-social evolution. The planet’s survival, contrary to what is advocated by certain slogans such as “*un geste plus un geste et c’est ma terre qui va mieux*” (action plus action and my world works better), cannot depend on the wishes of individuals alone. Societal changes are not epidemics which transmit from one subject to the next. Drivers can only choose electric cars, for example, if they exist. But their existence depends on social groups (politicians/oil producers; pro-nuclear/anti-nuclear, etc.) whose interests are often divergent.

In other words, social groups and the relations between them, even if they are not obvious today, continue to play a part in the societal dynamic.

The study of intergroup relations represents a large chapter in social psychology; since Tajfel, the socio-cognitive approach has reintroduced the identity of the subject, a movement which has become yet more systematic with Turner’s approach. Building on this movement, the aim of this chapter is to look in greater depth at the identity dynamic which each subject might put in place, but highlighting the social constraints imposed on that subject. The chapter therefore presents a theoretical model relating to the meta-theory of social identity (Abrams & Hogg, 2004), and the development proposed focuses on the social constraints imposed on the subject in spite of himself.

In order to account for the social determinants of behaviours, partitions theory (Castel & Lacassagne, 2005, 2007, 2011) uses firstly the identity levels of Turner, by radicalising the modes of functioning at each level based on the knowledge acquired in the social psychology of language. Secondly, it uses the notion of social scenes arising from theories of communication (Brown & Fraser, 1979), by showing that effective social roles are transformed by participants based on their identity interest.

The contribution of the theory of social partitions lies in showing that the representation of the situation, over and above any particular content that may be considered relevant or not, is, above all, structured by inter-categories such as the subjects invest in them. For this, it uses three types of partition: the hierarchical partition, the oppositional partition and the community partition.

The updating of these representations has led to the creation of an intergroup relations diagnostic tool (RepMut), supporting different studies in the field of sport, immigration, education and health.

2. BACKGROUND

2.1. Social partitions and seeking positive identity

Social partitions theory is consistent with social categorisation theory (Tajfel, 1981), which highlights the existence of a self-favouritism bias (Tajfel, Billig, Boundy & Flament, 1971). Thus, in the field of employment, studies on flexibility which consider relations between permanent and temporary workers show that the permanent workers tend to favour their own group (Von Hippel, 2006).

As with all concepts associated with the meta-theory of social identity (Abrams & Hogg, 2004), this theory postulates that the biases benefiting the group to which the subject belongs are explained by the search for positive identity. For example, permanent workers make a distinction in their discrimination between voluntary temps posing little threat to their identity, and involuntary temps who want to join the companies where they work (Von Hippel & Kalokerinos, 2012).

2.2. Identity levels and mental functionings

In reference to the work of Turner and his collaborators (1987), partitions theory adopts the three levels of identity abstraction, enriching the 3 identities (specific, social and personal) characterising his early work. In effect, he considers these three identities to come under three abstraction levels (supraordinate, intermediate and subordinate) which, unlike stabilised identities, allow the subject to choose “identity containers”. Thus, at the supraordinate level, the subject can consider himself a European worker, in which case at the intermediate level he can consider himself a German worker when standing before French workers, and Mr Dupont at the subordinate level. However, he can also consider himself an international worker at the supraordinate level, a European when standing before people from the United States at the intermediate level, and French at the subordinate level (Lacassagne & Castel, 2007). This lability in identity positions goes hand-in-hand with a form of behaviour management which is different at each of the levels.

Both Tajfel and Turner (1986) set about updating the particularities of the intermediate functioning (the functioning specific to the social identity). In his description of the self-categorisation process, Turner shows how, when intergroup relations are prominent, the subject chooses the category groups (ingroup and outgroup) most favourable to his identity by using a set of processes associated with this level (meta-contrast, fit and availability).

The activation of these category mechanisms leads to a process of de-individualisation, which pushes the personal identity to the back and gives emphasis to the possibility of different behaviours at each of the levels. In terms of what makes him unique, the individual does not adopt the behaviours he would adopt when he is a member of a group. Depending on whether he is communicating with his family or his colleagues, temporary workers, for example, he does not raise the same content and does not deal with ladder-of-life issues and anxiety at work in the same way (Chen, Popovich & Kogan, 1999).

Partitions theory radicalises the idea of the existence of a functioning specific to each of the levels by confining the principle of social comparison to the category level. The unicity of the supraordinate level posed by Turner through functional antagonism assumes, in our view, a different human functioning (collective identity) to that activated at the intermediate level (category identity), in the same way that the mental functioning activated at the subordinate level (personal identity) differs from that of the intermediate level.

This way of thinking is supported substantially in the French social psychology of language. In fact, we see the three identity functionings as similar to what were termed “cognitive-discursive programmes” by Ghiglione (1988). The author, together with his team, attempted an automated analysis of discursive production (Ghiglione, Matalon & Bacri, 1985). He notably attempted to draw from speakers cognitive-discursive programmes corresponding, with reference to Hintikka (1969), to the ways of logically seeing reality.

If the speaker refers to “reality as it exists”, he does not adopt the same methods of reasoning that he would if he sees reality as “worlds to be compared” or “a world to be created”. In the first case, his discourse is, at a syntactic level, saturated with succession markers (“and, then, and then, etc.”); in the second, it is saturated with polemical markers (“but, however, etc.”); while in the third, the markers highlighted are logical (“therefore, because, since, etc.”). In as much as the subordinate level corresponds to the identity of the subject shaped by his interactions with his material and human environment, for us, this level subscribes to “the reality as it exists”. The uniqueness of a subject, or rather what relates to his personal identity, comes from his own experiences, his own story, which cannot be likened to anyone else’s. The intermediate level, supporting the category identity (us/them), assumes a social comparison and therefore subscribes to “worlds to be compared”. The supraordinate level, through functional antagonism, suggests an assumed similarity, or rather is based on a collective, a set of individuals or groups with infinite differences which can only exist as a unit in the mind, this level therefore subscribing to “a world to be created”.

A second element supporting this concept which associates the identity levels of Turner and different human functioning's, structured around the principle of unicity at the supraordinate level, the principle of duality at the intermediate level and the principle of plurality at the subordinate level, relates to the ways of preventing discrimination (for a review of these ways, see Klauer, Hölzenbein, Calanchini & Sherman, 2014). At the category level, the social comparison still remains (world to be compared), but due to the cross-categorisation (Doise & Deschamps, 1979; Brewer, 2000), it becomes a question of changing opposite groups. Thus, the temporary worker might belong to the group of temporary workers when standing before the group of permanent workers of company X, or might be an employee in a temp agency when standing before the employees of company X (Galais & Moser, 2009; Moorman & Harland, 2002). When identity rules involve a change of level, the facilitation of the change to the supraordinate level involves “creating” a new collective, or rather assuming the existence of a supra-group (world to be created). Thus, Lipponen and Leskinen (2006) create an ingroup common to the permanent workers

threatened by the temporary workers so that they favour this new ingroup. Lastly, when identity rules involve a change to the subordinate level, the worker is in this case individualised. Over and above the five personal characteristics which better support temporary employment (Gannon & Brainin, 1971), or the level of study affecting the job satisfaction of this population (Slattery & Selvarayan, 2010) which might be in evidence, for example, individualisation by imagined contact (Crisp & BirteI, 2014) is an increasingly common strategy in a professional context, through coaching.

In conclusion, social partitions theory involves attaching a functioning specific to each of Turner's abstraction levels, choosing, for each, its structuring principle. This approach re-introduces the identities by behavioural constants. Thus, collective identity refers to the mental functioning relating to the supraordinate level, based on the unicity of the members who make up the group; social or category identity refers to the mental functioning relating to the intermediate level, structured around the duality affording the intergroup comparison; lastly, personal identity refers to the mental functioning based on the singularity underlying the plurality of the behaviours, and relates to the subordinate level.

2.3. Social scenes, representations of the situation and social partitions

In a second particular point of view, social partitions theory attributes a key role to social scenes, which favours the emphasis of representations. Even if, as Turner describes, the subject seeking a positive identity can manage his identities favourably in uncertain situations by self-categorising himself either in the most favourable category at the intermediate level or by changing level, he can also remain subject to the prescriptions of "social or societal scenes".

The notion of "social scene" is borrowed from the communication model of Brown and Fraser (1979). For these authors, the communication situation, which we extend to the notion of interaction, consists of a scene made up of a framework and a purpose (for example, clinical consultation, mid-career interview, etc.) in which the participants engage with each other. The interest of the model lies in the fact that the scene predefines the roles of the participants and, as such, fixes the identity level of each participant and the nature of the relationship between the two. Thus, the "clinical consultation" features a psychologist or even a psychoanalyst (social identity) and a patient (personal identity) in a relationship of support, defining a helper (advantageous position) and a helped (disadvantageous position); the "job interview" scene, on the other hand, features an HR manager (social identity) and job applicants (social identity) in a relationship of evaluation defining a decision-maker (advantageous position) and a social agent who must prove his/her capacities (disadvantageous position). The social scenes therefore play the role of a "conductor" (Pagès, 1985) of identity mobilisation in terms of levels and positions, which are favourable or unfavourable to the identity.

These external identity placements are most often adopted mindlessly by the subjects in an advantageous position, reinforcing, as such, the prominence of their position. The disadvantaged subjects are objectively threatened and therefore, following the principle of seeking a favourable identity, are forced to implement strategies to remove themselves from that situation. If they feel it's too costly to escape from the social scene, as in the final career interview for example, they can opt for cognitive strategies (Blanz, Mummendey, Mielke & Klink, 1998; Bernache-Assolant, 2010) based on the representation they make of the situation. While the HR manager, as the expert, attempts to align the needs of the company with the skills and aspirations of the employee, the latter, if he is older, might consider him a young novice who, unlike him, has no experience... In other words, the

disadvantaged subject can represent the scene another way, attributing a place to himself which enables him to enhance his identity.

In conclusion, partitions theory, accounting both for the prescriptive aspect of the scenes and the compelling need to obtain a favourable social identity, gives weight to the representations that the subjects, based on their principally asymmetrical positions, make of the situation.

2.4. Partitions as structuring elements of social roles

Since the identity of the disadvantaged subjects is threatened by the place they occupy in the social scene, it's therefore the representation of this place they must change. If, in each social scene, each of the participants makes a representation of his role in the sense of his identity interest, the structuring element of these representations at the intermediate level corresponds to the relative positioning of the categories. In partitions theory, this structuring element can be broken down into dominant-dominated (hierarchical partition), positive-negative (oppositional partition) or minority-majority (community partition). If the social scene gives the subject the role of dominated, in the dominant-dominated partition, he can represent the relationship as an opposition of values, or as belonging to a minority-majority group.

Statutory categorisations (see for example Badea & Deschamps, 2009; Sachdev & Bourhis, 1991) and community categorisations (Badea & Askevis-Leherpeux, 2005; Simon & Brown, 1987) have already been identified in literature. Oppositional categorisation has also been identified through the valence of the stereotypical traits attributed to each of the groups (Rubin, Hewstone & Voci, 2001). However, these methods of categorisation are still considered as socio-structural factors and not as systematic determinants of behaviour. In partitions theory, the representation a participant makes of the relative positions encloses him in a frame of behaviour. Metaphorically speaking, adopting a social partition produces a score (in the musical sense) to be respected even if the subject has a degree of freedom to interpret the situation as he chooses. More precisely, the partition adopted becomes a prescriptive framework which places the subject either in a relationship of power (hierarchical partition), or pushes him into a situation of defense of values (oppositional partition), or leads him to assert his existence (community partition). Consequently, social partitions, conceived as a representation of the social categorisation underlying the interaction, constitute the crux point of a dynamic of identity. From a socio-psychological perspective, the representation of the situation made by the subject, by virtue of its structuring nature, acquires the status of an external determinant of his behaviour. In other words, the dynamic of identity has an interpretative side, as the partitions adopted fulfill the identity aspirations of the subject, and a prescriptive side, which is imposed on the subject as a determinant of his behaviour.

3. REPMUT METHODOLOGY

From the perspective of methodology, social partitions theory has led to the creation of the software "RepMut" (intergroup relations diagnostic tool).

Since the partition is the structuring element of the subject's image of the situation, RepMut uses this representation. And since this structuring element corresponds to the relative positioning of the categories of the corresponding social scene, the tool considers firstly the image of the other group (out-representation) and secondly that of the group to which the subject belongs (in-representation). Since there are a limited number of structuring elements (3: oppositional – hierarchical - community), and these are defined

beforehand, it's a question only of identifying what differentiates the characteristic traits of each of the two groups in the representations.

The method is based on gathering the representations of the categories concerned and identifying the principles affording their differentiation. First, the subject freely associates certain traits to the out-group, and then to the in-group (representation). Second, he proceeds to a self-evaluation of his productions in terms of values (oppositional partition), status (hierarchical partition) and belonging to an in/out-group (community partition). The pattern of the differences obtained in scores between the in-group and the out-group allows us to identify the favoured partition.

The tool therefore firstly allows us to detect the partitions at play in the social scenes proposed, and secondly the changes of identity levels. It can also help us to test classic socio-psychological phenomena (in-group homogeneity, out-group homogeneity etc.).

From an epistemological perspective, the proposed paradigm relates to a paradigm of "concord" (Duchastel & Laberge, 1999). The intergroup relations diagnostic tool effectively integrates a bottom-up approach by being based on the free associations of the subjects concerning the two groups present, and a top-down approach by imposing a theoretical grid to analyse these free productions.

3.1. Methods

In the minimum configuration, during the qualitative phase, each subject first associates a certain number of adjectives (most often 5) which, for him, best qualify the other group (out-representation). He then repeats the process for his own group (in-representation). This order serves to impose the mobilisation of social identities. Indirect representations can also be expressed by asking the subject what he thinks the members of the other group think of him (meta-representation) or what the other members of his group think about the other group (stereo-representation).

During the quantitative phase, he scores his own adjectives on a valence dimension, on a social recognition dimension and on representativities, one for each of the groups (in-representativity, out-representativity), one for the superordinate set (super-representativity) and one for himself (self-representativity).

To identify the activated partitions, three indicators are used, namely the valence (average of evaluation scores weighted by the intra-category representativities), the status (average of the social recognition scores weighted by the intra-category representativities) and the entitativity (average of the conformance and distinctiveness scores). Since obtaining (or maintaining) a positive social identity results from a favourable comparison with one's category, the identification of a partition is necessarily based on the existence of a pro-in-group bias. When the latter concerns the valence, it is an oppositional partition; when it concerns the status, it is a hierarchical partition; when it concerns the entitativity, it is a community partition.

The analysis plan is "Subjects_n <Source₂>* Target₂* Parameters₆" and the preferred treatment method is a variance analysis when permitted by conditions of normality and homogeneity, or non-parametric tests (Mann-Whitney, Wilcoxon) when the conditions for using the first test are not met.

3.2. Illustration of several possibilities of the RepMut methodology using a number of applied research results

Several studies using this tool, conducted in different fields, allowed us to refine the understanding of certain psycho-social mechanisms, and to identify the identity strategies in terms of social partitions.

3.2.1. Refinement of psycho-social mechanisms

- Dissociation of the effects of the anti-racist norm and categorisation

In a study on relations between black and white players in professional basketball (Perchot, 2013; Perchot, Mangin, Castel & Lacassagne, in press), around fifty young subjects, all white, who had been playing basketball for around ten years, completed a RepMut questionnaire concerning out-representation and in-representation. Among the various self-evaluations, the analysis of just the valence enabled us to dissociate a social desirability effect from a social categorisation effect.

The average valences demonstrated a better view of black players than white players, or rather an out-favouritism bias, contrary to the principle of seeking a positive social identity. However, the consideration of the order of free production of the adjectives establishes two opposing effects. The first adjectives cited are significantly more positive for black players than for white players. It appears that the subjects (all white subjects in this case) initially conformed to the anti-racist norm by favouring the black players over the white players. Then, once they had fulfilled this obligation, they gradually allowed their need for a positive social identity to emerge by establishing a comparison which favoured their category (Tajfel et al., 1971).

This phenomenon is very common in black/white comparisons in France, where the anti-racist norm is virtually ever-present. The production of statistics on the basis of ethnicity, for example, is prohibited. This can be seen in another study through another aspect of the RepMut methodology, the indirect measurements.

- Dissociation of the effects of the anti-racist norm and prejudice

Within the context of the immigration of French-speaking black people to mainland France (Velandia-Coustol, unpublished doctoral thesis; Velandia-Coustol, Castel & Lacassagne, 2015), we used the RepMut methodology by applying it, unlike the previous study, to the members of both categories (White and Black people). In this case, the white people were all young Europeans of French nationality, and the black people, also young, were of African origin and living in France for an average of ten years. As with the previous questionnaire, this one included the out- and in-representation (5 adjectives to qualify the black people and 5 adjectives to qualify the white people, each subject beginning with the group he was not part of). It also included indirect representations, i.e. meta-representation and stereo-representation. Again presenting only the results concerning valence, we identify, by another process, the effect of the anti-racist norm by dissociating it from the prejudice.

The direct measurements demonstrated, for all subjects, that the judgments made about the black people were more positive than those made about the white people. In the black people's evaluation, this effect corresponded to an in-favouritism effect in accordance with the laws of categorisation. Conversely, for the white people, this corresponded to an out-favouritism effect, here again, apparently incompatible with seeking a positive social identity.

The analysis of the indirect measurements reinforces the interpretation whereby a White people effect represents a superficial compliance with the anti-racist norm. In fact, the scores of the indirect measurements concerning the black people were very clearly negative on the part of white people. The scores of these indirect measurements were also negative on the part of black people. In other words, both groups were in agreement in believing that the black people were "seen in a bad light". Furthermore, given that all the indirect measurements were negative (including measurements concerning the white people), relations between the two categories were perceived to be tense.

Thus, in both studies, the white people presented themselves as non-racist (they explicitly expressed a more positive view of black people than white people). In the

first study, it was the order of the adjectives freely produced that showed that discrimination against black people was nonetheless present. In the second study, the implicit measurements on the representation of their relations indicated the presence of prejudice against the black people. More generally, these experiments demonstrate that RepMut can dissociate the normative effects, firstly from the effects of categorisation (when direct measurements are used), and secondly from prejudice (when indirect measurements are used).

3.2.2. Social partitions and identity management

The RepMut methodology can also be used to identify the identity strategies in social scenes characterised by asymmetrical positions, as in a teaching relationship or between people in good/bad health for example.

In a study on relations between physical and sports education teachers and their pupils (Mangin, 2015), a RepMut questionnaire concerning the out-group and the in-group was circulated to around one hundred teachers and one hundred high school pupils, taking gender into consideration.

The results on the valence show that there was no categorisation effect, but there was a prejudice effect. The teachers were “seen in a good light” by both the pupils and by themselves, and the pupils were “seen in a bad light” both by themselves and by the teachers.

In order to handle this prejudgment, which had devalued them, certain pupils, particularly the boys, used a social mobility strategy. They believed they were better represented (self-representativity) by the qualities they associated with the teachers than those they associated with the pupils. Others, particularly the girls, seemed to consider themselves as forming a minority, which means they positioned themselves favourably in a community partition (conformance and distinctiveness effect). Accordingly, they believed themselves to be more entitative than the teachers.

Thus, accounting for the position occupied by his or her category (whether in terms of status – teachers/pupils, or gender – male/female), each person appears to develop a strategy which gives him or her satisfactory social identity. The teachers positively evaluated their category and devalued that of the pupils. In this way, they assumed a favourable place in the oppositional partition. For the pupils, the girls remained at the intermediate level by considering themselves a minority (community partition), while the boys tended to individually join the teachers’ ‘camp’, whose reputation was good.

In another study (Petueil, 2014) concerning relations between the sick and the healthy, a RepMut questionnaire, in its minimum form (out-group / in-group), was completed by both diabetics and non-diabetics during a diabetes information day.

As before, the results on the valence demonstrated a prejudgment favourable to people in good health, to the detriment of the diabetics. The two groups were in agreement in saying that the non-diabetics were more positive than the diabetics (prejudice).

Besides the evaluative discrimination they practiced, the non-diabetics marked a sharp contrast between the two groups, considering the diabetics as a homogeneous category (out-group homogeneity effect). Lastly, they personally distanced themselves strongly from the out-group (distinctiveness effect). In other words, the non-diabetics perceived the diabetics as a minority associated with poor values.

For their part, the diabetics, who knew and recognised the evaluative prejudgments against them, used a new identity strategy. According to these people, the sick people were in some respect healthier than the non-sick people, and the non-sick people were sicker than the sick people. Accordingly, they considered that the traits they associated with the diabetics were more representative of the non-diabetics than the diabetics, and that the traits

they associated with the non-diabetics were more representative of the diabetics than the non-diabetics.

In conclusion, the non-diabetics associated their advantageous position to the intermediate level, and the diabetics created an identity strategy consisting in inverting the in-categories.

4. FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

More generally speaking, RepMut seems to be able to identify not only the identity strategies corresponding to the three partitions (the tool was developed on this theoretical basis), but also the strategies relating to other conceptions (Social Identity Theory, Self-Categorisation Theory) and even strategies which appear new such as category permutation. Nevertheless, RepMut must still be more precisely developed by exploiting the content of the adjectives cited by the participants, notably concerning the traits conveying the sense of identity.

5. CONCLUSION/DISCUSSION

The aim of this chapter was to present partitions theory and its methodology.

In this chapter, social partitions theory was presented essentially with reference to the founders of social categorisation and its developments in terms of identity. The purpose of this didactic choice was to show that other disciplines, such as the social psychology of language, communication, using social interaction another way, could firstly consolidate the foundations of current developments through their radicalisation, but could also perhaps enrich them, thereby opening up new avenues of research.

In fact, examining identity levels with cognitive and discursive programmes might provide a better understanding of the specificities at each level, placing less emphasis on the content than on the factors organizing the content. Kamiejski, Guimond, De Oliveira, Er-Rafiy and Brauer (2012), for example, showed that adherence to a citizen ideology resulted in more behaviours in favour of minorities than adherence to a secular ideology. We believe this effect can still be interpreted based on the notion of identity levels alone if we remember the structuring principles. To have a citizen ideology is to refer to the unicity of the supraordinate level, while to have a secular ideology is to refer to the duality of the intermediate level (secular versus religious). Similarly, examining the roles attributed in the social scenes and the structures underlying these roles (hierarchical, oppositional and community partition) allows us to do away with much of the content analysis (see for instance the role of “relevant/irrelevant evaluative dimensions”, Reichl, 1997; Bettencourt, Dorr, Charlton & Hume, 2001) to justify the implementation of certain mechanisms relative to others. Again, this consolidates the socio-cognitive perspective.

In terms of opening up avenues of research, partitions theory favours the consideration of the relative position of the representatives of two categories involved in different social scenes, and this leads to the discovery of mutual and asymmetrical representations and therefore an increasing number of strategies.

RepMut can help in this further research.

This new methodology is based on the behaviours expected according to partitions theory. These behaviours, when translated into indicators, allow us to identify the representations of the relations co-constructed between the groups, among participants, associated with social identity.

The body of evidence established from RepMut allows us, on a large-scale, to confirm or refute the effects already identified. In fact, numerous data gathered with a common system allow us to establish comparisons in order to identify invariants and detect specificities. Past data can also serve to test new hypotheses (fundamental research).

Lastly, from a pragmatic perspective, the RepMut tool, because it is automated, allows for rapid and precise analyses of inter-group relations, thereby allowing for the appropriate remedies to be proposed, the efficacy of which can be tested by post-test use.

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Chapter #10

ATTACHMENT STYLES AND PARASOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS: A COLLECTIVIST SOCIETY PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

In this study we investigate parasocial relationships in media; more specifically we explore why audience members fashion attachments with television personalities. The study aligns with previous research in the area by Cole and Leets (1999) that looked at attachments formed with media figures and the correlation to level of attachments in real-life relationships. In their study, Cole and Leets (1999) used a three-dimensional attachment scale that included anxious-ambivalent, avoidant, and secure, and found those with higher insecurity or unstable real-life relationships have stronger parasocial relationships. We surveyed university age respondents and we used the same scales as Cole and Leets (1999) to examine whether in Kuwait, where dating violates social norms and looser bonds are found outside of the home, that stronger parasocial relationships with media personalities will be found because of the need to fulfill relationship needs outside of family. Our hypotheses in this chapter is that higher levels of anxious-ambivalents and avoidants both will be found due to the strict collectivist nature of the society forcing many to compensate for lack of real world relationships by forming mediated bonds. Moreover, we posited and discovered that that these two groups also showed the highest levels of parasocial relationships in our sample.

Keywords: parasocial, attachment styles, Kuwait, collectivism, media.

1. INTRODUCTION

This study proposes to investigate how parasocial relationships in media are formed in a traditional collectivist society like Kuwait and how they are affected by attachments found in real world relationships. We chose Kuwait for this study as it is seen as a highly collectivist (Hofstede, 2001), conservative society that provides a maximally different context from that of the United States and the West where most parasocial relationship studies were conducted (Bond & Calvert, 2014; Cohen, 2004; Cohen, 1997, Cole & Leets, 1999; Dibble, Hartmann, & Rosaen, 2015; Eyal & Cohen, 2006; Hazan & Shaver, 1987; Rizzo, 2005; Rubin, Perse, & Powell, 1985; Woodley & Movius, 2012). A Parasocial Relationship (PSR) is defined as a one-sided relationship that an audience member fashions with a television personality (Bond & Calvert, 2014; Cohen, 2004; Cohen, 1997, 1999; Eyal & Cohen, 2006). Part of the schema of a PSR is loyalty to a given television program manifested in regularly viewing of a show. The term parasocial relationship was originally coined in Horton and Wohl (1956) where they describe it as a “seeming face-to-face relationship” (p. 215).

The date of the study might delineate the definition of face-to-face. At that time the researchers used television personalities like Steve Allen and Liberace to help define the type of persona the audience seeks when establishing a bond with a celebrity. In the era of

Horton and Wohl, the PSRs perused were often ones where the personality spoke directly to the television and the studio audiences, creating an illusion that the PSR was reciprocal and thus creating a greater sense of intimacy. This can in fact be compared to modern day talk show programs. For example, the widely popular television show *Oprah Winfrey* has some of the same attributes described in the Horton study of the *Steve Allen Show*. Winfrey has often addressed the home audience as if she were speaking directly with them (Horton & Wohl, 1956; Woodley & Movius, 2012, Dibble et al., 2015). Lewis (2000) expressed this idea as “The line separating the persona and the audience is further blurred if the media character steps out of the particular format of the show and literally blends with the studio audience” (p. 12).

Talking to the screen through close-ups such as Winfrey does provides a human-side to the performer and engages the TV viewers just as it does the studio audience, thus giving the impression that the performer is a regular person and so solidifying the PSR (Lewis, 2000). Addressing the audiences directly is also something that is quite prevalent in children’s programming, with many of those characters being scripted to speak directly to young children in the viewing audience (Bond & Calvert, 2014). In fact, it isn’t just about adults; Bond & Calvert (2014) noted that the children as young as 21 months old can develop strong parasocial relationships. So the phenomenon of parasocial ties is not something exclusive to older audiences only. Correspondingly, children were able to make bonds with anthropomorphic characters such as puppets and cartoon characters with reinforcement of the relationship taking place with toys, parental encouragement and repeated exposure to those characters.

Researchers have suggested that viewers, including children, form strong PSRs as a result of the perceived realism of the program and also due to the realism of the characters and the physical and social attractiveness of these personalities (Bond & Calvert, 2014; Camella, 2001; Eyal & Cohen, 2006). It is believed that the viewer suspends disbeliefs about the fictionalization of the television characters even when they know that the television program is scripted as is the case for many talk shows, live programs, and so-called reality shows. Our study aims to look at the impact of these relationships in a collectivist society such as Kuwait and to examine how these relationships are impacted by certain attachment types as described in section 2.1 of our literature review.

2. BACKGROUND

It is quite often the most socially popular or desirable characters who become the subject of PSRs for the dedicated audience (Bond & Calvert, 2014). Eyal and Cohen (2006) examined this phenomenon through the highly popular show *Friends*. ‘Rachel’ an attractive character on the program was rated as the most popular and was ranked as the person with whom the majority of those surveyed formed a bond. ‘Ross’ on the other hand, was rated as the least popular character and who had the least amount of associated PSRs. Other factors that were found to contribute to the strength of PSRs include shared values, background similarity, identification and communication styles, and perceived homophily with the character (Bryant & Oliver, 2009; Eyal & Cohen, 2006; Slade, Narro & Buchanan, 2014; Manusov & Harvey, 2001). Shared values, identification and predictability help to reinforce the bond to the TV persona and create a sense of empathy whereby the viewer wishes nothing but success and happiness for the character, as if they were personally invested or had some obligation to their favorite star (Lewis, 2000).

Some audience members even come to the conclusion that they know their TV personality *as well as* they know their own friends. Deep knowledge of a favorite character

would generally not be shared among casual viewers of the program. Additionally, a committed fan will generally believe that his or her knowledge of their favorite TV star or celebrity is more expansive than that of a casual viewer or fan. This knowledge would not just be limited to a character's traits, but could also include voice, dress and appearance (Bond & Calvert, 2014; Horton & Wohl, 1956).

Another aspect of the bond of the PSR is the belief that the performer or character would fit neatly into one's social circles (Lewis, 2000). Cole & Leets (1999) describes parasocial relationships as closer than acquaintances, but further than friends or family. This idea came to be referred to as a 'quasi-friendship'. This quasi-friendship is to a certain extent built on the predictability of the character. Just as the audience may know how friends and family would react and behave in a given scenario, so is the case for the TV star. In a scripted show, the characters can be more formulaic than those in real life. Consequently, a TV friend is often more predictable than a close associate in the real world (Horton & Wohl, 1956). In fact, it is found that the strength of the PSR will increase as the audience member is better able to predict the behavior of a given TV personality (Cole & Leets, 1999). This can, in turn, lead to an increased feeling of intimacy within the PSR, an occurrence that was previously described: "They know such a persona in somewhat the same way they know their chosen friend: through direct observation and interpretation of his appearances his gestures and voice, his conversation and conduct in a variety of situations" (Horton & Wohl, 1956, p. 216).

Eyal and Cohen (2006) concluded that PSRs are a strong part of social relationships of many TV viewers with some reporting idolizing and admiring their favorite TV personality (Camella, 2001). Early research has even found little differences in terms of psychological rewards between real world interpersonal relationships and PSRs (Lewis, 2000). However, in general, PSRs do not replace relationships audience members have with friends or family.

Furthermore, the PSR does not discontinue once the program has ended for the week but is a long term relationship that continues beyond the broadcast (Dibble et al., 2015). There are other outlets that allow the audience member to continue the one-sided relationship. There are entire industries around stars and celebrities that help fans immerse into their PSRs. These include press agents, entertainment shows and magazines (Horton & Wohl, 1956). This is further reinforced through the Internet where fans have dedicated websites for their favorite stars, and media outlets and networks establish official websites and social media pages for the shows and their many characters. These sites are full of interactive options such as e-mails, chats, blogs, and so forth. Americanidol.com for example, allows fans of the hit reality show to view behind the scene photographs from the latest episodes, peruse biographies of contestants, and discuss and vote for their favorite singer. Reality shows like *American Idol* and *So You Think You Can Dance*, go further than other variety programming by asking the audience to shape the content of the program and thusly the future of their PSRs, by voting to keep contestants 'alive' or to vote them off.

The actor himself may be a part of the PSR strengthening process through appearances in talk show programs, interviews in magazines and personal appearances at award shows. The audience members thus develop a greater sense of closeness to the persona and a stronger belief that they know more about the star, bringing the PSR even closer (Cohen, 2004).

The viewer also has also an important role to fill as a loyal viewer of the show by keeping up with events affecting a favorite TV personality and by not attempting to form bonds with a program that may be out of his or her intellectual reach such

as the example of a child forming bonds with a persona in an adult show, or vice versa (Horton & Wohl, 1956).

Some viewers are said to use mediated relationships as a substitute for interpersonal ones based on a fantasy provided by a given TV character where they experience achievement vicariously through the character's TV experiences. Consequently, the TV personality becomes more than a quasi-friend, but rather a role model emulated by his dedicated fan (Horton & Wohl, 1956). This is best depicted through the PSRs formed with famous rock stars that go to great lengths to present a glamorous, hedonistic life through their music videos and on the concert stage.

In developing and sustaining mediated bonds, many viewers tend to surrender to the experiences of the characters in the fictional situation presented in the program rather than attempting to theorize how they would handle the situation themselves. Therefore, and in this respect, the PSRs serve an escapist role (Eyal & Rubin, 2003). Though given that the PSR is to a large extent based on attractiveness and homophily, it would be reasonable to assume that the viewer may act similarly in an analogous circumstance.

An important question for inquiry is why do some audience members form parasocial relationships while others do not? Cohen (1997) reports that some people use PSRs as a substitution for a lack of interpersonal relationships or as a result of insecurity in their romantic relations. Some studies have found that forming PSRs can help battle loneliness (Adam & Sizemore, 2013). However, subsequent research has cast serious doubts on these propositions. Both Rubin et al (1985) and Cohen (1997) found no correlation between loneliness and the degree to which an audience member fashions PSRs (Cohen 1997; Cole & Leets, 1999; Rubin et al., 1985). Contrary to this compensation argument, it was found that many in secure relationships, especially women, fashion strong PSRs and could use these ties as extensions of their romantic relationships (Adam & Sizemore, 2013). Adam and Sizemore (2013) described scenarios where audience members fashioned romantic parasocial relationships with media characters including strong viewer romantic-based PSRs to characters in the film franchise *Twilight*. Along this line, Cohen (2004) has even suggested that in general the same skills required in sustaining real-world relationships are needed to sustain PSRs.

PSRs have also been found to be dependent on the viewer's gender. While females showed no preferences in the types of personalities they fashion PSRs with, men showed a preference for forming bonds with newscasters first, followed by talk show hosts, and then by sitcom stars (Lewis, 2000). In general, women formed stronger PSRs than men, and reported higher attachment levels, which can lead to a feeling of loss when a TV show is cancelled and a favorite TV character ceases to exist (Eyal & Cohen, 2006).

Self-esteem is another variable that was investigated in the context of PSRs. Self-esteem was not found to be a strong predictor in establishing PSRs, and people with high PSRs were not found to exhibit low self-esteem. Interestingly however, those with high self-esteem tended to form attachments to comedians (Cohen, 2004).

One of the most significant aspects of PSRs is that they effectively illustrate the extent to which media can influence opinions of the audience (Baldwin, Perry & Moffitt, 2004). In one study, the influence on homophobia after forming PSRs with gay male characters was investigated. Studies have shown that a significant reduction in negative attitudes toward homosexuals whether coworkers, friends or classmates was observed when a heterosexual forms PSRs with homosexual characters or celebrities.

While a large body of research has focused on PSRs and television, a number of scholars have looked at other areas. For example, Burnett and Beto (2000) examined PSRs in the context of romance novels. The results were in general similar to what was found in television-related PSRs. The writing style of the novel was found to be a factor in the way

PSRs were established. For instance, an emphasis on the attractiveness of a given character is a paramount editorial rule in romance novels. Attractiveness is one of the key components that studies have listed as desirable to the viewer when forming a TV or film-based PSR (Adam & Sizemore, 2013). Women, in particular, identified with, and established stronger bonds to female characters. Many in fact felt that they empathized greatly with their favorite literary heroine and expressed sadness when the book ended (Burnett & Beto, 2000).

2.1. Attachment and Parasocial Relationships

Cole and Leets (1999) support the proposition that a key predictor of forming PSRs is the level of attachment in interpersonal relationships. The way in which a person engages and forms attachments in adult relationships originates in the relationship the person had with their primary caregiver(s) as a child, generally the mother. Children are said to go through various stages of separation from their caregiver that include protest, despair and detachment (Hazan & Shaver, 1987; Konishi & Hymel, 2014; Nathanson & Manohar, 2012). Based on research, a caregiver who is overly critical and withdrawn or rejects their child would normally produce an adult classified as an avoidant. A caregiver who is inconsistent with her child, consoling them when they cry, but sometimes not interfering, would produce an adult who is anxious-ambivalent. Finally, caregivers who are consistent with the child would raise a secure adult (Hazan & Shaver, 1987; Konishi & Hymel, 2014; Nathanson & Manohar, 2012).

Hazan and Shaver (1987) theorized the personality types identified in their study could predict adult romantic love behavior. In their study, 620 respondents were asked how they felt about their interpersonal and romantic relationships. Their dating status was also surveyed, including the length of the current or last relationship. Their survey also included information on childhood experiences, degree and type of attachment to the mother and the father, as well as the nature of the relationship between the two parents. No differences were found in attachment styles among respondents who had parents who were divorced as children and those who didn't, or even among those who had long-term separation from their parents and those who did not. In fact, the key indicator of attachment style found was the quality of the relationship with each parent, while the only gender-related difference noted was that respondents tended to judge their opposite-sex parent more kindly.

What researchers also found was that those who fit the classification of secure had longer lasting relationships than other personality types, and were characterized as happy and trusting. Furthermore, secure adults also reported they could accept their partners' character flaws. Those categorized as avoidants, on the other hand, had a fear of intimacy, had rocky relationships that lasted on average half as long as those maintained by secures. Lastly, anxious-ambivalents described relationships based on obsession and sexual attraction and like avoidants, experienced relationships that were full of highs and lows (Hazan & Shaver, 1987; Nathanson & Manohar, 2012).

In general, secure respondents saw people as kind-natured and believed that they themselves were persons easy to get along with and were generally liked by others. Anxious-ambivalents described themselves as misunderstood, underappreciated and found it hard to find a partner who would commit to a lasting relationship. Most avoidants reported that they could get along better alone and that one has to be cautious when it comes to interacting with others (Hazan & Shaver, 1987).

Additionally, secure respondents tended to feel secure in their interpersonal relationships and were seen as more trustworthy and were more inclined to maintain stable relationships. Avoidant types tended to avoid relationships, especially the romantic ones,

and found it harder to socialize. They also held mostly negative attitudes toward relationships and were increasingly upset when relationships ended. Anxious-ambivalent respondents had negative attitudes about themselves and were insecure in their relationships and had high levels of anxiety about abandonment, but nonetheless they reported a strong need to be loved. Anxious-ambivalent respondents tended to also fall in love more easily and more often, and were more likely to be jealous and appeasing during tensions in the relationship (Cohen, 1997; Cole & Leets, 1999).

The three types of attachment styles described above were found to be strong predictors of the depth and nuances of PSRs. For example, anxious-ambivalents were most likely to form PSRs. This was explained by the fact that anxious-ambivalents may find comfort in the stability of their favorite TV personality or celebrity (Cohen, 1997, Cole & Leets, 1999). Correspondingly, homophily was not found to be an indicator in the PSRs of anxious-ambivalents as many anxious-ambivalents formed bonds with stable-type personalities. The same study found avoidants to be the group least likely to fashion PSRs something that parallels their attitudes toward real life relationships. Secure individuals had moderate ties to TV personalities, often forming stronger bonds when they were in a relationship with someone they did not trust. In this case, the stability of a trustworthy TV character may serve a compensatory role for an unstable real-life relationship. Finally, avoidants were unlikely to fashion PSRs even when their own real-life relationships were unstable. This was explained by the fact that avoidants may have given-up on relationships and felt that even media-based relationships left little room for trust (Cole & Leets, 1999).

Attachment styles were also found to play a large role in the depth of the PSRs. Attachments styles can indicate and shape the audiences' feelings and in turn the nature of the bonds with a favorite TV personality. Just like real-world relationships, PSRs may fulfill existing attachment needs (Cohen, 2004; Cole & Leets, 1999; Rubin et al., 1985).

Cohen (2004) and Eyal and Cohen (2006) investigated this area. Cohen (2004) for example, used the final episode of *Friends* and looked at what happens when the PSR comes to an end. He theorized that those with secure attachments would react with less intensity to the end of a PSR. Anxious-ambivalents would have the most adverse reaction to the ending of a PSR, and finally avoidants would have difficulty coping afterwards. The length of the parasocial relationship could also predict the level of difficulty in dealing with the loss as time tends to strengthen relationships. Just as theorized, it was found that anxious-ambivalents faced the greatest difficulty in dealing and coping with the loss of a PSR. This is supported by the fact that that anxious-ambivalents are more likely to be susceptible to intense anxiety when real world ties end. Interestingly, neither gender nor current relationship status predicted reaction to the end of a PSR. However, contrary to what was suggested by Cohen, there were no significant differences between secures and avoidants in how they reacted to the loss of the PSR, with both groups reporting low anxiety when their PSRs ended (Cohen, 2004).

Cohen's (2003) self-report study measured and assessed reactions of teens and adults, both males and females to the dissolution of their parasocial relationships. Cohen (2003) hypothesis matched his conclusion, that women have stronger parasocial bonds and a breakup is equally as difficult for men as for women.

2.2. Attachment, Parasocial Relationships and Culture

That culture sanctions and determines, or at the very least affects social interaction is a well-established fact in the social sciences literature and has been the focus of numerous discourse and research. From the earliest work of Freud on the internalization of social moral values, and Parsons and Shils' (1951) theory of action, to the more recent work of

Triandis (1995, 2001) in the area of cross-cultural social psychology, the important role of the cultural context in shaping how people perceive, react, and interact with others is well recognized. For example, in his formulation of social exchange theory, (Blau, 1964; Cropanzano & Mitchell, 2005; Wikhamn & Hall, 2012) argued that the social context in which exchange takes place defines the rules and guidelines governing exchange and determines the value of what is exchanged as well as the social status of exchange partners and reciprocity. Hofstede (1980), in his large study of work-related values, has found significant differences across cultures in the way people work, interact and respond to organizational processes.

Our study is anchored in the understanding of the importance of culture for interpersonal and parasocial relationships. In particular, we focus on collectivism, and for the attachment styles, we use the three types considered in Cole and Leets (1999), namely, secure, anxious-ambivalents and avoidants.

Levels of attachment and reaction to separation, autonomy and commitment, interdependence and independence are some of the characteristics that determine a collectivist versus individualistic social cohesion (James & Gilliland, 2013; Kagitcibasi, 1994; Petrakis, 2014; Triandis, 1995).

In collectivist societies, the family unit is based on commitment, attachment and interdependence. The family meets the social needs of the individuals in the group, which helps form a sense of identity, commitment and belonging. Alternatively, in an individualist setting, the emphasis is on the individual, his/her identity, achievement, and independence (James & Gilliland, 2013; Hofstede, 1991; Petrakis, 2014; Pyke & Bengtson, 1996; Triandis, 1995).

In their research on young Adults Attachment Styles, You and Malley-Morrison (2000) compared attachment types in a sample of Caucasian Americans and a sample of collectivist Koreans. They found high amounts of preoccupied attachment styles in the Korean sample that were characterized as having high levels of feelings of unworthiness and greater emphasis on valuing others rather than the self. In a similar study of relationships of Korean students and American students, the former reported less intimate friendships than those found in the American sample (You & Malley-Morrison, 2000). The Korean students in this research reported a preoccupied attachment style where others were seen as untrustworthy and thus the subject felt the need to protect themselves from others. The authors note that being from a collectivist society one would expect to find higher levels of trust and attachment to the family. However, this level of closeness did not cover friends or peers, which is contrary to what was found in the American sample. The results of the research are explained by the in-group/out-group distinction that characterizes collectivist societies where high levels of attachment and trust are familial traits and are social experiences not to be shared with outsiders and can be traits inherent to closed societies where people seldom form bonds with those outside the group, family or community (Dakhli, Khorram & Vora, 2007; Earley, 1994; Erez & Earley, 1993; Marková & Gillespie, 2008; Yamagishi, 2011).

These results were further validated by the Schmitt, et al., (2004) study that was conducted with researchers across 62 countries. In this large cross-cultural investigation, student samples from Asia, South America, Western Nations, the Middle East, and Africa were included. Researchers discovered that secure attachment was the most widely reported type with 79% of the cultures in the sample reporting this attachment style as the most prevalent. However, in the collectivist cultures of East Asia, the preoccupied attachment was especially high and this attachment style was also present in the East African cultures. The authors of the study attributed these differences to the predominance of preoccupied attachment (insecure) in collectivist cultures.

2.3. Kuwait Culture and Identity

Kuwait is a unique collectivist society and thusly offers a fitting context for the study of PSRs and attachment. Culture has been defined as a collection of humans who share the same attributes including behavioral patterns, folkways, mores and traditions in addition to the shared symbols, values, beliefs and meanings. These shared values unite individuals and create a sense of belonging to a cohesive group (Al-Jassar, 2009; Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961; Leighton, 1982). Within a culture, identity is shaped through the passing on of traditions and values. Through childhood, identity is shaped through understanding one's role and membership in society and through active participation in society (Berns, 2013; Gay, 1978; Hofstede, 1991). During the development process the question of "who I am" is raised and internalized. As the child grows in the course of the adolescent stage, their social networks broaden and they begin to examine themselves from a third-person standpoint as part of the socialization process. The individual is constantly comparing themselves to those within their peer group and evaluating themselves based on homophily with other members of their social network using such social markers as race, religion, peer group, community, parental guidance, language and nationality to accomplish this (Bernal & Knight, 1993; Berns, 2013; Phinney, 1991). Deviations from the social norms and values of the reference group could lead to negative self-image, lower self-esteem and social alienation. Aligning one's identity with the norms of the larger social group helps the person reduce this inner conflict, and conforming ones behavior to behavioral norms becomes part of a child's socialization process. Children gain an understanding of their roles, right and wrong, and understand the world around them through the development stages of growing and through their active experiences and participation, which are often contingent upon rewards and reprimands (Berns, 2013; Rosenberg, 1979).

As a subculture within the larger Arab/Islamic culture, Kuwaitis define themselves as a nation-state whose citizenship is descended from paternal lineage and it is rare for non-citizens to obtain citizenship (Al-Enezi, 2002; Barakat, 1993; Dinkha, Abdulhamid, Abdelhalim, 2008, Loew, n.d). Individuals in the society often view themselves from the viewpoint of religion, with Islam being dominant, social class, and citizenship. Because of this, there is value in being Kuwaiti and most Kuwaitis feel they have a privilege over others because of their nationality (Dinkha & Dakhli, 2009). Consequently, there is a tendency to abide by the norms, customs, and traditions of the Kuwaiti society, even if these are not consistent with the inner authentic self (Dinkha et al., 2008).

There are five recognized status levels within the Kuwaiti society. These are generally based on historical family lineage, affluence and material wealth. The male gender is also associated with status in Kuwait and only recently did Kuwaiti women secure the right of participation in political life (Dinkha et al., 2008; Tetreault & Al-Mughni, 1995, USA Today, 2005). Women's status is linked to motherhood and home life. However, due to high standards of living, foreign maids and nannies traditionally serve as supplemental parents for many Kuwaitis. These maids and nannies usually live with the family and each Kuwaiti family may have three to eight helpers at home who are responsible for all the housework and for taking care of and helping to raise Kuwaiti children (Shah, Al-Qudsi & Shah, 1991; Sukrithan, 2009). Consequently, Kuwaiti mothers may not serve consistently as the primary caregiver and it could be theorized that these children may not be secure as a result. Also, other social trends and norms may lead to avoidant attachments or anxious attachments in romantic relationships and friendships in adult life. At the same time, strong collectivist cultural norms mandate strong commitment to the family (James & Gilliland, 2013; Petrakis, 2014; Pyke & Bengtson, 1996).

We integrate the literature on attachment styles, parasocial relationships and collectivism to develop our main hypotheses in this chapter. We postulate that we will find a high preponderance of insecure in the form of anxious-ambivalents and avoidants due to the collectivist nature of the Kuwaiti culture. This is analogous to what was previously observed in the study of collectivist societies in Schmitt et al. (2004). In our study, the predominance of insecure is anticipated because many Kuwaitis, and those living in Kuwait, are expected not to form strong bonds outside of family with friends or possible romantic partners so this may serve as a primary factor which may lead to insecurity. Additionally, for the anxious-ambivalents and avoidant respondents, we expect to find significant amounts of parasocial relationships being formed as a means to compensate for the lack of secure attachments among friends and peers outside of the family unit, with the collectivist nature of the society often hindering the expression of the authentic self, so media may provide an outlet of expression of the true self by allowing many to bond with media characters as substitutes. We use a wide sample of research as explored in our literature review from the United States and the West, as frames of reference for our results and discussion, namely: Bond & Calvert, 2014; Cohen, 2004; Cole Cohen, 1997, Cole & Leets, 1999; Dibble, Hartmann, & Rosaen, 2015; Eyal & Cohen, 2006; Hazan & Shaver, 1987; Rizzo, 2005; Rubin et al, 1985; Woodley & Movius, 2012.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1. The number of reported anxious-ambivalents and avoidants will be higher in the Kuwaiti sample than in the North American sample.

Hypothesis 2. The degree of parasocial relationships will be higher for anxious-ambivalent and avoidants in Kuwait than reported in the North American sample.

3. METHOD

i. Participants

We collected data from 259 undergraduate students at a private English-language university in Kuwait. About 40% of respondents were males and the rest were 60% females, and about 90% of all respondents were aged 18-23. About 71% of respondents were single, 23% were in a relationship, and only 6% reported being married. With regards to nationality, about 70% of all respondents were Kuwaiti nationals, and the rest were non-nationals.

ii. Procedure

Before we distributed our surveys we first pretested by randomly distributing 100 surveys to students and we found no problems with responses. We then made use of research assistants and faculty to distribute the survey at the same private English undergraduate university in Kuwait. The sample consisted of undergraduates, and the anonymous survey was randomly disseminated in classrooms in freshmen, sophomore, junior and senior level courses. We first distributed the parasocial study followed by the attachment survey. The surveys were anonymous as participants were instructed not to fill in any information including their names that would identify them but were asked to fill out standard demographic questions such as age, nationality and gender. Participants were given up to 20 minutes to complete each survey.

iii. Questionnaire Construction

To test our hypotheses, we use a survey methodology. We used similar survey items employed by Auter (1992) and Rubin et al. (1985) Table 1 and Feeney and Noller (1992) Table 2. The questions on the parasocial scale (Table 1.) solicit information regarding the nature of a TV viewer’s attachment to their favorite TV star and the second survey (Table 2) asked questions to discern attachment style identifying the three types described in our literature review. The 21 items on the parasocial scale ascertained if a parasocial relationship exists and the depth of the parasocial relationship. Samples items include: “My favorite TV star makes me feel comfortable, as if I am with a friend,” “I idolize/look up to my favorite TV star,” and “I like to compare my ideas with what my favorite TV star says.” For the attachment survey we employed a 20-item scale, which measures levels of attachment, namely security versus insecurity; examples include, “My partner often wants me to be more intimate than I feel comfortable being,” “I find that others are reluctant to get as close as I would,” and “I often worry that my partner won’t want to stay with me.” Our objective was to compare our results to research done in the western world as described in our literature review (Cohen, 2004; Cohen, 1997, Eyal & Cohen, 2006; Hazan & Shaver, 1987; Rubin et al., 1985) while using the methodology in Cole & Leets (1999) as a principal guide because the authors in the latter study tested the relationship between parasocial relationships and attachment styles specifically in their research. We did not add or change questions in either survey because the surveys were culturally neutral and can be applied to Kuwait because questions were not western-specific.

iv. Parasocial Interaction

In their seminal research Rubin et al. (1985) employed parasocial interaction scale, which was used to gauge the respondents bond with their favorite TV star (Auter, 1992). The scale that was used consisted of 20-items. We replaced 'newscaster' used in the original survey from Auter and followed the scale variation employed by Cole and Leets (1999), which just used the term 'TV personality'. In line with Cole and Leets (1999), we utilized an open-ended question asking participants to identify their favorite TV personality (Q.21). The items in our scale were measured using a 5-point Likert scale where 1 represented strongly disagree and 5 represented strongly agree. The unidimensional scale displayed similar reliability in both cultures collectivist and individualistic (see Table 1.).

Table 1. Parasocial Interaction Scale Items (adapted from Auter, 1992; Rubin et al., 1985)

	Unidimensional Factor Loading
7. My favorite TV star (person) makes me feel comfortable, as if I am with friends.	0.658
11. I look forward to watching my favorite TV star's show.	0.647
5. When I'm watching my favorite TV star (person), I feel as if I am part of the group.	0.633
12. If my favorite TV star (person) appeared on another television program, I would watch the program.	0.623
10. Watching my favorite TV star (person) makes me feel less lonely.	0.599
15. If there were a story about my favorite TV star (person) in a newspaper or magazine, I would read it.	0.547
17. I would like to meet my favorite TV star in person.	0.545
19. I find my favorite TV star (person) to be attractive.	0.535
13. My favorite TV star (person) and I seem to have a lot in common.	0.531
20. I am not as satisfied when other characters replace or overshadow my favorite TV star (person).	0.52
21. I idolize/look up to my favorite TV star (person)	0.519
6. I like to compare my ideas with what my favorite TV star (person) says.	0.509

Table 1. Parasocial Interaction Scale Items (adapted from Auter, 1992; Rubin et al., 1985)
(Cont.)

18.	I think my favorite TV star (person) is like an old friend.	0.508
16.	I miss seeing my favorite TV star (person) when his or her program is no longer on TV.	0.506
9.	I like hearing the voice of my favorite TV star (person) in my home.	0.503
3.	When my favorite TV star (person) shows me how he or she feels about some issue, it helps me make up my own mind about the issue.	0.476
8.	I see my favorite TV star (person) as a real, down-to-earth person.	0.452
4.	I feel sorry for my favorite TV star (person) when he or she makes a mistake.	0.443
1.	I get a true understanding of my favorite TV star (person) when I see them on TV	0.380
2.	When my favorite TV star (person) jokes around with other people it makes the program easier to watch.	0.393
14.	I sometimes make remarks to my favorite TV star (person) when he or she makes a mistake.	0.264

v. Attachment interaction

We follow the approach adopted by Feeney and Noller (1992) and validate a three factor model for our Attachment Scale, using SPSS. Conceptually, the items that loaded on *Anxious-ambivalent* revolved around intimacy, love and dependence. The items that loaded on *Secure* invoked display and comfort in trusting and getting close to others. While items related to discomfort, dependency and abandonment loaded on the third factor of *Avoidant*. The factor loadings were in line with the findings in the Cole and Leets (1999) study as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Attachment Styles Factor Loadings Attachment style scale items
(Feeney & Noller, 1992)

Items	Factor 1 Anxious Ambivalent	Factor 2 Secure	Factor 3 Avoidant	
2	Sometimes people are scared away by my wanting to be too close to them.	0.552	-0.171	-0.020
3	My partner often wants me to be more intimate than I feel comfortable being.	0.585	-0.160	0.115
13	I often worry that my partner doesn't really love me.	0.663	-0.207	-0.217
14	I want to merge completely with another person.	0.635	0.127	-0.140
5	I find that others are reluctant to get as close as I would.	0.647	-0.159	-0.096
6	I often worry that my partner won't want to stay with me.	0.725	-0.250	-0.079
4	I am nervous when anyone gets too close.	0.469	-0.525	0.006
8	I am somewhat uncomfortable being close to others.	0.465	-0.493	0.048
9	I find it relatively easy to get close to others.	0.406	0.589	0.198
10	I find it easy to trust others	0.471	0.473	-0.324
11	I feel comfortable depending on other people.	0.414	0.470	-0.444
12	I don't often worry about someone getting too close to me.	0.352	0.565	0.063
15	I often don't worry about being abandoned.	0.210	0.339	0.503
1	I find it difficult to depend on others.	0.295	-0.225	0.624
7.	I feel comfortable having other people depend on me.	0.442	0.325	0.488

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results were in line with our expectations where those who had secure attachment were found to be involved in weaker parasocial relationships ($R = 0.147$). The correlation between PSR and avoidant was 0.373. While the correlation between PSR and Anxious-Ambivalent was much higher at 0.406. The test for differences in correlations coefficients indicates that the correlations are indeed significantly different at alpha of 0.05. We used factor analysis to assess the reliability and explore the dimensionality of the 21-item parasocial scale. The results summarized in Table 1 show that all items load well on a single factor and capturing 43.7% of the total variance, hence there was no need to eliminate any of items.

We use Pearson Correlation to determine the degree and nature of association between PSRs and the three attachment styles in our sample (Table 1). We note that all correlation coefficients were statically significant at alpha of 0.05. More specifically, we theorized that the number of reported anxious-ambivalents and avoidants would be higher in the Kuwaiti sample than that in the North American studies found in the literature review and that the degree of parasocial relationships would be higher for anxious-ambivalents and avoidants in Kuwait than reported in the North American sample employed by Cole & Leets (1999). Through our study, we sought to expand the understanding of the relationships between parasocial relations and attachments in collectivist societies by focusing on Kuwait.

Overall, our results show that Kuwaitis and Kuwaiti residents form strong parasocial relationships. In general, our results were stronger than those reported in previous studies conducted in North America (Bond & Calvert, 2014; Cohen, 2004; Cohen, 1997; Cole & Leets, 1999); Dibble et al., 2015; Eyal & Cohen, 2006; Hazan & Shaver, 1987; Rubin et al., 1985; Woodley & Movius 2012) indicating that Kuwaitis and those living in Kuwait maybe turning to relatively stable TV characters as a means of satisfying their unrealistic and often unmet relational needs. The issue of gender segregation may also play a role. Gender segregation at many places (universities, places of worship, etc.) keeps the interaction between the two sexes at a minimum. As a result, inherent needs of love and friendship are difficult to satisfy in an environment that considers dating against societal norms and traditions. Turning to television idols creates a strong bond of intimacy, which would be difficult to feel in a traditional culture like Kuwait.

Furthermore, and as is the case for the Cole and Leets (1999) study, it was found that a person's willingness to form a parasocial bond with his or her favorite TV personality is related to his/her attachment type. There were statistical differences between the parasocial relationships of those who were secure, avoidant or anxious-ambivalent. It is possible that the parasocial bonds these individuals form with media figures simply reflects another manifestation of their desire for intimacy and the fulfillment of missing needs. In particular, we found a higher percentage of avoidants and anxious-ambivalents in our sample, and in return higher levels of insecure type parasocial relationships, with the latter group exhibiting the highest level of parasocial types of ties.

The percentage of those involved in insecure type relationships was 42.6% in the Cole and Leets (1999) study, that percentage in our study was 47.6%. The difference between the two was nearing significance and is in the direction expected, whereby the insecure-type attachment will be more prevalent in the collectivist setting as stipulated in Hypothesis 1.

What was also significant in this study is that those who classified as avoidants also seemed to have significant parasocial relationships in keeping with our hypotheses. This is counter to the findings of the Cole and Leets' (1999) study. It could be that being in a

collectivist society where belonging to a group and forming strong ties are the norm, avoidants may have a higher tendency to seek “refuge” in a mediated bond.

Another difference between our results and those of Cole and Leets (1999) is that we found stronger correlations amongst the three types of attachment and PSRs. In this study, the highest correlation is for anxious-ambivalent, the second highest is for avoidants and the smallest is the secure type attachment. These results reinforce our hypotheses where we theorized that a high amount of avoidants and anxious-ambivalents would be found in our sample and that these two groups would both form the strongest parasocial bonds (See Table 3.).

Table 3. Correlation between Attachment Styles and Parasocial Relationship

	Cole & Leets’ Study: Percentage respondents in each category & Correlation strength ranks N=159	Our Study: Percentage respondents in each category N=263	Our study: Correlations with PSRs & p-values N=263
1. PSR			1.0
2. Secure	57.4% (2)	52.5%	0.147* p = 0.07
3. Avoidant	24.3% (3)	27.3%	0.373*** p = 0.00
4. Anxious	18.3% (1)	20.2%	0.406*** p = 0.00

As Table 3 shows, the numbers of those belonging to the anxious-ambivalent and avoidant categories are higher than those reported in the Cole and Leets (1999) study. Hypothesis 2 is also supported as the correlations of PSR in the anxious-ambivalent and avoidant groups in Kuwait are higher than those reported in the Cole and Leets (1999) study.

Hypothesis 2 speaks to the degree of parasocial relationships and argues that this will be higher for anxious-ambivalent and avoidants. This is also supported as shown in Table 3. Another fascinating finding in the Kuwaiti sample was that the absolute majority of respondents (92 percent) reported having formed PSRs. It is plausible that maintaining such relationships is an expression of an inner-self that is kept hidden and is not allowed to be revealed in the society. In a conservative collectivist society, parasocial relationships may offer an outlet to engage in ties that may be more in line with one’s inner or authentic self. Consequently, TV personalities may provide outlets for escape for viewers in the same way romance novels provide a fantasy world for women who are committed to reading them (Radway, 1991).

Our study has a number of limitations that should be outlined: First, our sample is limited to undergraduate students and as such is biased towards younger respondents. Cross-cultural researchers have identified age as an important variable that affects one’s tendency to internalize the norms and values of the society and behave in a way that is in line with societal expectations (Triandis, 1995). Nonetheless, the Cole and Leets (1999) study also used university students as respondents.

The majority of the students in the Kuwaiti sample belong to affluent families, with multiple, nannies, drivers, and maids in each household. As described in the theory section, maids tend to assume many of the roles traditionally assigned to the mother. This phenomenon could be explored in future studies.

A related limitation is that the more affluent families tend to have access to a wide variety of media and foreign programming. As the children grow-up in a westernized

environment where English may be widely spoken at home, they would be more likely to follow Western shows and programs.

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Section 5
Alienation, Exclusion and Terror:
Current Issues and Future Challenges

Chapter #11

IDENTIFYING VIOLENCE

Research on Residential Care Girls' Recognition of Violence

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ABSTRACT

The focus of this study is the violence descriptions and definitions of girls aged 14-18, who currently live in child protective institutions under the legal responsibility of the public authorities. A total of fifty-seven individual interviews for target group girls were conducted in nineteen residential care institutions in Bulgaria, Finland, Italy and Catalonia, Spain, in the spring of 2013. With the aim of drawing up a general picture of violence recognition among girls, we use a feminist theoretical discussion and definitions of violence to address the gendered and sexualized forms of violence described by the interviewed girls. In all of the countries concerned, the interviewed girls described physical, mental/psychological and verbal violence. The results of this study suggest that there are gaps in girls' recognition of sexual violence and violence towards oneself. Girls in residential care institutions are vulnerable to violence due to their age, gender, race and previous and often cumulative victimization with respect to various forms of violence. The study contributes to the development of participatory research methods within a feminist social psychology, by presenting a standpoint on the research making process, in particular by focusing on experiences of marginalized girls in residential care institutions and to their empowerment.

Keywords: gender violence, child welfare institution, girls' empowerment, participatory method, feminist epistemology.

1. INTRODUCTION

When offered the chance to participate in a project researching the violence experiences of young girls who currently live in residential care institutions, I was a little shocked: was I ready to confront my own past as a seriously troubled girl? A host of doubts and dreadful visions came to mind. I was afraid that, because of my past, I would be given only limited access to the residential care institutions in question – that the institutions would lack trust in me, perhaps viewing me as a questionable contact for the girls. My personal experiences of residential care represented a drawback which made me doubtful of the success of my collaboration with the institution's workers. However, with my supervisor's encouragement and the view that everyone has 'a past' I embarked on my own journey towards empowering care.

From the feminist epistemological point of view, a situated knowledge and a situated knower are central conceptualizations grounded in the epistemic privilege one has due to membership of a certain group (e.g. Harding 2004). In our study, an access to a residential care institution was crucial as well as building a mutual trust with girls who currently live. Because of one's past we had the possibility to ensure that the voices of the girl residents are heard and properly understood. As a result, the epistemic privilege in question promotes for a deeper understanding of society through social psychological research by being inclusive of the potentially marginalized. Such studies are likely to provide important knowledge how the kind of marginalization can be overcome, while offering a representation of the social world in relation to universal human interests. For a feminist

researcher, this represents an ethical possibility as well as a challenge – while providing access to informants in a qualitative scientific inquiry; it also confers an ethical responsibility to provide knowledge that hopefully leads to the improvement of the informants' situation. As a supervisor of a study, one can have a standpoint to support studies which aim to responsibly contribute to academic knowledge based on marginalized viewpoints, in order to fill certain gaps in knowledge production.

Residential care institutions are long-term care giving facilities where children and youth may live instead of their family home. Children may be placed to residential care as a government action as a last resort, for their own safety and well-being or the safety or others. Reasons behind of the placement may vary, but generally parents may have been unable to provide sufficient care for children and/or children are removed from abusive or unfit homes. Thereupon children and youth who are living in residential care institutions are under the legal responsibility of public authorities. In our study we examined violence recognition of adolescence girls who are living in residential care. In this group of girls the multiple risk factors of violence such as gender, age, possible parental neglect, self-harming behavior intersect. The girl's inequality circumstances makes them essentially invisible and vulnerable in efforts of addressing violence against women.

Since people in general are prone to social influence and to follow internalized cultural norms we wanted to know; how a girl's thoughts, feelings, and behaviors related to violence are influenced by the actual, imagined, or implied gendered presence of others. In the interviews girls gave varying accounts when describing their life events and experiences of violence and its consequences. Based on the data, we can say that, to a certain extent, violence – including violent behavior towards oneself – has become a normalized element in the girls' lives. Our study was conducted from the viewpoint of feminist studies inspired within the scope of social-psychology, with the aim of grasping the social construction of gender and its influence on gendered violence experiences and gendered violence recognition in particular.

In this chapter, we present our research results on residential girls' statements and potential silences on the subject of violence. Additionally, we illustrate how researchers' own standpoints can be of benefit in the research making process and can create an empowering outcome for both sides. The study was conducted under an Empowering care – project 2013-2014 funded by European Commission DAPHNE programme in order to disclose information that would help in the development of empowering training for residential girls, in order to enable them to protect themselves and their peers against violence.

2. FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE TO RESEARCH ON GENDER AND VIOLENCE

In line with other feminist violence research, we understand violence as an action or structure that diminishes another human being and based on which various forms of violence are conceived as a means of seeking control over another person. Violence can involve physical, verbal, and emotional abuse of power at the individual, group and social structural levels (Kelly 1987; Sunnari, Heikkinen & Kangasvuo, 2003). Violence can be approached as a continuum within a certain social sphere as a structure for action.

According to Kappeler (1995) this would mean that the key to violence prevention does not lie in allowing certain forms of violence and prohibiting others, but in supporting the development of non-violent agencies and non-violent structures for action. With respect

to gender violence, this refers to social relationships based on the perceived differences between the sexes that are thoroughly defined as power relationships (Sunnari et al. 2003).

By sexual violence, we are referring to violence in which sexuality is used to construct and maintain inequality and to threaten and oppress the other, particularly women and girls. On the other hand, violence against women is defined by The United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women as 'any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life'. In various studies, gender and sexual violence is identified as one of the greatest obstacles to gender equality and the realization of human rights and capabilities (Nussbaum 2005; Kelly 2005). Violence is not just a phenomenon that is coincident with some part of life, but is cumulative during an individual lifespan – reappearing in various forms and various life sectors and through different perpetrators (Kelly 1987).

In the UN's in-depth study on all forms of violence against women study (UN General Assembly 2006) various factors why girls are vulnerable for violence are identified. Within this framework, violence against girls needs to be understood as a gendered phenomenon rooted in the patriarchal system in societies. Many girls in residential care institutions have also indeed experienced violence (Goodkind, Ng & Sarri 2006) and/or committed acts of violence (Schaffner 2007) before entering child protective or juvenile justice institutions. It is evident that they also face violence within the institutions (Uliando & Mellor 2012).

When researching the violence experiences of girls, it is important to pay attention to what they identify as violence. However, research on minor girls' perceptions of violence are somewhat limited, as discovered by Herrman & Silverstein (2012), who nevertheless stated that the girls seemed to conceptualize violence based on whether they were the victims, perpetrators or witnesses, or a combination of these. Herrman & Silverstein's study (2012) was based on a purposive sample of 32 young women aged 12-18 who were either incarcerated, affiliated with the juvenile justice system, or self-identified as living in disadvantaged neighborhoods. The researchers discovered that, according to the girls, violence is learned, contagious and unstoppable. Violence was considered necessary in order to manage stress and conflicts and was connected to other forms of crime. Violence was also associated with *belonging*, in which gangs and peers provided a sense of belonging which may have been missing at home.

In a Flores' (2006) research on the perspectives of two adolescent girls concerning the challenges, fears, hopes, risks, and pressures they have experienced when growing up in a violent urban environment, girls defined violence as *murder, fighting, cutting, shooting, and gangs*. Based on their study on Youth action strategies in violence prevention, Carroll, Hebert & Roy (1999) reported that young people tend to accept violence when engaging in self-defense, revenge and in times of intense stress, although girls were more likely than boys to view violence as unacceptable. This is also supported by the research conducted by Murray (2008) in which, for some women, a sense of belonging, particularly to family and place, was a barrier which prevented them from leaving a partner despite intimate partner violence. Conversely, Goldweber, Waasdorp & Bradshaw (2013) found that violence led to a lower sense of belonging to a school environment.

Studies of the violence definitions and perceptions of girls in the context of dating propose that young girls are not always able to define their sexual encounters as violence. For instance, Sears, Byers, Whelan & Saint-Pierre (2006) discovered that the definition of an act as one of violence is dependent on the context, and that girls tended to describe various behaviors as abusive if the impact was negative, but that the girls did not mention a

sexual aspect in connection with this. Thongpriwan & McElmurry's (2009) research supports this finding; they stated that sexually violent acts were rarely included in the definition of dating violence by Thai female adolescents. These two studies propose that, when interpreting data on the subject, we should take serious account of these girls' reluctance to define their sexual encounters as violence.

Girls also tend to individualize their violent experiences rather than considering them an expression of systematic gender inequality (Chung 2007). Chiung-Tao Shen, Yu-Lung Chiu & Gao (2012) discovered that, in the Chinese context, dating violence was considered highly acceptable in certain circumstances among adolescents. They pointed out that traditional gender role beliefs and attitudes were used to justify such violence. Honkatukia, Nyqvist & Pösö (2007) found that, in Finland, the violence definitions of young people living in child protective institutions included generally accepted cultural norms, including using violence as a method of solving problems or for gaining something – which were already subject to criticism by society. Violence was nevertheless also viewed as an instrument for reinforcing collectivity, belonging and sharing among peers.

3. RESIDENTIAL CARE INSTITUTION AS A RESEARCH CONTEXT

I looked at the young girl in front of me and listened to how she had decided that her life and future were already predetermined due to her friends and relatives and their violent behaviors.

Sara: *No but... There is no way back in my life. Think of my relatives, my family and friends, that there is no way back, you are what you are.*

Helena: *No, I can tell you for a fact that it is not like that. Look at me for instance.*

Sara: *Well yes... ok...*

In that moment, I realized that I was exactly where I needed to be and was able to make use of my own past, perhaps as a tool in initiating self-empowerment.

Our point of view is that of feminist social-psychology at the crossroads between the individual, organization, and culture. We aimed to disclose the violence perceptions of girls living in residential care institutions. Secondly, we sought to explore the violence experience of the young girls in question, whether these had been personal experiences, committed against others or themselves, or observed as a bystander in any sector of life: at home, in school or during leisure-time. By comparing the girls' definitions and experiences, we sought to uncover potential challenges involved in the girls' violence recognition.

The research data was collected as part of an Empowering Care project in order to create an empowerment program for girls living in residential care institutions. Residential care institution as a research context is a very demanding due to their strict restrictions over the girl's self-determination and outside affiliations. For instance in Finnish residential care institutions the features of "total institution" (Goffman 1961) are still present in the girl's perceptions, however there are clearly more humanity rather than totality in the nowadays institutions (Kaukko & Parkkila 2014).

Influenced by participatory research methodologies, this approach had the aim of furthering their self-empowerment, which will help them to protect themselves and their peers against violence. The data collection was conducted simultaneously in four project partner countries: in Bulgaria, Finland, Italy and Spain during the spring of 2013. In each country, individual half-structured interviews were conducted with the purpose of obtaining information on the violence experiences of girls aged 14-18 who live in residential care institutions. The data in our article consists of the girls' quotes regarding their violence

definitions and experiences in both English and the native language of each country involved – Bulgarian, Finnish, Italian, and Catalan. The data was analyzed based on an approach inspired by qualitative content analysis (Mayring 2000) and hermeneutical analysis focusing on girls' meanings of violence.

In Bulgaria, the data was collected in a single residential care institution, with fourteen girls being interviewed. This was unlike the case of Italy; where the fieldwork involved 11 institutions in a single Italian region and interviews with a total of 15 girls. In Catalonia, the fieldwork was conducted in five different institutions and a total of 17 girls aged 13-18 were interviewed. In Finland, the fieldwork was done in two closed residential care institutions, with 11 girls taking part in individual interviews. The leading author of this article collected the data in Finland.

Ethical issues were carefully pondered with regard to the participation of minor girls from residential care institutions. At all times, the girl's participation was voluntary and based on her informed consent; depending on the country, such consent was obtained from the girls, their legal guardians and/or the manager of the institution.

4. IDENTIFIED GAPS IN GIRLS VIOLENCE RECOGNITION

When looking at the girl's violence definitions, in Bulgaria the girls' describe violence as *an act in which somebody is forcing one to do something against one's will*. This act was mainly considered to be sexual and in most cases physical. Only three girls included the mental aspect in their violence definitions. In Finland, the girls used highly abstract terms, *“mental and physical violence”* in defining violence, but also employed more tangible descriptions such as, *“Hurting someone, not necessarily physically, but words can hurt too”*. Seven girls described violence as being twofold i.e. both physical and mental, three girls considered violence to be strictly physical and only one girl added a sexual aspect to the definition, alongside the physical and mental aspects.

In Italy, only two girls, who had additionally experienced sexual violence mentioned sexual violence in their definition of violence. Also, just a few of the girls used abstract concepts when defining violence; instead, they used descriptive verbs based on which it was possible to interpret the kind of violence they were referring to. In Spain, the researchers reported that the girls mainly used a twofold definition of violence: mental and physical.

With respect to the girls' violence experiences, according to the Bulgarian field researchers every girl had experienced violence at some level. However, in the data only a few of the girls were themselves ready to admit that they had had violence experiences. In such cases, the violence tended to consist, say, of witnessing a fight between other children or experiencing violence at the hands of a worker in a previous residential care institution. All of the girls have evidently been neglected at some point of their lives. The workers confirmed the occurrence of some of the violence experiences referred to by the girls, such as witnessing and undergoing violence in institutions, and incidences of domestic and sexual violence in a few cases.

The researchers from Bulgaria stated that the girls had been freer in answering questions regarding an active involvement in violence; the girls had taunted other people, screamed, broken things and so on. On most occasions, the girls had expressed a desire for revenge and stated that they would beat other people if they could, but tended to downplay these statements afterwards. In the Bulgarian report, the researchers also indicated that 11 girls out of the 14 interviewed had had negative thoughts about themselves and had wanted to hurt themselves in moments of desperation or as a form of punishment (both against

themselves and the person who had caused them pain). The Bulgarian researcher stated that a large number of the girls had made a suicide attempt or at least had thoughts involving self-harm and suicide.

In Finnish data, nearly all of the girls had been approached by adult men making sexual suggestions, but the girls themselves did not recognize this as sexual harassment. According to the workers, the girls typically perceived sexual abuse as “normal relationships”, but conducted with much older adult men. This may be a hallmark of a sexist atmosphere in which women’s roles are normalized consisting of acting as sexual objects. One third of the girls had been raped or sexually abused by male acquaintances, but only half of the girls recognized this as sexual violence. A few of the girls also had learned to make use of their own sexuality in order to obtain things for themselves. This could be considered self-directed sexual violence.

All the girls in Finnish data had experienced mental violence from family members, friends, school peers, dating partners or a residential care worker. Being well-hidden, the mental violence was not regarded as such by most of the girls without prompting. Sexual violence was mainly perpetrated by half-known male acquaintances. Nearly all of the girls had experienced physical violence at the hands of family members, boyfriends, or half-unknown male acquaintances. Physical taming procedures employed by residential care workers were considered physical violence by some of the girls. Seven girls had used physical violence against others. In two such situations the girls had defended themselves physically against family members. Furthermore, almost all of the girls had engaged in self-harming and had used violence against themselves in the form of self-cutting and destructive behavior, but this seemed to be largely unrecognized as a form of violence. Additionally, all of the girls experienced problems with substance abuse.

In Italy, two thirds of the girls spoke openly about facing multifaceted physical and psychological violence and almost all of them also had experiences of sexual violence, but in a few cases the girls did not want to mention the sexual aspect of their experiences to the researcher, even when the residential care workers were already aware of it. One third of the girls had either been seriously neglected at home, controlled by a boyfriend, or had witnessed or experienced mental violence. In the violent experiences of nine of the girls, the perpetrator had been a family member (the mother, the father, a grandfather, or a sister or brother), and around a fifth of the girls had experienced violence committed by an outsider (a neighbor, teacher, or human trafficker). One third of the Italian girls had also experienced violence where the perpetrator had been a boyfriend who was mainly restraining the girls’ freedom and independence.

According to the field researchers in Spain, the girls had suffered from physical, psychological and sexual violence. In several cases, they had suffered from more than one form of violence, either perpetrated simultaneously and by the same aggressor, or by different people throughout the girls’ lives. In most cases, the violence had occurred in the family, being perpetrated by fathers, stepfathers, uncles, grandfathers and sometimes also by the girls’ mothers. In some cases, violent acts had consisted of school bullying or had been committed by a boyfriend.

Gender-based violence can constitute a normalized part of cultures and behavior, regardless of the fact that it violates the rights of girls and women. With respect to the perpetrators, the Italian and Spanish data revealed the perpetrator as mainly being a family member, but the Italian data also recorded unknown perpetrators. In the Finnish data, the type of violence committed was dependent on the identity of the perpetrator: sexual violence was mainly committed by half-known male acquaintances while mental violence was visible in every sector of life. In Bulgaria, perpetrators of violence were mainly invisible due to limitations in or total lack of knowledge among the residential care social

workers and the girl's themselves.

The data revealed that in Finland, Italy and Spain, girls mainly defined violence in a twofold manner, as both physical and mental. As in Chung's (2007) research, the girls did not necessarily view a male's controlling behavior towards them as violence, but this was mainly interpreted as protecting and loving behavior. The girls also tended to individualize their violent experiences, rather than considering them as an expression of gender inequality. In most cases such individualization tended towards a belittling of their own violence experiences. The girls in Bulgaria more frequently defined violence as sexual violence compared to the girls in the rest of the countries, even when, according to the workers in Bulgarian institutions, the girls were inexperienced in dating relationships. Besides the Bulgarian girls, only three girls mentioned the sexual aspect in their violence definitions. According to our study this is an indication, that the girls' ability to recognize or to name different kinds of violence is limited. Our findings are in line with previous research e.g. Sears et al. (2006) and Thongpriwan & McElmurry (2009).

5. DISCUSSION

All forms of violence are damaging, for all people. However, being exposed to violence during a phase of life when one is more fragile and where ongoing development and identity building are pivotal can have extremely severe consequences. Violent experiences can lessen an adolescent girl's basic trust, while having a negative effect on their body image and sexuality. Furthermore, the consequences of violent experiences such as social stagnation, isolation and rejection have an even longer-term negative impact on girls. (Wiklund, Malmgren-Olsson, Bengs, & Öhman 2010, 219.)

With the purpose of furthering the residential girls' self-empowerment process in terms of violence protection, *we therefore needed to explore the girl's violence descriptions and perceptions*. Based on our study, our main result is that the girls' ability to recognize or to name different kinds of violence is limited. Our most significant discovery *related to the way in which sexual violence in its various forms was not recognized by the girls*. The girls also had experiences of self-directed and collective violence, but they only referred to violence in interpersonal sectors. In preventative work there is therefore a clear need to raise awareness of violence in the wider context of violence among young girls. However, the most crucial gap to fill consists of raising awareness and knowledge of sexual violence; this is the form of violence typically faced by such girls, but they don't recognize it as violence.

With respect to the empowerment program, which was the primary goal of data collection, we consider the ability to relate or re-label one's experiences to be a strong aspect of empowerment (see also Heikkinen, Pihkala & Sunnari 2012, 188). Being properly cared for cannot be superseded as a crucial aspect of empowerment, as it can be considered not only a prerequisite for survival, but also as a prerequisite for human development and well-being. Relationships consisting of solidarity, care and love can help to establish a basic sense of personal importance, value and belonging, a sense of being appreciated, wanted and cared for. These three basic prerequisites are most visible when they are absent, as in the lives of the girls whose experiences are recorded in our data.

We did benefit from the main results of the research when building a caring context for the empowerment program, in which the residential girls' authenticity and feelings of belonging appear as the ability to share one's experiences and display vulnerability, which would in turn support their individual imaginative and thinking processes in terms of violence recognition and protection.

Despite my negative expectations, I was given a very warm welcome by the residential care institutions. My past made my participation in the project more appealing to the girls, with some participating solely for this reason. From the professionals' point of view, in a sense I was expected to understand all of the perspectives in the child protection process, which I indeed did. This made the professionals feel safer during their participation.

Girls in residential care institutions are vulnerable to violence due to their age, gender, race and their previous and often cumulative victimization with respect to various forms of violence. There therefore seems to be a need to approach the violence experiences of girls more longitudinally and holistically than we were able to in this study. It is also important to study social structures, i.e. those embedded in the residential care institution in which girls' group experiences were formulated as part of this study.

There is also a need to develop more creative and better functioning ways of collecting information from people who have no recollection or knowledge of their previous experiences and lives, or who have limited ability to express themselves in traditional ways. In our project, the fact that the data was in different languages represented something of a challenge. However, the use of alternative and non-verbal approaches would make such data more authentic and accessible, regardless of the nationality of the analyzer.

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Chapter #12

BEING HOMELESS: AN EMPTY SELF IN AN EMPTY WORLD

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ABSTRACT

Research into homelessness has been predominantly quantitative in design, solution-focused and may have effectively concealed the phenomenon itself. This hermeneutic phenomenological study involved in-depth interviews with six homeless persons currently rough sleeping or staying in temporary hostels in Dublin, Ireland. Participants ranged in age from 19 to 25 years and comprised three men and three women. Five were Irish born and one had moved to Ireland from Asia during the financial boom. Analysis revealed two essential, constitutive characteristics of homelessness, namely boredom as the mood of homelessness and the deeply anxiety-evoking, reduced capacity to care for oneself and to access and utilize care from others. Homeless persons are bored with the relentless waiting that life on the street entails. They live in a state of existential abandonment where the self, cut off from both the past and the future, exists in a meaningless vacuum. Furthermore, homelessness in terms of its origins and continuance can be viewed as a consequence of the breakdown of relationship with self and with others. Homeless persons struggle profoundly to access and maintain meaningful relationships. Through boredom and isolation, homeless persons exist as an empty self, suspended in an empty world. It is recommended that service providers and psychologists adopt more inclusive, creative, caring attitudes and policies underpinned by an understanding of the homeless person's need for meaningful and purposeful engagement in the world.

Keywords: homelessness, phenomenology, boredom, taking-care, relationships, self.

1. INTRODUCTION

Homelessness, in the twenty first century, is a critical issue requiring everyone's attention. In 2011, the Irish census, for the first time, performed a count of persons who were homeless on census night, April 10th. The findings show that a total of 3808 persons were homeless with 64 sleeping rough and 3744 staying in homeless shelters. In December 2013, the Dublin Region Homeless Executive found that a minimum of 139 people were sleeping rough in Dublin representing nearly a 60% increase on November 2012's figure of 87. Also in 2013, the Irish Department of Environment, Community and Local Government found that 89872 households were in need of social housing support with the main applicant being under 25years of age in 11986 instances. This is a net figure and represents those that are not currently receiving social housing support that is those households who cannot be accommodated through the existing housing stock.

2. BACKGROUND

Homelessness is viewed in the literature as a complex social problem (Caton et al. 2005) to which the solution is considered to be the provision of appropriate long-term housing. In addition to the absence of affordable housing, homeless persons are viewed as having multiple needs requiring considerable support to facilitate the maintenance of

long-term housing. These needs can be categorised in the realms of physical health, mental health and addiction and may require short-term or long-term support (Fitzpatrick, Kemp & Klinker, 2000; Quilgars, Johnsen & Pleace, 2008). Whilst there is a growing body of research addressing the enumeration of those who are homeless and determining and investigating pathways in and out of homelessness, there is very little research exploring the everyday experience of being homeless. Martin Seager (2011) argues that the current approach to addressing the plight of those who are homeless or rough sleeping erroneously prioritises physical shelter over psychical shelter. He claims that the focus needs to shift from simply seeking to provide a roof over someone's head to exploring and addressing what is going on inside a person's head. He strongly suggests that those working with the homeless population should not only consider the physical shelter provided by a roof but also the potential psychological shelter or lack thereof provided by others living under that same roof. Seager emphasises the importance of helping homeless persons access homes rather than houses since it is emotional attachments and love relationships that make us the people we are and provide meaning and value in our lives. He proclaims that our need to belong and to have meaning and purpose in our lives is even more primal to our being than our need for food and shelter.

3. BEING HOMELESS

Very little is known about what it is like to live on the street, about the experience of being homeless. Furthermore, few studies have placed the everyday experience of the homeless person at their core. In our efforts to understand the 'problem' of homelessness and find 'solutions' for it, we may have moved away from the actual experience and its underlying phenomenon. Social psychology, with its focus on human behaviour and the social context in which it occurs and its emphasis on such concepts as prejudice and discrimination, attitudes and stereotypes, is well placed to explore the world of homelessness.

This current research aims to look closer at homelessness itself, to uncover or reveal something of the phenomenon of homelessness by placing homeless persons at its core. The study aims to deepen our understanding of the ontological question of what it is to be a homeless person, to deepen and expand our understanding of that way of being in the world. A hermeneutic, phenomenological methodology, based on Martin Heidegger's philosophy was utilised to reveal some essential, constitutive characteristics of homelessness. In-depth, qualitative interviews were conducted with six of Ireland's homeless persons who were sleeping on the street or staying in temporary hostel accommodation. Two essential, constitutive characteristics emerged: *Passing time* and *Taking care*. *Passing time* revealed boredom as the mood of homelessness and disclosed the daily challenges faced in filling or wasting time when homeless. *Taking care* disclosed something of the homeless person's capacity to take care of themselves and to access care from others. It revealed something of the homeless person's relationships with self and others and the deep anxiety such relationships evoke.

3.1. Passing Time

Homeless persons, in this study, live very much immersed *in* their experience of time. From the moment they awaken they are concerned with time and faced with the task of passing the time stretching out ahead of them. Spending twenty our hours a day, every day, with no home to which to retreat and no private space of one's own is both daunting and extremely challenging. Belonging to a marginalised group, living on the edge of society,

having very little money and being unwelcome in most places renders the task of meaningfully filling time close to impossible. Walking the streets endlessly, as time crawls by very slowly, is boring, and facing into another boring day fills the homeless person with a sense of dread.

According to the philosopher Martin Heidegger (1962), 'mood' is a central component of our sense of belonging in the world. We are always in some kind of mood and we exist as part of a world that already has a mood. Furthermore, the mood in which we find ourselves reveals something fundamental about how we are faring, about how we are getting on. The participants in this study are bored: bored with the relentless waiting that life on the street entails; bored with having so little to do and so much time to kill. Bored with walking, walking, walking over the same ground. When we are bored, significance of both self and the world fade, our motivation disappears and time appears to grind to a halt and in so doing becomes pronounced and inescapable (Slaby, 2010). For Slaby, the halting of time that occurs in boredom and the fading of the existential significance that gives meaning to human life are the same thing. Thus the boredom and existential void of life on the street are inextricably linked.

Homeless persons are often socially excluded and live in poverty outside social networks (Aratani, 2009; Craig & Hodson, 2000), denied access to society, refused possibilities to act or take part. Life on the street can be devoid of engagement, meaningful activity and participation in everyday events or activities. Thus homeless persons find it hard to do what we instinctively do when we to occupy ourselves - to actively seek out ways to not be bored (Stewart, 2007). When we approach boredom we engage with tasks and activities directed towards passing time. If we were to strip away the activities of our everyday lives we would find boredom lying in wait (Heidegger, 1998). Participants in this study are only too familiar with this lurking boredom and the emptiness and existential pain it brings. Indeed, the totality of living on the street is imbued with boredom, a boredom characterised by two features: being left empty and being held in limbo (Heidegger, 2001). The participants feel empty as a result of being forced to abandon their authentic selves and opt instead for a shallow engagement in their own lives. To bring their authentic self to the horrors of life on the street would be unbearably painful since to be authentic means to be true to oneself, something which the deprivation and impoverishment of life on the street renders extraordinarily difficult and painful. For Heidegger, to live authentically is to be curious about, engaged with, excited by and fascinated with the world in which we live. The profound boredom characteristic of life on the street makes fascination with or excitement about the world extremely unlikely.

What about the second characteristic of boredom, 'being held in limbo'? The imagined or expected lives of the participants are on hold. Time has stalled. This stalled time or *standing Now* (Heidegger, 2001) causes them to be fully absorbed in the present and for that present to be removed or disconnected from what has gone before and what is yet to come. They are absorbed in filling the present moment without reference to the past or connection to the future. Everything about living on the street is isolating, even our own temporality - our own sense of self. As Slaby (2010) eloquently states: *'The seamless and natural transition from a past via a mattering present to anticipated futures (possibilities) has come to a halt'* (p.12). The participants live in a state of existential abandonment where the self, cut-off from past and future, exists in a meaningless vacuum. This is a bored self, a self left hanging in a purposeless, empty, isolated state.

3.1.1. Psychology, Psychotherapy and Being Bored

It is widely accepted among psychologists and psychotherapists that boredom is a complex phenomenon. Moreover, the mood of boredom can reveal important facets of

existence. So what does psychology or psychotherapy have to say about being bored?

The answer is surprisingly little. In his 1993 book, *On Kissing, Tickling and Being Bored*, psychoanalyst Adam Phillips devotes a chapter to being bored. Phillips refers to boredom as:

that state of suspended anticipation in which things are started and nothing begins, the mood of diffuse restlessness which contains that most absurd and paradoxical wish, the wish for a desire (p.71).

When we are bored we are waiting, unconsciously, for an experience of anticipation. The homeless persons in this study experience boredom to varying degrees with those in the throes of profound boredom displaying little or no anticipation that things might be different. They speak of a sensation of going round and round, of waiting and waiting, of sitting around, of going from place to place with no desire to get there. For Phillips, the bored child reaches into his recurring state of emptiness from which his desire can emerge. In order to negotiate this precarious process, the child needs a parent to contain and hold him, to be present for and attentive towards him. Many of the study participants did not have a nurturing and caring home environment within which to learn to identify and manage their desire and so may not have successfully attained the developmental capacity to move through boredom to desire. The long-term effects of an abusive or neglectful home when growing up are both well documented and detrimental. When a child is challenged in their emotional or physical well-being to an extent that exceeds their ability to cope, early life stress ensues (Gunnar & Quevedo 2007; Pechtel & Pizzagalli, 2011). Many of the study participants experienced early childhood stressors including neglect, emotional abuse, social deprivation and household dysfunction (including witnessing violence, parental separation, parental illness or death, substance abuse) (Brown et al. 2009). The long-term effects of childhood stress make devastating reading accounting for nearly 32% of psychiatric disorders and 44% of disorders with childhood onset (Green et al. 2010). Furthermore, having six or more adverse childhood events increases the risk of dying 20 years before your peers (Anda et al. 2009) and alarmingly 67% of the population-attributable risk for suicide can be attributed to early life stressors (Dube et al. 2001).

The psychotherapist, D.W. Winnicott (1941), describes the bored child as one who has nothing available to him to enable self-expression. The study participants have very little available to them for self-expression or creativity, being limited to what they can carry or fit in a small locker and being restricted to living out their lives in public. For Winnicott, in order for a child to be able to access a complete experience he needs a supportive and accommodating environment, one which will present opportunities to him without forcing them on him or withholding them from him. Most of the participants grew up in situations that were impoverished, either lacking in stimulation or providing too much stimulation through violence and aggression. In addition, life on the street withholds or denies choices and opportunities with, for example, homeless persons having to accept food and beds as and when they are made available. Living on the street is the very antithesis of a supportive, nurturing environment replete with creative opportunities and engaging stimulation. Furthermore, allowing ourselves experience our desire entails trusting the environment to hold us and risking damage to the self if we are not held. Homeless persons in this current research have numerous experiences of failure to be held, with some having very few experiences of actually being held either emotionally or physically. It is no

wonder then that the risk to an already fragile and damaged self, posed by experiencing one's desire, may simply be too great.

The participants in this study live in a constant state of waiting, waiting to see if they can get a bed for the night, waiting for the hostel to open, waiting for time to pass, waiting for something to change. They wait and wait and they try to do something other than wait and they get bored. Many entrenched rough sleepers have given up hope of integrating into mainstream society; they have been worn down by relentless lurking boredom (O'Neill, 2014). They live on the edge, on the periphery, excluded from everyday routines and rituals. Phillips (1993) suggests that "*Perhaps boredom is merely the mourning of everyday life?*" (p.75). Thus, the participants may, in fact, be grieving for a life they have lost or indeed one they may only have fleetingly glimpsed. Being homeless has stripped them of access to the most mundane, everyday preoccupations most of us take for granted, the banal tasks and activities that provide our day with structure and meaning. Indeed, exclusion from social power leads to withdrawal into boredom, for how can homeless persons engage in society when they do not possess the required currency? Instead, they live in public, on the threshold in what Seager (2011) refers to as a self-imposed '*exclusion zone*' (p.184): a place where they can simultaneously express their conflicting desires to be both visible and left alone, to be seen and not seen, to be neither in nor out.

3.2. Taking Care

Just as boredom illuminates the characteristic *Passing Time*, anxiety illuminates the characteristic *Taking Care*. The participants in this study live in a state of anxiety where neither the world nor its occupants has anything to offer them. They are anxious about themselves, where they will sleep, what they will eat, whether they will manage to stay sober. They are anxious about their families, their friends, and other homeless persons. They are anxious about services and service providers. They are anxious about their future and anxious that the system will forget all about them. For Heidegger (1962) in this state of anxiety we feel '*uncanny*' where '*uncanniness*' also means '*not-being-at-home*' (p. 233). We flee this not-at-home state by absorbing ourselves with our everyday worldly concerns, we flee to the public '*at-homeness*', the '*tranquillized familiarity*' (p.234) of the masses. Rough sleepers have nowhere to which to flee, they are stuck facing their anxiety as they have few opportunities to become absorbed in everyday activities. Thus they struggle to escape the primordial anxiety of Being '*not-at-home*'.

Homelessness, both in terms of its origins and continuance, can be viewed as a consequence of the breakdown of relationship with self and others. In order to maintain a healthy relationship with self we must understand our needs and be capable of fulfilling those needs at least to some degree. In addition, since we are relational, interdependent beings and as such rely on others as well as our self for our existence and well-being we need to be able to access and utilise the care of others.

3.2.1. Caring-for-Self

In order to care for ourselves we must know and understand ourselves, at least to some degree, recognise our needs and desires, and devise ways and means to address them. For Heidegger, it is through our own existence that we come to understand ourselves. He distinguishes between the self of everyday man, the *they-Self* and the *authentic Self*, by which he means *the Self that has been taken hold of in its own way* (1962, p. 167). When we exist as *they-self*, we are absorbed in the world, we exist *dispersed* amidst the *they* and must find ourselves. The homeless persons in this study are revealed to exist outside *the they* of everyday society. They are excluded and marginalised and as such stand out or are

conspicuous. They occupy a place on the edge or periphery of society, a place where they live out their lives very visibly and in public (Seager, 2011). At the same time they are part of *the they* of the homeless world. Like all marginalised populations, homeless persons are talked about in the plural, they are considered to have a single identity, to lack a unique and personal self. It is through this everyday way of Being, Being amidst *the they*, that the self gets covered over or concealed. Rough sleepers exist as part of the collective world of homelessness excluded from the everyday world of mainstream society and it is here on the periphery that they come to know the self and to recognise and meet their own needs and desires.

Homeless persons in this study face multiple challenges and trials in meeting everyday human needs whilst living on the street. They live in a hostile and frightening world, a world which evokes deep anxiety. Indeed, life on the street is often characterised by fear and/or anxiety (Huey, 2012) with many homeless persons fearing and enduring the general public's hateful and anti-social behaviour (Newburn & Rock, 2005). They are constantly faced with choices and possibilities that necessarily matter to them but which they did not choose and do not want. They find themselves concerned with and occupied by a world and existence devoid of possibilities and opportunities they desire.

Participants in this study are anxious about themselves: they worry about their safety and their health. They are concerned about where they will sleep and whether they will be warm enough and secure enough to sleep. They devise ways and means of keeping safe such as sleeping close to others or in view of a security camera. Indeed, being homeless evokes constant stress concerning the ability to find a safe place to sleep or a decent meal to eat (Hopper, Bassuk & Olivet, 2010). The study participants worry about their ability to stay away from drugs and about the damage drugs and alcohol are causing to their minds and bodies. They are anxious about their future, both their immediate future and the rest of their lives. They anxiously wonder if they will ever find a way out of the homeless world. They hope that they will somehow find themselves in a safer, less anxiety-provoking world, a world where they can feel safe and engage with more meaningful and fulfilling possibilities.

The participants in this study struggle to feel at home within the world and equally within themselves. In the absence of a home they feel less grounded in the world and are deprived of the benefits a home delivers in terms of providing status, helping us know who we are and keeping us safe (Fox, 2008). A sense of inner peace or harmony evades most of the homeless persons in the current study. Instead they live with deep anxiety, in a state of inner turmoil where internal conflicts battle for dominance. They consistently fight with themselves to stay engaged in their own lives, to look after their own basic needs, to pay attention to the signals and messages their bodies convey concerning hygiene and nutrition. They live with an on-going battle between the part of them that wants to stay alert, engaged and present and the part of them that desires disconnection, numbing and withdrawal. This battle is made more difficult by the ready availability of a variety of drugs and mind-numbing substances. Many realise that they need to rely on their own inner resources to cope with life on the street but often they feel empty and depleted without a solid internal strength on which to depend.

Getting to know oneself and coming to rely on oneself are achieved through experiencing the bare, stripped down reality of existence without the comfort and reassurance of the social world (van Deurzen, 2002). For Frankl (2004), this involves discovering and deciphering the one true meaning of our existence, a unique meaning which only we have the ability and responsibility to realise. Exposure to the harsh, uncompromising reality of life on the streets is a daily occurrence for homeless persons so encountering themselves at a deep and fundamental level, caring for themselves, alleviating

their anxiety, learning to rely and depend on themselves is very much their reality providing they can manage to stay present and sober.

Existential psychology encourages us to live a life determined by our values and ideals. Whilst this may be admirable and worthwhile it poses significant challenges for homeless persons. Seeing beyond and rising above the everyday to connect with our core values and ideals is extremely challenging when our survival is constantly threatened. Being restricted to social contact predominantly with other homeless persons limits opportunities to encounter or connect with others who may be better placed to engage with their own ideals and values. Without a quiet, private place – a place to reflect and contemplate, a place to feel less anxious – connecting with higher order values and beliefs is particularly difficult.

Many of the study participants exist in the world as anxious, fragmented selves lacking cohesion and inner harmony. Many experienced childhoods dominated by neglect, exclusion and chaos. Some were moved from home to home, some grew up with addiction, violence and aggression. Many report childhoods where they felt unwanted or burdensome, upbringings characterised by anxiety, isolation and disconnection. Many experienced parents who struggled at a fundamental level to deal with their own emotions leaving little or no capacity to contain those of their children. For many, experiences characterised by empathic attunement and appropriate reactions were rare if they occurred at all. Life on the street perpetuates these deficits through the continuance of relationships lacking in both empathy and attunement. Indeed, entrenched homeless persons remain on the street because of self-alienation and distrust of others (Seager, 2011). Adlam and Scanlon (2005) concur that rough sleeping can be viewed as the most extreme expression of psychological homelessness referred to as the '*un-housed mind*' (p.452). Being deprived of empathy, having their emotions ignored or treated with ambivalence, both as children and as adults, has led many homeless persons to doubt the significance and ownership of their own internal world and to lack the adequate structure to tolerate and express their emotional reactions. Fostering a sense of identity is further compounded for the homeless person by society's insistence on constructing an identity for her (Seal, 2007), an identity that is characterised by just one factor – her homelessness (Parsell, 2008).

Appropriately meeting one's needs in the homeless world is extremely challenging when the world is either forced upon you (such as allocation and timing of beds and food) or frustratingly withheld (such as rituals and practices surrounding the allocation of beds). Thus many homeless persons struggle to manage their own internal conflicts within an external world characterised by rejection, exclusion and neglect. They live on the border of society, a place they can tolerate, a place somewhat removed from their unconfined internal and external worlds.

3.2.2. Being-Cared-for

Relationships, for the study participants, are characterised by anxiety and are often transient, fleeting, disempowering and threatening. They lack balance and are often characterised by rejection and abandonment or by control and disempowerment but rarely by mutual respect, caring and collaboration. Knowing if, who and when to trust is a complex matrix made extraordinarily difficult when living within a community where everyone is immersed in that same struggle. Furthermore, the participants are anxious they will be abandoned and forgotten once again. They struggle to maintain family ties as, for most, such ties are angst-ridden and involve on-going rejection, isolation and abandonment.

For Heidegger, we exist in the world with others who necessarily matter to us since we are essentially referential beings where everything exists in reference to everything else. Furthermore, it is an essential human characteristic to *be-with* even when we are alone and

isolated. Homeless persons encounter others in the world as indifferent and alien leading to feelings of isolation and rejection. For Heidegger (1962), *Being missing* and *Being away* are both forms of *Being with* and as such are very familiar ways homeless persons encounter others on a daily basis. Many of the study participants are in families where they feel their parents are and always have been either physically or emotionally *missing*: families from which they were removed for periods of time, families from which they were taken *away*. They exist in the world today missing supportive relationships from family and from the broader community; they exist away from family and the broader society. Homeless persons exist in a world where they do not matter to most other human beings, a world where they are passed by, overlooked and ignored at best or more likely treated with outright contempt and disdain.

Homeless persons have a number of their everyday needs taken care of for them by services and agencies which allow little or no involvement for the homeless persons in resolving or managing their own concerns. Food, beds and financial allowances are provided within strict parameters and conditions. Securing employment when living without an address and being subjected to the trials and conditions involved in securing a bed for the night is next to impossible. Thus many homeless persons are dependent and disempowered having few opportunities to manage and determine their own lives, all of which evoke anxiety. In contrast, some homeless persons are treated with respect and warmth by some care-workers and agencies they encounter facilitating them to take responsibility for their own existence and those issues and concerns that matter to them.

For Spinelli (1994), we can never fully share our human existence with others and so each of us is alone in our worldly experience: *'And yet, paradoxically, this "aloneness" emerges precisely because we are in relation to one another'* (p. 294). The participants in this study feel particularly alone, they struggle to share their inner experiences with anyone and so live with a sense of deep, prevailing anxiety. In order to manage and sustain a meaningful and purposeful existence, we need cohesive, supportive, caring relationships with others, something the participants find deeply challenging to achieve. Many have anxiety-evoking, problematic, depleting relationships with their families with some feeling obliged to provide support and care for other family members when they are already struggling, at a profound level, to care for themselves. Others feel that, in order to survive and look after themselves, they have to break all ties with those who treat them with debilitating judgement and harsh criticism.

For the participants, relationships within the homeless community are compromised by the lack of trust that permeates therein and the anxiety this evokes. Some express strong feelings around others who exploit limited resources and the ethical and moral questions therein. Some feel very much a part of the homeless community and feel strong empathy and compassion for others with some expressing a desire to work with the homeless community if and when they manage to find a way back into mainstream society. Some of the participants have developed supportive and nurturing intimate relationships which provide a sense of belonging, physical intimacy and social support. Intimate partners help each other to stay sober, remind each other to shower and change and provide a shoulder to cry on. They can be collaborators in planning a way out of homelessness, a way back into mainstream society. But partners can also let you down, evoke feelings of isolation, abandonment and anxiety, feelings that are particularly hard to manage when you have no other supportive relationships to which to turn, no home or safe haven to which to retreat. Furthermore, some participants find intimate relationships hard to tolerate or impossible to attain as they struggle to negotiate the boundaries between self and other, to find containment either internally or externally, to remain engaged though not enmeshed, separate though not aloof.

We are ontically related to those in our life whose very existence is what makes them significant to us, those who cannot be replaced in the event of loss (Boszormenyi-Nagy & Krasner, 1986). Unlike other relationships, our relationships with our parents cannot be replaced with other parental relationships and furthermore these early relationships, regardless of their current status or level of engagement, have global significance and consequences concerning all other relationships. Our family of origin provides our source of caring (Swenson, 1998), gives us a sense of stability, and is permanently physically embedded within us (Jackson, 1995). Our family home is the birthplace of belonging, of caring and concern (Haslam, Jetten, Postmes, & Haslam, 2009). However, for some, the lived experience of home can be more reminiscent of a prison filled with fear, anxiety, isolation and exclusion (Dupuis & Thorns, 1998) than a place of love and care. For many of the study participants, early familial relationships were characterised by anxiety, rejection, abandonment, isolation, indifference, aggression and chaos. Some were moved from home to home whereby parents were regularly 'replaced' with 'new parents' resulting in ontical relationships being replaced by functional relationships. This leads to an emphasis on relationships that meet instrumental needs rather than recognition and support concerning the need for connection and deep engagement with those holding ontical significance, those who matter by virtue of their very existence, those who can alleviate existential angst. Many of the participants are in deep mourning, mourning for the loss of parental relationships they needed but never had, loss for what was and what might have been, loss for the future that will never be.

Many of the participants grew up without what John Bowlby (1988) refers to as a secure base, a safe place to which they can return for physical and emotional nurturing from an attentive and responsive parent. Instead they experienced parents who were often unavailable or absent physically or emotionally through depression or drug or alcohol misuse; parents who were unresponsive, overwhelmed and chaotic. The participants continue to live lives devoid of a secure base, lives dominated by feelings of being unwanted and rejected. When they venture out into the world they do so alone and unsupported, when they are frightened there is no-one to provide reassurance, when they risk engagement with the broader external world they do so without the safety of a secure space to which to retreat and be cared-for should they need it. Many struggle to realise a cohesive sense of self and thus experience considerable difficulty in relating to others and to society in ways that would allow them access and receive care, ways that would alleviate their anxiety, ways that would promote and support a healthy and rewarding way of being in the world. They exist as an empty self in an empty world.

4. FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Passing time and *Taking care* have been revealed as two essential, constitutive characteristics of homelessness and as such government agencies, policy makers, service providers, psychologists and psychotherapists need to understand these characteristics and incorporate methods and strategies to address them in the care of homeless persons. Homeless persons live a boring life within a boring world. Thus, homeless boredom must be tackled on two fronts; the already existing boredom of the homeless world and the boredom experienced by the homeless person. Therefore, there is a need to address the lack of meaningful, fulfilling and creative pursuits and activities with which homeless persons can engage, both on a daily basis and in the medium-term future. Sending homeless persons out onto the street with nowhere to go and nothing to do is inhuman and intolerable. Homeless persons need services that encourage and facilitate them to take responsibility for

their own care and well-being, perhaps for the first time. But homeless persons cannot take such responsibility in a world where they are excluded and alienated, a world wherein they are treated with disdain and contempt.

5. CONCLUSION

Homeless services and government agencies need to provide a bridge between the marginalisation and isolation of the homeless world and mainstream society by helping homeless persons access and utilise meaningful, purposeful, creative activities and pursuits which will help them engage with life both now and in an anticipated future. In addition, homeless persons need to be supported and contained so that they can feel psychologically safe enough to reach into their deep emptiness to allow their desire to emerge. Psychologists and psychotherapists are well equipped to play an active part in providing the emotional and psychological safety necessary to enable homeless persons to trust both themselves and the world; the safety to allow their desire to emerge from the emptiness of profound boredom.

Many homeless persons live without the support of parents and extended family, many have difficulty forming and maintaining intimate relationships, and consequently many live without crucial ontical relationships. Families at risk of homelessness, families ravaged by drugs and alcohol, families battling unemployment and poverty need instrumental and psychological support to maintain and negotiate relationships that are irreplaceable by their very nature. Homeless persons need support in accessing and maintaining ontical relationships if they are to achieve a fundamental sense of belonging and connection in the world. Social psychology has an important role to play in understanding and promoting the type of secure relationships necessary to foster the sense of belonging essential to successful engagement in society.

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For Jack, Katie and Tom: may you always have a sense of belonging and containment, and may you always love and be loved.

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Section 6
Psychology as Social Practice

Chapter #13

THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF UNEMPLOYED WORKERS IN BRAZIL ANALYSED BY SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

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ABSTRACT

We deal with a social psychology that understands the psyche as an individual psychological instance, coming from the interactions between the social processes and the biological ones in the *homo sapiens* species, that occur in social classes, mediated by the groups in which we live in, leading us to think and act as their members. These determinations were applied to research on the Psychosocial Implications of Unemployment for the Individual Consciousness: Manifestations in Thought and Emotions developed in Brazil with one thousand (1000) unemployed workers. The theoretical-methodological framework was based on dialectical and historical materialism that permitted rebuilding the real movement of the relation between the employed work and the unemployment. We analyzed the processes of consciousness of the unemployed worker affected by the mediation of their families and emotions, when of one of its members lost employment. We concluded that unemployment builds different consciences from the ones that traditional psychology can explain, because it makes it impossible for men to produce their lives. The justification for this is based on neoliberal ideas that allow blaming the unemployed for their own situation, which is represented in psychosocial derogatory terms. Therefore, the psychological work must have a social character that leads to the de-alienation of consciences so that they understand the socioeconomic and policies relations that destroy some working methods, but that can create others.

Keywords: social psychology, unemployment, family and emotions.

1. INTRODUCTION

Each Social Psychology develops itself according to the historical moment and the geographic location of the problem that generates it. Therefore, psychology has always been required to scientifically explain the relations between material development, which shows itself differently in each condition, and the individual consciences, which is the object studied by psychology.

The materialist philosophy proposes that the matter is a category that explains the objective reality, showing that it is apprehended by men's sensations. These are the ones that give rise to perceptions, which represent matter, according to their cultural foundations, while it remains existing regardless of these processes. So, it is the movement of matter that can be abstracted, fixing the characteristics of all objects and processes: that exists outside of consciousness, which acts on the sense organs and reflects in consciousness.

With the certainty that materiality is interiorized and submitted to consciences, but mediated by the activity of the individuals, it was possible to theorize the practices that had been carried out by the Social Psychology with the working class in Brazil. Historically, it depended on the strain of the military dictatorship (1964-1985), since these actions were intended to provide consciousness for itself from the working class in order to expand individual consciences, encouraging the organization of popular movements for political confrontation. Guided by these goals, a methodological systemization began, from those

that have been adapted from mobilizing practices of other nations that had also suffered with the involvement of advanced capitalism, countries that sponsored dictatorships to control the exploitation of the labor force and raw materials in Latin America and Caribbean.

The analyses of these orders generated Social Psychology theories that incorporated the historical and dialectical materialism as the basis of their theoretical thought. Once the practice realized came into contact with the theory, it was possible to synthesize the so-called School of Social Psychology, developed by Lane in Sao Paulo and which aimed to: “recover the individual in the intersection of his history with the history of his society” (Banchs, 1987, p.227). It is for this that there has been an expansion of efforts to increase the studies of Vygotsky's theory that gained intensity in the decades ahead.

Thus, we can say that Social Psychology is dedicated to understanding how the things are in their existence and the processes that make us men,

[...] social animals, because we live in societies, groups and cultures, where we organize our lives in relationship with other human beings and we are influenced by our social history, our institutions and such activities as the production mode, language, culture, social classes and education, among others (Leão, 2012, p. 64).

These socio-cultural products come from men being a subject of needs that determine their activity in the search of his satisfactions, which is set in motion to supply them. That is why labor is a fundamental human activity on which all psychic processes are built.

However, the Social Psychology should consider that the current historical moment in which the dominant mode of production should meet human needs, is the capitalism, that is characterized by the separation between the worker and the working tools and the main working way given is the employed activity. This is why the labor became confused with employment and, dialectically, also naturalized the contrary manifestation: the unemployment. In scientific practice, with a theory and a method, we understand employment and unemployment as part of the material reality in which men are submitted, and therefore, as they antagonize, together they become syntheses of the social work, and influence the psychic conditions of all workers.

Taking these principles as a basis, we developed a research aimed to understand the changes in mental processes of the unemployed workers due to the absence of their main activity: work. But what are the psychological processes involved?

2. SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY AND PSYCHIC PROCESSES

The interiorization of social aspects constitutes the consciousness that is studied by the theory of Socio-Historical Psychology and it shows the unity between man and society. Therefore, we understand consciousness as the process that allows the man to represent reality, abstracting and generalizing the relations between its elements. Those thinking operations create the conditions that allow the interiorization of reality as semiotic representation.

But, in order to develop the consciousness it is necessary to establish interpsychological relations among individuals. These are possible through the use of the language that is given to man in an elaborated verbal form, which allows the oral and graphic expression. It is with it that the word becomes the mediator that individuals relate with themselves. Initially these relations occur within the primary groups, such as the family, and later mediate broader social relations, such as social labor.

The family as a social group requires the establishment of face to face relations and the formation of a sense of unity; that socially integrates its members. Thus, it facilitates the

transmission of social tools and their meanings, at the same time it provides the exercise of conflicting interactions among its members without separating them. This is its specificity. In the secondary groups, the relations are extended and cover the determinations of the social totality, such as it happens in labor.

The activity and language mediate the socially organized interaction, promoting the interiorization of historical and cultural processes that constitute consciousness. Thus, the subject starts to operate with the world objects even when they are not available. This process, when internalizes the social language, creates a semantic framework for consciousness, which mediates the development of other mental processes. Among them, it shows that “the external language marks the transition from thought to the word, it is a process of materialization and objectification of the thought” (Vigotski, 2012a, p.339).

Summing up, the semiotic mediation of the word structures the consciousness when loading the thought and emotion process a social meaning, the explanation of which to the materiality of reality. At the same time it promotes a sense, which results from the interpretation elaborated by an individual for its experiences. These are the ones that also mediates the thought with consciousness, but the human consciousness relations are not limited to it, because:

The own thought is not born from another one, but the field of our consciousness that motivates it, covering our inclinations and needs, our interests and motivations, our affections and emotions. Behind thought there is an affective and volitional trend. Only it can give the answer to the last because of the analysis of thought (Vigotski, 2010, p. 479).

The other mediator that establishes a relation between the social and the individual and engenders human mental processes is the emotion. This intervenes in a more primary form because “emotion is the mobilizing element of the body that puts it into action, either for motor activities and thinking ones” (Leão, 2003, p.66). The emotion comes from the socially generated affections and perceived as feelings, which are biological manifestations. The feelings are conceptualized as the group culture when they become emotions and then promote the thoughts. For these processes is that we realize that emotions are essential mediators to create and refine the development processes of human consciousness, which are necessary for the understanding of how it is possible to establish the individuality of man.

The activity also mediates the development of consciousness while its social manifestation is the labor. Therefore, the genesis of the conscious being, the one who thinks to act on their reality, is in the contradictions of material life, that is to say, in real and concrete conflicts that exist between different social classes, due to the capitalist mode of production. And for being like this, we take the social labor as the main activity, the form of connection between the men who organizes the society.

The conceptual system here announced, in your totality, allowed us to reveal the social determinations that generate our object of research, to instrumentalize us to act practically and produce knowledge. So, we look at the fact that before the existence of any knowledge, there is a real process that historically produces what needs to be known. In this movement, the objects are made and it changes, it was the dialectic interpretation of the different moments that allowed us to grasp the changes that a worker is subjected in this process.

From the above we can understand the difficulties of the traditional Social Psychology in analyzing the psychological consequences of social changes promoted by capitalism reorganizations. The Social Psychologies linked to this system build their propositions aimed at the adaptation of individuals, which prevents them from carrying out a radical critique of damage to the consciousness of workers.

Therefore, these theories are highly valued in times when the exacerbation of liberal principles organizes the ideological discourses. These ones comes back to point out the innate characteristics of workers as the causes of individual performances that would be insufficient to carry out the work activities socially constructed, reducing them to specimens of the species; as we have seen in the arguments of the Bell Curve.

However, the historical and sociological analysis (Marx, 1985; Hobsbawm, 1995; DIEESE, 2006; GEPAPET, 2008; OIT 2014) come in showing us that are the socio-economic determinants of our individual difficulties and these considerations have led us to continue the purposes of Social Psychologies presenting the matter as the first.

3. UNEMPLOYMENT IS CAPITALISM

The historic and dialectical materialist foundations outlined above allowed us to learn in the analysis of the implications of unemployment for the consciences of the unemployed workers, that the elimination of jobs since the mid-twentieth century is a contradiction against the fact that at this time, for the first time in history, most human beings had become educated and literate. This contradiction demonstrates how the synthesis hides the processes and made it difficult to understand the unemployment as inherent to capitalism because the problems of social inequality had been reduced for about forty years in developed countries.

But they reappeared after 1973, when the economic growth was interrupted by several crises, causing poverty and misery in the decade of 1980. In Brazil the unemployment was due to the failure of the economic development process. But even when we had a brief economic recovery, analyzes showed that economic growth was unable to generate new jobs, although it is a necessary condition for the absorption of the unemployed and the deregulation of the labor market and it did not create real jobs or decreased unemployment. However, it expanded precarious and disguised unemployment.

However, none of these solutions reduced unemployment. But they indicated that employment and unemployment are products of the relationship between government policy actions, understood as people's representative body and the economic activity recovered in its original sense of distribution facilities and conditions for the maintenance of its members. Therefore, contrary to what was stated, even when inflation falls and economic activity presents some development, unemployment rises, dismissing the causal and direct relationship between the two facts, as it was being explained. But when production falls or is reduced and the level of economic activity, the unemployment rate tends to increase leading to underutilization of labor and the unemployment rate tends to grow.

Today, as we watch the extracted excerpt from the 2014 Panorama Laboral OIT below, we find that effectively the neoliberal proposals presented since 2005 were false, as unemployment came expanding ever since.

The table below certifies that our conclusions about being the unemployment of 2005-2010 coming from the socio-economic context proved it correct, because when in 2014 the OIT released its analysis of 2012- 2014, we found that unemployment continues to exist and increasing significantly in Latin America and the Caribbean, but covered up by government artifices, which were initiated at that time, such as low-quality jobs, marked by poor working conditions, vulnerability, instability and lack of rights.

Table 1. Latin America and Caribbean: URBAN UNEMPLOYMENT BY COUNTRY, 2005-2014 (Average annual rates).

Country	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2013	2014
										Average to III Trimester.	
Brazil	9,8	10,0	9,3	7,9	8,1	6,7	6,0	5,5	5,4	5,6	4,9
Latin America and Caribbean	9,0	8,6	7,9	7,3	8,1	7,3	6,7	6,4	6,2	6,5	6,2

Adapted from OIT, Panorama Laboral 2014.

Thus, the OIT document points out that the average performance of the region is influenced by Brazil's situation, where the occupancy rate in the urban area, in the first half of 2013 until the same period of 2014, fell by 0.4 percentage points. It also states that the performance of the labor market in Latin America and the Caribbean in 2014 is characterized by the loss of economic dynamism reflected in a slowdown in creation of jobs, so in the demand for labor. It points out that the economies of the countries in South America, especially the Southern Cone were most affected by slower growth of some emerging countries, especially China, as well as by falling prices of the main commodities export. This would have generated a reduction in occupancy rates.

3.1. The Psychosocial Implications of Unemployment

The characteristics of the world of labor and the relation between employment and unemployment in capitalism of Latin America led us to research on the Psychosocial Implications of Unemployment for the Individual Consciousness: Manifestation in Thoughts and Emotions. The explanations of dialectical Social Psychology enabled us to apprehend unemployment as a social determination which transforms the individual psychic processes.

In other words, we start from the hypothesis announced by Marx (1985, p.149), that work is “[...] a process in which man, by his own actions, mediates, regulates and controls his metabolism with the nature”; making the man product of its own work. So when it is not possible to work, the relationships that humanize the individuals are lost because they realize the synthesis of all the effort that historically men made to build their social nature.

To support our research, we used the concept of unemployed of the International Labor Organization - OIT, that indicates people to be above a certain age (in Brazil, eighteen years) who is not working, seeking employment and available for work in a given period time. For the Employment and Unemployment Survey DIEESE / Ministry of Labor and Employment of Brazil (2006), the unemployed are individuals who are in a situation of involuntary non-work, for lack of opportunity to work, or carrying irregular work with desire to change.

These observations forced us to build a research in an orderly and methodical way, going through different stages, which gave us the possibility to grasp the process that eliminates jobs and creates the unemployed worker and their psychological changes. Initially, we conducted a literature research. In this, we learned that the genesis of unemployment is a constituent part of the capitalist mode of production. But to understand its psychological implications, it was necessary to appropriate the history on how psychology had developed its theoretical framework and how it could instrumentalize our

understanding. In the theory of Socio-Historical Psychology, we found the possibility of conceiving the mediating processes that explain changes in individual consciousness stemming from the confrontation between the human and the organized social forces that become independent of subjects that produced them. The dialectic led us to verify the contradictions in the material movement and consequently understand the changes in the unemployed consciousness.

Technically, the research was supported by instruments such as a semi-structured interview that permitted the unemployed worker to draw their ideas and materialize them in speech. Their answers gave us information for the construction of two types of data: some were demographic and they were treated statistically, allowing us to trace a general profile of unemployed workers, which was later interpreted. Other data from the interviews were qualitative and expressed the contents of the causes and consequences of unemployment present in their consciousness. These were analyzed with Discourse Graphic Analysis and the results interpreted with the processes and theoretical concepts outlined above.

The use of this tool allowed a collection of speeches of one thousand (1000) unemployed workers, who make up a database maintained by GEPAPET, in the Post-Graduate Program in Psychology / CCHS / UFMS. The interviews are numbered to ensure confidentiality for the identities of the workers interviewed, but available for other research. This sample was randomly built, but guided by the principles of representative subject, defined as anyone who presents psychological characteristics built from crystallized social processes in their group, which correspond to the specificity of their inclusion or social function.

The qualitative data analysis conducted by the Discourse Graphic Analysis noted the recommended by its author, Lane (1990) and the developed by Leão (2007). That is to say, we localized the cores of conscience in the discourse developed by the unemployed, which allowed we set up a graph where the direction vectors showed the nucleus of which movement their thought processes went. The graph also allowed to show the influences of emotional aspect, expressed in the meanings of words, as well as the incidence of social meanings to build their consciousness. For the chapter of this book, we limited ourselves to a cutout of our research, treating only the analyzes of family mediation and emotions.

4. THE HOUSEHOLD MEDIATIONS DIFFERENTIATE UNEMPLOYED CONSCIOUSNESS

Concerning the demographic aspects, the data analysis resulted in a profile which we point out that: most of the unemployed workers were between 21 and 25 years (30%) and they were women (54%); marital status was the predominant singles (62%), but which had dependents (53%), and most of these children (82%), although only one (46%). Regarding education, complete high school was the educational level of the majority (47%) of those workers. This statistical analysis shows us that theoretically most unemployed still could not be classified as adult according the psychological and sociological categorizations. With the interpretation of these data, we highlight two conclusions: a) the level of education of the population had increased b) unemployment was most marked among people with secondary level education. Therefore, contrary to what is propagated, improving training index did not guarantee and cannot guarantee jobs or good salaries.

We also analyzed the qualitative data that showed functional aspects of psychological systems. From these ones, we highlight the family mediations between social groups and their unemployed members, which resulted from the emotions raised by their own evaluations and those of others.

We noted that the mediations of the families took place when they were affected by the moral categorization of its members. Under these conditions they guaranteed that unemployment did not make the unemployed dishonest, lazy or irresponsible. We may note here that the family mediation assigns different social meanings promoting the interiorization by the worker of various subjective senses.

The interviews revealed that some of the unemployed workers are aware that when they are jobless the mediation of families can enforce positive emotions. These ones are given by the family that may protect the unemployed in unstable times, despite the fact that all the social derogatory assessment marked by the worker situation to have become powerless to keep as an economic provider. That is what many of the unemployed said, when explained that they did not psychologically fail because the family guaranteed them care and support, so they did not feel threatened.

Another way to prove the positivity of the family mediation was when the negative meaning of unemployment was shown by relatives and internalized as a warning, but without the discriminatory sense. But this attribution of social meaning does not threaten them because it does not raise them derogatory emotions, still indicating a new qualification and interfere in order for its processes of thought, feeling and interpersonal behaviors.

This same lack of threat guaranteed by mediation happened when, for the family, the meaning of employment was only a way to ensure social rights. After all, another function assigned to work is the financial security, as the possibility of a stable and secure future.

Conversely, other unemployed workers said in their families were negative emotional manifestations due to new meanings assigned to them socially. Therefore, the unemployed workers were taken to restructure the meanings that integrate their self-consciousness, not only by the loss of the social conditions that guarantee them formal work, but also by the aggressive aspects of the emotions expressed by the family.

When the family group refuses to accept its unemployed members, we recognize that the family already plays a new role in which their values have abandoned the old patriarchal and patrimonial model that only marriage could implement. Now it coincides with the new forms of capitalism that are seen as more flexible, democratic and pluralistic. This new family is presented as having love and affection as basis between its members. The displacement of the patrimonial principle for the valuation of affection, seen as one of the manifestations of the principle of human dignity, becomes the defining element of the new concept of family, being liberal enough to unlink all of obligation toward everybody. This new family social function has established itself to the emotional ties to legally be basis for recognition of the family structure.

In this regard, it is refracted in the consciousness of unemployed the dichotomy between the caregiver and the family that mistreat. This division is not sealed but, on the other way, the same subjects concomitantly maintain both representations. The families are that ones that we all know and meet social and psychological functions.

Thus, the need to consider the emotions and feelings of the unemployed showed that they have necessarily remain dichotomized and antagonistic to support the duality of intra and inter-group social relations that sustain them when they lose their social form of expression of their social powers: the labor that transforms the world and himself and shows that they exist. So, the unemployed worker exists because they have a family who treat them as important or unimportant, but they treat them.

5. WHAT PSYCHOLOGY CAN DO FOR THE UNEMPLOYED?

As unemployment is social condition rather than psychological one, there are some difficulties faced by the unemployed worker to learn the totality of relations that determines, because the social meanings act as a means of masking the reality. Also, the personal sense is limited and acquires a partial direction that makes it more difficult to understand the totality of social relations. Thus, we understand that the action of the family as mediator between unemployed workers and their social class is based on emotions and is anchored in double possibility of overcoming or submission to unemployment.

Given these results, we indicate that the Social Psychology should use its knowledge and the instrumentality of its theories to carry out transformation activities of reality. It will not create new jobs in a structural unemployment situation, but may allow the strengthening of the psychic structure of the unemployed so that they can cope better with the irregularities in the labor market. That is, the labor world, as the image and likeness of the human world, changes during the movement of the contradiction of reality, acquiring characteristics that once was denied. As psychological science is linked to these movements we conclude that either Social Psychology participates to overcome the contradictions, or becomes a mere ideology.

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Chapter #14

PREDICTING AND CHANGING BEHAVIOR: THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

The issue of the relations of attitudes to behavior has been of central importance in social psychology. The frequent failure of studies to prove the expected relations of attitudes to behaviors has prompted several major theoretical attempts to explain the failure and to create conditions under which attitudes would prove to be related to behaviors. These attempts finally culminated in several models explicating the relations of cognitive contents to behaviors. The major shortcomings of these models were their emphasis on rational decision making as the basis for the emergence of behavior and reliance on self-reports of behavior rather than actual behaviors. These shortcomings are overcome in the described model of cognitive orientation which is a general cognitive-motivational approach to understanding, predicting and changing behaviors. Its major assumption is that behavior is a function of a motivational disposition, based on beliefs of four types (about oneself, about others and reality, about norms and about goals) referring to themes relevant for the behavior in question, and of a behavioral program. The procedures of predicting behavior and changing behavior are described and illustrated.

Keywords: attitudes, Behavior prediction, Behavior change, Cognitive orientation.

1. INTRODUCTION

Predicting behavior is an issue of paramount importance for many disciplines and domains, inside and outside social psychology, including marketing, education, persuasion, opinion polls, political science, health and social policy. These and similar and affiliated professions are interested in predicting and changing behavior. This theme is of great theoretical and practical importance. However, very often one learns about failures in regard to behavior prediction and change. Common examples are expectations that fail to materialize in predicting opinion polls, health behavior in regard to losing weight or physical exercise, and behavior of children at school.

1.1. Attitudes and Behavior

Failure of behavior predictions constitutes a problem mainly because it sets in doubt major assumptions shared by many ideologies, religions and social systems that if individuals get the right kind of information and instruction they will behave accordingly. If they don't do so, then either we must change our assumptions or improve our training. Not surprisingly it is the later course that is mostly preferred. This issue has been studied extensively in social psychology under the heading of attitudes and behavior.

The problem surfaced very early with the findings of studies which showed that racist attitudes were not necessarily related to racist behaviors (LaPierre, 1934) or that honesty attitudes were often related to deceptive behaviors (Corey, 1937). Negative results of this kind led to considerations concerning the construct of attitude. Some (Wicker, 1971) suggested to abandon it altogether, others (McGuire, 1969) suggested playing down the connection between attitudes and behavior at the expense of emphasizing the evaluative component. Still others initiated a series of attempts to overcome the disturbing inconsistency by defining conditions under which attitudes could be shown to be related to behavior. Some of the better known suggestions were to control the time interval between assessment of attitudes and of behaviors (Davidson & Jaccard, 1979); to base attitudes on direct experience (Fazio & Zanna, 1978); and to select participants low in self-monitoring (Snyder & Monson, 1975).

The study of the relation of attitudes and behavior gave rise to the issue of the cognitive motivational guidance of behavior. This important development was attended first, by a growing awareness of the motivational role of cognition, as promoted by the distinction drawn between cognitive and motivational information processing (Kuhl, 1986), and the principle of conscious experience as basic for a theory of motivation (Weiner, 1980). And second, by an increased interest in clarifying the social and motivational role of concepts, such as the self (Higgins, 1987), goals (Emmons, 1989), values (reflecting social demands) (Feather, 1988), expectancy (Rotter, 1966) as well as different concepts relating to representations of the environment, such as causal schemata (Kelley, 1972), attributions (Weiner, 1980, pp. 327-406) and personal constructs (Kelly, 1955). Constructs of this kind turned out to be soon incorporated in models binding cognitions to behavior.

One of the earliest models focused on achievement motivation (Atkinson & Feather, 1966). It described the tendency to achieve as the function of the achievement motive, the expectancy in regard to performance results, and the value of success at that task. Carver & Scheier (1990) added to these the concept of goals, by describing behavior as moving towards goals by an internal self-regulation system clarifying the available behavioral options.

A more elaborate model was proffered by Gollwitzer (1993) who described the process from the predecisional phase, through decision making, action initiation, and goal achievement down to the post-actional phase of evaluating the outcomes. Similarly, the theory of reasoned action or planned behavior (Ajzen, 1985) deals with the relations of attitudes and behavior. Its major tenet is that intentions cause behaviors, whereby intentions are shaped by attitudes, norms and perceived control and reflect as well additional personality and demographic variables. This theory has been applied in a wide variety of domains, such as dieting, physical training, ecological behavior and entrepreneurship (e.g., Marcoux & Shope, 1997).

Some of the better known models of attitudes have been developed in regard to health behaviors. One of the best known is the health belief model (e.g., Becker, 1974) which assumes that behavior is the function of attitudes in regard to benefits, barriers and efficacy of the behavior, and the perceived threat of the situation., complemented by demographic, situational and personality variables, added on an ad hoc basis. Similarly, the subjective expected utility theory (e.g. Ronis, 1992) assumes motivation for behavior to be based on attitudes based on detailed calculation of probability estimates and severity judgments in regard to particular health outcomes, precautions, current behaviors as well as perceived costs and barriers to action.

1.2. Some Critical Remarks of the Attitude-Behavior Models

Most of the models describing the motivational role of attitudes in regard to behavior are based on the value-expectancy assumption according to which individuals will take action when they think that the behavior leads to an outcome they value and that this outcome can be attained. The underlying conception is that humans are "reasonable animals" who prior to taking action systematically process and utilize the available information, weighing carefully the expected benefits and costs of the behavior (Fishbein & Middlestadt, 1989). However, the fact that human beings could be reasonable and could utilize available information is not sufficient basis for assuming that these characteristics are major components of human motivation. A large body of research shows that people hardly ever behave according to the information they get about what is best for them (e.g. Stevens, Hatcher & Bruce, 1994).

Further, most of the models assume that behavior elicitation is due to a person's deliberate decision. Again, the fact that individuals are able to make decisions should not mislead us into assuming that most behaviors are grounded in decisions. Indeed, very few are and these are often based on unreasonable considerations (Kahneman, Slovic & Tversky, 1982) and do not represent the best alternative in terms of costs and benefits (Baron, 1994). Again, many of the models assume implicitly that cognitive motivation is conscious. Since most cognitive processes occur without consciousness, it is not justified to assume that precisely those involved in motivation would be conscious.

Further, this assumption introduces the expectation of volitional control over behavior, which has no empirical basis. Additionally, most of the models do not deal with predicting or changing actual behavior. Instead, they replace behavior either with self-reports of behavior or with intentions for behavior, both of which were shown not to be identical with actual behavior (e.g., Heckhausen & Kuhl, 1985).

1.3. Cognitive Orientation: the Theory

Cognitive orientation (CO) (Kreitler, 2004; Kreitler & Kreitler, 1976, 1982) is a cognitively-based theory of motivation that represents an attempt to deal differently with some of the mentioned shortcomings of the other models. The CO provides an account of major processes intervening between input and output designed to enable understanding, predicting and changing behavior. It shares with the other cognitive models the basic assumption that cognitive contents, viz. attitudes, beliefs, and meanings guide behavior. But it does not assume that behavior is guided by logical decision-making, or is subject to conscious voluntary control, but rather that behavior proceeds from meanings and clustered beliefs. The beliefs may represent rational or irrational contents, and the outcome may seem rational or not regardless of the beliefs that oriented toward it. Further, the theory focuses on actual, observable overt behaviors as distinct from intentions, self-reported behaviors and commitments or decisions to act.

The CO theory consists of a central core model that refers to molar observable behavior but includes also further specific models that deal with physical health, emotional behavior, cognitive behavior and psychopathology. In the present context only the core model will be presented.

The major theoretical assumption of the CO approach is that cognitive contents and processes play an active-dynamic role in regard to behaviors. Behavior is considered a function of a motivational disposition, which determines the directionality of behavior, and a performance program, which determines the manner in which the behavior is carried out.

The processes intervening between input and output can be described in terms of four stages, each of which is characterized by metaphorical questions and answers.

The first stage is initiated by an external or internal input and is focused on the question “What is it?” which guides the processes involved in identifying the input by means of a limited ‘initial meaning’ as a signal either for a defensive, adaptive or conditioned response, a molar action, an orienting response, or as irrelevant.

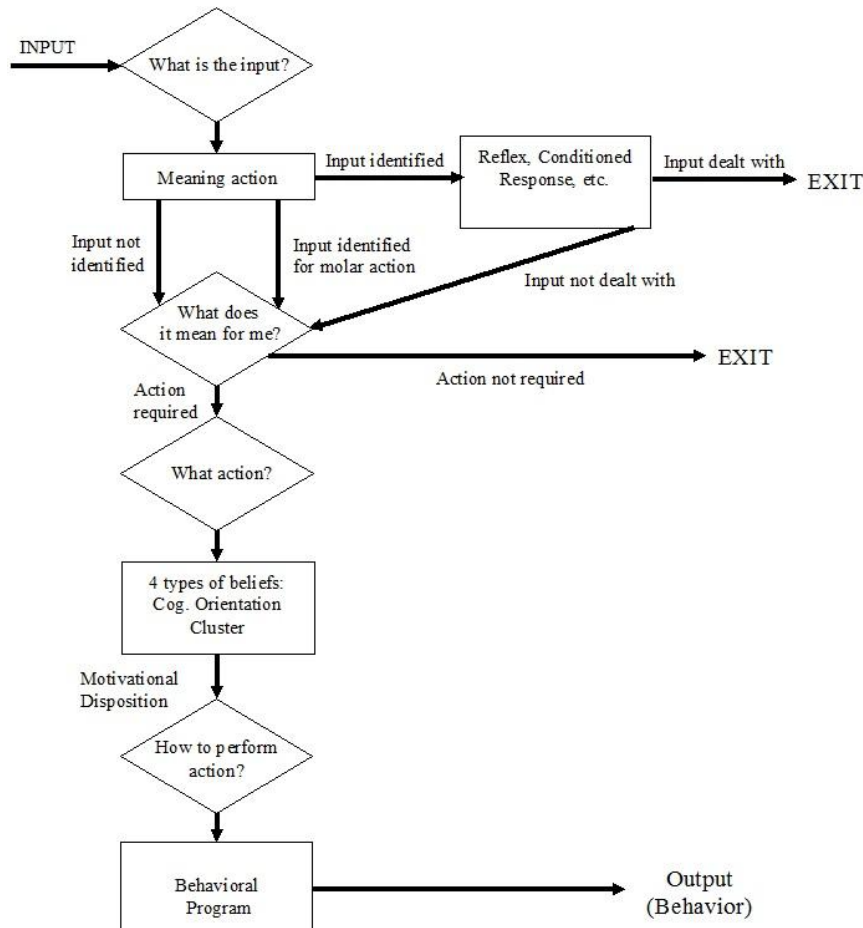
The second stage is initiated by a signal for molar action and focuses on the question “What does it mean in general and what does it mean to or for me?” This question evokes an enriched generation of interpersonally-shared and personal meanings in terms of beliefs, designed to determine whether these beliefs orient toward a behavioral action.

If an action is required, the third stage sets in. It is focused on the question “What will I do?” The answer is based on beliefs of the four following types: a) Beliefs about goals, which refer to actions or states desired or undesired by the individual (e.g., ‘I want to be esteemed by others’); b) Beliefs about rules and norms, which refer to social, ethical, esthetic and other rules and standards (e.g., ‘One should be assertive’); c) Beliefs about oneself, which express information about the self, such as one’s traits, behaviors, habits, actions or feelings (e.g., ‘I often get depressed’) and d) General beliefs, which express information about reality, others and the environment (e.g., ‘The world is a dangerous place’). The beliefs refer to deep underlying meanings of the involved inputs rather than their obvious and explicit surface meanings. The scoring of the beliefs is based on assessing the extent to which they support or do not support the indicated action. If the majority of beliefs in at least three belief types support the action, a cluster of beliefs is formed (“CO cluster”), orienting toward a particular act. It gives rise to a unified tendency which represents the motivational disposition orienting toward the performance of the action.

The next stage is focused on the question “How will I do it?” The answer is in the form of a behavioral program, which is a hierarchically structured sequence of instructions specifying the strategy and tactics governing the performance of the act. There are four basic kinds of programs: a) Innately determined programs, e.g., controlling reflexes; b) Programs determined both innately and through learning, e.g., controlling instincts or language behavior; c) Programs acquired through learning, e.g., controlling culturally shaped behaviors and d) Programs constructed ad hoc, in line with relevant contextual requirements.

Meaning is the major concept characterizing the unfolding of the processes culminating in the formation of the motivational disposition manifested in the output. Meaning plays a crucial role in identifying the input, in turning the input into a signal for molar behavior, in elaborating the signal in terms of beliefs expressing underlying meanings so that a CO cluster is formed, and in implementing the resulting motivational disposition by means of a behavioral program (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. A Schematic Flow-Chart of the CO Model



1.4. Cognitive Orientation: the Methodology of Behavior Prediction

A major advantage of the CO theory is that it provides the theoretical and methodological tools for predicting behavior. There is a large body of data demonstrating the predictive power of the CO theory in regard to various behaviors, such as achievement, responses to success and a failure, coming on time, undergoing tests for the early detection of breast cancer, smoking cessation, adherence to treatment, curiosity, ADHD etc. in different kinds of individuals, differing in age (4 to over 90), gender, ethnic background, education and IQ level (i.e., retarded individuals) and mental health (e.g., schizophrenics, paranoids) (Kreitler & Kreitler, 1988, 1997; Kreitler, Schwartz, & Kreitler, 1987). In most studies the prediction enabled correct identification of 70%-85% of the participants manifesting the behavior of interest (Drechsler, Brunner, & Kreitler, 1987; Figer, Kreitler, Kreitler, & Inbar, 2002; Kreitler & Casakin, 2009; Kreitler, Bachar, Cannetti, Berry, & Bonne, 2003; Kreitler & Kreitler, 1991; Kreitler, Shahar & Kreitler, 1976; Kreitler & Yaniv, 2013; Lobel, 1982; Nuryberg, Kreitler, & Weissler, 1996; Tipton & Riebsame, 1987); Westhoff & Halbach-Suarez, 1989. The success of the predictions is based on applying the standardized procedure based on the CO theory (Kreitler, 2004).

The theoretical construct applied for predicting behavior is the motivational disposition. The strength of the motivational disposition for the behavior is assessed by means of a CO questionnaire, which examines the degree to which the participant agrees to relevant beliefs orienting toward the behavior in question. The relevant beliefs are characterized in terms of form and contents. In form, they refer to the four types of beliefs, namely, beliefs about goals (e.g., "I would like to come always on time"), about rules and norms (e.g., "One should try never to be late"), about oneself (e.g., "Sometimes I come late to a lesson or meeting"), and general beliefs (e.g. "Coming late produces a bad impression on others"). In contents, the beliefs refer to the meanings underlying the behavior in question (called "themes").

The themes of a particular CO questionnaire are identified by means of a standard interviewing procedure applied in regard to pretest subjects who manifest the behavior in question and to control subjects who do not manifest it. The procedure consists of interviewing the participants about the meanings of relevant key terms of the behavior followed by sequential (three times) questions about the personal-subjective meanings of the given responses (Kreitler & Kreitler, 1990). Repeating the questions about the meanings reveals deeper-layer meanings. Those meanings that recur in at least 50% of the interviewees with the behavior of interest and in less than 10% of those without it are selected for the final questionnaire. The outcome of this procedure is that the beliefs in a CO questionnaire do not refer directly or indirectly to the behavior in question but only to the themes that represent the underlying meanings of this behavior. Validity of the CO questionnaire is confirmed if it enables the prediction of the behavior also in the second sample. For example, themes that concern coming late are 'respect for others', and 'deciding on priorities'.

The themes and belief types define together a prediction matrix, with the belief types as headings of the columns and the themes in the rows. Thus, a CO questionnaire usually consists of four parts presented together in random order. Each part represents one of the four belief types, and contains beliefs referring to different theme-contents. Participants are requested to check on a 4-point scale the degree to which each belief seems true (or correct) to them. The major variables provided by the CO questionnaire are scores for the four belief types and for each of the themes.

2. PREDICTING BEHAVIORS IN THE DOMAIN OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

Many of the studies presenting predictions of behaviors using the procedure of the CO theory could be considered as relevant for social psychology. This is not surprising for two reasons. The first is the commonplace argument that individuals are basically social beings, which implies that their behaviors are designed so as to be meaningful in the social context. Prime examples are behaviors such as achievement, or coming on time all of which make sense primarily from the point of view of social interactions and contact. The second reason is that social psychological considerations and constructs are built into the theory and prediction procedure of the CO theory. The major constructs that are used by the CO theory for understanding and predicting behavior are meanings and beliefs (see 3. Beliefs and Meanings).

A large part of socially-meaningful behaviors are focused on the individual. Thus, the social dimension is embedded in the behavior itself. This is the case in regard to behaviors such as achievement or reactions to success and failure which are usually assessed only in terms of the behavior the individual does by himself or herself. The socially-relevant aspect

in the form of the other individual or individuals is represented in the individual's inner world, including one's emotions, motivations and cognitive map. For example, the achievement behavior of an individual may be assessed solely in terms of the individual's performance, regardless of whether one or more other persons are physically present in the experimental situation. Yet, achievement is a construct shaped primarily by social experiences and long-term contact with human beings in a variety of contexts, including schools, family and the media. The social aspect of the behavior is more salient in the case of another large group of socially-meaningful behaviors that are based on involving directly other individuals, for example, behaviors of team work, helping others, creating contact with others, or communicating with others. Behaviors of this kind are often assessed in terms of interactions between the individual and others who may be present in the situation.

The body of data created by the CO theory includes examples of both kinds of studies. From the point of view of the CO theory the two types do not differ in any essential way. In both types of studies actual behavior is assessed, rather than self-reports of behavior or intentions concerning behavior. Again, in both types of studies the prediction of behavior is based on a CO questionnaire that represents beliefs of four types (about oneself, reality, norms and goals) in regard to themes that have been identified as relevant for the assessed behavior. The themes are actually the only important component that differs across the studies.

2.1. Study: Predicting the Initiation of Contacts

In order to illustrate the application of the procedure of predicting behavior in line with the CO approach, one study with preliminary results will be briefly described. It deals with predicting the initiation of contacts with others (Kreitler, 2014). The objectives of the study were to compare the predictive power of three different measures in regard to the behavior of initiating contacts with others: CO Questionnaire of forming relationships, which included 10 items in each of the belief types referring to 10 themes (e.g., trust, self-disclosure, looking for new experiences, not shunning commitments, controlling one's emotions, curiosity) (Azuri, Tabak & Kreitler, 2013); the Affiliative Tendency Scale (Mehrabian, 1994) which is a personality measure of positive manifestations of affiliation (26 items, 9-point scale); and the Social Interaction Anxiety Scale (Mattick & Clarke, 1998) which assesses the negative impact of an emotional barrier like anxiety on social interactions (20 items, 5-point scale). The CO questionnaire has been used previously for predicting successfully the voluntary act of contact formation between the persons donating an organ for transplantation and the recipients (Azuri et al., 2013). The CO questionnaire provided scores for the four belief types. No differentiation was done between the themes since factor analysis showed all formed one factors accounting for 69% of the variance.

The participants (15 students of both genders, mean age 23.2 yrs, $Sd=2.2$) who were invited to participate in a psychological study, were requested first to sit in a waiting room for 10 minutes in the presence of other students whom they did not know. In each group there was one experimental subject and nine non-experimental students who were asked to play a passive role, and were engaged to participate in the 15 groups that were formed for the assessment of initiated communications with others. An experimenter, who was a hidden observer outside that room, noted the number of occasions when the experimental subjects initiated communications with the other students. This provided the data for the dependent variable. The subjects were then invited into the lab and examined on a perception task that was irrelevant in regard to the present study. The questionnaires were administered two months later in the context of an apparently other study.

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The results showed nonsignificant correlations between the number of initiated contacts and the scores on the Affiliative Tendency scale and the Social Interaction Anxiety scale and significant correlations with the four belief types (r ranging .52-.67). Additionally, the subjects who had a high number of initiated contacts (i.e., above the group's mean $M=2.53$, $Sd=1.50$) scored higher than those with fewer contacts on the CO in terms of belief types above the mean (i.e., 3 ($Sd=.89$) versus 1.22 ($Sd=.67$), respectively, $t=4.42$, $p<.05$).

The results of this preliminary study show that the behavior of communicating with unfamiliar others in a waiting-room situation was predicted significantly by the scores of four belief types defined by the CO theory, whereas it was not correlated with two personality measures of affiliation and anxiety of social interaction. These results have two major implications. The first is that the actual behavior of making contact with unfamiliar others is not dependent on personality tendencies, such as affiliation that is expected to have a positive impact, and anxiety of social interaction that is expected to have a negative impact. The second implication is that the behavior in question does depend on a motivational tendency that reflects deeper-lying meanings relevant for making contact with others.

3. CHANGING BEHAVIOR

The CO approach has generated a procedure for changing behaviors. It is based on the basic assumption that changing behavior entails creating the proper conditions for the occurrence of a desired behavior. Thus, if the undesired behavior is aggression on the part of children in a school, then changing this behavior means creating a motivational disposition and a behavioral program supporting some non-aggressive behavior to replace the aggressive one. This procedure has been applied successfully in changing behaviors such as impulsivity (Zakay, Bar El, & Kreitler, 1984), eating disorders like bulimia and anorexia (Kreitler, 2011), and aggressive behavior (Carmel & Kreitler, 2010). Hence, the procedure does not entail weakening an undesirable behavior or its components (i.e., the motivational disposition and the behavioral program supporting it) but creating the conditions for promoting the desirable behavior(s) in the given situations(s).

Forming a motivational disposition for a behavior requires having a valid CO questionnaire for the desired behavior, say, cautious driving. Administering the relevant CO questionnaire to an individual or a group enables producing setting up the prediction matrix which consists of four columns representing the four belief types and rows representing the relevant themes. In this case the matrix shows which beliefs or themes the individual(s) already support and which they do not. In order to strengthen the motivational disposition orienting toward the desired behavior, it is necessary to elicit beliefs of the right

kind. Two further important principles of the procedure of mobilizing support for the right kind of motivational disposition are first, that none of the beliefs that the individuals support is rejected or criticized, they are simply ignored; and second, that the beliefs mobilized for the motivational disposition are only those the individuals themselves provide. The strategies used for this purpose include for example role playing of someone who apparently has the desired beliefs, or asking the individual to convince someone else of the desired beliefs, or more often elaborating the meanings of the beliefs until the required level of support is attained.

The mobilization of supporting beliefs is done with the target of getting at least half of the relevant themes for the behavior in question oriented in the desired direction. Therefore the first themes addressed are those that are supported by more belief types than the others. The goal is to get beliefs of all four belief types supporting each theme in the desired direction. The optimal situation is attained when all the relevant themes are supported by beliefs orienting in the desired direction. In this case the change in behavior is stable, durable and resistant to different obstacles. However, in most cases also cases when only the majority of themes are supported by beliefs in the right direction suffice. The threshold is defined by having half of the themes supported by the beliefs in the right direction. The procedures of mobilizing beliefs for the relevant themes may be applied in regard to individuals in individuals sessions, or in group sessions or even in regard to large audiences through the internet.

The behavior in question expected to appear is assessed only at least two weeks after termination of the procedures of mobilizing supporting beliefs. Usually about 65-70% of the subjects who have undergone the change procedures actually manifest the change in behavior. The reason for not getting higher percentages is revealed by checking the responses of the subjects to the relevant CO questionnaire weeks or months later. This kind of follow-up shows that the subjects whose behavior has not changed did not have a strong enough motivational disposition for the behavior in question. Thus, the paradigm of studies of behavior change usually start with two groups, i.e., one undergoing the change procedures (viz. experimental group) and one not undergoing it (viz. control group), but end with three groups, whereby one group includes those subjects of the experimental group who have changed their responses in the right direction, those subjects of the experimental group who did not change their responses and the subjects of the control group who did not change their responses and were not expected to.

4. CONCLUSIONS/DISCUSSION

A major conclusion of the described theory and methodology of the CO approach is that the prediction of behavior is possible. The prediction is made by means of cognitive contents of a special kind. In order to provide a prediction of behavior the contents need to be of a special kind, namely, they need to represent beliefs of the four different kinds and to refer to themes of meanings underlying the behavior in question rather than directly to that behavior. Further, since actual behavior is not identical to self-reported behavior, the cognitive predictors of the latter cannot be the same as of the former. Notably, a careful analysis of the early attitude-behavior studies showed that in cases when the attitude questionnaires included statements referring to at least three of the belief types defined in the framework of the CO theory the predictions of behavior were at least partly significant (Kreitler, 2004).

Moreover, the CO questionnaires provide information about motivational bases of the investigated behavior that may improve both the theoretical models of the behaviors, as

well as be applied for targeted intervention, when necessary. As shown, the CO approach has generated also a methodology for the changing of behavior.

The precise definition of the cognitive contents which enable the prediction of behavior and its change is the major strength of the CO theory. It also defines the limitation of the CO approach: it targets actual behaviors and outputs rather than opinions, evaluations, self-reports of behavior or intentions.

Notably, the major constructs of the CO approach are beliefs and meanings, both of which are grounded in socio-culturally defined contexts and are products of social interactions. These constructs provide the means for the shaping of behaviors that in turn generate further socially meaningful beliefs that contribute to the shaping of the social contexts in which life proceeds and grows.

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Section 7
Science, Ideology and Social Psychology

Chapter #15

THE SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGY OF RELIGION

The importance of studying religion using scientific methodologies

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ABSTRACT

Religion plays a vital role in the formation of communities and the interaction of cultures, yet is largely ignored in psychological texts. Contemporary religious trends across the globe are rapidly changing. For example, less people are adhering to traditional forms of religious practice, Atheism and secular beliefs are becoming increasingly common and valid, and acts of terror are commonly perceived as motivated by religion. This chapter discusses the operationalization of religion as a variable in scientific research (i.e., religious affiliation vs. use of religion in daily life) before discussing how this operationalization impacts our existing understanding of the relationship between religion and intra- (e.g., coping, personal decision making) and inter-personal (e.g., attitudes and behaviors towards outgroup members) psychological processes. The chapter closes with a discussion of challenges for the future of this field and recommendations for the measurement of this complex variable.

Keywords: religion, religious, religiosity, spirituality, religious fundamentalism, religious affiliation.

1. INTRODUCTION

The psychology of religion comprises the use of scientific methods to understand the effects of religious traditions, practices, and beliefs on religious and non-religious individuals from a psychological perspective. In the specific case of social psychology, understanding the effects of religion on beliefs and behaviors is paramount given the pivotal function that religion plays in the formation, functioning, and interactions of societies (Durkheim, 1915). This chapter has two broad aims: to discuss methods of quantifying religion for use in social psychological research, and then to discuss the implications of these quantifications by reviewing trends resulting from their use in the existing literature. Before approaching these aims, I will first give a brief overview of the history and purposes of the psychology of religion. After addressing the central aims of this chapter, I will close by discussing future challenges to the field and presenting a discourse on implications for the future of this important sub-discipline of social psychology.

1.1. The History of the Psychology of Religion

The trajectory of scientific investigations into religion has oscillated across the years from being considered a core research variable with profound societal implications, to being effectively ignored by mainstream psychology (for reviews, see Emmons & Paloutzian, 2003; Gorsuch, 1988). Indeed, much of the early theoretical and empirical work in social psychology (e.g., G. S. Hall, 1904, 1917; James, 1902, 1907; Starbuck, 1899) was motivated by an innate drive, almost an obligation, of the researchers at the time to understand psychological aspects related to religion (see Wulff, 1991). The psychoanalytic zeitgeist of the decades following the 1920s saw many theoretical contributions to the broader field of psychology, which usually encompassed religion (e.g., Adler, 1925; Freud,

1927; Jung, 1938). This acted as a catalyst for hypothetical and speculative frameworks on the topic, but did little to further related empirically based understandings of religion.

Different scientific sub-disciplines have had resurged levels of interest in understanding the effects of religion on psychological processes at different times. For social psychology, the 1960's witnessed a revival in data-driven interests in religion (see Hester, 1998). Social dilemmas of the time (e.g., the post-war era, the sexual revolution, racial integration) acted as a catalyst for the popularity of social psychology, which led to research into important issues such as prejudice, aggression, obedience, and of course religion. Subsequent seminal works in the science of religion by the likes of Gordon Allport (1954, Allport & Ross, 1967) paved the way for a new generation of social psychologists who had the same innate interest in understanding humans and religion as the early researchers of the field. However, this new cohort of social psychologists had the innate drive, combined with advanced scientific training, which has propelled the study of religion to become the theoretically founded and empirically validated discipline that it is today.

1.2. The Importance of the Continued Research of Religion

Religion has been a central component of individual- and society-level existence throughout recorded history, and the magnitude of its impact to human functioning should not be understated (see Albright & Ashbrook, 2001). Recent global upheavals have resulted in rapid developments in how religion manifests in contemporary society. These developments will subsequently shape the need for continued research in this field. The two key trends are a decline in religion, and an increase in perceptions that religion is related to terrorism.

1.2.1. A Decline in Religion

The documented decline in religious belief in the postindustrial world (Norris & Inglehart, 2011) suggests that the effects of religion on the beliefs and behaviors of self-identified religious people may be attenuated. Social perceptions and norms around identifying as non-religious are also changing (Gervais, Shariff, & Norenzayan, 2011), which has led to a subsequent rapid increase in self-identified Atheists (Zuckerman, 2007). A recent Pew Research Centre (2012) survey revealed 1.1 billion of the world's population (estimated at 6.9 billion) are now religiously unaffiliated, making Atheism the third largest 'religious category' in the worldⁱ, after Christianity and Muslimⁱⁱ. The majority of the existing literature has focused on the effects of religion on the religious. This trend of decreasing religious beliefs suggests that research will need to also focus on the effects of religion on the non-religious.

1.2.2. Religion and Terrorism

The September 11 attacks in 2001 on the World Trade Center in New York marked the start of a new era for stigma associated with religion. The organization claiming responsibility for this attack (and also the 1998 embassy bombings, the 2002 Bali bombing, etc.) was comprised of militant Islamic individuals (see Ranstorp, 2007 for the history of Al-Qaidah). The United States led a coalition of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) nations, who collaboratively responded to these attacks with the 'war on terrorism'. This fuelled the perceptions of Westerners that Islam is related to (and thus, Muslims are responsible for) terrorism (Kfir, 2014; Neer & O'Toole, 2014)ⁱⁱⁱ. Indeed, a body of research grounded in Terror Management Theory (Greenberg, Pyszczynski, & Solomon, 1986) has revealed that exposure to information about terror attacks leads to subsequent prejudice towards religious out-groups (Das, Bushman, Bezemer, Kerkhof, &

Vermeulen, 2009), even when those groups were not related to the terror attack (Echebarria-Echabe & Fernández-Guede, 2006). In response to this, the psychology of religion will need to take into account exacerbated inter-group relations. In combination, these global trends suggest that the continued research into the psychology of religion is necessary, not only for the sake of understanding the effects of religion on psychological processes, but because these trends will likely permeate other aspects of social psychology, and have serious implications for the dissemination of such research to the public.

2. OPERATIONALIZING RELIGION

The literature pertaining to the role of religion in social psychology is complex, and a large body of research now exists surrounding its specific influence on inter- and intra-group psychological processes. Part of the complexity pertaining to this literature has revolved around the question of how to best measure an individual's religion (Elkins, Hedstrom, Hughes, Leaf, & Saunders, 1988; Gorsuch, 1988; Saroglou, 2002, 2009). William James, often considered the father of the psychology of religion, discussed differences between institutional (i.e., organized religion) and personal religion, and posited the variety of religious experiences that an individual could have regardless of their culture or religious allegiance (James, 1902, 1907). This sparked an interest in the question of how to quantify personal religion. Two primary approaches are indeed reflected throughout the literature.

The most parsimonious method for quantification is to simply ask people which religion they affiliate with. However, early researchers in the area (e.g., Allport, 1954; Allport & Ross, 1967) recognized that more important than the religion with which an individual affiliates is the degree to which people are involved in that religion, known as religiosity (Saroglou, 2009; Whitley, 2009).^{iv} Each method is discussed below.

2.1. Religious Affiliation

The first option for operationalizing religion is religious affiliation - simply asking people which religious category they identify with (i.e., Christian, Muslim, Jewish, Atheist, etc.). This simple categorical quantification of religion can easily be used as the independent variable in psychological research. This is somewhat problematic because of the broad application of such labels. Consider the Catholic individual who attends church several times a week compared to the Catholic individual who attends only at Christmas and Easter. On a survey measuring religious affiliation, these two individuals would fall into the same category, although the impact that religion likely has in their respective lives would presumably be quite different.

Religious affiliation is frequently included in representative national and cross-cultural surveys, including the *World Values Survey* (www.worldvaluessurvey.org), the *European Values Study* (www.europeanvaluesstudy.eu), and the *Afrobarometer* (www.afrobarometer.org). This means there are vast sets of longitudinal and cross-cultural data that have been measured using this method of religious quantification.

The benefits of quantifying religion with religious affiliation are clear. In terms of data collection, it is non-invasive, simple and can be easily included as a demographic question. In terms of statistical analysis, it allows clear between-group comparisons at the group, national, and cross-cultural level. Finally, it allows the individual to self-identify their preferred allegiance to a religious (or non-religious) group. It has the usual downfalls of a self-report measure (i.e., people may adjust their responses in order to avoid being identified as a member of a stigmatized minority group; e.g., Katz & Hass, 1988), and is a

single-item measure of religion, but its ease of administration might outweigh associated problems.

2.2. Religiosity

An alternative option for operationalizing religion is through measuring *religiosity* (Saroglou, 2002) as an individual difference dimension (also sometimes called religiousness, religious experience, or transcendence). Religiosity broadly defined is the degree to which people are involved in their religion (Whitley, 2009) or how they integrate religion into (Ahrold & Meston, 2010) or refer to transcendence in their daily lives (Saroglou, 2009). Recent contributions to the religion-psychology research relationship suggest that religiosity (i.e., the frequency or intensity of how the individual uses religion in their daily lives) might be a more useful variable in religion-based research (Ahrold & Meston, 2010; Jonathan, 2008; Saroglou, 2009, 2013; Whitley, 2009). In the case of the two Catholic individuals discussed previously, using measures of religiosity allows for a different, and arguably more meaningful, measurement of religion using this method quantification.

The literature on religiosity has produced many versions of what a personal religion paradigm might actually contain. Often using factor analysis (a statistical data reduction technique that identifies latent variables) to explore religiosity dimensions, a plethora of religiosity constructs have been reported, with an equally numerous amount of religiosity measures to capture these constructs (see Hill & Hood, 1999 for a corpus of measures). Following other disciplines of psychology, some have focused on models of affect (feeling religious emotions and spiritual sensations), behavior (religious practices or rituals), and cognition (thoughts and beliefs about religious concepts; e.g., Cornwall, Albrecht, Cunningham, & Pitcher, 1986). Others have defined a specific dimension of personal religiosity and strive to quantify it. Notable religiosity measures (and sample items) are:

- The *Religious Fundamentalism* scale (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 2004) which measures a dimension concerned with religious meaning that is drawn directly from doctrine, and which is unchangeable in nature (e.g., 'There is a religion on this earth that teaches, without error, God's truth').

- The *Religious Orientation Scale* (Allport & Ross, 1967) that is used to distinguish between instrumental uses of religion from the practice of religion as a self-contained goal. An intrinsic religious orientation refers to the motivation of an individual's goal arising from religious tradition (e.g., 'My religious beliefs are really what lie behind my whole approach to life'). In contrast, an extrinsic religious orientation refers to religious beliefs and attitudes being motivated for utilitarian purposes such as personal coping or social ends (e.g., 'The church is most important as a place to formulate good social relationships').

- The *Quest* Scale (Batson & Schoenrade, 1991) which is characterized by existential questions arising from contradictions, religious doubts and tragedies in life. This scale refers to the level of which an individual's religion involves a tentative and responsive stance towards religious convictions based on such existential concepts (e.g., 'I am constantly questioning my religious beliefs').

- The *Christian Orthodoxy Scale* (e.g., 'Jesus was crucified, died, and was buried but on the third day He arose from the dead'; Hunsberger, 1989), and the *Islamic Doctrinal Orthodoxy Scale* (e.g., 'I believe that Mohammad is God's prophet'; Ji & Ibrahim, 2007) assess the degree to which a person accepts the beliefs of their respective religious affiliation.

The advantages of using religiosity measures are numerous; such measures provide a nuanced alternative to (and theoretically should operate independently from) religious

affiliation. It allows for refined research questions and more complex statistical analysis techniques to be employed, due to the parametric nature of the data provided by such measures. The downfalls include a more time consuming and complex administration and scoring protocol, and that some items in these scales might contain questions about sensitive topics, or may be affiliation specific (i.e., reference to church vs. synagogue vs. mosque). Although religiosity measures are well used in social psychology, they do not share the same popularity in other scientific disciplines. Finally, there has been some controversy between social psychologists as to whether or not religion should be conceptualized as multidimensional (see Wulff, 1991).

As methods for quantifying religion, both religious affiliation and religiosity can contribute differently to research in the psychology of religion. Each also has unique challenges to overcome, and limitations that need to be acknowledged. The following section synthesizes their use through the existing social psychology literature.

3. RELIGION AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL PROCESSES

The literature pertaining to the role of religion in social psychology is complex, and a large body of research now exists surrounding its specific influence on social processes. A summary of the literatures relevant to inter- and intra-personal processes follows, which also attempts to highlight systemic differences as a function of how religion is quantified (i.e., religious affiliation vs. religiosity).

3.1. Religion and Intra-Personal Processes

Intra-group social processes tend to be related to religion in a relatively simple fashion, in that religious affiliation and religiosity tend to be linked to outcome variables in similar ways, although a non-exhaustive review of the literature revealed a clearer pattern of results when quantifying religion with religious affiliation rather than with measures of religiosity. For example, research has revealed that individuals with a religious affiliation experience higher levels of guilt than the non-affiliated (Albertsen, O'Connor, & Berry, 2006; Ellis, 1980); Christians have higher reported levels of guilt than Jews (London, Schulman, & Black, 1964), Buddhists (Albertsen, 2002) and the religiously unaffiliated (Braam, Sonnenberg, Beekman, Deeg, & Van Tilburg, 2000). However, the relationship between religion and guilt is less parsimonious when quantified using religiosity; positive correlations have been reported between religiosity and general guilt (Luyten, Fontaine, & Corveleyn, 2002), guilt related to sexual and hostile instincts (Fehr & Stamps, 1979), and also to shame-free guilt (Albertsen, 2002). However, Quiles and Bybee (1997) found that only predispositional (an individual difference in propensity to experience circumstance-based guilt) but not chronic guilt (ongoing experiences of guilt) was related to religiosity. Watson, Morris, and Hood (1987) found that belief in an unconditional forgiveness from a higher power alleviates guilt in individuals with higher levels of religiosity, thus moderating this relationship.

In a meta-analysis, religiosity was revealed as being related to personality traits (Saroglou, 2002; see also Saroglou, 2009). Specifically, it was revealed that religiosity is generally positively related to Agreeableness and Conscientiousness, and that Religious Fundamentalism is negatively related to Openness. A single study on religious affiliation found that non-affiliated individuals scored lower on all traits of the five-factor model of personality (except Openness) than individuals affiliated with Christianity (Taylor & MacDonald, 1999).

This pattern of results extends to other intra-personal social processes; higher levels of happiness (Bergan & McConatha, 2001), life satisfaction (Dezutter, Soenens, & Hutsebaut, 2006), moral reasoning (Walker, 2003), personal coping (Bryant-Davis & Wong, 2013), lower levels of substance abuse and impulse control (Gartner, Larson, & Allen, 1991), and intelligence (Zuckerman, Silberman, & Hall, 2013) are related to general religiosity. While these are also sometimes related to religious affiliation, scholars have argued that these effects are mediated by side effects of religious affiliation, such as notions of belonging and involvement in community, rather than from the effects of religion themselves (Bloom, 2012; Koenig, King, & Carson, 2012; McGuire, 2002).

3.2. Religion and Inter-Personal Processes

Allport summarized the paradoxical relationship between religion and social attitudes, and the potential for religion to lead to both pro- and anti-social attitudes in this classic observation:

*The role of religion is paradoxical. It makes prejudice and it unmakes prejudice. . . .
The sublimity of religious ideals is offset by the horrors of persecution
in the name of these same ideals. (Allport, 1954: p413)*

This paradoxical relationship has been widely debated with conflicting empirical data (Hall, Matz, & Wood, 2010). The impact of religion on inter-personal social psychological processes is inevitable. Individuals are socialized into a family who subscribe (or not) to a particular religion, and indeed, we choose to be friends with people who have similar religious beliefs and affiliations as our own (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001; Wagner, 1979). As discussed, the paradoxical impact of religion becomes problematic with intergroup relations. Researchers have debated the potential for religion to result in either positive (e.g., increasing intergroup tolerance; Hunsberger, 1995) or negative (e.g., increasing intergroup hostility; Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005) contributions to societal attitudes and behaviors. This is driven by conflicting messages from doctrine (an exemplar from Christianity is “Love thy neighbor” [Mark 12:31] vs. “An eye for an eye” [Leviticus 24: 19–21]).

In terms of pro-sociality, religiosity has been linked to altruism and empathy (Saroglou, 2013; Saroglou, Pichon, Trompette, Verschueren, & Demelle, 2005; Watson, Hood, Morris, & Hall, 1984), although a review by Norenzayan and Shariff (2008) reveals that prosocial behaviors and religiosity only auto-correlate in situations where there is a concern for reputation. It has also been linked to helping the less fortunate (Beit-Hallahmi & Argyle, 1997), and kindness towards strangers (Hardy & Carlo, 2005). Thus, religiosity tends to be linked to prosocial attitudes and behaviors. Typically, research in this area has compared individuals with high religiosity to individuals with low religiosity (which is a combination of those who place low importance on their religious affiliation and the completely non-affiliated; see Galen, 2012). This makes comparisons between religious affiliation and religiosity difficult.

In terms of anti-sociality, it appears that most forms of prejudice are proscribed by religions, while other forms of prejudice are permitted against prejudice targets that are perceived as violating religions' value system (Batson & Burris, 1994; Herek, 1987; McFarland, 1989; Whitley, 2009). The literature generally reports that those affiliated with a religion demonstrate more prejudice than the religiously non-affiliated (e.g., Finlay & Walther, 2003; Herek, 1987; Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005).

The literature also shows that religiosity is positively correlated with various forms of prejudice (Whitley, 2009), however the pattern becomes more complex if one compares

results based on the different measures of religiosity. Generally, religious fundamentalism strongly and positively correlates with prejudice (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 2004; Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005; Rowatt, Franklin, & Cotton, 2005). In terms of religiosity orientations, Allport and Ross (1967) argued that only extrinsically religious people tended to be more prejudiced, whereas there was no such relation for those who were intrinsically motivated. This holds true except for attitudes toward gay people in which the pattern is reversed (see Whitley, 2009; except in an Islamic sample, Anderson & Koc, 2015). Quest is the only form of religiosity that is contemporarily found to be non-related to prejudice (Batson & Ventis, 1982).

3.3. Trends of Quantification in Social Processes

Across studies in the psychology of religion, the use of either religious affiliation or religiosity dimensions tend to produce similar patterns of findings. Particularly in the case of inter-personal processes, the effects of religion seem to be relatively clear with the literature tending to produce clear results with relatively simple interpretations. However, the case of intra-personal processes produces patterns of findings that are less clear, particularly concerning how to treat various out-group members (individuals who are different on various social dimensions). This is unsurprising because intergroup processes are infamously complex and hard to predict (Tajfel, 1982) without introducing further complicating processes by exploring their relationship with religion. Given that most religions will prescribe treatment for outgroups (e.g., most world religions condemn same-sex sexual orientation) which may or may not conflict with an individual's personal ideologies (e.g., a religiously affiliated individual might also be pro-gay). As such, within each religious affiliation, there will be individuals who choose which parts of their religious teachings they will adhere to and which ones to discount.

4. FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

The future of the social psychology of religion appears promising. The religious trends associated with the social ramifications of contemporary global upheavals (as discussed in the introduction) have acted as a catalyst for new work that extends existing social psychological theories, primarily in Terror Management Theory (Greenberg et al., 1986), System Justification Theory (Jost & Banaji, 1994), and Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The social psychology of religion is established as a valid sub-discipline of psychology in its own right, and has gained respect from other researchers of psychology. There are several journals and associations now dedicated exclusively to the scientific study of religion. However, as with any rapidly evolving field, there is much exciting new research that needs integrating (review papers in this field are high quality, but sparse relative to other psychology disciplines; see Bloom, 2012; Emmons & Paloutzian, 2003; Gorsuch, 1988). Thus, in this penultimate section of the chapter, I propose three challenges to the field that also act as suggestions for future research:

1. *To synthesize findings across religions.* Certain social phenomena has been well studied within religions, but there is a need to separate which phenomena are related to the broad (and non-affiliated) construct of religion, and which are peculiar to specific religious affiliations. In particular, there have been calls for cross-cultural studies to better integrate religion into research (e.g., Tarakeshwar, Stanton, & Pargament, 2003), and these could consider using measures of religiosity to complement existing cross-cultural research that quantifies religion using affiliation.

2. *To isolate constructs of religious identity from other identity constructs.* While many social psychologists have taken care to do this (e.g., Muldoon, Trew, Todd, Rougier, & McLaughlin, 2007; Weissbrod, 1983), it is of utmost importance to continue research that divorces notions of religion from other identities. For example, all followers of Islam are often victims of prejudice because they are automatically associated with militant Islamic terrorist groups, even though most do not share their ideologies. Thus, research that detaches pure religious identities from other associated identities needs to be continually conducted and then, importantly, disseminated to the general public.

3. *To refine a measure religiosity suitable for all religious and non-religious affiliations.* Key researchers in the field have noted a surplus in the quantity of scales of religiosity (e.g., Gorsuch, 1988; Hill & Hood, 1999), however those in existence tend to be Christian-centric and tend not to accommodate the increasingly non-religious population. This is evidenced by some items that cannot be answered by those who do not self-identify with a religion^v. Equally as problematic is the scoring protocol of most religiosity measures. For example, a hypothetical low religiosity score would be expected from an Atheist. It would also be expected from an Agnostic individual, and also from an individual who identifies with a religion but has low levels of personal religiosity. Future research could consider a scale of religiosity that is valid for the religious and non-religious.

5. CONCLUSION/DISCUSSION

This chapter has discussed the relationship between social psychology and religion, and in particular the importance of careful operationalization of religion as a variable for use in scientific study. As reviewed, the psychology of religion has spent the majority of its existence attempting to address concerns of measurement (Gorsuch, 1988), with a large portion of the literature teasing apart different constructs of personal religion, and the development of scales to measure these constructs (Hill & Hood, 1999). I have discussed two key methods for quantifying religion as a variable in scientific research (i.e., religious affiliation vs. individual difference measures of religiosity), and discussed how they have been used throughout the literature. To summarize, it appears that for intra-personal processes religion quantified through affiliation or through religiosity dimensions tends to produce similar patterns of results. However, in inter-personal processes, religion quantified as religiosity appears to reveal nuanced trends in the results of research that religious affiliation does not.

I would suggest that the more complex results produced by religion quantified as religiosity is an issue of categorization hierarchy. Within each religious affiliation group, the importance of the religious affiliation will vary between members, which arguably makes individual-level measures of religion (i.e., religiosity) a subordinate, and thus more meaningful method for quantification than the superordinate group-level measure (i.e., religious affiliation). Arguably, categories of religion are over-inclusive, and religion might need to be compartmentalized into smaller categories, such as captured by measures of religiosity.

Although trends in the literature suggest that the field has moved beyond a focus on measurement, the conundrum of which quantification to use still exists. I suggest that to resolve this conundrum, researchers must simply conduct a costs-benefits analysis; religious affiliation is crude yet simple, religiosity provides a more sophisticated variable which allows refined hypothesizing and requires superior understanding and interpretations. Both methods of quantification appear valid, and have unique benefits, however measures of religiosity should be used where possible as they provide a more sophisticated

understanding of the social psychology of religion than can be achieved by simpler quantification through categorical religious affiliation.

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ⁱI acknowledge that referring to Atheism as a religious category is not only an oxymoron, but also a contradiction that many Atheists find offensive and simply incorrect. However, when asked to nominate their religious affiliation in a census or survey, this is the only way of identifying as non-religious. This also extends to psychology research using 'religion' as a demographic variable. For this reason, I place this phrase between quotation marks.

ⁱⁱThis statistic includes those who identify as Atheist, but also as secular, agnostic, or non-religious. The report citing this statistic did not provide a further breakdown of this figure because this global survey did not offer further options in all cultures. Individuals may also prefer alternative labels in order to avoid stigma associated with identifying as Atheist (Gervais & Norenzayan, 2012; Gervais et al., 2011). Other statistics suggest that approximately 1/5 of those who do not affiliate with a religion are truly atheistic (World fact book, 2013).

ⁱⁱⁱTerrorism is (of course) not unique to Islam. Other religious groups have also been linked to terror (i.e., Irish Republican Army [IRA], Jewish Defense League [JDL]). Indeed, all major religions of the world have at some level been involved with sectarian-based violence or terror (Fox, 2009; Juergensmeyer, 2001; Muldoon, 2004). However, the majority of the psychology of religion literature reveals that violence and terror are associated with Islam, and negative perceptions of Islamic individuals. Dialogue on this topic is beyond the scope of this chapter, however, for a discussion see Martin (2012).

^{iv}There is also an ongoing dialogue between social psychologists on the differences between religion and religiosity and other related constructs such as spirituality and indigenous aspects of religion. This is out of the intended scope of this chapter; for a discussion on the evolved meanings of religion and spirituality as constructs, see Hill et al. (2000)

^vAn example of this would be the first item of the Quest Scale ("As I grow and change, I expect my religion also to grow and change"; Batson & Schoenrade, 1991). An individual who does not have a religious affiliation would find this hard to answer.

Chapter #16

ATTITUDES TOWARD MHEALTH: A LOOK AT GENERAL ATTITUDINAL INDICES AMONG SELECTED FILIPINO UNDERGRADUATES

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ABSTRACT

Mobile phones are increasingly used for Internet access due to their relatively low cost, easy availability and high usage rates. The ubiquity of mobile technology, especially among young people, is being incorporated in healthcare delivery. Known as mobile health (mHealth), it is the practice of medicine and public health supported by mobile devices. In developing countries, such as the Philippines, mHealth is relatively in its early stage. The popularity of mobile devices and applications (apps) among Filipinos may offer advantages and opportunities for local health professionals. However, to maximize mHealth usage, it is important to ascertain the attitudes regarding mHealth. To this end, survey forms were distributed to 811 undergraduates. In addition, a series of focus group discussions (FGDs) was conducted with 76 participants, elaborating on survey responses and centering on themes such as mHealth familiarity and health app usage. Although the participants are technologically adept and active Internet users, majority who responded to the survey are unaware of mHealth (81%). During the FGDs, ambivalent attitudes toward mHealth and health apps are expressed. Despite acknowledging the benefits of mHealth and mHealth apps, crucial issues such as mobile health applications validity are raised.

Keywords: attitudes, behaviors, mHealth, mobile technology, mobile devices.

1. INTRODUCTION

Why is a study on attitudes relevant? For one, to an extent, our attitudes shape our social thoughts. They influence our evaluations of a stimulus by judging it in either a positive or negative light. Although attitudes do not consistently determine behavior, nor do all behaviors mirror attitudes, attitudes may still determine the intentions, which in turn, could predict behaviors. The importance of attitudes extends to the field of healthcare. By ascertaining which attitudes are dominant, for instance, has contributed to the promotion and modification of improved health behaviors.

An emerging trend in health management, mobile health (mHealth) is the use of mobile technology for health and its related services, such as medical information, doctor appointment reminders and vital signs tracking (e.g., pulse rate, sugar levels).

In this chapter, we present our work exploring mHealth attitudes among college undergraduates. Tagged as a technologically sophisticated generation, we wanted to know, among others, their familiarity with mHealth and their willingness to use their mobile devices in health-related functions. To this end, we conducted surveys and focus group discussions among college students to determine their thoughts and feelings on the utilization of mobile technology in health activities. We hypothesize, due to the strong

presence of mobile technology usage among adolescents and young adults, that they have formed attitudes toward mHealth and that current mHealth-related behaviors (e.g., downloading mHealth apps, use of fitness applications) reflect their mHealth attitudes.

1.1. Attitudes – A Brief Overview

Attitudes - whether they are affective-, behavioral- or cognitive-based, conscious or unconscious, observable or not - serve as our life compasses. They guide us at a personal level – how we think, feel and behave – and exert an impact involving a grander scheme of events – for instance, adopting best strategies and shaping decision-making in the field of healthcare.

Interest in exploring the nature of attitudes has a long and rich background. Even before Gordon Allport wrote his seminal chapter on attitudes in the 1935 *Handbook of Social Psychology* the term itself appeared as early as the 1660's, technically referring to a figure's posture in a statue or painting. Later on, it was used to describe the body's posture connoting a mental state.

1.1.1. Some definitions

Being among the earliest concerns in social psychology, scholarly works on attitudes have been occupying the field's research annals. As Allport (1935) famously mentioned, the study on attitude is “the most distinctive and indispensable concept in contemporary social psychology” and has been a “primary building stone”. It remains, up to this day, an influential topic and point of discourse.

Since then, the term has been explained and discussed in a number of ways. Summing up various definitions, Allport proposed that an attitude is a “mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related.” (Allport, 1935). As a “psychological tendency” in evaluating an object with “favor or disfavor” (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993), an attitude is “relatively enduring” and “organized” (Hogg & Vaughan, 2013). Based on evaluative knowledge, it is a reaction toward a target – someone or something – as manifested in one's beliefs, feelings or intended behavior (Myers, 2013; Olson & Zanna, 1993). Attitudes can also be viewed as object-evaluation associations in memory (Fazio, Chen, McDonel & Sherman, 1982). The object of an attitude (“attitude-object”) is “anything that can be discriminated by a perceiver” (Eagly, 1992) and can be evaluated in a dimension (e.g., like/dislike). Being strongly associated with an object, an attitude can be triggered by an object representation in memory (Sanbonmatsu, Prince, Vanous & Posavac, 2003; Fazio, Sanbonmatsu, Powell, & Kardes, 1986). In addition, the strength of an association and its accessibility from memory depend on how the attitude was developed. (Is it based on beliefs? Emotions? Behavioral information?)

However, one must exercise caution in drawing conclusions regarding an individual's response or responses to a self-report, questionnaire or any verbal or written query as automatically representing an attitude. Per se, such responses or “opinions” should not be taken at face value as “attitudes” but rather, as “verbal expressions of an attitude” which “symbolizes an attitude” (Thurstone, 1928). Although opinions can serve as a means of measuring attitudes, internal and external factors can influence an individual's responses, such as pressure to comply, self-presentation, item comprehension and perceived value. Opinions are best regarded as attitude indices.

1.1.2. Classifications of Attitudes

The domain of attitudes is scrutinized from different angles. For instance, as what is often mentioned, is that attitudinal components are broken down into affect or feelings (A), behavior tendency (B) and cognition or thoughts (C). From a functional perspective, attitudes serve to facilitate psychological needs by mediating between the inner needs (expression, defense) and the external environment (knowledge, adaptive) (Katz, 1960). The four functions are knowledge, ego-expressive, adaptive and ego-defensive. Having knowledge or meaning allows for behavioral prediction. In doing so, we are able to organize and control our environment and maintain consistency. Since attitudes constitute a part of one's identity, its verbal and non-verbal ego-expressions help in self-communication and asserting one's self. Attitudes also enable us to adapt socially by blending with groups and taking part in communal activities. Expressing socially accepted attitudes facilitates smooth interpersonal relationships. On the other hand, possessing attitudes contrary to one's group expectations leads to social-disengagement. Lastly, attitudes help protect one's self-esteem, as exemplified in attempts to "rationalize" and justify actions to cover up guilt and humiliation.

1.1.3. Attitude Formation

The expectancy-value theory (Fishbein, 1963) explains how attitudes are developed based on the appraisal of an attitude object. An attitude is the interplay between expectations and evaluation while a chosen behavior will depend on one's beliefs and values and the perceived gratification of a goal. With expectancy, it is one's belief or perception if an attitude object possesses a particular attribute, or if a behavior will produce a particular consequence. Evaluation involves one's affect toward an attribute or behavioral outcome. Since attitude strength may vary from one condition to another, its magnitude can be evaluated in progression. According to the attitude-nonattitude continuum (Fazio et al, 1986), associative strength progresses from attitude indifference or novelty due to the lack of previous evaluative association (nonattitude) to strong evaluative association (attitude). A strongly held attitude (and its likelihood to affect behavior) is determined by its significance to the person and the amount of knowledge one possesses regarding the attitude object. For an attitude to be personally relevant (significance), it should relate to one's interest, identification and value. Possessing more information and knowledge regarding an attitude object (e.g., topic of interest, direct experience) makes an attitude firmer.

1.1.4. Attitude-Behavior Connection

To what extent do one's attitudes guide behaviors?

Although expressed attitudes do not always predict behaviors, Myers (2013) lists three instances when behaviors match attitudes. One is having minimal external influences. When individuals are in the presence of others, they are swayed by the majority's attitudes, despite having expressed contrasting attitudes. By minimizing social pressure, people act according to their attitudes. Attitude-behavior congruence is also emphasized when the attitude we are looking into is specific to the behavior in question. Lastly, the more potent the attitude, the more likely it will influence behavior.

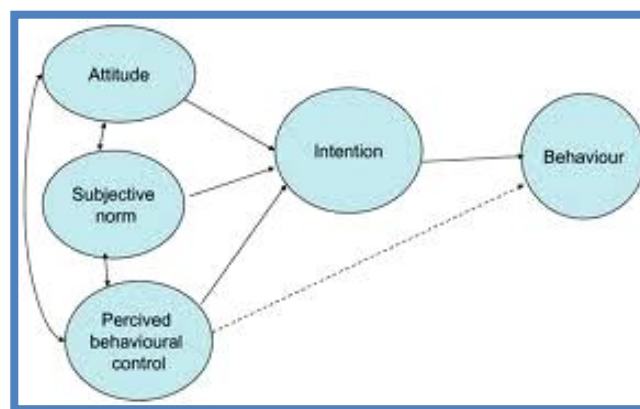
As compared to specific attitudes, general attitudes can have a stronger impact on behavior. Discussing possibilities that can moderate the strength of the attitude-behavior connection, Ajzen and Fishbein (2005) explain three factors which may have a bearing on this relationship: a) person doing the behavior (individual differences); b) situational conditions under which the behavior is performed (situational moderators); and c) characteristics of the attitude itself. Considered under individual differences, among

others, are self-monitoring, self-consciousness or self-awareness and need for cognition. The expressive behaviors of low monitors, for instance, are thought to be better indicators of their own attitudes. “Awareness” activities, such as being reminded of our attitudes and spending time to think through our actions, increase self-consciousness. Other influences that might lead people to behave in line with their general attitudes is possessing a special vested interest on the attitude object, having a heightened personal relevance or importance of the attitude and holding the attitude confidently. Some situation moderators include being under time pressure and having a mirror during the behavioral situation. It has been shown that the presence of a mirror increases one’s self-awareness. As to the qualities of the attitude itself, attitude-behavior consistency depends on the harmony between the attitude’s cognitive and affective components, source of information (direct vs. second-hand) and route of persuasion (central vs. peripheral). Attitudes based on direct experience, for example, are a better gauge of subsequent behavior.

However, it is not possible to obtain strong correlations between general attitudes and overt behavior. Attitudes may predict behavior, to a certain extent, as long as the measure of behavior broadly represents the attitude in question. According to the principle of aggregation, “the sum of the set of multiple measurements is a more stable and representative estimator than any single measurement” (Rushton, Brainerd & Pressley, 1983). The effects of an attitude become more obvious when we aggregate or average behaviors. By aggregation, the congruence between attitude and behavior is strengthened and reliability and construct validity of the behavior we wish to measure is increased.

In Ajzen’s theory (1991) of planned behavior (formerly, theory of reasoned action) (Figure 1), performance of behaviors is explained in terms of the degree of self-control one is able to exert. Behaviors progress in a continuum from total control to complete lack of control, depending on the absence or presence of constraints (Godin & Kok, 1996). When there are no constraints, one has absolute control over his/her behaviors. On the other hand, the individual lacks control when there is the absence of opportunities and/or resources required to perform the behavior (e.g., skills, money). An important concept in the theory is behavioral intention or motivational factors as influenced by the *attitude* about the likelihood that the behavior will have the expected outcome and the *subjective evaluation* of the risks and benefits of that outcome. It is the expressed motivation to perform some behavior or achieve some goal (Warshaw & Davis, 1985). The stronger the intention or motivation, then the likelihood of behavioral performance is greater. Thus, one’s perceived behavioral control can influence attitude, intention, and possibly, behavior.

Figure 1. The theory of Planned Behavior (Ajzen, 1991)



1.2. What is Mobile Health?

Worldwide ownership of mobile phones is fast growing, with more than 6 billion people having at least one unit (Gaggioli & Riva, 2013). Its widespread-usage can be attributed to its relative low-cost and being unaffected by societal norms or cultural values (Brian & Ben-Zeev, 2014). Almost half of the over 78% of adolescents who have a cell phone possess a smartphone (Madden et al, 2013). They use mobile devices mainly for communication via instant messaging (IM) and text messaging (Alberts, Nakamaya & Martin, 2007).

Mobile information technology has fundamentally changed the way we interact with one another and with our environment. We have integrated the technology in our daily routine in more ways than one. For instance, when in the beginning, the function of mobile phones was limited to calling and, afterwards, text messaging, mobile devices nowadays are quickly emerging as tools in the practice of healthcare, thus paving the way for opportunities not previously available. Referred to as mobile health (mHealth), it makes use of mobile technology and its functionalities in the delivery of healthcare and health-related information (Varshney, 2014; World Health Organization [WHO], 2011). As a new field in electronic health (eHealth), mHealth is brought about by the “unprecedented spread of mobile technologies as well as innovative applications to address health priorities” (WHO, 2011). Mobile technology, through a system of monitors, alerts and provision of information, allow people to attend to their health more efficiently and to generate useful information that can be used by remote healthcare practitioners. The pervasiveness of mobile technology has allowed both patients and health providers to interact using various avenues and systems in order to exchange calls and SMS or text messages, to access websites for information, to provide clinical decision and support, to enhance assessment and diagnosis and to capture and transmit data and images (e.g., Shore et al., 2014; Jones et al., 2015; Iwaya et al., 2013; Luxton et al., 2011). Mobile or software applications (“apps”), designed to “extend the phone’s capabilities by enabling users to perform particular tasks” (Purcell, Entner & Henderson, 2010), have been also specifically developed to promote and to assist in healthcare delivery. Some of the health app functions include providing disease information, counting calories, tracking fitness, losing weight, yoga and meditation exercises and monitoring menstrual cycle. In addition, mHealth has been tagged for its potentials as a partner strategy in achieving the United Nations’ (UN) health-related Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), such as improving maternal and child health and combating poverty-associated diseases.

Apparently, there is a worldwide “excitement” surrounding the adoption of mHealth. According to the Second Global Survey on eHealth conducted by WHO in 2011, low income UN member states (77%; n=22) reported at least one mHealth initiative, in comparison to the 87% (n=29) of high-income member states. At least 75% of the participating member states from each region mentioned the presence of at least one mHealth initiative in the country, with the South East Asia (SEA) region reporting the most initiatives. Also, 48% of the participating member states are using mobile devices in emergency and disaster situations, with the SEA region showing greater than average adoption of these devices. In addition, the SEA region reports the highest emergency toll-free telephone services (88%). An example in the Philippines is the program by the National Management and Poison Control Center at the University of the Philippines for poison-related concerns. In terms of mHealth information initiatives, the SEA region (62%) posts the highest level of mobile information initiatives in terms of access to health information, such as publications and databases (WHO, 2011).

Although the use of mHealth is relatively widespread in some Asian countries such as in India and Bangladesh, its role as a complementary and supplementary approach to traditional healthcare practices has yet to be accepted in the Philippines. Despite this, the proliferation of the use of mobile devices in the Philippines among young people is promising for the introduction to mHealth. Among the healthcare IT trends foreseen to transform the country's healthcare delivery are the adoption of electronic medical/health records, mobile health applications health information exchange ("Healthcare IT trends", 2014).

The ubiquitous presence and usage of mobile technology can be harnessed to understand everyday health behaviors. The adoption of mHealth has a myriad of socio-economic impact. It broadens healthcare's reach to patients and increases the efficiency of its delivery. It is now increasingly possible to remotely diagnose, assess and monitor patients from rural areas or the elderly from their homes. It has the means to lessen medical costs and, at the same time, improve its quality. As a vehicle of empowering individuals, primary care becomes more patient-centric by allowing the patient greater freedom in managing private health records and personalizing healthcare. In addition, mHealth scales down the inequalities based on gender and income. Apps that deliver medical information become the venue for increased awareness regarding disorders. Particularly for individuals with mental illness, the use of mHealth provides privacy, thereby reducing the stigma they face.

1.3. Why Adolescent Health?

Although there have been numerous and diverse investigations on health, most have mainly focused on adult health. Unfortunately, the importance of adolescent health is overlooked. For this reason, it is perceived that, in comparison, youth health studies are in their infancy stage. Discussions are often in broad terms, when, in reality, the health concerns and needs of adolescents are varied and wide-ranging. In addition, they are considered to be a "vulnerable" group who depend mainly on parents for access to health information.

Many mental health issues emerge during the adolescent stage. Sadly, there is a social penchant to make light of their mental problems by merely attributing these problems to the adolescent phase of *Sturm und Drang*. Mental illnesses, particularly depression, have been identified as the largest cause of the burden of disease among young people (WHO, 2015). Aside from poor emotional regulation skills, Cairns, Yap, Pilkington & Jorm (2014) mention alcohol abuse, illicit drug use, insufficient sleep, negative coping strategies and weight issues as risk factors for depression and depressive symptoms. Mental disorders, when undiagnosed and unmonitored, will have profound negative implications for their over-all future development.

Benefits in investing in adolescent health are enormous. For one, healthy development during adolescence contributes to good mental health. Attitudes and practices shaped during this time are crucial not only for the adolescents' current wellbeing (short-term) but also set the stage for future health concerns when they reach adulthood (long-term). Proper health habits developed early in life reduce the risk for chronic diseases. Awareness regarding health-related topics reduces stigma and misconceptions and encourages them to seek professional help. It is during adolescence when individuals gradually take responsibility for their health (Crockett & Peterson, 1993). According to the 2001 WHO Global Consultation Report, by networking existing service-providers, adolescents are likely to obtain health services in school.

2. RESEARCH BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES

For our investigation, we decided to focus our attention on the attitudes of university undergraduates regarding mHealth for a number of reasons. Foremost, today's adolescents are described to be techno-centric. Being technology-savvy, they are likely to have more than one electronic device and get involved in technology-related activities. Madden et al (2013) report that 93% of US teens own a computer (desktop or laptop) or have direct access to one. Twenty-three percent have a tablet. Gadget of choice appears to be the mobile phone, with 78% owning one with almost half of them smartphones. Likewise in the Philippines, ownership of mobile phones is popular, mainly due to its functionality and affordability. According to Ipsos Media Atlas Philippines ("Ipsos study: The", 2012), almost a third of urban Filipinos acknowledge mobile phones as a life necessity. In 2002, AC Nielsen reported that out of the 1.5 million Filipino Internet users surveyed, 45% is in the 12-19 years age range (Asian Institute of Journalism & Communication, 2009).

Mobile access among teenagers is becoming widespread, incorporating mobile technology in their day-to-day happenings. Almost 3 in 4 (74%) between 12-17 years old use mobile devices to access the Internet with mobile phones becoming the preferred means to go online ("cell-mostly") (Madden et al, 2013). Twenty-three percent of teens access social networks via their mobile phones (Zickhur, 2010). In addition, adolescents are constantly engaged in various Internet-related activities. A 2010 survey conducted in 11 Asian countries show that Filipinos ages 8-24 are the top recreational users of the Internet. Based on the findings, Filipino youth are active in social networking, online gaming and watching Web videos ("Pinoy kids among", 2012)

As mentioned, mental health problems often start to manifest during adolescence. Since health issues of the youth are too often ignored, we deemed it vital to acknowledge health attitudes, particularly toward mHealth. As evidenced by the proliferation of mHealth, technology can be harnessed to improve access to health information. Hingle, Nichter, Madeiros & Grace (2013) found that among adolescents, text messaging or texting is a preferred medium in promoting healthy behaviors. As such, having lesser deterrents in obtaining health-related services may increase their help-seeking behaviors. By knowing undergraduates' attitudes toward health, particularly their use (or non-use) of technology in health practices, is beneficial in promoting and deciding best mHealth approaches targeted at this age group.

Our over-all objective for both the survey and Focus Group Discussions (FGD) is to determine the attitudes of Filipino undergraduates regarding the use of mobile technology for health purposes. Specifically, we also wanted to find out if their mHealth related behaviors are indicators of their attitudes. Survey items include what general software programs and specific mHealth applications they often downloaded. For the FGD, questions centered on the following aspects/themes:

- ✓ Familiarity with mHealth
- ✓ Attitudes toward mHealth
- ✓ Use of mHealth and mHealth apps
- ✓ Attitudes toward mHealth for mental health
- ✓ Intention to use mHealth

3. DESIGN

We utilized a cross-sectional survey research design for the profile of our undergraduate respondents. In addition, we conducted FGDs with randomly selected students to elucidate their opinions on mHealth.

4. METHODS

4.1. Participants

Eight hundred eleven undergraduates from varying course programs (15-25 years old; mean age: 17.90 years) (Female: 58%) (Freshmen: 34.64%) in Metro Manila and Central Luzon participated in our survey.

For the FGD, we randomly selected 76 participants from this pool of undergraduates who were later given academic incentives for joining.

4.2. Description of Instruments

We constructed a demographic form and survey to determine the profile of our respondents. It covers personal data (e.g., age, gender, year level) and use of mobile technology.

For the FGD, we formulated the following questions:

1. Have you heard about mHealth? What do you know about mHealth?
2. Can you think of possible mHealth benefits and applications?
3. Can you think of possible mHealth disadvantages?
4. Do you use your mobile phone to keep you physically- and mentally-healthy?
5. Do you think that mobile apps can help identify mental illness, such as depression?

If mobile apps were to help identify mental illness, would you use it and/or recommend to others?

4.3. Data Gathering Procedure

Initially, we administered survey forms to 811 college students of varying undergraduate programs from three universities (two from Metro Manila, one from Central Luzon). In addition, we informed them about our study rationale and guaranteed their anonymity and personal data confidentiality.

From this group of survey respondents, we randomly selected and assigned 76 students (majority of whom have a certain degree of mHealth familiarity) who expressed willingness to join and were available during an FGD session (seven groups, 10 – 11 participants each). Informed consent was obtained prior to the conduct and recording of each session.

All seven FGD sessions (45-minutes each) were moderated by two of the authors (PGFC and FRdC). At the beginning of each session, they provided a quick briefing of the discussion procedures and a very short introduction on mHealth. They also shared some of the common responses from the survey to start off discussions among the participants.

5. RESULTS

5.1. Demographic Profile and Survey of mHealth Applications Usage

Table 1. Participant Data

Variables	Categories	N (811)	%
Gender	Female	470	58.00
	Male	323	40.00
	Not Specified	18	2.20
Age	15-17	336	44.20
	18-20	388	50.70
	21-23	39	5.10
	24-25	3	0.40
Year Level	First	281	35.00
	Second	200	25.00
	Third	202	25.00
	Fourth	77	9.50
	Fifth	16	2.00
	Not specified	35	4.30
Type of Device Used*	Smartphone	695	36.70
	Ordinary Phone	256	13.50
	Tablet	342	18.00
	Laptop/Netbook	602	31.80

* More than one device indicated

Table 2. Software Applications Installed

Rank	App Function	No. of Responses*	%
1	Communication and Social	733	19.00
2	Entertainment	704	18.20
3	Browser and References	587	15.20
4	Utilities	376	9.70
5	Security	340	8.80
6	Organization	317	8.20
7	Reading and News	264	6.80
8	Health and Fitness	179	4.60
9	Shopping	108	2.80
10	Travel	104	2.70
11	Productivity	77	2.00
12	Cooking and Food	69	1.80
	Total	3858	

* Respondents were asked to select 3 commonly downloaded apps

Table 3. mHealth App Downloads

Rank	App Category	No. of Responses*	%
1	Workout/Exercise/Running	112	54.90
2	Period Tracker	30	14.70
3	Food/Nutrition/Diet	26	12.70
4	Health Monitor	12	5.90
5	Health References	11	5.40
6	Weight Tracker/BMI	6	2.90
7	Sleep Apps	3	1.50
8	Psychological Health	2	1.00
9	Brain exercises	1	0.50
10	Skin care	1	0.50
	Total	204	

* Based only from those who installed Health and Fitness software applications (Table 2, item 8). More than one response was allowed.

Majority of our survey respondents were females and in the mid- to late-adolescent stages. Similar to previous surveys, the college undergraduates in our study preferred the smartphone as the mobile device to connect to the Internet.

More than ¾ (n=653, 81%) are unaware and do not use mHealth apps. This finding is further supported by the rankings in Table 2, which show that apps related to health and fitness are not popular, with less than 5% of participants reported downloads of mHealth apps. When asked why they do not use such apps, majority report skepticism and perceived app inaccuracies. Others were simply not interested and had no use for them since they view themselves as healthy.

Of the 19% who are aware and use some form of mHealth app, the top three downloaded programs involve exercise (especially among the male respondents), monitoring menstrual cycle and nutrition. For this group, their main reason in availing the apps is for health awareness and taking more control of their health.

5.2. Focus Group Discussion Reactions

Generally, the responses we obtained during the sessions were elaborations of the survey data. We categorized the answers into five themes: 1) Familiarity, 2) Advantages and Disadvantages, 3) Actual mHealth usage, 4) Mental mHealth and 5) Intention to Use mHealth. Tables 4-7 provide summaries from the selected 76 participants:

Theme 1: Familiarity with MHealth

Table 4. Familiarity with mHealth

Question 1 Responses	%
a) Perceptions of inaccuracy and unreliability	35.00
b) Optimism about benefits and usefulness	29.00
c) Ambivalent	20.00
d) First time to encounter mHealth	6.00
e) Entertaining	8.00
f) Will consider to use apps if free	2.00

Majority of the FGD respondents have heard of mHealth, with mixed reactions. Most of the participants in the group, specifically those who have not downloaded any health-related application, expressed doubts and ambivalence regarding mHealth apps' accuracy and reliability. Those who regarded mHealth with optimism consider the apps as very informative yet entertaining and helpful in keeping them in shape. Like with any form of technology, they view that apps can be further improved.

Theme 2: Perceived Advantages and Disadvantages

Table 5. Advantages and Disadvantages of using Apps for health

Question 2 Responses	%
a) Self-awareness	48.00
b) Accessibility of information	43.00
c) More affordable healthcare	9.00
Question 3 Responses	
a) Lack of accuracy	48.00
b) App dependency	23.00
c) Discourages visiting medical professionals	7.00
d) Poor usability	12.00
e) Negative effect on self-awareness	10.00

To those who view the use of health apps as advantageous, their responses centered on increased self-awareness, access to information and lowered health costs. The majority (48%) of this group of respondents mentions that the major benefit is its ability to provide information and to facilitate self-awareness. They consider the apps as means to observe, improve, regulate, and monitor one’s health without having to personally visit a doctor. Many (43%) indicate that apps make health information readily available. Data is instantly provided with little or no effort, anytime and anywhere. They also find installing apps as convenient since they almost always have their phones with them. Furthermore, free mHealth apps make information and health monitoring affordable.

On the one hand, mHealth is criticized for a number of reasons. Majority question the apps’ accuracy and reliability. For instance, certain app reports do not reflect their personal observations. Some are unconvinced of the scientific-soundness of health software programs. Since health care must be considered on a case-to-case basis, a few find the results to medical inquiries too general and would prefer to see a physician. There is a perception that mobile phone users are able to manipulate their health concerns, thereby reducing the apps’ validity. Another apprehension is that people will over-rely on mHealth apps for self-treatment, therefore depriving doctors of patients. Obtaining negative health results may lead to unfavorable self-perception, anxiety and exaggerated and unnecessary health worries. Lastly, participants expressed usability issues (e.g., poor/no Internet connection, loss of information when apps crash).

Theme 3: Actual Use of mHealth

Table 6. Mobile Phone for Physical & Mental Health

Question 4 Responses	%
a) Familiar and currently using mHealth apps	41.00
b) Downloaded but using inconsistently	18.00
c) Optimism about apps' usefulness/Have plans to download	9.00
d) Downloaded but uninstalled due to skepticism	14.00
e) Do not use mHealth apps	18.00

Majority of the FGD participants use their mobile phones for other purposes, aside from texting and calling. Many are familiar with mobile health apps for health awareness, monitoring (e.g., period trackers among females), maintenance and disease prevention (especially if the illness runs in the family), among others and use the software installations with varying degrees of consistency. A number of those using fitness programs are motivated by the desire to be physically attractive.

Theme 4: mHealth for mental health

Table 7. Use of mHealth apps for Mental Health Screening

Question 5 Responses	%
a) Provides information	21.00
b) Usefulness depends on assessment design (e.g. questionnaire, text analysis)	21.00
c) Better to seek help from mental health professionals	18.00
d) Inaccuracies as assessment tool	16.00
e) Negatively affect self-perception	11.00
f) Highly feasible	6.00

Around 21% perceive mental mHealth apps, for instance, depression, as useful, since apps can furnish information about mental illnesses and contribute to symptom detection. They can also serve as an instrument of self-awareness by sending out “warnings” and

reminders for individuals who had been diagnosed or is currently experiencing a mental disorder. Furthermore, since depression is quite prevalent among young people who are likely to conceal their suffering, it is better to have “some” intervention than nothing at all. They also cite the feasibility of using mobile technology since they have their phones with them most/all of the time. A number would use and/or recommend an app for mental illness if available.

However, this group of participants likewise mentions the difficulty of developing an app to properly evaluate mental health and to target specific mental illnesses. Since mental disorders can be complicated and manifest symptoms in varied ways, it could be challenging to design a test or questionnaire to clearly identify depression, for example, and minimize false-positives. They observe, among others, that certain online mental health tests do not always present options applicable to them and that questions can be too broad. Result presentation, such as proper wordings and discreteness, should consider how it impacts the user.

18% of the undergraduates prefer to seek the direct assistance from mental health providers. Face-to-face interactions allow for greater trust building, better expression and more accurate understanding between client and health professional. They are doubtful if an app will be able to adequately capture the nature and complexity of mental conditions.

Theme 5: Intention to use mHealth

This small group, although optimistic over the prospects of mHealth, have not tried, as of the FGD sessions, to install and use an mHealth app. A small number of participants (9% or 7 participants) expressed plans to download mHealth apps, especially if these are available for free. Being students, they rely heavily on their parents or other family members for financial support and have no source of personal income.

6. DISCUSSION

6.1. Demographic Profile and Survey of mHealth Applications Usage

One positive observation with our group of student respondents and participants is their technological adeptness, which supports previously conducted profiles of adolescents as techno-centric. Most own more than one mobile device. Not only do they use their mobile phones and related devices for sending texts and calling but also for downloading programs. They are also active Internet users and regularly go online for various purposes.

However, it appears that majority of the college undergraduates in our study do not use their phones for health reasons. As they are not very familiar with mHealth, mobile technology health applications are therefore not very popular, as they prefer to download programs that initiate and/or maintain social networks, entertain and assist in academic work.

Although our study did not cover undergraduates' general health attitudes, it is possible to encourage them to be more health-oriented by incorporating their mobile devices. Based on Fazio and colleagues (1986) attitude-nonattitude continuum, one determinant for the development of strongly held attitudes is the level of personal significance. To help increase the attitude-behavior connection is to make mHealth personally relevant to young people. For instance, in exploring a group of undergraduates' mHealth app usage, a survey by Haithcox-Dennis and colleagues (2012) showed that students who owned apps related to their location were more likely interested in a health app that incorporated campus resources. Providing more opportunities to easier access and use mHealth apps will make it more likely for them to engage in mHealth. In a WHO 2001

Report, networking existing health service-providers, for example, enables adolescents to more likely obtain school health services.

6.2. Focus Group Discussion Reactions

In this investigation, over-all attitudes are mixed (Theme 1). Those who view mHealth with skepticism perceive health applications as unreliable, inaccurate and not user-friendly based on personal experiences. As a result, they uninstalled the apps after some time. On the one hand, those with positive attitudes toward mHealth are using health-related application programs or have verbalized that they will consider its adoption. The likelihood that an attitude will lead to actual, subsequent behaviors is affected by the individual's source of information or experience. Attitudes stemming from direct information or firsthand experience are more accurate barometers of later behaviors. Among our skeptical participants, unless they can be convinced otherwise (e.g., strong external influences), it appears that they are unlikely to employ mHealth behaviors at least in the near future.

One concept of Ajzen's theory of planned behavior is the role of behavioral intention as influenced by the attitudes. The more potent and dominant the attitude, the more likely it will exert influence over our behaviors. Themes 2, 3 and 4 explored perceptions and actual use of mHealth. Students who hold favorable attitudes regarding mHealth are using mHealth apps (at least during the duration of the research). The principle of aggregation (Rushton, Brainerd & Pressley, 1983) explains that the effects of an attitude are obvious by averaging behaviors. For this group of undergraduates, series of behaviors – for example, downloading of health apps such as fitness (e.g., calorie counters, workout routine) and physical attractiveness (e.g., hair care tips), installing the programs in their phones and regular use of the health applications - reflect their favorable evaluations toward mHealth.

Preferred software applications are related to work out and diet, equating health with beauty or physical attractiveness. As elaborated by Fishbein's expectancy-value theory (1963), attitudes are developed based on our appraisal of an attitude object. In this case, they expect that the regular use of mHealth apps will enhance their physical attributes. Since they are invested on their looks, they mostly download programs that will benefit their appearances.

In addition, those who expressed positive feelings commend mHealth advantages, such as information accessibility, facilitation of self-awareness and easier detection of symptoms (particularly in depression). According to Fazio et al (1986), associative strength is also determined by one's amount of knowledge. The more knowledge one possesses about an attitude, the firmer the attitude becomes. Undergraduates who took part in our study appreciate the apps' ability to make health information handy and as convenient means to monitor health. Obtained health information from their mobile devices promotes greater self-awareness. Apps such as calorie counters and exercise remind them of their health attitudes.

Theme 5 looked into the intention to use mHealth. Albeit a small proportion of the FGD group, they verbalized their plans to make use of mHealth as soon as possible. In the theory of planned behavior (Ajzen, 1991), stronger intentions to perform a behavior may lead to its actual execution. Nonetheless, the strength of intention-behavior relationship may be affected by various personal and environmental control factors (Randall & Wolff, 1994). Whether or not this group of participants will eventually use mHealth apps will depend on the performance of a progression of steps (e.g., having reliable Internet connection, searching for an appropriate mHealth app, actual downloading of the app, use of the app).

6.3. Limitations

Among the limitations of our research is that we did not compute for correlations between attitude and behaviors. To compensate for this, we noted more reports of mHealth related behaviors among those whose expressed confident mHealth attitudes. It is also worth mentioning that we did not measure their mHealth attitudes prior to the development of mHealth behaviors.

Another limitation is that, although we had one FGD question on intention to use mHealth, measuring behavioral intention was not a major focus of this study. In this case, “using mHealth apps in the future” is a behavior tendency, not actual behavior.

Since there were no available standardized paper-and-pencil instruments at the time of our data gathering to objectively measure mHealth, we relied on the items (survey and FGD) we specifically developed for this investigation.

7. CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

7.1. Conclusions

In this chapter, we presented college undergraduates’ general attitudes toward mHealth as obtained from surveys and focus group discussions. We hypothesized that our participants have more or less established attitudes toward mHealth and their actual mHealth behaviors reflect mHealth attitudes. One main finding based on our survey is that, despite being techno-centric, a significant number of our college participants are unaware of mobile health or mHealth. They do not use their mobile devices for health purposes. Another major result from the discussions is that mHealth attitudes are mixed and that their use or non-use of mobile health apps is influenced by their attitude valence (positive versus negative). Undergraduates who use the health application programs hold a favorable attitude towards mobile health. On the other hand, participants who do not use or discontinued using health apps have misgivings about mobile health.

7.2 Future Research Directions

This research was initially conducted as a preliminary approach in the development and validation of a mobile mental health application for depression screening (Bitsch, Ramos, Ix, Ferrer-Cheng & Wehrle, 2015). Perceptions (which reflect attitudes) may aid mHealth app developers in terms of conceptualizing and designing applications. As suggested by theories, attitudes may not always direct behaviors and behavior tendencies. Nevertheless, perceptions may provide ideas how end users would respond to mobile health applications.

Generally, there is a need to boost focus on health attitudes among the young, particularly, adolescents. Despite increased research interest, youth health issues, specifically mental, are not fully explored. Knowing how they view health may allow us to determine their motivations for staying healthy. In this manner, we will be able to relate health with other life dimensions they consider important, such as self-awareness and physical attractiveness. Since it is during the adolescent stage when they start to make health-decisions, it would be beneficial to promote good health practices and/or modify health behaviors. It would also be advantageous to explore the variables in the health attitude-behavior connection. Doing so will provide insights regarding the process on how attitudes influence and shape behaviors in the health domain. For instance, our understanding of this interaction will allow for the development of programs or interventions (based on health attitudes) that adolescents will follow through (behavior).

Taking advantage of their online activity may also establish favorable health attitudes. Although being active Internet users, we observed with our undergraduates that there is a need for mHealth awareness. WHO (2011) reports that a major barrier in the acceptance and full utilization of mHealth is the lack of knowledge of possible applications and outcomes. To increase health-interest, we should consider incorporating health information in websites they frequently visit. Likewise, strengthening attitude-behavior relations can be accomplished by “investing” on a health issue. Encouraging adolescents to obtain direct experience with the attitude or providing opportunities for them to think carefully about the attitude may also bolster the attitude-behavior network. Creation of health discussion boards or fora, where they can openly deliberate health concerns, may facilitate the cognitive need to reflect on their attitudes.

A recurring attitude we encountered is their uncertainties over mHealth. There are doubts as to the scientific nature of the many mHealth apps available. We acknowledge that an often-overlooked feature of mHealth app development is proper evaluation. Admittedly, most of the commercial applications have not been carefully reviewed and scientifically validated. To appeal to individuals who value knowledge, apps should be supported with careful testing and research. Developers should not only focus on the apps’ “appearance” and appeal. Involving professionals with health-related backgrounds in designing of mobile health applications can likewise be influential.

It is to the advantage of mHealth app developers to know their target group. By doing so, such information will guide in aligning mobile health application programs with the groups’ perceptions surrounding health and mHealth.

To encourage the “future use” of mHealth, it might be useful to look into other variables (aside from perceptions) that might have better associations with one’s potential use of their mobile devices for health-related activities, such as allowing potential users to access trial periods or test runs of a mobile health application.

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