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Social Art Activities in a Nursing Home: A Pilot Study in Indonesia

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Abstract

This pilot study investigates the feasibility, acceptability and the effectiveness of social art activities for reducing symptoms of depression of Indonesian elderly people who live in a nursing home. Sixteen depressed elderly people with ages ranging from 65 to 85 years old were selected randomly in a nursing home to join 12 sessions of a 90 minute of activities twice a week. There were two groups, one was a social art group (AG, N=12) and another was a daily regular activities/control group (CG, N=4). The sessions were held from October 1st, 2013 to January 29th, 2014. The participants completed pre and post measures of symptoms of depression (Geriatric Depression Scale 15-item), well-being (The Satisfaction with Life Scale), and cognitive functioning (the Mini-Mental State Examination). To explore the feasibility and acceptability, we conducted observations during the activities and interviews afterwards. Repeated measures revealed no significant between-group differences regarding depressive symptoms, well-being and cognitive function. The AG tended to have a decrease in the depressive scores and an increase in well-being scores from pre- to posttest, whereas CG scores remained the same. There were no changes in the scores of cognitive function in both groups. The observations and interviews showed that the participants were interested in the activities and there were positive changes in their emotional expression, liveliness, cooperation, and communication with the group members. They were willing to be involved in the next social art activities. We conclude that these activities can be considered feasible and acceptable for depressed elderly people who live in a nursing home in Indonesia.

Keywords: elderly people, depression, social art activity, nursing home

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Introduction

Depression is one of the most common mental disorders among elderly people (Cloosterman, Laan, & Van Alphen, 2013; Neufeld, Freeman, Joling & Hirdes, 2014). Approximately 54% elderly people suffer from depression especially those who live in a nursing home (Arifianto, 2006; Borza, et.al., 2015; Lampert & Rosso, 2015), because living in a nursing home substantiates the feeling of being neglected by the family (Natan, 2008). It can decrease their health status, daily living ability, quality of life, and lead to a reduction in cognitive abilities and an increase in mortality (Mansbach, Mace & Clark, 2015; Meeks, Van Haitsma, Schoenbachler & Looney, 2015). In this case, women are more affected than men (Tsang, Cheung, & Lak, 2002).

Research findings describe that the risk factors for depression in nursing home residents are older age, poor physical health, cognitive impairment, lower income, lack of care from the nursing home staff, lack of social support and loneliness (Barca, Engedal, Laks & Selbaek, 2010; Jongenelis et al., 2004). Depression in the nursing home is often underdiagnosed and undertreated (Mansbach et al., 2015). The symptoms that are usually observed are sleeping and eating disturbances, less or too much talking, difficulties in concentrating and decision-making (Lampert & Rosso, 2015; Niu & Arian, 2015). In order to improve the physical, psychosocial and well-being of elderly residents, it is important to implement productive activities such as art therapy.

Art therapy is a clinical intervention that is suitable for elderly people who have difficulties in expressing their thoughts and feelings. Art therapy is used as a non-verbal communication that helps elderly people to express their emotions in a safe way (Johnson & Sullivan-Marx, 2006). Involvement in art activities during old age contributes to well-being through the act of developing and maintaining problem-solving skills that are significant to reduce depression (Stephenson, 2013). Joining art activities in a social context gives advantages to elderly people to preserve social interaction in the nursing home and to increase their social and communication skills (Schrade, Tronsky, & Kaiser, 2011). Social relationships have proven to have profound effects on health (Hoyer & Roodin, 2009). Through participation in social activities, elderly people may remain engaged with peers and their communities and then become motivated to stay active in their daily lives (Stephenson, 2013).

The use of art activities in a social context has been found to have a positive impact on the well-being of elderly people in a nursing home (Maujean, Pepping & Kendall, 2014; Wang, et al., 2013). Social art activities are defined as activities that introduce art to stimulate social interaction between group members (Kim, Kim & Ki, 2014). The stages of social art activities consist of a beginning (the initial step is striving to explore personal feelings, often experienced as futile), artistic immersion (unearthing of previously hidden feelings and facing up to reality), interpersonal sharing, closure and termination (Moon, 2010). Social interactions during art activities provide opportunities for a depressed elderly person to form meaningful relationships with others, reduce feelings of isolation, share experiences, and resolve distressing emotional conflicts (Kim, et al., 2014; Rankanen, 2014). Social art activities with duration of 60-75 minutes are effective to reduce negative feelings about one self and

others, to construct a positive self-image, and serve as a distraction from negative feelings about living in the nursing home (Im & Lee, 2014; Kim, 2013).

Since most of art therapy studies were conducted in Western countries, it is not clear whether art therapy is effective in Asian countries (Ando, Imamura, Kira, & Nagasaka, 2013), especially in Indonesia. We want to test the hypotheses whether depressed elderly people in a nursing home can engage in social art activities (feasible) and accept social art activities as one of the activities in the nursing home (acceptable). Moreover, we hypothesize that the elderly people in the social art group improve their well-being more than elderly people in the control group. Thus, this study addresses the following research questions: Are social art activities feasible and acceptable for elderly people with depressive symptoms who live in a nursing home in Indonesia? Do the social art activities have an effect on depression symptoms?

Theoretical background

One aspect of successful aging is to maintain adequate levels of subjective well-being (SWB), which is defined as positive evaluation of one's life associated with good feelings (Pinquart & Sörensen, 2000). SWB of elderly people is threatened when they experience health problems and depressive symptoms (Strawbridge, Wallhagen, & Cohen, 2002).

Depressive symptoms in later life have had low priority in clinical research of psychotherapeutic treatment (Munk, 2007), yet they contribute to a deterioration of physical and functional health (Choi, Ransom & Wyllie, 2008), and are prevalent in nursing homes (Meeks, et.al., 2015). Depression in nursing home residents has been found to be related to decrease in cognitive functions and to result in an increased burden for both residents and staff attempting to provide care (Cody & Drysdale, 2013; Pike, 2013).

The essential care for achieving healthy aging and promoting physical and SWB are through social interaction and productive activity (Friedman, 2012; Zunzunegui, Alvarado, Del Ser, & Otero, 2003). The benefit of social interaction is to slow the functional decline, increase the quality of life, which resulting in fewer depressive symptoms and a risk of cognitive impairment (Park, 2009). Productive activity such as art activities with geriatric depressed people should be on portraying past and current strengths, as well as integrating life experiences. Recalling past experiences through art media can improve cognitive and perceptual skills by the body sense stimulation in the art activity process (Buchalter, 2004).

Some studies have reported that joining art therapy in a group can engage depressed elderly people in social activities (Papalia, Sterns, Feldman, & Camp, 2007). Doric-Henry (1997) conducted research on pottery as an art therapy with elderly nursing home residents. This study showed that an art therapy intervention with 40 elderly people (art therapy group= 20; control group= 20) significantly improved self-esteem and reduced depression. Pike (2013) also conducted research on the effect of art therapy on cognitive performance among ethnically diverse older adults. At 10-week art therapy intervention with a total sample size of 91 (experimental group = 54; control group = 37) significantly improved cognitive performance of older adults. Im and Lee (2014) examined the effect of art and music therapy on depression and

cognitive functioning. At the end of 12 weeks with a weekly 60-minute session, the results confirmed that the art and music therapy were effective in reducing depression but showed no effect on cognitive abilities. Jones, Waren & McElroy (2006) displayed that art activity was effective in reducing the degree of depression, relieving the sense of despair, improving happiness, peacefulness, satisfaction, and calmness. Gleibs, et.al., (2011) also found that social engagement in a nursing home increased the sense of social identification with others, and that higher levels of life satisfaction and reduced symptoms of depression and anxiety were reported. Therefore, the social art activities are useful to reduce depression, and to increase well-being and cognitive functions of elderly people.

Methods

Participants and setting

Sixteen elderly people from a nursing home in Jakarta, Indonesia participated in this study. Inclusion criteria were that the participants had to be 65 years old or older, with a Geriatric Depression Scale score of more than 5 (see below: outcome measures), and cognitively capable of participating in an interview. The participants must have stayed in the nursing home for at least three months; had a healthy physical condition; and had no severe hearing or speech impairment that might interfere in the interview. Participants gave consent to randomization and follow-up. The exclusion criteria were severe cognitive impairment or dementia, experiencing psychotic disorders, severe physical disorder and alcohol/drug misuse, and communication problems.

The setting for the social art activities was in an auditorium in the nursing home that was designed like an art studio. It had worktables, art materials such as white paper, origami paper, crepe paper, crayons, markers, pastels, pencils, scissors, glue sticks, and picture cutouts from magazines. While in the control group, the setting was in a room in the nursing home with chairs and sofas, a dining table with newspapers, books and a television. The studies were performed for four months (October 1st, 2013 until January 29th, 2014), and were guided by the first author and assisted by qualified graduate clinical psychology students who were in an internship program. They were in the last semester of the program, have passed the case study exams, and considered as clinical psychology candidates, with GPA of A.

Measurements

The primary outcome measure

Outcome measurements were conducted before starting the activities and after the 12 sessions of the activities, using the same measurements. The measurements included the *Geriatric Depression Scale* 15-item (GDS) developed by Sheikh and Yesavage (1986). It consists of 15 questions with a YES or NO answer, for example "Have you dropped many of your activities and interests?". Ten questions indicate the presence of depression when answered positively (YES), while the rest of the questions (question numbers 1, 5, 7, 11, 13) indicate a depression when answered negatively (NO). Scores of 0-4 are considered normal; scores of 5-8 indicate mild depression; scores of 9-11 indicate moderate depression; and scores of 12-15 indicate severe depression. Sheikh and Yesavage (1986) reported a reliability of the GDS-15 of $r = .84$, $p < .001$.

The secondary outcome measures

Well-being was measured by *The Satisfaction with Life Scale* (SWLS) developed by Diener, Emmons, Larsen and Griffin (1985). The SWLS consists of five statements that the participants can either agree or disagree with a scale of 1 – 7, where 1 represents strongly disagree and 7 represents strongly agree with the statement. A score of 31-35 indicates extremely satisfied; a score between 26 and 30 indicates satisfied; a score between 21 and 25 indicates slightly satisfied; a score of 20 is neutral; a score between 15 and 19 indicates slightly dissatisfied, a score between 10 and 14 indicates dissatisfied, and a score between 5 and 9 indicates extremely dissatisfied. The SWLS has a strong internal reliability and a moderate temporal stability. Diener, et al., (1985) reported a Cronbach's alpha of 0.87 for the scale and a test-retest stability coefficient of 0.82.

Cognitive functioning was assessed by *the Mini-Mental State Examination (MMSE)* (Folstein, Folstein, & McHugh, 1975), a brief indicator of cognitive status with 11 questions measuring five areas of cognitive function: orientation, registration, attention and calculation, recall, and language. An example of a question for orientation is "What is the (year) (season) (date) (day) (month)?" The maximum score is 30. A score of 23 or lower indicates cognitive impairment. Test retest reliability for MMSE is .98. (Folstein, et.al., 1975).

Furthermore, the first author conducted observations during the activities, to assess feasibility of the activities. The observations were carried out in each session using an observation form that contained eight points of evaluation, they were comprehension, co-operation, communication and involvement in the activities, facial expressions toward the activities (before, during and after the activities), emotional state, liveliness and their impression of the activities. It is important to observe their facial expressions thoroughly because they can give further clues, additional information and meaning over the points of observation.

The first author also performed follow-up interviews to assess acceptability. The researcher asked an open-ended question about how the participants felt after they followed the social art activities.

Procedures

The participants were randomly assigned either to the social art group (AG), or the control group (CG), using sealed-envelopes which contained a card labeled with information about the intervention group, the number of sessions, the time period of the intervention, and a space for their signature to indicate that they were willing to follow the intervention. When the participants knew their group, they were interviewed to obtain demographic information and data regarding the reason for staying in the nursing home. Recruitment and enrollment of the participants are described in the participants' flow diagram in Figure 1.

Participants who met the inclusion criteria were evaluated before the intervention (pretest) using the outcome measurements (GDS, SWLS, and MMSE). Then, we started the social art activities for the intervention group, and participants in the control condition went to the control room. During the art activities, we conducted

observations in each session using the observation form. Participants discussed their art project with each other at the end of each session. After the 12 sessions of social art group and the same number of meetings in the control group, we evaluated participants in both groups using the same outcome measurements as in the pretest (posttest). The first author also performed follow-up interviews with an open-ended question after the completion of all activities.

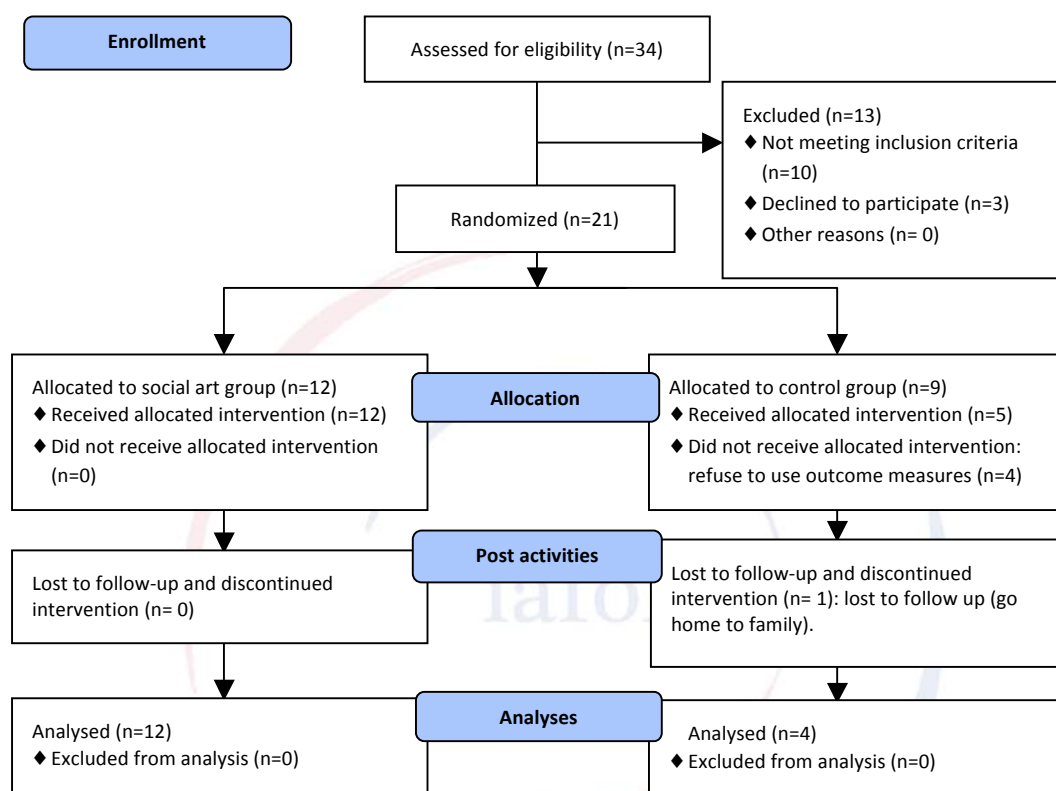


Figure 1. Participants flow diagram.

Activities Protocol

The social art group (AG) was performed in 12 sessions, each session lasts for 90 minutes, twice a week. The first 60 minutes of the session were devoted to drawing or collage activity and the last 30 minutes was intended for a discussion. The sessions were conducted in a group with 4 people each. The participants were directed to work on their own art and to discuss their drawings or collages with their group members. After completing their art activities, participants discussed their art projects with their group members. If the participants did not have any idea what to discuss, then a research assistant would encourage them to say what they thought of the art project they had made. In such a small group, every participant could easily interact and relate with their peers. Information about the content of each session is presented in Table 1.

Participants in the control group (CG) engaged in daily regular activities such as praying, watching television, or reading for 90 minutes. These were regular and

ongoing activities in nursing homes; participants did not receive any therapeutic interventions as above.

Table 1. Social Art Activities Protocol

Session	Theme	Activities	Intervention goals
1	Pretest Hand contour	Each group member creates a contour drawing, writes their names on it, and decorates the words and uses only a black marker or a crayon.	Self-expression and the exploration of feelings.
2	Flowers	Drawing: draw flowers and color them. Collage: Arrange picture cutouts of flowers and then color them.	Self-expression and the exploration of feelings.
3	In pairs	The participants look at their partner. Drawing: Draw their partner's portrait. Collage: choose suitable clothes for their partner from a magazine and picture cutouts of clothes.	Learning to realize how self perceives others
4	Own clothes	Drawing: draw their own clothes without looking. Collage: choose their own clothes from picture cutouts from magazine and arrange them on a white paper with a glue stick.	Self-realization and self-perception
5	Family	Drawing: draw their own family and color it. Collage: arrange in white paper of own family from picture cutouts from magazine.	Recall childhood memories
6	Pleasant experience	Drawing: draw pleasant experience in life. Collage: Choose some design/shape/anything that reflects pleasant experience in life.	Recall past memories
7	Emotions	Drawing: draw present emotions and color them. Collage: Arrange some design/shape/ anything that reflects present emotion.	Expression of emotions
8	What is in the box	Drawing: draw a box together; add color, design/ object. Collage: make a box together and decorate it using color and other found objects.	Building self-empathy
9	Who are you	Regarding a box. Drawing: draw objects that represents values, family or friends that are important for them. Collage: Arrange objects that represent values, family/friends that are important for them.	Concretizing changing role and identity
10	A picnic scene	Discuss a theme for wonderful picnic with group members. Drawing: draw alternately the object for a wonderful picnic and color. Collage: Choose picture cutouts from magazines to arrange a wonderful picnic on a sheet of paper.	Problem solving
11	Mural	Drawing: draw what older people all over the world have in common and use colors. Collage: Choose picture cutouts from magazines to arrange together what older people all over the world have in common.	Identifying universal problems
12	Termination Posttest	Each group member looks at their drawing and shares their experience. Discussion.	Self-Evaluation

The first session started with an ice breaking, in which participants were directed to draw a hand contour drawing, write their name on it and decorate the words using a black marker or a crayon. Afterwards, the participants were allowed to talk about their emotion related to their first art projects. In the second session, the participants drew or arranged cutout pictures of flowers. They could color it with crayons and added other objects as they liked. After participants completed their art project, they discussed their impressions of the art project within their group. The goal of the second session was to explore and express themselves.

The third session was focused on self-expression by drawing and completing a picture in pairs. Participants looked at their partners and drew their partners' portraits. They could also draw their pair's cloth. In collage making, they could dress up their pairs' (pay attention to the color, design, details such as buttons, colors, belts, etc). In this session, they learned to realize how other people perceived themselves. After the

activity, they were encouraged to give comments about their drawing/collage of their peers.

The fourth session was focused on self-realization and self-perception. The participants were directed to draw their own clothes without looking it over. They were allowed to use colors. They could also choose suitable clothes for themselves using picture cutouts that were available on their table, and arranged them on a piece of white paper, and sticking them using a glue stick. The research assistant guided participants to discuss how they saw themselves, and what they thought about their drawing/collage.

The fifth session emphasized on recalling childhood memories. This session helped participants to put their childhood memories into a concrete form and it gave opportunity to remember the experiences they had gone through in their lives. It would strengthen self-identification and self-esteem. The participants were directed to draw their own family and coloring it with crayons. In collage making, they could arrange their own family in a piece of white paper, using available picture cutouts, magazines and a glue stick. The research assistant led the group members into discussions that stimulated further recall.

The sixth session concentrated on recalling pleasant memories from the past. Helping participants to retrieve pleasant memories would make them realize and revalue the positive aspects of their lives. Participants drew their pleasant experiences or they could arrange designs/shapes or anything that reflects a pleasant experience. Discussion was held after they finished their artwork, focusing on how they felt about their artwork.

The seventh session focused on expression of emotions. This session gave a chance to develop the ability to express and feel the feeling of here and present time, in order to help them realizing their current emotional condition. The participants were directed to draw their present emotions using color and pencil on a piece of white paper. In the discussion, they explained their impressions and feelings toward the process of art making.

The theme of the eighth and ninth sessions was about a box. The box is symbolic to one self in which the outside of the box reflects how you or other see yourself from the outside; and the inside of the box is the feelings or emotions that they tend to hold/hide inside. In the eighth session, participants drew or made a box and decorated the outside of the box using colors or designs. This activity is intended to build self-empathy. Participants were encouraged to discuss their impressions and feelings about the art project.

In the ninth session, the theme was “the inside of the box”, the participants were directed to draw objects that represent their value, family or friends that were important to them. They were allowed to use colors. The purpose was to concretize the changing roles and identities. It helped participants to understand their roles might change by age but their identity would exist even without work.

The tenth session was focused on problem solving. The participants in the group were directed to alternately draw an object of a wonderful picnic theme on a sheet of white

paper. At first, they discussed the theme. They could use colors as they liked. In collage making, they arranged a wonderful picnic together on a sheet of white paper. They could choose picture cutouts from magazines. The eleventh session was focused on identifying universal problems of elderly people. Participants were directed to draw what older people all over the world had in common on one piece of white paper. The last session was self-evaluation. Participants looked at their drawing and shared their experiences during social art activities.

Statistical Analysis

No power analysis and sample size calculation were performed. Data from the GDS, SWLS, and MMSE were analyzed with 2x2 repeated-measures ANOVA to see the interaction between groups and *t*-test to look for the differences between the groups. Data from the interview and the observation were analyzed using content analysis.

Results

Demographics

We initially recruited 34 participants, 21 people met the inclusion and exclusion criteria, but only 17 participants completed the pre-test measures. During the activities, one further participant left and submitted incomplete data. In the end, 16 participants remained (N=12 in AG; N=4 in CG), and only data of these 16 participants were analyzed and reported. The participants' ages ranged from 65 to 85 with a mean age of 77 (SD=6,94); 87,5% females and 12,5% male. Table 2 shows data frequencies of gender, ethnicity, marital status, the length of stay and the reason for living in the nursing home.

Table 2. *Descriptive statistic of the participants*

Demographic		Social Art Activities Group (n=12)		Control Group (n=4)		Total (n=16)	
		Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Gender	Male	1	8,3	1	25	2	12,5
	Female	11	91,7	3	75	14	87,5
Ethnicity	Chinese	5	41,7	1	25	6	37,5
	Javanese	7	58,3	1	25	8	50
	Other	0	0	2	50	2	12,5
Marital status	Married	4	33,3	3	75	7	43,8
	Single	8	66,7	1	25	9	56,3
Length of stay in NH	3-6 m	2	16,7	0	0	2	12,5
	7-12 m	1	8,3	0	0	1	6,3
	1-5 y	6	50	2	50	8	50
	6-10 y	2	16,7	2	50	4	25
	>10 y	1	8,3	0	0	1	6,3
Reason for living in NH	Lonely	8	66,7	3	75	11	68,8
	Less family care	1	8,3	0	0	1	6,3
	No support income	2	16,7	1	25	3	18,8
	Other	1	8,3	0	0	1	6,3

Depression symptoms

The results on GDS pre and post measurements based on 2x2 repeated-measures ANOVA showed that there was no significant interaction between time of measurement (pre and post) and group (AG vs. CG) with $F(1, 14) = 1.76, p > .05, \eta_p^2 = .122$. The results indicated no significant between-group differences in scores

pre and post measure of GDS with $t(14) = 1.32, p = .205$. Seven out of 12 participants experienced that their depression symptoms decreased after AG, as well as 2 out of 4 in CG.

Well-being and Cognitive Functioning

Repeated measures on well-being using SWLS revealed that there was no significant interaction between time of measurement (pre and post) and group (AG vs. CG) with $F(1, 14) = .093, p > .05, \eta_p^2 = .007$. The scores differences between group in pre and post measure showed that the well-being more increased in AG compared to CG with $t(14) = .305, p = .765$.

The same analyses on cognitive functioning (pre and post) reported that there was no statistically significant result on the interactions between time and group (AG vs. CG) with $F(1, 13) = .02, p > .05, \eta_p^2 = .002$. The t -test presented that the score of cognitive status in both groups remained the same with $t(13) = .147, p = .088$.

Interviews

The interview results on 12 participants of AG indicate that they considered the social art activities as useful instruments to express their feelings. When they were questioned about the activities, they said they realized they were able to perform the activities and increase their social interactions. These activities influenced their emotional state. Some illustrative answers from the interviews are mentioned below:

- *I'm happy because I can draw something that is on my mind, I am satisfied with the results of my drawing and I want to do it again. (Participant # 5).*
- *I don't want to draw because I can't draw and my drawing is poor...but after I tried to draw, I feel happy and satisfied that my drawing turned out fine. (Participants #2)*
- *I think the activity is useful for me and other people; it's beneficial to train us to cooperate. I can collaborate with other residents and do the activities..... I'm happy that I can draw a beautiful flower. (Participant #6).*
- *At first I didn't know what to do, but I'm happy and satisfied to see my art project.I like to do this activity because it's easy and fun.I'm blessed that I'm still able to create something.....I feel relaxed that I can express something that burdens me. (Participants #10)*

Observations

Observations in each session used eight points of evaluation. The responses of each participant were recorded on the observation form, and then content analysis was conducted to determine the occurrence of certain responses that related to the points of observation. Their responses were analyzed and similar responses were in every session. Consequently, the responses were divided into 3 phases of therapeutic change (see table 3).

The analysis revealed that participants' conditions changed into a positive direction. In the first phase (1-5 sessions), participants displayed their understanding toward the activities. They could follow the instruction of the art activity. The participants

showed their cooperation by focusing on the process of art making. In contrast, they tend to be more passive, submissive and feel unsatisfied with the results. Even though they could finish the project, they had an impression that the activity was useless. In the second phase (6-8 sessions), the participants were interested in the activity and they started to initiate communication. They began to support their group members to start the activity. In the third phase (9-12 sessions) of the activity, the participants became more enthusiastic in doing the art activities and they shared their experiences during the process. They actively talked and discussed their art project between one another.

Table 3. Phases of therapeutic change

No	Variable	Phase		
		1 (Session 1-5)	2 (Session 6-8)	3 (Session 9-12)
1	Comprehension	Good, able to understand the instructions		
2	Cooperation	Passive and submissive, self-focused, impatient	Support other group members	Share experience and give help
3	Communication	Passive, limited and or refused to communicate, introvert	Initiate to communicate, tell the experiences	Ask and give opinions, make an interaction, make humor
4	Involvement	Passive and need support to participate; refused and was not interested in the activities	Display interest in participating and initiating activities	Active participation: responsive, enthusiastic in the activities
5	Expression	Before	Flat, disoriented, not confident, unmotivated, was unable to do the activities	Show interest, initiative seriousness, concentration and passion in doing the activities
		During	Focused, serious and looked enjoyable	show interest and happiness
		After	Unsatisfied with the result, unhappy	show happiness and satisfaction that can be seen from their smiles
6	Emotional state	Unhappy, unsatisfied and flat	Satisfied, happy, and proud of the results	Happy, look satisfied, relieved with smiles on the face
7	Liveliness	Passive, feel enforced to do the activities	Focused and active in completing the activities and less talking	Competent, and grateful
8	Impression	Useless activities	Feel the benefit of the activities	Active in talking and discussing the activities with others
				Competent and energetic

Discussion

The purpose of this pilot study was to explore the feasibility, acceptability and the effectiveness of social art activities for Indonesian elderly people living in a nursing home. The results showed that the social art activities are feasible and acceptable. The activities are feasible, which means that the elderly people were interested in the activities and they showed positive changes in their emotional expression, liveliness, cooperation and communication with others. The social art activities are acceptable which means that the elderly were willing to be involved in the next social art activities. Statistical analysis revealed that there were no significant differences in depressive symptoms and well being after the art activities. Nevertheless in 7 out of 12 participants in AG had decreased their depressive symptoms compared to CG (2 out of 4); and all participants in AG had a greater increase in well-being than CG. The cognitive functions remained the same in both groups.

Our findings on depressive symptoms were in contrast with previous studies that used similar methods (see Doric-Henry, 1997; Im & Li, 2014; Jones, et al., 2006). A

number of factors could explain the differences of the results. The increase of the depressive symptoms experienced by some of the participants could be associated with the increased age, lower income, poor physical health, physical disability, cognitive impairment, lack of care from the nursing home staff, lack social support and loneliness (Barca, et.al., 2010; Jongenelis, et al., 2004). Our finding about well-being is similar to the previous research that social interaction during the art activities improved happiness and satisfaction; and reduced emotional stress (Jones, et al., 2006; Kim, et al., 2014). The result on cognitive measure indicated that 12 sessions of social art activities is not enough to improve cognitive functioning. This result is different from earlier research (see Pike, 2013).

The small size of our study sample might offer another explanation for the ineffectiveness of social art activities. Only one out of seven private nursing homes in Jakarta-Indonesia agreed to participate in this pilot study. They refused to participate because they already had different activities. Moreover, we found only 16 out of 34 eligible people who met the criteria for our studies. Despite, the small number of participants had advantages for therapists during therapeutic session on establishing rapport, and conducting interviews and observations (Himawan, Risnawati & Wirawan, 2014). The randomization of 16 people to the two groups was not equal, with 12 people in AG and 4 people in CG. The small sample size might have prevented us to detect any significant differences between the groups (Schulz & Grimes, 2002). We should have taken into account that participants might drop out from the study and engaged more participants for the study. In future, the use of the measurement of depression (GDS) might not be sensitive to detect small changes in depressive symptoms. The suggestion for a future study is to consider to use the Beck Depression Inventory (BDI) as one of the measurements to assess depressive symptoms in elderly people.

Instead, we did find a therapeutic change in AG that is consistent with the theory (Moon, 2010). The social art activity created changes on participants. Based on observation their responses were similar in every session. They tended to understand more about themselves and the emotional distress that they experienced. The positive change displayed at each session occurs gradually from the first session to the end of the activity.

The 12-session program was not conducted continuously even though it was planned to be completed within three months. During the implementation of the program, a number of sessions were missed when the participants returned to their families (December 18th, 2013 until January 16th, 2014) for holiday. Therefore, they had to postpone the activity for a month. This temporary termination in the middle of the program could have prevented the participants to gain benefit from the activities. In line with the theory proposed by Csikszentmihalyi (2014), if the participant could not engage in an activity as planned, the motivation would decrease. When they have low motivation to engage in the activities, they do not perform optimally as evaluated at the end of the program. This situation was considered as a form of inconsistency. Continuous process is necessary for the participants to remain in the activities in order to obtain the benefit of the program.

Conclusion

Social art activities can be considered feasible, acceptable and (possibly) effective for elderly people with depressive symptoms in nursing homes in Indonesia. Some of the elderly people experienced a decrease in their depressive symptoms while their well-being increased after participating in AG compared to CG, even though their cognitive functions remained the same. The differences in scores of the pre and post measurements were not significant, yet the qualitative evidence supports the notion that participants' conditions changed into a positive direction and they start to share experiences during the activities in a social context. Therefore, we suggest that these activities have a positive impact on reducing feelings of depression and improving well-being. We hope that this research is a launching point for future research to increase the well-being of elderly people, since there is little information on the effects of social art activities on depressed elderly people in nursing homes in Indonesia.



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Affective Learning About Racial In-Group and Out-Group Members

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Abstract

Learning experiences occur within a social context and these can influence whether an individual is likely to approach or avoid certain people and situations in the future. The present study used an associative learning paradigm to investigate the acquisition and attenuation of affective responses towards in-group and out-group members defined on the basis of ethnicity. White Australian participants initially viewed images of two White faces (in-group) and two Middle Eastern ethnicity faces (out-group) in a habituation phase. Next, one face of each ethnic group type was paired with an aversive electrotactile stimulus whereas the other face was presented alone in an acquisition phase. Finally, all faces were presented alone in an extinction phase. Self-report ratings showed no interactions between face ethnicity and whether it was paired with the aversive stimulus or not. Ratings of fear and arousal were higher and ratings of pleasantness and liking were lower for out-group faces than in-group faces after all phases. In addition, these ratings were higher for the faces paired with the aversive stimulus than for faces presented alone following the acquisition and extinction phases. Skin conductance responses did show an interaction between face ethnicity and whether it was paired with the aversive stimulus or not, although this was limited to the acquisition phase. In this phase, responses were larger to out-group faces paired with the aversive stimulus than to out-group faces presented alone whereas there were no differences between in-group faces paired with the aversive stimulus or presented alone. The results suggest that negative emotional responses are overall elevated and are more likely to be associated with negative experiences for ethnic out-group members than for in-group members. The results have implications for racial prejudice and for the personal and situational factors that may motivate an individual to approach or avoid intergroup contact.

Keywords: intergroup anxiety, intergroup contact, conditioning, learning, psychophysiology

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Introduction

It has been argued that prejudice towards ethnic out-group members can be reduced through intergroup contact (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). While multiple factors might be implicated in the proposed reduction in prejudice, intergroup anxiety has emerged as a particularly important mediator (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). As a result, a better understanding of how intergroup anxiety develops and is modified over time has the potential to lead to the development of approaches that reduce prejudice in society (Paolini, Harris, & Griffin, 2016).

Pavlovian conditioning provides a framework by which we can understand the formation and reduction in anxiety towards out-group members. A basic Pavlovian conditioning procedure involves two phases: acquisition and extinction (Gottlieb & Begej, 2014). Acquisition refers to a repeated pairing of a conditioned stimulus (CS) and an unconditioned stimulus (US) until an association between the two is learnt. The US can be an aversive stimulus that elicits a response known as an unconditioned response (UR) regardless of an individual's prior learning history. For fear learning to have occurred and the acquisition phase considered successful, presentation of the CS alone must elicit a conditioned fear response (CR). The extinction phase refers to a procedure designed to reduce the conditioned fear. The procedure involves repeated presentations of the CS alone. The removal of the US results in new learning that the CS is no longer associated with the US and a reduction in the conditioned fear response is typically observed.

A seminal study by Olsson, Ebert, Banaji, and Phelps (2005) used a fear conditioning procedure to show differences in fear extinction to in-group and out-group members defined by ethnicity. In typical fear conditioning studies, the CS is a neutral stimulus like a geometric shape or tone. However, Olsson et al. (2005) used images depicting the face of an individual of the same or different ethnicity as the CS. During acquisition, both White and Black participants demonstrated conditioned fear responses to both in-group and out-group CSs. Following an extinction phase, fear responses extinguished to the in-group CS. However, conditioned fear responses were reduced but not completely extinguished for the out-group CS. The amount of extinction in conditioned fear was unrelated to participants' negative attitudes against the out-group but it was greater for those individuals who reported having more prior interracial romantic partners.

Subsequent research has found that extinction is even more retarded for out-group exemplars with an angry expression in comparison to a happy expression (Bramwell, Mallan, & Lipp, 2014). Importantly, resistance to extinction to outgroup exemplars may not be a universal phenomenon. For example, no resistance to extinction to out-group ethnic members was found when participants were given explicit instructions that the US was not going to be presented in the extinction phase (Mallan, Sax, & Lipp, 2009). In addition, no resistance to extinction was found when the CS was a female ethnic out-group member (Navarrete et al., 2009) or when in-group and out-group membership was minimally defined (Navarrete, et al., 2012). However, the latter study by Navarrete did find that minimal group membership (as defined by t-shirt colour) did influence the acquisition of fear learning, with faster learning for out-group member CSs. This suggests that out-group biases may also be observed during the acquisition of conditioned fear.

From research conducted to date, it may be concluded that Pavlovian conditioning can provide a mechanism that leads to learnt out-group anxiety. Moreover, this contingency bound learning of anxiety is more difficult to attenuate following experience with out-group members than in-group members (Paolini et al., 2015). It is important to determine whether these effects are general or whether they have boundary conditions (Navarette et al., 2009). Resistance to extinction in White participants has been observed with out-group faces of Black/African American (Bramwell et al., 2014; Olsson et al., 2005; Navarette et al., 2009) and Chinese (Mallan et al., 2009) ethnicity. In the present experiment, we examined whether learning differences extend to faces of Middle Eastern ethnicity in a White Australian sample. Middle Eastern ethnicity is particularly salient given local and global events surrounding this cultural group. Moreover, racist attitudes by White Australian individuals towards Middle Eastern individuals exists (Jonason, 2016) and overt discrimination has been documented (Forrest, Elias, & Paradies, 2016).

The design of the present experiment was based on Olsson et al. (2005) and Bramwell et al. (2015). Similar to Olsson et al. (2015), a fully within-subjects design was used in which participants were presented with faces of both the same and different ethnicity. The measures of fear learning followed that used by Bramwell et al. (2014) by using subjective ratings and phasic skin conductance responses. We extended the dimensions of subjective ratings beyond pleasantness by also including ratings of fear, arousal, and interest (see Lipp, Neumann, & Mason, 2001; Neumann, Boyle, & Chan, 2013). In addition, unlike Bramwell et al. (2014) who measured pleasantness after extinction, we obtained subjective ratings after both acquisition and extinction phases. A habituation phase was also included to examine pre-existing differences between the faces of different ethnicity. It was hypothesized that out-group CSs would initially be evaluated more negatively and elicit larger skin conductance responses than in-group CSs during habituation. Moreover, it was hypothesized that faster acquisition and slower extinction of conditioned responses would be observed for out-group CSs in comparison to in-group CSs.

Method

Participants

Participants were recruited from the first year psychology student pool at a large East Coast metropolitan Australian university. Participants self-identified themselves and both their parents as White (Caucasian). Ten participants were excluded due to problems with the psychophysiological measures or disruptions in the procedure. The final sample contained 44 participants (34 female and 10 male) with a mean age of 23.52 years (range = 16 – 49, $SD = 7.71$). All participants gave informed written consent to a protocol approved by the institutional review board.

Apparatus

The participant sat in a 3×3 m sound attenuated room and was monitored by an experimenter via a closed circuit video camera. Images of the CSs were presented via a Panasonic Model PT-L557E LCS data projector onto a 1.8 m wide \times 1.2 m high white screen that was approximately 1.5 m from the participant (see Neumann &

Longbottom, 2008). The DMDX program controlled the experiment and displayed the stimuli via the projector.

The CSs were custom produced using the facial generation program FaceGen Modeller. All faces were standardised with neutral expressions, front on view, male and aged approximately 20-30 years. A range of faces were produced and the final set was selected based on results from two pilot studies. In the first pilot study, participants ($N = 6$) rated a sample of four generated White faces and four generated Middle Eastern faces on a scale from 1 = *most like Caucasian[or Middle Eastern]* to 4 = *least like Caucasian[or Middle Eastern]*. The two faces that were ‘most like’ each ethnicity (Caucasian faces: $M = 2.33$, $SD: 0.94$; $M = 1.33$, $SD = 0.47$ and Middle Eastern faces: $M = 2.66$, $SD: 1.10$; $M = 1.83$, $SD = 1.06$) were selected for inclusion in the second pilot study.

The second pilot study involved generating an additional six faces. These faces represented Maori, Asian, and Black African ethnicities and were collated with the previously selected White and Middle Eastern faces. Participants ($N = 13$) were asked to match each face to one of the five ethnicities. All participants correctly categorised the White and Middle Eastern faces. The two faces representing White ethnicity and two faces representing Middle Eastern ethnicity were thus used for the in-group and out-group ethnicity CSs, respectively.

The electrotactile US was administered by an IWORX SI100 stimulus isolator via two disposable ADInstruments MLA1010B Ag/AgCl electrodes placed on the participants preferred forearm (Neumann & Waters, 2006). The isolator was held at a set current level and produced 0 to 100 volts for 200 ms.

Participants gave self-report ratings on paper (see Neumann, Waters, Westbury, & Henry, 2008). The first self-reported rating was ‘fear’, rated on a scale from 0 = *low fear* to 8 = *high fear*. The second self-reported rating was ‘arousal’, rated from 0 = *calm* to 8 = *arousing*. The third self-reported rating of ‘pleasantness’ was rated from 0 = *unpleasant* to 8 = *pleasant*. The fourth self-reported rating of ‘likability’ was rated on a scale from 0 = *dislike* to 8 = *like*.

Physiological measurements were obtained using an ADInstruments PowerLab 8/30 physiological data acquisition system (for details see Boschen, Neumann, & Parker, 2007; Neumann & Longbottom, 2008). Skin conductance activity was recorded via an ADInstruments ML116 GSR Amp by attaching electrodes to the distal phalanges of the first and second fingers of the non-preferred hand. Respiration was also recorded via an ADInstruments ML1132 Piezo Respiratory Belt applied to the lower chest to control for respiratory influences (e.g. coughs, sneezes) on skin conductance.

Procedure

During the advertisement of the experiment and the informed consent process, participants were informed that they would be asked to complete a “learning task” that involved faces of individuals from a “Caucasian and Middle Eastern background” and an “electrotactile stimulus” and they would be asked to report various “reactions” to the stimuli. Each participant was tested individually and granted partial credit towards their study requirements in exchange for participation. Participants washed

their hands and the respiration transducer and skin conductance electrodes were applied. Following this, participants selected the level of the electrotactile US. The experimenter increased the level in increments of 5 volts until the participant reported the shock to be 'unpleasant, but not painful'. The mean shock intensity was 49.78 V.

A 3-minute acclimatisation period followed in which participants were instructed to rest. Next, the participant was read a standardised set of instructions. They were instructed that they will be shown faces of both Middle Eastern and Caucasian males and that these faces may or may not be followed by an electrotactile stimulus. They were also given instructions on making the subjective ratings. The participant was left alone in the room for the remainder of the procedure whilst being observed through the closed circuit camera.

Participants were initially habituated to the stimuli in a pre-exposure phase with two trials of each of the four CSs presented alone to reduce any initial skin conductance reactivity to the CSs. During habituation and all subsequent trials, each CS was presented for 8 s and the intervals between CSs were randomly varied from 8, 9, or 10 s from CS offset to next CS onset. Additionally, the first CS presented in each phase was counterbalanced and subsequent trial presentations were randomised. Following the habituation phase, self-report ratings were administered to assess any pre-existing biases to the stimuli, while also allowing the participant to become familiar with the rating procedure. The order of the CSs for the ratings was counterbalanced in a Latin squares design that was allocated across participants randomly. The order was kept constant for a participant for subsequent rating periods.

The acquisition phase involved presenting eight trials of each CS type. The US immediately followed the CS⁺_{in-group} and CS⁺_{out-group} presentations. The CS⁻_{in-group} and CS⁻_{out-group} presentations were shown without the US. The assignment of faces as CS⁺ and CS⁻ were counterbalanced. Half the participants received one face from both the in-group and out-group faces as the CS⁺ and the other half received the alternate face as each respective CS⁻. Following the acquisition phase, self-report ratings were administered.

After acquisition, the extinction phase involved presenting participants with 12 trials of each CS. All CSs were shown in this phase with no US. Following the extinction phase, self-report ratings were administered. Participants were debriefed at the conclusion of the experiment.

Data Scoring and Statistical Analysis

The first four dependent variables were ratings of fear, arousal, pleasantness, and likability. For these self-report ratings, two within-subjects independent variables were used. The first was CS with two levels (CS⁺ and CS⁻) and the second was Ethnicity (In-group and Out-group). The fifth dependent variable was the SCR and it had CS and Ethnicity as independent variables. An additional within-subjects variable of Block was examined. Each block was the average of 2 trials such that there were 4 blocks in acquisition and 6 blocks in extinction. The SCR magnitude was quantified as the difference between trough and apex of the response curve for the largest response that began in a 1 to 5 s response latency window following CS onset. Responses containing respiratory artefacts were scored as missing and subsequently

replaced with estimates based on the mean by using the response of those trials before and after the missing trial for the same CS and participant (< 0.1% of responses were replaced).

Repeated measures ANOVAs were conducted on the self-report and SCR dependent measures. The family-wise error rate set at .05. For brevity, only significant main effects and interactions are reported.

Results

Self-Report Ratings

Figures 1 to 4 show the mean subjective ratings after each experimental phase. The results in each phase were similar for fear ratings (Figure 1), arousal ratings (Figure 2), pleasantness ratings (Figure 3), and likeability ratings (Figure 4). Separate 2×2 (CS \times Ethnicity) ANOVAs were conducted for each measure and phase.

Ratings obtained following the habituation phase showed a pre-conditioning subjective bias. As reflected in a main effect of Ethnicity, fear ratings were higher, $F(1,43) = 20.40, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .32$, arousal ratings were higher, $F(1,43) = 16.15, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .27$, pleasantness ratings were lower, $F(1, 43) = 22.43, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .34$, and likeability ratings were lower, $F(1, 43) = 18.77, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .30$, for out-group CS faces than for in-group CS faces.

Evidence of learning was found following the acquisition phase. As supported by a main effect of CS, significant differences between the CS+ and CS- were observed for fear ratings, $F(1, 43) = 16.03, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .27$, arousal ratings, $F(1,43) = 6.69, p = .013, \eta_p^2 = .14$, pleasantness ratings, $F(1, 43) = 14.25, p = .001, \eta_p^2 = .25$, and likeability ratings, $F(1, 43) = 13.30, p = .001, \eta_p^2 = .24$. In addition, the overall differential ratings to out-group and in-group CSs observed during habituation persisted for fear ratings, $F(1,43) = 28.48, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .40$, arousal ratings, $F(1, 43) = 7.14, p = .011, \eta_p^2 = .14$, pleasantness ratings, $F(1, 43) = 45.25, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .51$, and likeability ratings, $F(1,43) = 35.83, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .46$. No interaction was observed between CS type and ethnicity.

Following the extinction phase, the differential ratings between the CS+ and CS- persisted. As reflected in a main effect of CS, fear ratings were higher, $F(1, 43) = 6.74, p = .013, \eta_p^2 = .14$, arousal ratings were higher, $F(1, 43) = 7.45, p = .009, \eta_p^2 = .15$, pleasantness ratings were lower, $F(1, 43) = 7.97, p = .007, \eta_p^2 = .16$, and likeability ratings were lower, $F(1, 43) = 6.62, p = .016, \eta_p^2 = .12$, for the CS+ than the CS-. The difference between CSs thus demonstrated a resistance to extinction for all ratings. Similar to habituation and acquisition, a main effect for Ethnicity indicated differential ratings of fear, $F(1,43) = 16.76, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .28$, arousal, $F(1, 43) = 7.34, p = .010, \eta_p^2 = .15$, pleasantness, $F(1, 43) = 22.40, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .34$, and likeability, $F(1, 43) = 16.83, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .28$, for in-group and out-group CS. No interaction between CS type and ethnicity was observed.

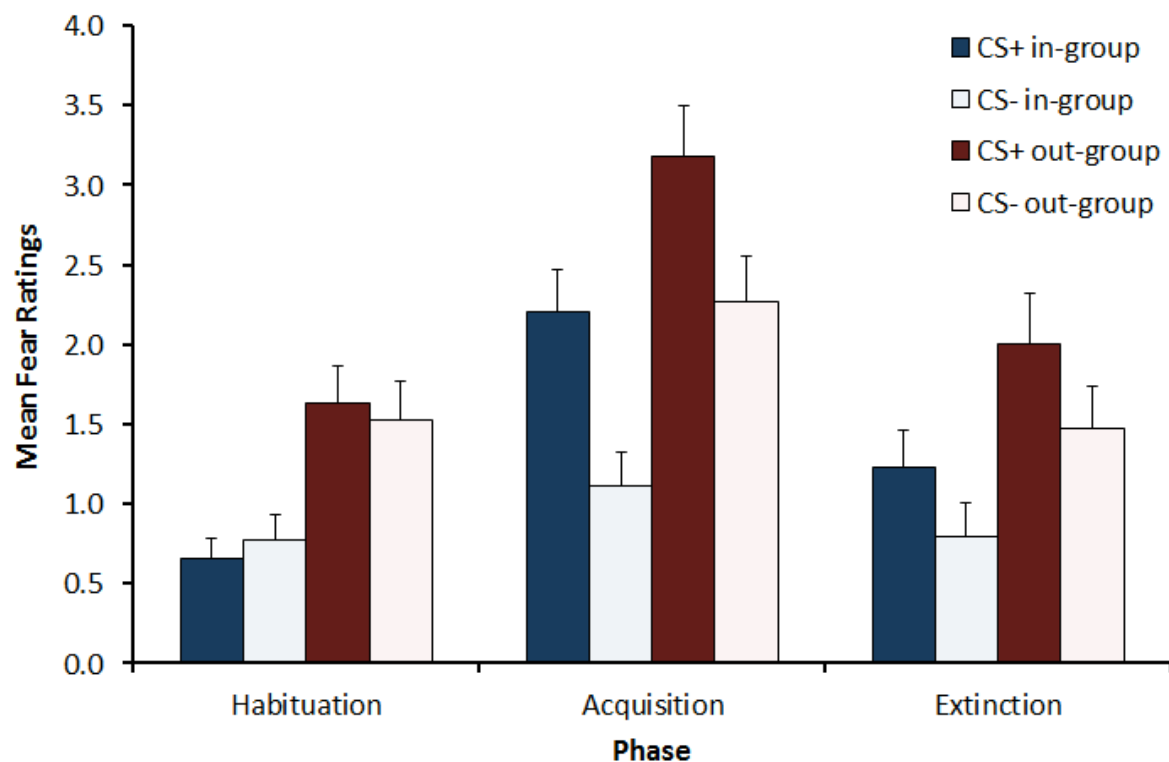


Figure 1: Mean self-report fear ratings for in-group and out-group CSs following each experimental phase. Error bars depict the standard error of the mean.

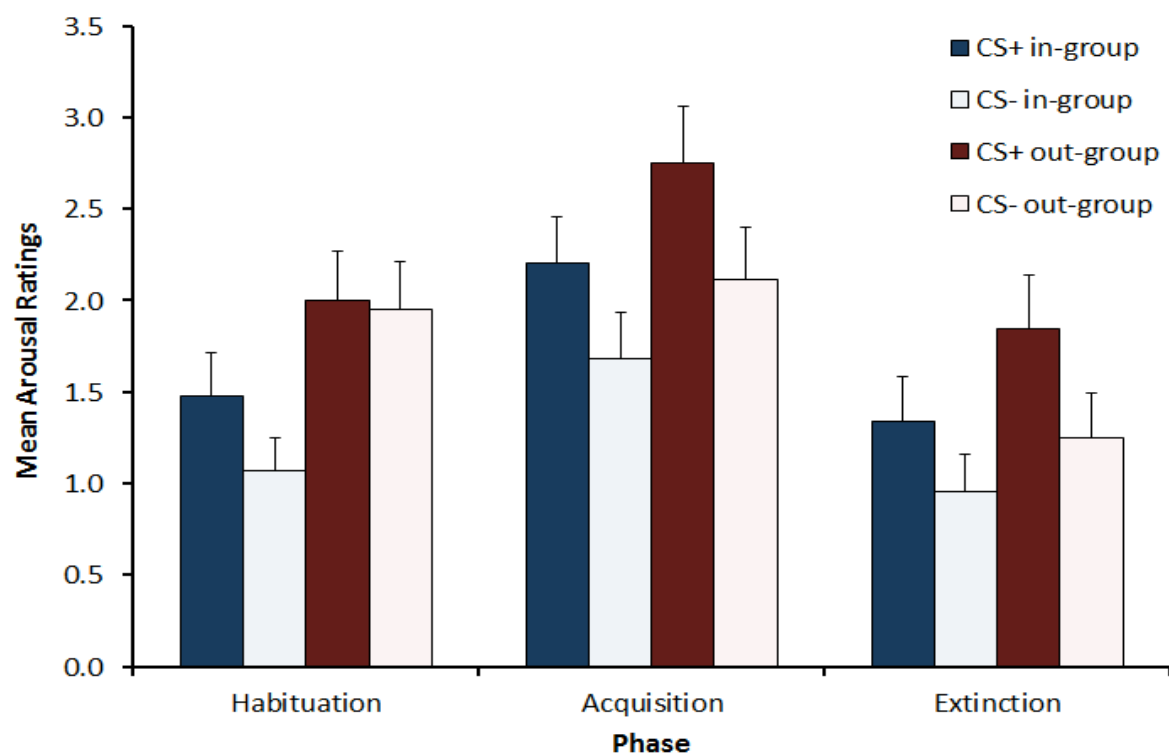


Figure 2: Mean self-report arousal ratings for in-group and out-group CSs following each experimental phase. Error bars depict the standard error of the mean.

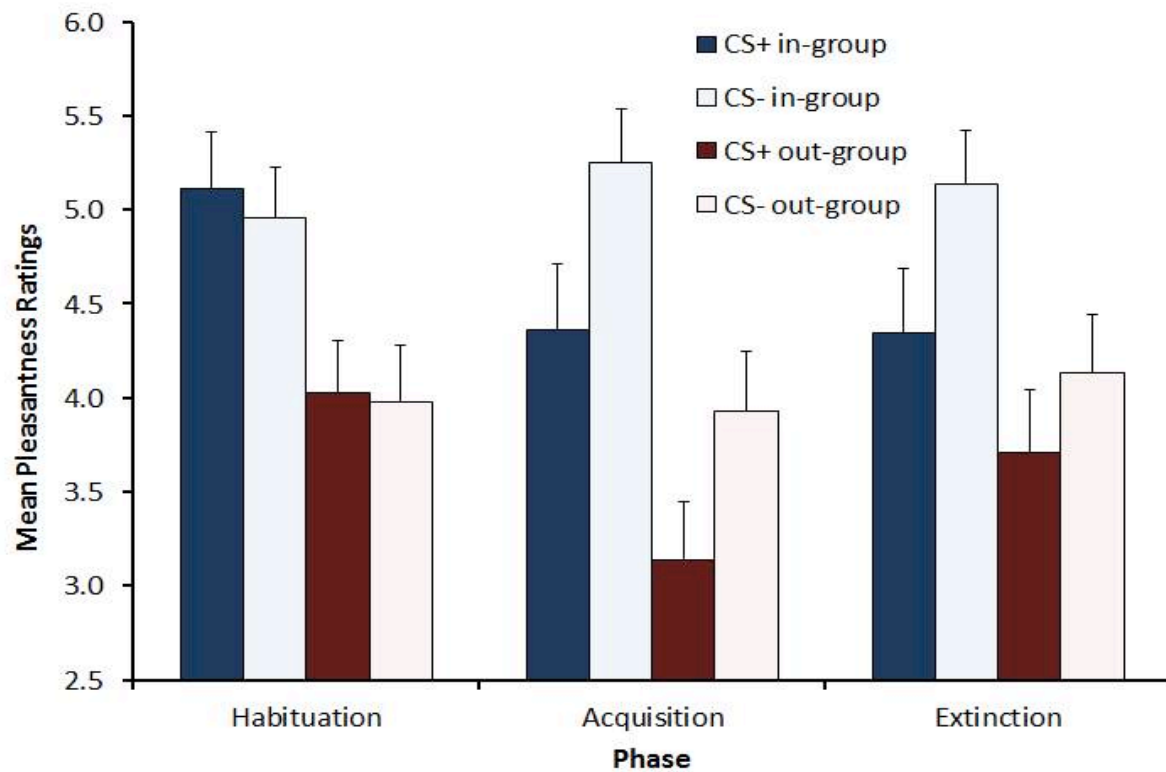


Figure 3: Mean self-report pleasantness ratings for in-group and out-group CSs following each experimental phase. Error bars depict the standard error of the mean.

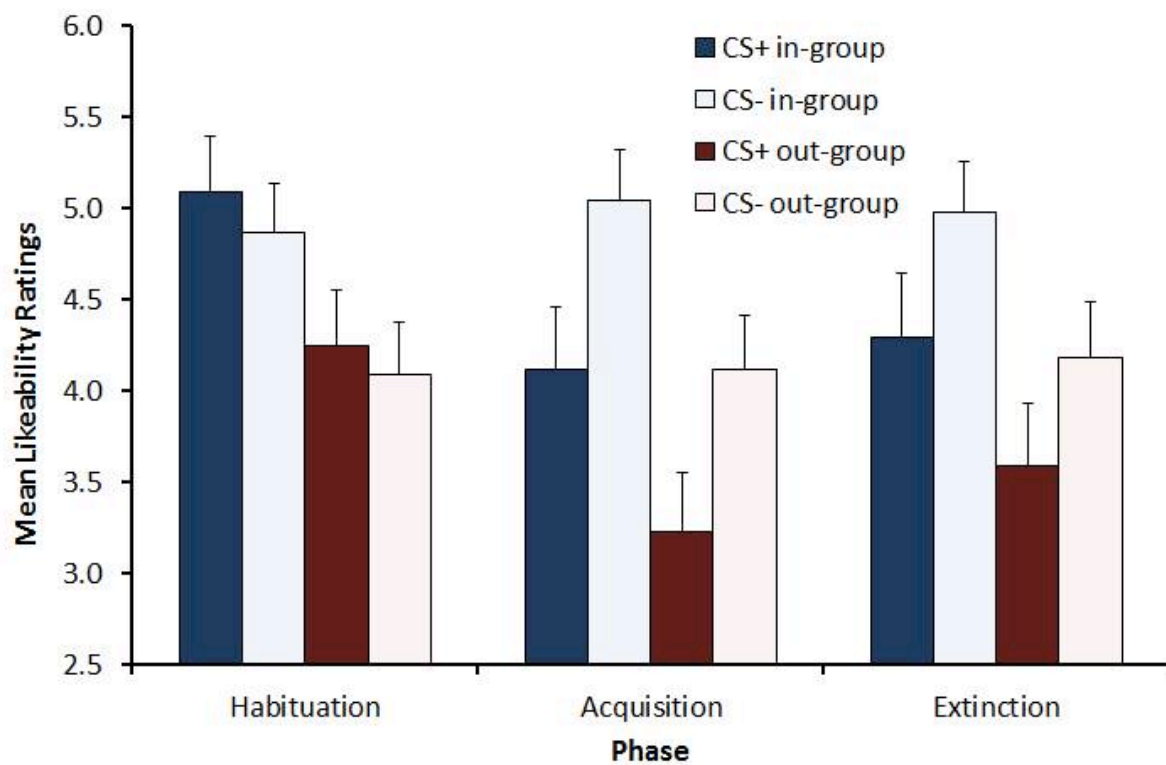


Figure 4: Mean self-report likability ratings for in-group and out-group CSs following each experimental phase. Error bars depict the standard error of the mean.

Skin Conductance Response Amplitude

A square root transformation was applied to normalise the distributions of skin conductance response amplitude prior to further analysis. Preliminary analyses were conducted by including the trial blocks factor. A $2 \times 2 \times 4$ (CS \times Ethnicity \times Block) ANOVA for acquisition and a $2 \times 2 \times 4$ (CS \times Ethnicity \times Block) ANOVA for extinction indicated that trial block did not interact with either the CS or Ethnicity factors. As a result, responses were averaged across block prior to statistical analyses with separate $2 \times 2 \times 4$ (CS \times Ethnicity) ANOVAs for each phase.

The mean SCR during habituation, acquisition and extinction phases are shown in Figure 5. As can be seen, there appeared to be a larger response to out-group CSs than in-group CSs during habituation. However, the ANOVA did not support this interpretation with all main effects and interactions failing to reach significance, all $F_s < 1.19$, $p > .05$. However, analyses for the acquisition phase resulted in a CS \times Ethnicity interaction, $F(1, 43) = 4.29$, $p = .044$, $\eta_p^2 = .09$. As shown in Figures 5, the interaction reflected that the larger SCRs during the CS+ than the CS- that is indicative of fear conditioning was found for the out-group CSs but not for the in-group CSs. Finally, analyses for the extinction phase resulted in no significant main effects or interactions, all $F_s < 2.91$, $p > .01$.

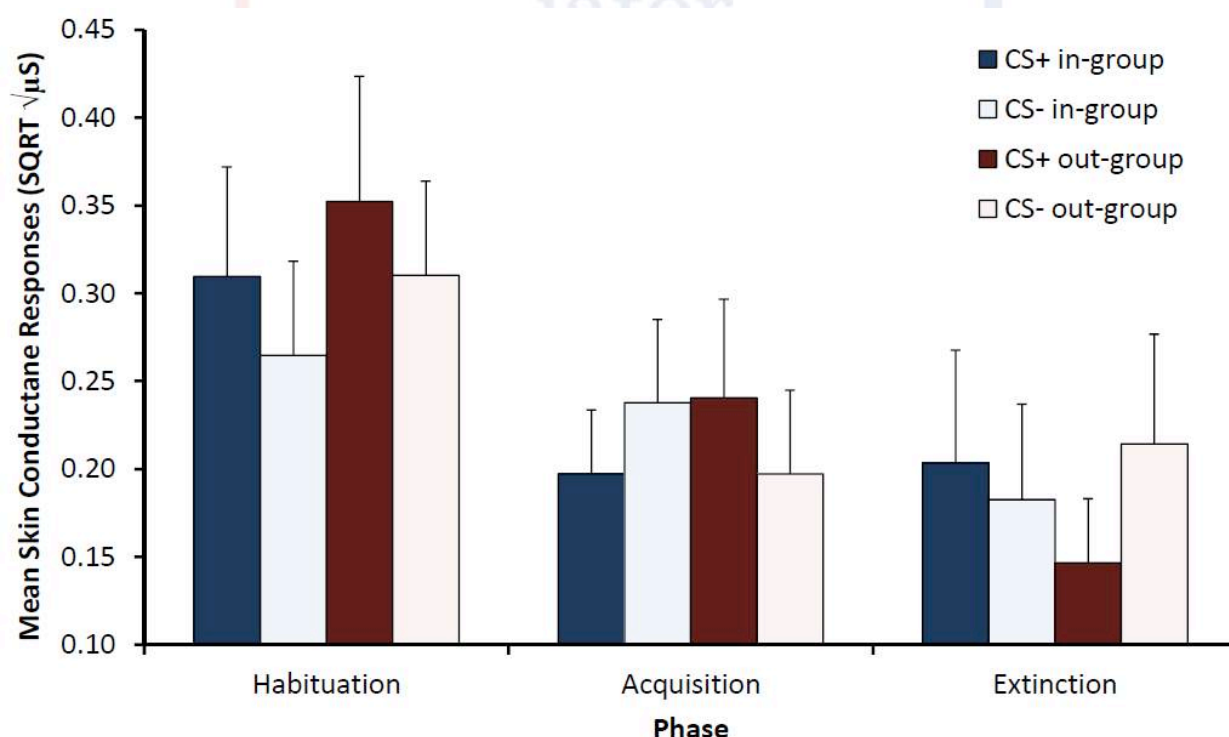


Figure 5: Mean skin conductance response amplitude for in-group and out-group CSs following each experimental phase. Error bars depict the standard error of the mean.

Discussion

The results showed differences between the self-report ratings and skin conductance responses. The self-report ratings of fear, pleasantness, arousal, and likeability differed between in-group CS faces and out-group CS faces during habituation, acquisition, and extinction phases. In each case, out-group faces were rated more negatively. No overall difference between in-group and out-group CS faces was observed for skin conductance responses. Fear learning was observed for subjective ratings in that ratings were more negative for CS+ faces than CS- faces regardless of ethnicity. This effect emerged following acquisition and persisted following extinction. In contrast, larger skin conductance responses for the CS+ than CS- were found only for out-group faces and only during acquisition. The results demonstrate a bias in the initial evaluation and subsequent fear learning for out-group members in comparison to in-group members.

Similar to past studies (Bramwell et al., 2014; Navarrete et al., 2009; 2012; Olsson et al., 2005), the present experiment included an initial habituation phase. The overall more negative evaluation of out-group faces than in-group faces following habituation differs from the ratings obtained prior to habituation by Bramwell et al. (2014). In their study, White Australian participants rated out-group Black happy faces as more pleasant than in-group White happy faces. The opposite results may reflect that participants in Bramwell et al. (2014) over-corrected their subjective bias when making the ratings (see Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002). Other reasons may reflect differences in the nature of the faces used (e.g., Middle Eastern ethnicity, neutral expression, and computer-generated faces in the present experiment).

A covariation bias has been observed with fear-relevant stimuli, such as pictures of snakes and spiders. The covariation bias is observed as a tendency for participants to be more likely to associate fear-relevant stimuli with an aversive outcome than fear-irrelevant stimuli (Mineka & Ohman, 2002). This bias is present even before acquisition. Although we did not measure electrodermal stimulus expectancy directly, out-group CSs were rated as more fearful than in-group faces. The fear ratings are consistent with the notion of a pre-existing fear bias for out-group members. Future research should measure shock expectancy more directly, such as by using a dial-and-pointer (Neumann & Longbottom, 2008) or speeded key press (Bandarian-Balooch, Neumann, & Boschen, 2012) to examine the covariation bias.

Despite the pre-existing bias being present in subjective ratings, there was no differential in-group/out-group fear learning effects in these measures. Similar to Bramwell et al. (2014), we found that the CS+ was rated as less pleasant than the CS- following extinction for both ethnic groups. Our findings extend this by showing that the difference between the CS+ and CS- was also present following acquisition. In addition, this resistance to extinction extended to ratings of self-reported fear, arousal, and likability. The lack of extinction to out-group CSs is consistent with the resistance to extinction observed in past research with skin conductance responses (Olsson et al., 2005; Navarrete et al., 2009; Olsson et al., 2005; Mallan et al., 2009) and startle blink responses (Mallan et al., 2009). However, the fact that the resistance to extinction was also observed for in-group CSs is not consistent with this past research.

The resistance to extinction of subjective ratings is, however, consistent with the notion of evaluative conditioning. Evaluative conditioning is defined as a change in the perceived valence of a stimulus following a procedure in which the stimulus has been paired with a second stimulus that is itself either positive or negative in valence (Hofmann, De Houwer, Perugini, Baeyens, & Crombez, 2010). The resistance of extinction has traditionally been regarded as a defining characteristic of evaluative conditioning, although more recent meta-analyses show that it can be sensitive to extinction trials of the CS on its own (Hoffman et al., 2010). Extinction of evaluative responses may be more readily observed with a particularly large number of extinction trials. The use of 12 extinction trials in the present experiment may have been inadequate to observe an extinction effect. Further research is required to determine whether extending the extinction phase will result in the complete extinction of subjective ratings as only then could the hypothesis about the slower extinction for out-group CSs be tested.

In the context of evaluative conditioning, skin conductance responses are regarded as a measure of predictive learning (Hofmann et al., 2010). It was only in skin conductance responses where differential learning effects were observed as a function of CS ethnicity. The strength of the conditioning effect for the out-group faces was modest. The difference between the CS+ and CS- for the out-group faces was $d = 0.23$, which represents a small effect. Other studies from our laboratory have observed effect sizes of $d = 0.79$ for neutral CSs (Neumann, Waters, & Westbury, 2008) and $d = 0.67$ for fear-relevant and fear-irrelevant CSs (Neumann & Longbottom, 2008).

The reason for the relatively weak conditioning effects is not clear. The use of four different CSs might have increased the complexity of the learning task. However, Olsson et al. (2005) also used four CSs and observed conditioning effects. The use of computer generated faces might have made it more difficult to discriminate between the CSs. However, differences between the CS+ and CS- were observed in the self-report ratings. The number of acquisition trials (8 trials for each CS) also appears to be sufficient to observe fear conditioning in skin conductance (e.g., Neumann & Longbottom, 2008). Nevertheless, the results showed that participants were better able to learn the predictive association between an aversive stimulus and out-group member than for an in-group member.

Conclusion

The present experiment demonstrated differences between self-report ratings and skin conductance responses during a fear learning and extinction task with CSs of different ethnicity. The subjective ratings reflected the evaluative valence of the CSs and were resistant to extinction. Moreover, the effect of CS ethnicity was additive, not interactive with the associative learning effects with this measure. Only the predictive learning-based measure of skin conductance showed an interaction between CS ethnicity and learning. The present findings are preliminary and in need of replication. Moreover, future research should manipulate the ethnicity of the participants to achieve a fully crossed design between participant ethnicity and CS ethnicity. It is through future research that we may be better able to understand how fear learning processes might underlie racial prejudices and how exposure might be used to reduce these prejudices through a reduction in anxiety.

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Effective and Ineffective Coping Strategies: Psychometric Properties of a Reduced Version of Brief-COPE For Heart Patients

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Abstract

Negative emotions (like anxiety or depression) have been linked to the onset and development of coronary heart diseases (CHD). Recent research has also shown that the way to deal with these diseases is also a powerful predictor of their prognosis. Moreover, many studies have found that the way in which people face situations is one of the factors that have more influence on their emotional state. Therefore promote an effective coping in these patients is very important to achieve a favorable prognosis. There are valid and reliable measures of coping, but with a large number of items. Therefore the aim of this study was to analyze the psychometric properties of a reduced version of 14 items derived from Brief-COPE (Carver, 1997). One hundred and fifty three patients (85% male; mean age=54.7; SD=8.8) who have just suffered a first cardiac event reported coping strategies used and different emotions experienced both at Time 1 and 2 (8 weeks later). Exploratory factor analysis yields two factors. The first, which accounted for 18.4% of variance, included the effective strategies (active coping, planning, positive reappraisal, acceptance, humor, instrumental social support and distraction). The second (16.7%) was formed by the ineffective strategies (denial, disengagement, substance abuse, venting, self-blame, emotional social support and religion). Subscales derived from these factors reached acceptable internal consistency and high test-retest coefficients. Likewise, effective and ineffective coping showed significant positive correlations with positive and negative emotions respectively. It is concluded that this questionnaire can be used with full warranty in cardiac patients.

Keywords: Effective coping; Ineffective coping; positive emotions; negative emotions; cardiac patients

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Introduction

Coronary heart diseases (CHD: basically myocardial infarction and angina) are one of the main causes of death and premature incapacity worldwide (World Health Organization, 2014). Research has shown that the total number of cases cannot be explained by the traditional risk factors such as tobacco addiction, hypertension, high cholesterol levels or obesity. Rather, certain psychosocial factors may influence both the onset and the development of these types of diseases (Everson-Rose & Lewis, 2005).

Among these psychosocial factors, negative emotions (like depression) have shown to have an important role both in the onset (Mittag & Meyer, 2012) and in the development (Meijer et al., 2013) of CHD. Conversely, people who report experiencing more positive emotions exhibit lower rates of stroke and myocardial infarction (Davidson, Mostofsky, & Whang, 2010). Moreover, positive emotions have been associated with greater longevity among patients with CHD (Chida & Steptoe, 2008).

Given the large number of consistent results, there is now agreement that the way how people cope with stressful life events is a primary determinant of their emotional state (Allen & Leary, 2010; Ben-Zur, 2009; Folkman, 2008). Lazarus himself (2006) said that coping always refers to efforts to manage adaptive demands and emotions that are generated, and therefore, coping can be considered as an integral feature of the emotional process.

In this sense, many studies with heart patients have shown the same pattern of results than in healthy people, i.e., that coping strategies focused on problem solving (such as active coping and planning) and those based on a positive cognitive restructuring (such as positive reevaluation or acceptance) were associated with fewer symptoms of depression and anxiety, while the use of coping strategies focused on avoidance (such as disengagement, substance use, venting or denial) increased these symptoms (Allman, Berry, & Nasir, 2009; Sanjuán, Arranz, & Castro, 2012).

Recent research has also shown that the use of the most effective coping strategies is associated with a better prognosis of the disease among heart patients (Chiavarino et al., 2012; Roohafza, Talaei, Pourmoghaddas, Rajabi, & Sadeghi, 2012; Svensson et al., 2016). Thus, progression of chronic stable angina to acute coronary syndrome was inversely related with the use of the problem solving and positive cognitive restructuring coping strategies (Roohafza et al., 2012). Moreover, in these patients, the use of coping strategies focused on avoidance immediately after the occurrence of cardiac event was the only significant predictor of disease severity (measured by left ventricular ejection fraction, which is a reliable prognostic index of disease severity) three months later (Chiavarino et al., 2012).

In a recent study with a follow-up period of 8 years, it has been found that the use of active coping strategies was inversely associated with the incidence and mortality of cardiovascular disorders (Svensson et al., 2016). Moreover, this study also found that among people with hypertension, the use of avoidance coping was associated with

increases in mortality from CHD, whereas it was reduced with the use of positive reappraisal.

Taken together, all these findings suggest that promote an effective coping in these patients is very important to achieve a favorable prognosis. There are valid and reliable measures of coping, but these are too extensive for patients who have recently suffered a cardiac event. Therefore the main objective of this study was to analyze the psychometric properties of a reduced version of 14 items derived from Brief-COPE (Carver, 1997) for cardiac patients. Furthermore, given the intrinsic relationship between coping and emotion, and the great importance that these two factors have on the prognosis of these patients, another of our objectives was to identify broad coping categories based on their associations with positive and negative emotions.

Method

Participants and procedure

Patients who have just suffered a first cardiac event were recruited in Cardiac Rehabilitation Unit (CRU). Each patient who met the inclusion criterion of having suffered their first acute cardiac episode was verbally offered the opportunity to participate in this study. One of the authors interviewed patients who chose participate to collect sociodemographic data and rule out psychiatric disorders. Patients were included in this study only if they had no history of psychotic symptoms and did not suffer from any cognitive deterioration. Patients with other serious chronic diseases (diabetes, cancer, rheumatoid arthritis, etc.) were excluded before referral to the CRU. The hospital's bioethics committee approved the protocol, and voluntary written informed consent was obtained from each participant following the initial interview. In Table 1 can be seen the sociodemographic characteristics of the patients enrolled in the study.

Table 1. Sociodemographic characteristics of patients

	Time 1	Time 2
<i>n</i>	153	96
Gender (% male)	85	83,3
Age, [mean (SD)]	54,7 (8,81)	57,74 (8,57)
Time since diagnosis [mean (SD)]	32,02(32,70)	34,65 (36,78)
Occupational status (% of patients employees prior cardiac event)	57,5	61,5
Coexistence type (% of patients living with their family)	90,8	89,6
Education (% of patients with elementary	26,8	26
secondary	30,7	34,4
and higher education)	42,5	39,6

Measures

At Time 1 the patients were assessed using the following measures: *Brief COPE Scale* (Carver, 1997). In agreement with the current study proposals, we employed a short version of this questionnaire proposed for cardiac patients by

Eisenberg, Shen, Schwarz y Mallon (2012), made up of 14 items. The scale evaluates 14 different strategies used to cope with difficulties on a 7- point Likert type scale where “0” is “nothing at all” and “6” equals “totally” according to the degree to which the participants employ each one of the strategies set out in the items. According to the objectives of this study, patients were asked to answer this scale also at Time 2, 8 weeks later.

Depressive Symptoms Subscale of Symptoms Check List Revised (SCL-90-R; Derogatis, 1977): This subscale contains 13 items that assess affective, cognitive, and behavioral components of depressive symptoms. Participants were asked to report how they felt over the past week on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from “0” (“Nothing”) to “6” (“Very much”). Total score was computed by averaging all the items of scale. High scores on this subscale indicate greater depressive symptoms. In the current sample, the alpha coefficient was .91

Positive and Negative Affect Scales (PANAS; Watson, Clark & Tellegen, 1988): This is a 20-item measure that assesses 2 dimensions: positive affect (10 items) and negative affect (10 items). Participants were asked to report how they had felt in the previous week on a 7-point Likert scale. Positive and negative affect scores were computed by averaging items of positive or negative affect subscales respectively. Higher scores on the positive and negative affect subscales indicated greater experience of positive and negative emotions, respectively. In the current sample, the alpha coefficients for positive and negative affect were .89 and .87 respectively

Results

Since one of our main goals was to identify the broad coping categories that are associated with positive and negative emotions, we first calculate the correlations of each of the 14 coping strategies evaluated by the shortened version of Brief-COPE with different emotional measures (depressive symptoms and positive and negative affect). In Table 2 are shown these correlations.

As we can see, some coping strategies are positively associated with positive affect (such as active coping, planning, positive reframing, instrumental social support and distraction), while others are positively related to measures of negative emotions (such as religion, emotional social support, denial, substance use, behavioural disengagement, self-blame and venting). In addition, other strategies maintain both positive relationships with positive affect and negative associations with negative emotions (such as acceptance and humour).

In order to know the broad coping categories assessed by the scale, we conducted an exploratory factor analysis (EFA). Since the sample consisted of 153 participants and scale has 14 items, the criterion advised of 5:1 with respect to sample size required to perform the EFA was exceeded (Martinez, Gázquez, & Sousa, 2012). EFA was carried out with all the items of the shortened version of Brief-COPE, using a principal components method with Varimax rotation (Kaiser normalization). Bartlett's Test of Sphericity, which was statistically significant ($\chi^2=470.50$, $df=91$, $p<.001$), and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy, which exceeded the minimum requirement of .5 (KMO=.66), showed the suitability of the current data for

factor analysis. As we can see in Table 3, four factors, with eigenvalues greater than 1, were obtained.

Table 2. Correlations between all the items of the shortened version of Brief-COPE and different emotional measures (n=153)

	Positive Affect	Negative Affect	Depressive Symptoms
1. Active Coping	.39***	.10	-.05
2. Planning	.32***	.11	-.03
3. Positive Reframing	.42***	-.03	-.10
4. Acceptance	.32***	-.39***	-.34***
5. Humour	.24**	-.19*	-.18*
6. Religion	-.10	.20**	.14 ^o
7. Emotional Support	-.00	.28***	.18*
8. Instrumental Support	.16*	.14 ^o	-.06
9. Self-Distraction	.22**	.13	.01
10. Denial	-.07	.34***	.31***
11. Venting	-.20**	.34***	.30***
12. Substance use	-.13	.28***	.26***
13. Behavioral Disengagement	-.05	.19**	.12
14. Self-blame	-.11	.19**	.25**
^o p=.08 * p <.05 ** p<.01 *** p<.001			

To assign items to the factors, we follow the criteria of retaining saturations above .35 and avoid, if possible, negative factor loadings (Williams, Brown, & Onsman, 2010).

Except for the Factor 1, which includes strategies focused on problem solving and positive reappraisal, which reached a good internal consistency coefficient (.82) (George & Mallery, 2003), the other factors did not reach acceptable alpha coefficients (.62, .41 and .54 for Factors 2, 3 and 4 respectively) (Nunnally, 1978).

In addition to this issue of low internal consistency of some factors, which is a criterion to be taken into account to maintain a factor (Williams et al., 2010), we must note that some items (denial or venting) loaded on two factors, being their negative saturation greater than the positive one. Therefore, taking into account the pattern of correlations found, and since one of our main objectives is to know the broad coping categories that can predict positive and negative emotions, we decided to force a two-factor solution. Results of this analysis are shown in Table 4.

As we can see, all the coping strategies associated with positive emotions loaded on the first factor and those that were related to negative emotions did it in the second factor.

Table 3. Results of Exploratory Factor Analysis conducted with all the items of the shortened version of Brief-COPE (n=153)

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
1. Active Coping	.88	-.02	.01	-.10
2. Planning	.88	.00	-.07	-.05
3. Positive Reframing	.78	.16	.23	.13
4. Acceptance	.03	.13	.82	-.04
5. Humour	.14	-.01	.58	.13
6. Religion	-.06	.77	.15	.11
7. Emotional Support	-.05	.80	-.12	.03
8. Instrumental Support	.20	.66	-.01	-.05
9. Self-Distraction	.34	.39	-.19	-.33
10. Denial	.10	.08	-.59	.39
11. Venting	.07	.40	-.54	.31
12. Substance use	-.03	-.00	-.08	.71
13. Behavioral Disengagement	.02	.09	-.23	.63
14. Self-blame	-.04	-.02	.10	.58
Eigenvalue	2.38	2.04	1.85	1.65
% of variance	17.02	14.58	13.20	11.81
Acumulated % of variance	17.02	31.60	44.80	56.61

Table 4. Results of Exploratory Factor Analysis (two-factor solution) conducted with items of the shortened version of Brief-COPE (n=153)

	Factor 1	Factor 2
1. Active Coping	.78	-.25
2. Planning	.78	-.16
3. Positive Reframing	.76	-.17
4. Acceptance	.50	.11
5. Humour	.35	.12
6. Religion	.30	.35
7. Emotional Support	.32	.50
8. Instrumental Support	.49	.26
9. Self-Distraction	.50	.07
10. Denial	.09	.62
11. Venting	.21	.70
12. Substance use	-.07	.43
13. Behavioral Disengagement	.21	.70
14. Self-blame	-.07	.43
Eigenvalue	2.58	2.34
% of variance	18.40	16.73
Acumulated % of variance	18.40	35.14

In accordance with the results of the latter factor analysis two scores labelled as effective and ineffective coping were computed by averaging item scores corresponding to items which were included in each of these two factors.

Reliability coefficients (internal consistency and temporal stability) of the two subscales of the coping questionnaire are shown in Table 5.

Table 5. Psychometric characteristics of the shortened version of Brief-COPE

	α Time 1 (n=153)	α Time 2 (n=96)	r_{T1-T2} (n=96)
Effective Coping	.75	.70	.53***
Ineffective Coping	.71	.69	.53***

*** $p < .001$

As we can see, effective and ineffective coping categories achieved acceptable internal consistency coefficients at Time 1, and acceptable or sufficient respectively at Time 2 (Nunnally, 1978).

In order to analyse the criterion validity, we calculated the correlations between the two coping categories and different emotional measures (positive and negative affect and depressive symptoms), that can be seen in Table 6.

Table 6. Correlations between coping strategies and emotional measures (n=153)

	Effective Coping	Ineffective Coping
Positive Affect	.52***	-.17*
Negative Affect	-.06	.47***
Depressive Symptoms	-.22**	.40***

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

*** $p < .001$

Effective coping category are positively associated with positive affect and negatively related to negative emotions (depressive symptoms), while the ineffective coping category showed the opposite pattern of correlations.

Conclusions

The main objective of this study was to analyze the psychometric properties of a reduced version of 14 items derived from Brief-COPE (Carver, 1997) for cardiac patients. Moreover, since coping always refers to efforts to manage adaptive demands and emotions that are generated, and the great importance that coping and emotions have on the prognosis of these patients, we also wanted to know the pattern of associations between different broad categories of coping and emotional measures.

The results have shown that in the shortened version of Brief-COPE for heart patients two broad coping categories can be distinguished, which according to their ability to predict positive or negative emotions, we have labeled as effective and ineffective coping strategies respectively.

These subscales show adequate reliability, both in terms of internal consistency and temporal stability (George & Mallery, 2003). In addition, since these subscales remain high correlations with emotional measures in line with expectations, it can be said that the questionnaire has good criterion validity. Taken together, these results suggest that the questionnaire can be used with full warranty in cardiac patients.

Since emotion and coping are closely linked (Ben-Zur, 2009; Lazarus, 2006), and both factors play an important role in the prognosis of cardiac patients (Chida & Steptoe, 2008; Meijer et al., 2013; Svensson et al., 2016), it would be recommended that patients using the most ineffective strategies could be detected as soon as

possible, which would allow us to intervene to promote the use of a more adaptive strategies. The fact that this reduced version of Brief-COPE has only 14 items greatly facilitates this task.



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Psychoanalytic/Psychotherapeutic Theories Developed by Means of the Scientific Method and an Unknown Clinical Phenomenon That Destroys Treatments at the Start

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

Psychoanalysis has long been at a standstill in terms of developing a capability for scientifically testing its central hypotheses and advancing beyond them. The discipline's will is lacking when it comes to making a large-scale assessment of its theories and entering a revolutionary period that would usher it into the world of the true sciences. As a result of this situation, the profession is having considerable difficulty convincing a still-interested but cynical public, and a potentially-embracing scientific community, of the validity of its many premises.

Waiting in the wings, and ready to begin a drama to behold, is a considerable cast of validatable, psychoanalytic hypotheses ready to remonstrate against being lumped with an equally large array of pretenders. They want their logic acknowledged and their predictive powers displayed. They would like to end the fruitless debates that the profession carries on with its occasionally-credible scientific critics. They also want respect for what they already are and can be much more of, i.e. sound components of a powerful instrument for understanding and enabling root changes in the world ills that are the consequences of unfortunate psychological developments.

This paper describes and discusses the more prominent factors that are keeping the analytic discipline from entering a new scientific era in its evolution. It then proposes a radical restructuring of the traditional Societal approaches to research, education and clinical training, a reorganization designed to make the psychoanalytic enterprise more permeable to multidisciplinary, intellectual influence, the principles of logic, and the Scientific Method. Finally, the paper describes a new clinical theory of formulation in which concepts are concretely defined, principles are logically conceived, existing hypotheses are tested for predictive capability, and the analyst's efforts are made impervious to unwitting subjective intrusions.

THE OPPOSITION TO SCIENCE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

Close observations of psychoanalytic habit note an antagonism to the Scientific Method and an attraction to the so-called psychoanalytic "art". In a manner peculiar for a profession with scientific ambitions, the discipline has opposed available possibilities for developing its endeavours along common scientific lines and by scientific approaches. While it has a body of "Basic Theory", Metapsychology, it shows little interest in defining its concepts and validating its principles. And unlike the other sciences, it does not make its Basic Theory the foundation of its "Applied" Theory. When it turns to developing clinical applications of its hypotheses, it proposes to discard its metapsychology and create a separate "Clinical Theory".

This situation has posed serious problems for practitioners and clinical researchers, and stalled the profession's growth. Without a scientific approach to the development of its Basic and Technical theories, it has been impossible to create a nucleus of tested,

standardized theory that can be taught, learned, practised, recorded, and examined for process and outcome based upon skill levels alone. It has also been impossible for researchers to delineate the limits of existing theory and define the unknowns of symptomatic phenomena in and out of the clinical situation. And there are many phenomena in the psychoanalytic "domain" that cannot yet be explained by current theories.

WHY THE LACK OF A TRUE PSYCHOANALYTIC SCIENCE?

A: OBSTACLES OF THE "PUSH-AWAY" VARIETY

1. Clinical Mind-Sets and Educations

Many, or most, who train in the helping humanities and then in psychoanalysis, are preparing for primary lives of service and treatment, and they bring mental sets and educational experiences that are different from those whose callings are to the traditional sciences. When they address clinical phenomena, it is not part of their interested "second nature" to think scientifically, and when faced with unexplained phenomena, they are driven away from undertaking scientific researches because they have not developed the conceptual tools required to conduct them.

Holzman and Aronson (1992) spoke to this point. They said that (p.74) because training was largely limited to people who would only practise, few analysts possessed the interest, knowledge, ability and time to contribute to the development of science.

2. Action and Scientific Research

Analyst clinicians also take care of suffering people who press them for action, and in response to interpersonal and social forces they are led to instrumental behaviours and away from the long, painstaking, treatment-parallel clinical studies essential to scientific research.

3. Inadequate Theory and Limited Personal Analyses

The profession's gross inadequacy of proven technical theories does not allow candidates in training analyses to reach and eradicate the deepest roots of their personal conflicts, and the problems that remain drive unwitting would-be clinical researchers away from scientific methods. I will elaborate.

4. Opportunity Knocks but No Doors Open

Graduated analysts and psychotherapists *could* (practically and theoretically) identify previously undetected or still-active symptoms in themselves and make new forays into deeper layers of their own developments. Individual analysts *could* exploit the situation to confirm and disconfirm existing theories, then use the surviving conceptions to travel to the discipline's theoretical frontiers and beyond. And moving about in those virgin

territories, they *could* spawn new general hypotheses directed to understanding a host of clinical-symptom mysteries (e.g. the terror that prevents interest in the dreaded "fragmentation" state). However, few, if any, are led by curiosity to pioneer the development and application of depth self-analytic methods and practices. Instead, most clinician/researchers champion the idea that "no analysis is ever complete". They leave countertransference phenomena (which, by definition, are the products of unsolved conflict between original caretakers and self) at the "recognize and control" level of understanding and technique. More than a few analysts even carry on romances of sorts with their own transference responses to patient material.

5. Institutional Sanctions and Sleeping Selves that Wake

At the institutional level, the profession supports retreats from the "investigative self-analysis" concept by accepting the irrational idea that a multiplicity of different, unscientific theories can all explain a same phenomenon. And in supporting the habit, it encourages clinicians to operate for years with what could later prove to be mistaken principles. It also encourages them to establish and live within theoretically-narrow subgroups that continually reinforce their excessively circumscribed ranges of thought.

Pearl King, in the King and Steiner review of the British "Controversial Discussions" (1991), indirectly referred to the "favourite theory" and "opposition to change" phenomena when she wondered (p.2) why professionals became abundantly unhappy and "nasty" when new findings required them to change their theoretical beliefs.

6. Science Accepted and Depths Disturbed

Science undoes logical fallacy and leads the scientist into the fallacy's origins. But in the case of the psychoanalyst, the problem is not comparable to those solved by general-science theories like that of the faulty electrical circuit. The cause is not a mistaken idea about which pole should receive the red wire, and the solution is not a simple change in the hookup. The problem is the analyst's incomplete analysis, the cause is his(her) unwitting, defensive fear and avoidance of earliest psychological conflicts, and the solution is a complex, protracted study that results in unforeseen changes that send volts of violently-charged anxiety through the technician's own psyche and do not quickly stop.

8. Deficiencies of Logic and Uncheckable Retreats

A further obstacle to science is the general lack of experience that analytic theoreticians have had with the principles of formal logic. Fallacies abound in their writings where they largely remain unrecognized and unchallenged by the authors themselves, journal editors, conference-program committee members, and colleagues who read their papers. And unsupportable categorical statements that offend reason and the facts of experience are too often the result.

Didier Anzieu, in his book, "Freud's Self Analysis" (1986), arrived at a number of generalizations regarding self analysis that this author's experience completely

contradicted. For example, he said that (p.569) in order for a self analysis to take place, it had to be communicated to someone else.

B: THE PULL-TO OBSTACLES

1. An Attraction, the "Analyst as Artist"

Prominent in this category of barriers to scientific development, is the attraction that the "artistic" conception of clinical practice holds for most analysts. Arnold Cooper (Shapiro and Emde, 1995) acknowledged this fact in the book, "Research in Psychoanalysis: Process, Development, Outcome". He said (p.389) that the majority of analysts probably liked to regard themselves more as artists than practitioners of a standardized type of treatment, and that most would be averse to replacing their favoured "freely-hovering attention" formulation method with one rooted in cognitive processes.

2. The Reasons for the "Pull" of Art

This oft-proclaimed "art of psychoanalysis" has much in common with the "art" of the "artistic creative process", and both processes have major properties in common with the "neurotic symptom". Like the symptom, the artist's creations are derivatives of unconscious mental substances and processes. They are therefore, by definition, "compromise formations" of defensive and expressive (i.e. drive) elements. But in the case of the *artistic* creation, the formation that emerges is a desirable release of expression and communication through defenses from the creator's depths, as this author personally discovered (Anderson 2011, Chapter 20).

Reaching up to the self that lives at the artist's surface, deeper self parts persuasively solicit the pursuit of an artistic career. An expressive unconscious self that wants out (but not by way of the long and terribly frightening route by which defenses are undone) issues derivatives that seduce the surface self to its thinking. Then the artist becomes willing to endure existing symptoms while opposing psychoanalytic treatment. And it is reasonable to presume that the "artist analyst" is similarly inclined.

3 Freud, his "Movement", and the Attraction of an Exclusive Club

Freud's "psychoanalytic movement" mentality, with his "them and us" "shibboleth" talk (1905 (p.226), offered prospective analysts "exclusive membership" in psychoanalytic Societies. Then those to whom such status appealed had their activities sealed from the world at large, and an aura of mystical superiority developed in and around them.

Then the external world became essentially excluded as a source of critical influence. It was prevented from forcing the discipline's excessive self-estimations down to earth, and helping it separate many wonderfully-testable-and-provable theories from an undefinable host of make-believes.

A PROPOSED SOLUTION

As an answer to these problems, it is recommended that the isolation of the psychoanalytic profession, and its relative impermeability to reasoned scientific critique and assistance from the external world, be undone. It is proposed that psychoanalytic clinical research, education and training be shifted from analytic Societies and Institutes to the universities, where such vital aspects of the discipline can benefit from exposure to the inspired criticisms of an interdisciplinary body of thinkers skilled in logic, versed in the scientific method, and familiar with the methodologies of experimental design. It is also recommended that analytic hypotheses, past and future, be regularly subjected to rigorous intellectual assessment and scholarly research. In this advocated schema, psychoanalysis would become an academic, teaching and training department on its own, or a sub-department of an existing discipline, and it would offer a variety of trainings in addition to, and separate from, that of clinical treatment. Among them would be:

- clinical research conducted by the clinician him/herself in parallel with his treatments;
- extraclinical experimental psychoanalytic research;
- an adaptations of basic and technical theories to the treatment of problems of infant-child development, the dysfunctional family, psychologically-derived societal ills, and international afflictions of the same nature.

PART II

A NEW SCIENTIFIC METHOD OF RESEARCH AND PRACTICE: THE METAPSYCHOLOGICAL FORMULATION METHOD

INTRODUCTION

In support of the above-proposed movement to create a true science of psychoanalysis, an overview description and illustration of a progressive, forty-year study is offered. It describes how:

- the viable Metapsychological theories of Freud and other analysts of the early years were identified and isolated from the rest
- concepts were defined in concrete terms
- principles were tested for predictive capability in the clinical situation hundreds of times
- a new, scientific, teachable, rapidly-operative, predictably-accurate, conscious, cognitive method of formulation applied exclusively to the analysand's concrete, objectively-observed material was devised for use with all varieties of presenting symptoms.

The development of the method is outlined and a particularly critical but unknown phenomenon encountered at the start of consultation sessions is emphasized. It can

become manifest in the first phone call to arrange the first meeting, and is always present at the start of the first meeting. And if not identified and addressed at once, it can silently determine the fates of all subsequent treatments.

Note: In what follows, the author's purpose is illustrative only. The details of the material to be presented are more complicated than a first reading would allow one to absorb, and concentration on the specifics of the following example is not recommended.

EVOLUTION OF THE METHOD

The Conventional Formulative Techniques and Some Doubts

At the start of this research, the investigator was using the formulative techniques that he had been taught, many of which still exist. He:

- allowed his formulations to emerge from his unconscious (Freud, 1912, p.112, 115);
- gave "evenly-suspended attention" (Freud, 1912, p.111) (commonly referred to as "*free-floating attention*";
- provided "evenly-hovering attention" (Hollender, 1965, p.71);
- remained equidistant from id, ego and superego, (uncertain origin)
- used his counter-transference to assess the transference (Racker, 1968, p.127-173);
- studied his empathic responses as indicators of the subjective experiences of his analysands (Kohut, 1971, p.300-307);
- used symptoms appearing in himself during sessions as signs of communicative processes in patients (Jacobs, 1973).

These approaches posed problems in logic. For example, Freud's advice to formulate using the "unconscious" became a contradiction in terms. It claimed that what could not (by definition) be known could be used to know. Interest in these problems then led the researcher into a series of investigations that produced unexpected results.

METAPSYCHOLOGY CONCEPTS DEFINED, A NEW INVESTIGATIVE METHOD CREATED, NEW RESEARCHES CARRIED OUT

A: Testing Metapsychological Concepts for Definability and Standardizability

The researches began with the examination of clinical material in process for the metapsychological concepts that could be identified and defined in concrete terms (for example, "ego", "resistance", "defense" – unlike, for example, "introject") and those that survived were retained.

B: The Minimalist Intervention (M.I.) Research Method and Testing by Prediction

This method was developed for predictively testing meta principles (e.g. the "compromise formation" of symptoms, slips of the tongue as involuntary emergences of repressed material). By its terms, the clinician made the least possible use of the most basic technical principles (e.g. giving rationally and realistically developed instructions like the method's "Free Association Principle"), and did not use poorly defined theoretical concepts or scientifically untested principles.

He particularly avoided use of "data-distant" theories, untested theories that make large, inferential leaps from the hard data of phenomenological observations. Freud's Oedipus Theory is an example. Applying it, upon observing signs of rivalry in a triadic relationship system, the practitioner infers the nature of his subject's drives without their being required to appear in the patient's releasing associations. His subsequent interpretation, combined with a lack of monitoring of the operative transference of the moment, leaves the situation open to patient confirmation via suggestion. By contrast, the M.I. method did not assume the nature of drives until they were released by work with defense systems (that suppressed/repressed them) and appeared directly in the patient's associative material.

Using this method, hypotheses were tested by prediction. A formulation employing the hypothesis was created, explicitly recorded, and not provided. Criteria for its validation or otherwise were determined and the test result was decided on the basis of the subsequent, spontaneously-emerging, patient material.

C: Testing the Jacobs Formulation Hypothesis (Above)

In this test (Anderson, 1979), the formulative method suggested by Jacobs was examined. The analyst observed his own *symptomatic acts* in sessions and analysed them. The self-analytic material led away from patients and onto personal conflict issues.

Example

The self analysis of a near mispronunciation of a patient's name led the analyst to a recent social situation in which he had presented an important and well-documented brief to a volunteer organization. At the end of his presentation the work had been unreasonably and aggressively attacked, and his self analysis revealed that, in his efforts at self defense, he had been handicapped by unconscious restrictions in the range of his healthy aggressive-drive capabilities. It further revealed that he had unwittingly continued to be rankled by his experience, and that aggression inhibited from expression at the time had been seeking outlet since. It had then found it in the sheer phonetic similarity that his patient's name shared with his particular aggressive drive form (namely, "hate").

A retrospective meta-structure comparison of the analyst's self-analytic material and the (recorded) material of his analysand at the moment of his internally-observed parapraxis was then carried out. It showed no evidence of specific connection to suggest that observation of the derivatives of the analyst's own unconscious activity could be put to use in the formulation of his analysand's free-associative efforts.

D: A Research into Symptomatic Behaviours in Assessment

Thirty-seven (37) assessments for psychotherapy/psychoanalysis were examined as they took place over a period of three years (Anderson, 1982). In all instances, operative ego-syntonic transferences deriving from character symptoms had attached to, and negatively transformed, perceptions of the actual consultant and the consultative process at the start. The mistaken perceptions were then taken back in to form mental representations of the consultant in which he became a replica of the once real, then internalized (in-memory) original problem objects. This situation then nullified the expressed assessment intentions and efforts of consultant and consultee until it was concretely identified and effectively addressed.

Out of this research, a new name for this "projection-reinternalization" phenomenon was created. It was called the "Glover Effect" (after Edward Glover - see Anderson 1982), and it became something much to be prevented.

E: A Study of the Theories of Intersubjective Influence

An on-going, less formal attempt was then made to take the mystery out of Intersubjectivity Theory.

The analyst-investigator posited that: one mind's unconscious, influenced another by way of the concrete, behavioral-expressive effects of its "derivatives" upon a perceptual apparatus of the other that was particularly primed to apprehend them.

Patient material that had stirred the analyst was then held up against the elements that had been stirred in him, and it was discovered that, out of the analyst's awareness, his mind was acutely observant because it was unconsciously directed to:

- defend from traumata that it had never learned to master;
- seek indicators that offered possibility for satisfying inappropriate needs.

It was also noted that his mind:

- frequently projected its feared traumata and wishful need-satisfying opportunities into patient material that did not objectively contain such things.

F: Recording Techniques Introduced

Recording techniques were gradually introduced and included: written process notes (in small, effortless, automatic pen-hand, and covering near-verbatim patient material and analyst formulative processes, symptoms, subjective experiences and self-analytic material) notations of important research material a codification system.

An Example of Codification

[An operative "transference-of-defense" (as indicated by such a statement as,]

" ... I KNOW YOU THINK I'M STUPID, SO I WON'T BURDEN YOU

WITH .. ",

[was codified, in its context, in the following terms without accompanying definitions]

R/ <In the left-hand margin of the process note, and

T/ *paralleling the pertinent material to the right>*

OT/

TD/

SEEI/ *(particular features of standard-setting activity*

cited)

TI(agg.)/ (*particular drive form cited*)

TF/ (details of object expression - content and form)

MSD/ (effects of object threat upon self)

SD/ (particular defenses listed)

G (object origin of the transference-of-defense)

G: A Self Analysis is Started and Becomes Unusually Systematic, Thorough and Complete

The M.I. and M.F. methods, when applied to the analyst's self, identified recurring symptoms that had not been touched by his prior training analysis. Then using them in self analysis, he was led into a surprising and astounding ten-year analysis that systematically went to bedrocks, produced extremely impressive and lasting results, and eventually undid predilections to countertransference responses. (The recorded, unmodified, on-the-spot process notes have been preserved in sixteen three-ring binders and could be made available for third-party examination.)

THE METAPSYCHOLOGICAL FORMULATION THEORY EMERGES FROM THE RESEARCHES

A Reliable Body of Theory is Secured and its Application is Practised

Over time, the above investigations came together in a mix of complementary, interactive influences, and the M.F. Method took increasing shape. Then, after building a body of definable concepts and validated principles, the analyst practised its application in patient sessions. There, he formulated thousands of symptoms and tested thousands of predictions, and in the process acquired the ability to formulate material correctly and at once.

The Self Analysis Contributes to its Development

It became a secondary arena for the testing of hypotheses, and the depth to which it went brought new benefits to the clinician-researcher's efforts at theory-making. It released him from early-infant conflicts, removed previously-undetected anxieties that had limited his ability to accompany his patients into new and untravelled areas, expanded the range of his serviceable empathy, and widened his observational range for the detection of new symptomatic phenomena.

The Theory of Formulation Becomes the Basis of a Metapsychological Theory of Intervention

Next came an extension of the formulative method to the creation of a theory of intervention. It evolved naturally and without planning. Interventive hypotheses, logically derived from reliable formulations, were devised, offered, and assessed for correctness in the light of the patient's subsequent, unintruded material. Then a clinical theory of technique became reliably operational.

The Aims and Limitations of this Initial Presentation of the M.F. Method

The chief aim of this paper is to provide a description and illustration of the Metapsychological Formulation Method. It is not part of the author's intention to demonstrate the processes of prediction used in the theory's development, or the M.F. Theory of Intervention. In an "Outcome" part of the section to follow, brief mention of the formulation's results will be provided, but only for the purpose of offering the reader a vision of the M.F. concept in its overall clinical context. By approaching the description of his researches in this manner, he hopes to inspire others to investigate the idea of introducing scientific methods into psychoanalytic research. He also hopes that some will replicate his research designs and test his conclusions.

ILLUSTRATION OF THE METHOD IN OPERATION

INTRODUCTION

A Telephone Call

In January, 1985, Dr. B-----, a psychologist colleague in a nearby town, referred a thirty-year-old teacher (Mr. A) for consultation with a view to his entering a form of analytic therapy. He phoned, identified himself, and said:

"Yes, Dr. Anderson, Dr. B----- spoke to you about my calling you. I'll give you an idea of the situation.

I have been living with C-----, my lover, for four years. We have made some plans to marry, but I recently had a relationship with R----- who was visiting the family of a friend of mine. She went back to the U.S. last month. She calls me often and there's been some talk of my going there, but I have never felt so bad in my life, and my work is suffering.

I guess you would recommend meeting separately with me and then with C-----, not that I want to keep secrets. ... (pause) ... I sound awful, don't I."

THE IDENTIFICATION OF SYMPTOMATIC BEHAVIOURS

"I GUESS YOU WOULD RECOMMEND MEETING SEPARATELY WITH ME AND THEN WITH C",

DEVELOPING A METAPSYCHOLOGICAL FORMULATION

This is a statement made within seconds to a new object (the consultant). No opinion as to what the consultant would recommend has been formed in the analyst's mind, let alone expressed or suggested. The behaviour is thus Symptomatic¹.

It becomes a Reference Point of reality against which the consultee's engaging Self (comprised of Ego and Drive) can be assessed.

The Ego of that self has developed a Fantasy of the new Object by way of a Transference.

There is no Observing Self monitoring the Self-in-Contact with the consultant. The Transference-Determined ("analyst") Fantasy is Ego-syntonic to the Ego of the Observing Self and the Self Acts Out its response to what is actually an Internal Object.

The properties of an internal object, in a Mental Representation determined from the Internalization of perceptions of an earlier, "real" object, have been Projected to become parts of the newly-forming Mental Representation of the consultant.

The Symptoms that have resulted are of the Character type.

THE METAPSYCHOLOGY OF CHARACTER

Character Symptoms are expressed in Character Transferences. Transferences from original objects unwittingly attach to a succession of new objects, including previous consultants/therapists, throughout the lifespan. Their elements mingle with real perceptions, and the resulting fantasy is taken back in by a mechanism termed the "Glover Effect". Analysis of the first transference elements in consultation leads to the most recent object in a Transference Chain of objects that progresses backwards to the original figure.

In this case, the object will have been Dr. B ----- . If he did not identify and address Mr A.'s first transferences, he (Dr. B) will be found to be the most immediate source of the first transference. He will be found to be endowed with the negative properties of the patient's original caretaker objects. And because the transference has formed from the transference-transformed Dr. B, it will be of a type that the M.F. method calls an Intermediate Transference.

THE TELEPHONE CALL, CONTINUED

" ... NOT THAT I WANT TO KEEP SECRETS."

¹ A surface indicator an underlying process that is initially inaccessible.

This statement is an example of a Negation with the following meta structure:

The self has a Transference-of-Defense Fantasy of the consultant in which the latter is critical of it should it wish to keep secrets. It Defends by Anticipation and Denial.

When the above two parts of the patient's first symptomatic statement are examined together, the simplest of two hypotheses says that the self is defendedly expressing a desire by Suggestion. The behaviour is a "Manipulation" and an expression of a Manipulation Transference, by the terms of which, the consultant is believed to have a character structure that disposes him to be nudgeable to action by suggestion, but not by direct expression.

In this segment, the presence of an internal object in one of the Suprastructures, the Superego or the Ego Ideal, has also been established.

THE TELEPHONE CALL, CONTINUED

"I SOUND AWFUL, DON'T I?"

This expression begins to confirm the presence of an Operative transference-of-Defense from an *object* in one of the Suprastructures. It is incorporating the consultative process and is a Transference Resistance.

In this segment, Multiple Selves (not a reference to MPD) are in operation. A Social Self (or Protective or Defense Self) that is engaging the consultant, is monitoring the expressions from another self part. It is anticipating and protecting itself from a Judgement and an Affective response akin to revulsion.

This type of response points to the object's being in the Ego Ideal.

A SUMMARY FORMULATION

Problematic Character elements, as expectable in those who consult therapists, have been immediately stimulated by the consultation process that has been set in motion.

A Character Transference is in operation.

It is from an object in one of the Suprastructures. The Ego Ideal is the indicated structure.

It is Ego-Syntonic to the Ego of the Social self that is in contact with the consultant.

It is an Operative Transference and functioning as a Resistance.

The Transference Fantasy of the analyst may or may not be unconscious.

It is causing the Self-in-Contact to monitor the analyst's responses and the

expressions from its own inner parts in order to prevent a fantasied trauma.

The trauma involves an Object with a Standard that is issuing a Negative Judgement.

It is one that results in a Loss of Esteem.

The self's susceptibility to the trauma was formed in an original situation with an original object, and, out of it, a Protective Self has developed.

Nothing is known yet about the specific object and specific situation that were involved in the Genesis of these Symptomatic mental activities and behaviours.

Drive material is not directly present. Character developmental theory points to the Aggressive Drive layered above the Libidinal.

The Manipulative means by which the Self approaches having its wishes met, points to the Assertive form of the aggressive drive behind Defenses.

An Intermediate Transference from the referring consultant is most likely to be the immediate source of the first operative transference.

The Surface of that transference is an ego syntonic (and possibly unconscious) ego ideal type fantasy of the analyst in which he opposes assertive forms of aggression. He forces inhibition of direct expressions of "wants" and nullifies the esteem.

The self has no Effective Defenses that would stop the fantasied analyst's unreasonable demands and *reverse* his inhibiting behaviours. It cannot act to obtain its rights to "direct expression of wants" and "confidentiality".

It can only Comply outwardly with the object's standards, while using Manipulation to get its needs met.

THE OUTCOME

This formulation was developed in seconds on the phone. Two interventions², that were adapted to the particular (not-yet-clinical) conditions were created immediately and provided at once. They were very well received and the patient's responses revealed that:

- an undetected transference to Dr. B----- had been carried into the present consult;
- it had operated ego-syntonicly to produce the character symptoms that were identified;

² The author does not like the term "intervention". The "provision of information" would be better, but convention must stand for now.

- it was derived from a transference-transformed mental representation of Dr. B. in the ego ideal part of the "SEEI" structure;
- and it had been dissolved by the present consultant's input.

A consultation and therapy then followed, and the formulation that had been developed continued to hold up to its predictive capability in increasing detail.

The interventions will be described in a later account of Theory of Intervention. The stratification of elements in the above material (its surfaces and layers) will also be discussed then.



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Criminals Cash Flow Strategies in Financial Crime on the Example of Online and Offline Fraud

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Abstract

Monetary aspects are an important factor in many criminal offences, especially concerning financial crimes, online and offline fraud as well as drug trafficking. In the scope of this paper, the issue is illuminated from different perspectives, based on two qualitative interviews of 32 prisoners and 7 anti-fraud experts. Investigated factors include crime motives, modi operandi as well as money managing strategies (laundering, hiding, spending and re-investment). Results indicate that, apart from each prisoners story being individual, cash is king for most offenders and that in the majority of crimes organisational and human weaknesses are exploited rather than technical security systems. Modi operandi are often learned from personal prison, milieu or other peer contacts and refined after first successful try-outs, whereas exit conditions are barely defined. Money laundering, hiding, spending and re-investment strategies vary between criminals, but certain strategies are repeatedly applied. Anti-fraud experts often confirm the findings from the prison interviews, however also perceiving the topic from a slightly different perspective. The collected information is regarded as a very valuable source for the reliable semantic modelling of a crime field ontology in the future, potentially assisting forensic investigators in the scope of automated reasoning and explorative search capabilities.

Keywords: Financial Crime, Online Fraud, Offline Fraud, Cash Flow, Study, Interview, Prisoners, Anti-fraud Experts, Motivation, Cyber Crime

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Introduction and Motivation

Money plays an important role in many crimes. It is often the motivation of an offender to commit a crime, constitutes various financial flows during the crime execution and is an important subject of investigation after the crime, e.g. in respect to its distribution, laundering, hiding, re-investment or spending. Several studies on organised crime exist, such as (Europol, 2016a), (Europol, 2016b), (Austrian Federal Criminal Police Office, 2016) and (Bässmann, 2016), which provide a broad overview and give actual trends on the issue. However, in practical police investigations and trials, the specific whereabouts of stolen money are often unknown (e.g. in case of hiding) or non-reversible (e.g. in case of spending or re-investment). Also, knowledge about specific attacker motives as well as means of expertise acquisition and grouping processes are often fuzzy. A few of these aspects are summarized and presented in the scope of this paper, which are acquired from 32 captive interviews in six German detention facilities. The interview study was developed and carried out to examine the issue from an inside perspective of the criminals. The paper does therefore not focus on statistical or quantitative analysis, but rather on intra-personal relations and related motivation, knowledge, tools and behaviour.

As cash flows become more and more digitized, the identification and analysis of computer-related crime gained significant importance. “Cybercrime” is one of the most commonly used terms to refer to this increasingly important field of policing (Wall, 2001), which not only includes fraud and forgery but also a wide area of other criminal activities (e.g. cyber trespassing, piracy or child pornography). To better understand the differences between the offender’s views on their own activities and the expert’s views on cyber crime, a second interview study was conducted with seven experts from the fields of criminal investigation, financial services and the IT-sector, concerning the issue of cyber crime (cyber deception and thefts, including fraudulent use of appropriated credit cards and cash). The different perspectives of both studies are visualized in figure 1.

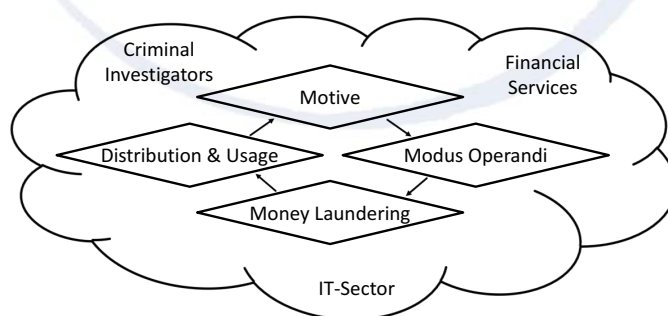


Figure 1: Different viewpoints of the conducted prisoners and anti-fraud experts interviews on financial aspects of online and offline fraud.

In respect to forensic investigations, experts have to structure case facts and identify links between them, to successfully solve crimes. In recent work (Merkel et al., 2016), a semi-automated, holistic framework has been proposed to combine information from the three domains of public knowledge, forensic expert experience as well as captive interviews into a financial crime field ontology, which might assist investigators to discover links between various crimes in the form of semantic

reasoning and an explorative search. However, such approach relies heavily on the reliability and comprehensiveness of the modelled information. It is therefore of utmost importance to collect modelled information from as many different viewpoints as possible, especially from the perspective of the criminals and other affected parties (e.g. anti-fraud experts), to assure that the created model will be of a certain reliability.

Method and Study Description

The study was realized in seven prisons in Germany. In total, 32 prisoners were interviewed. The interviews took between one and three hours in an advocate room and were audio recorded. The prisoners were preselected either by the criminological research institutes or by the staff of the prison. The selection criteria are online and offline fraud, crimes related to payment and credit cards as well as drug trafficking. The reason for these selecting criteria was to find interview candidates with crimes involving a high amount of money, its transfer from virtual money (e.g. bank account or Bitcoins) to cash and vice versa as well as money laundering. After selection, the candidates were invited to the interview and briefed beforehand as well as at the beginning of the interview about the voluntary nature and anonymisation of the provided information. The interview was structured based on a field manual containing social and crime related questions. The sequence was not fixed, leaving the possibility of narrative excursions.

The evaluation is based on a qualitative in depth analyses of the focus relevant interview data. The specific findings of potential motives, group organisation, contact acquisition, modi operandi, used knowledge and tools, money laundering and hiding strategies as well as spending and re-investment behaviour might be included into the crime field ontology of (Merkel et al., 2016) in the future, to complement knowledge obtained from expert experience and public domain information. Such ontology can potentially be used in the scope of forensic investigations to assist experts in the explorative discovery of links between specific case facts as well as to provide automated semantic reasoning. Based on this formal representation, inter-personal and inter-crime connections might be identified and compared to the reported motivation and risk estimation as well as the influence of know-how, tools and imprisonment.

Complementary to the interviews with the prisoners, the findings of a second study were assessed, comprising seven Austrian experts from the most important fields of cyber security: federal criminal investigation, financial services including banks and the IT-sector (programming of security and financial software). These interviews took between one and three hours and broached the issues of cyber crime, cyber security and mobile payment technologies.

The Role of Money in Motivation and Modus Operandi

Motives for committing online and offline fraud are usually related to the realization of profit. However, several reasons for requiring additional funds are provided by the criminals, ranging from covering living or health costs to financing different addictions (drugs, gambling, partying) or high living standards (partially resulting from earlier crimes). The results from the interviews show no significant correlation between the motivation, social background or modus operandi. Since all interviewed

prisoners had several previous convictions – often for varying offences – only those offences relevant to the topics of this paper are reported in the following.

From an offenders perspective, the first offences are in many cases “try outs“. Typically, the motivation was supported by a (milieu) friend, relative or fellow inmate who reported the modus operandi to the offender. Sometimes, additional information was obtained over social contacts to experts and insiders as well as from documentaries, the internet or even seminars. After the successful completion of first offences and the related profit, the motivation often changes: the living standard is quickly adapted to the additional money, creating a substantial motivation for further crimes. A clear picture of a certain objective, e.g. a new car or to amortise a debt was seldom observed. In most cases, the motivation for profit from the offences was more diffuse and could be summarised as “would be nice to have”.

The initial living standards (before conducting financial crimes) varied from lower income (social welfare) to upper middle class (approx. 5000 Euro per month) and show no significant correlation. Criminal activities seem to be more related to the opportunity and the positive results of the first offences. Paired with the experience of success and missing arrestment, the interviewed offenders reported a high attraction for repetition. In the following, they adapted their living standard, which resulted in higher costs and a higher offence frequency.

A refinement of the modus operandi was often observed, motivated by an increase in profit or a decrease of risk, both of which play an important role. No offender changed the modus operandi completely – the type of crime was kept, often even after imprisonment. For example, in cases of drug trafficking, an adaption was sometimes reported by outsourcing the transport of drugs across the border or reducing the number of buyers. In other crime fields, modi operandi were changed according to additional security measures designed to prevent the exploitation of certain weaknesses. In case a new security feature prevents a modus operandi completely, the criminals often move to other countries, in which the vulnerability remains.

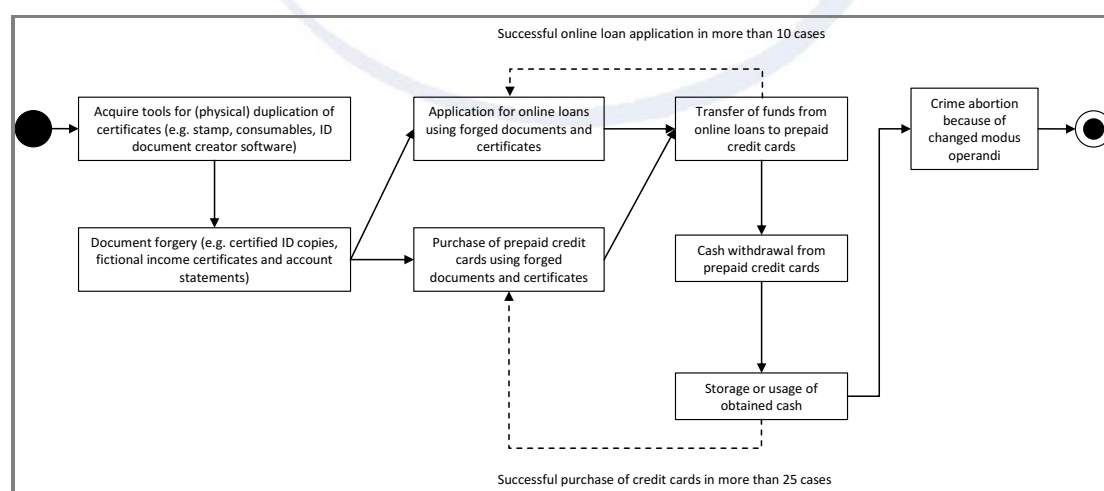


Figure 2: Initial modus operandi of an exemplary loan fraud case.

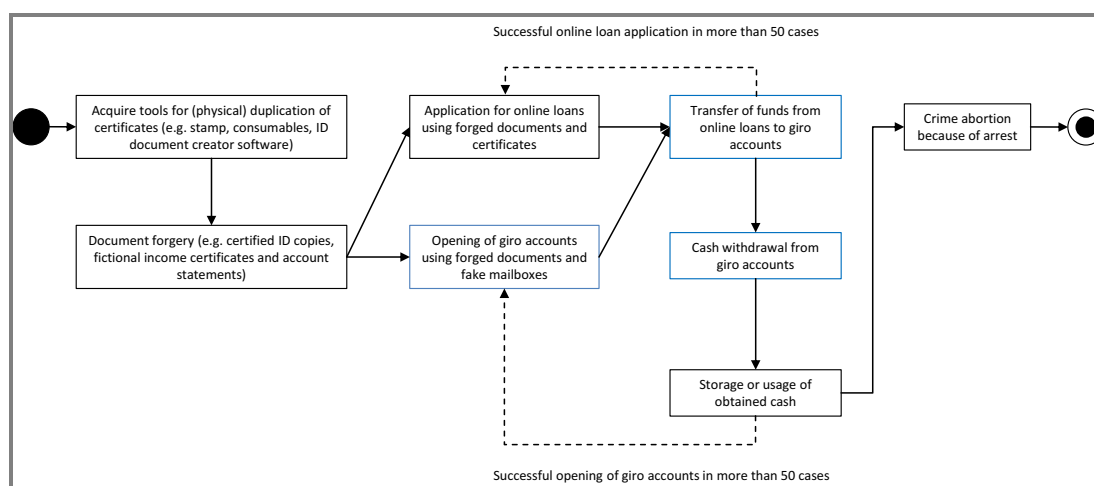


Figure 3: Refined modus operandi of the loan fraud case after security enhancements by the bank.

The modus operandi of an exemplary loan fraud case is introduced here, depicted schematically in figures 2 and 3. In the initial modus operandi (figure 2), the criminal acquired tools for creating duplicates of certified documents, such as ID creator software. With these tools, he forged certified copies of fake ID documents and salary certificates. He then exploited certain organisational weaknesses in the German Postident system, e.g. as described in the German news report of (Schader, 2015), to authenticate his false identities as legitimate German citizens. Using these faked identities and certificates, he was able to successfully apply for online loans, of which he transferred the received funds to purchased prepaid credit cards (which are comparatively easy to obtain, because they allow only to withdraw money which has previously been charged onto them). He then withdrew the money from the prepaid credit cards and stored or used the obtained cash. He successfully repeated this modus operandi for about ten times before he had to abort the crime due to changed security measures by the bank, which did not allow to transfer granted loans to prepaid credit cards any more.

Due to the increased security measures, the criminal changed his modus operandi (figure 3). While the creation of fake documents remained, the prepaid cards could no longer be used for withdrawing the loans. Therefore, the criminal opened fake bank accounts using the created false documents and the earlier introduced weaknesses. To receive the debit or credit cards from the bank, he installed fake mail boxes at remote locations, where he would pick up the documents and cards. The granted loans were then transferred to the created bank accounts and withdrawn using the corresponding cards. The criminal managed to repeat this modus operandi in more than 50 cases before he was arrested.

This exemplary offence confirms a general trend observed from the prison interviews: the tendency to target organisational or social weaknesses, circumventing technical security mechanisms. This would also mean in return that increased technical security measures (e.g. authentication measures replacing the Postident system) might be able to improve the resilience to these kind of attacks to a certain extent. As another important trend, criminals reported in most cases to not have clear conditions when to stop a certain modus operandi. Therefore, they often go on performing a certain crime until they eventually get arrested.

The Role of Money in Laundering, Distribution and Usage

In many cases, the offenders reported a high amount of profit, which led to different laundering, distribution and usage strategies. In general, there was a tendency towards transferring gained money into cash as quickly as possible and then dealing with cash only. Digital money, such as Bitcoins, was used in some cases, however mainly for purchasing data to be exploited (e.g. credit card data) or software tools (e.g. document creators), rather than for money laundering or hiding. When being asked about Darknet transactions, some criminals answered that they have not used this technique yet, however seemed to have thought about this topic for potential future use. However, the use of Bitcoins seems to be limited to certain types of criminals, such as cybercriminals or computer affine people. An interesting study concerning the acceptability and usage of Bitcoins amongst common people is given in (Krombholz et al., 2016).

Used money laundering strategies included gambling in casinos (considering the cash out as clean money), insurance fraud (e.g. buying cars and provoking accidents, receiving money from liability insurances of other motorists), buying real estates, cars and other goods with cash. Few criminals were hiding the money in bank deposit boxes, hideouts in their house or bank accounts (e.g. in other countries).

When a criminal is caught by the authorities, the whereabouts of the looted money are often unknown and can seldom be retrieved (Eisenberg, 2005). Convicts often report to have spend the money on gambling, parties or living. Also, the money is sometimes re-invested into new criminal activities (e.g. buying drugs or other resources for criminal activity). A typically used strategy is to buy houses, which are then transferred to relatives or trusted people and can therefore not be confiscated by the authorities. Sometimes, these people also help to transfer money to other countries. Private foundations might be used, preventing state authorities from gaining access to the money. Furthermore, it was also reported by the criminals that a more secure strategy to deposit money is by using a foreign bank account. In this case, the criminal selects a country that has a strong protection of bank customers and does not cooperate with authorities. Another strategy is the transfer of the money (in most cases cash) to trustworthy persons or relatives, which transfer the money to a bank deposit, hide it, take it out of the country or re-invest it (e.g. in a pawn shop). This strategy has two reported disadvantages: the first is the potential identification by the authorities and the related risk of losing the money and the second is the level of trustworthiness of those relatives or business partners, since there is always a certain chance of them disappearing with the money.

Almost all interviewed offenders reported to avoid transfers from cash to no-cash (e.g. bank accounts) because it may leave traces. Thus, cash plays an important role in financial crime, since it is the most reliable strategy to keep the money from being discovered. Especially in online fraud, a transfer from bank money to cash is therefore essential and was reported as a high risk situation.

In summary, money spending strategies also partially vary based on prior experience with imprisonment. If there is no prison experience or hints of imminent imprisonment, the money is often spent loosely for parties, goods or gambling. If

there is prior prison experience or insight knowledge that they might get caught and imprisoned, the offenders often reported about different strategies of putting money aside. Since bank accounts implicate the risk of being detected and confiscated, the offenders tend to more reliable strategies: hide or dig as cash (risk of being found), give it to a third person that is not involved in the crime (risk of being detected by the police or of being betrayed) or the investment in real estates (risk of being detected). Whether such strategies are adopted by a criminal usually depends – apart from prior experience with imprisonment – on individual preferences and personality.

Anti-Fraud Expert's Views on Cyber Fraud, Cyber Offenders and Cyber Security Strategies

In addition to the offender's view on criminal activities and motivation, there is also the need to consider the opposite perspective. Experts on cyber fraud, cyber offenders and cyber security were interviewed in a second study, consisting of criminal investigators (3) representatives of the financial service sector (2), and IT-experts (2). The interviews provide further insight into the analysed problems of cyber crime. The expert interviews didn't focus directly on descriptions of cyber offenders, but covered cyber crime as a broader phenomenon. When talking about cyber crime, all experts tended to focus mainly on well organised criminal groups. In offender descriptions during the interviews, they seem to set the focus on uncaught and successful offenders.

According to the interviews with anti-fraud experts, the offenders main objective in the area of cyber fraud is seen in gaining money (other areas of cyber crime like piracy or hacking differ in this regard). The origin of offenders is often supposed to be in countries with a poor social system, poor living standards and high unemployment rates compared to industrialized countries. This seems to be seen as one reason to get into cyber crime. During the interviews, one motive has been assumed to be the (a) "need to survive", while others have been located in gaining (b) higher living standards and (c) more money. Furthermore, during the conducted interviews, financial service and IT-sector experts pointed out that some attacks may also be carried out of boredom or to simply see if it is possible to get away with a certain attack. In contrast, boredom was seldom reported as a motive in the prisoner interviews. However, this might be a particular motive for cyber crimes, but seems to be less common for crimes with a high offline component. Prisoner interviews have not only revealed offenders from poor countries, but also from Schengen countries, showing that online and offline fraud is not necessarily related to poor living conditions.

According to the interviews with anti-fraud experts, some offenders, especially the successful ones, are perceived as being well trained and educated persons in the field of IT-technology and are easily and quickly able to adapt to new circumstances as well as technological developments and changes. A lot of expert knowledge (state laws, IT-technology, company structures, social skills) is required to be able to use technological developments for criminal purposes in a creative way. Hence, expert interviews describe some offenders not only as being well trained and highly educated (especially in the IT sector), but also as socially skilled or intelligent, quickly able to built up on-the-spot-trust-relationships and to use changes in the complex modern world (e.g. information explosion, acceleration, change in temporal structures,

expanding individualisation, loneliness and accompanying overextension) for their own good. In addition, prisoner interviews have also surfaced runners, money mules, drivers and simple computer fraudsters, which are often not very well educated or socially skilled. Therefore, also people with poor skill levels are included in online and offline fraud, but with a significantly increased probability of getting caught.

Some cyber criminals are described as being very well organised, structured and elaborated in their working behaviour by anti-fraud experts in the interviews. Offenders often seem to have built an organisation-like structure, if necessary, in which the work is based on a elaborated division of labour. The experts emphasized that the offenders work is – as long as located in the cyber space – geographically unbound and with free time management. In comparison to a working place with fixed working hours and timetable, these seem to be more convenient working conditions. To a certain extent, these advantages disappear when the modus operandi also includes offline components. The prison interviews have also shown a division of labour in different cases, but individuals have also been reported to commit crimes on their own, e.g. because they fear an increased chance of being detected through the mistakes of others. Additionally, for some modi operandi, a division of labour has not been necessary (e.g. loan fraud). In general, individual criminals seemed to be more willing to share information than the ones working in organised groups.

The possibility to be anonymous and faceless in cyber space is another characteristic of cyber fraud seen as beneficial for the offender. Interviewed prisoners were also pointing out this benefit of an increased anonymity when using online means, e.g. the Darknet for trading data and tools.

As reported by the anti-fraud experts, the transition of virtual money gained in online fraud to real (bank or cash) money is an important aspect, because the used interface might allow finding traces potentially leading back to the offender. For the interviewed criminals, it was of great importance to quickly transform the gained money into cash, which is much easier to split, launder and hide. Therefore, the cashing out of gained funds might be an interesting aspect for forensic investigations. The offline components of the modus operandi in cyber crimes are also very important, because for anti-fraud experts it's often hard to acquire traces of criminal online activities on the computers of victims, who often don't allow access to their hardware.

All interviewed experts seem to agree that additional security measures are necessary, from building highly secure technical products to the education and information of companies and citizen, which all seem to be key elements to prevent cyber fraud and increase cyber security. However, the prisoner interviews have shown that if modi operandi are not working anymore (and cannot easily be adapted) due to the increase of security mechanisms, criminals often move on to other countries, which are still lacking these mechanisms. This country movement was also pointed out in the interviews with anti-fraud experts. Strengthening common sense interaction with IT-products and getting used to fast changing technical developments can therefore be seen as an important measure for a more comprehensive crime prevention, especially when spread internationally.

Conclusion, Limitations and Future Work

In this paper, **two studies** on monetary aspects of online and offline fraud were presented, showing first qualitative results of the views of involved criminals (32 subjects) and anti-fraud experts (7 subjects). Especially when interviewing prisoners, it can be concluded that personal stories leading to certain crimes are often very individual. However, the applied methods and *modi operandi* follow similar patterns in most cases. Monetary gain is often the main motivation for committing crimes, either to survive, keep high living standards or just to try out new ways to make money, quickly followed by new crimes to keep the achieved living standard. Offenders were of differing financial background (very poor vs. comparatively high salaries), differing countries of origin (poor countries vs. Schengen countries) and worked in organised form as well as alone. *Modi operandi* were mainly acquired from milieu, prison and family or friend contacts, but also from documentaries, internet and seminars. They were successively refined according to expanded knowledge, labour division strategies or additional security measures by the victims.

Money was usually transferred into cash as quickly as possible and then spent for gambling, parties or drugs. More sustainable money managing strategies included re-investment in future crimes, the purchase of goods (e.g. cars) or real estates, physical hideouts and transfers in the form of cash, goods or real estates to uninvolved, trusted people (to avoid confiscation). Money was in a few cases hidden in Bitcoins or anonymous accounts in foreign countries (such as Austria or Malta). Typical laundering strategies included casinos, cash purchase of cars, houses and other goods, insurance fraud, delivery returns and prepaid cards. Transferring cash to bank money was avoided. When a criminal is captured, the looted money can usually not be retrieved.

The study showed that in many cases the weakest points are not the pure technical implementation or securing mechanisms. In nearly all cases the criminals identified organisational or process-related weaknesses or procedures where humans are involved and can be outwitted. From this perspective, especially the implementation and security of processes beside the technical prevention should be further evaluated and improved.

Anti-fraud experts seem to have a comparatively realistic view on these reported strategies, but seem to vary in some aspects regarding ascribed expertise, motive and origin of offenders. However, this might be attributed to a slightly different perspective. The experts were often confronted with petty criminals as well as well-organised criminal groups. It seems that, during the conducted interviews, they tend to focus more on uncaught offenders, which are not located in their own national context. This is also related to international differences especially in the financial services infrastructure. While governmental anti-fraud agencies try to identify weak spots in the *modus operandi* of cyber crime offenders, service provider often focus more on the potential financial damage caused by trust issues. Financial service providers are engaged in strengthening their computer security as well as the acceptance and trust of their services and products. In the domain of cyber security, catching offenders seems to be only one of several policies fighting cyber crime. However, an empirically based analysis of the *modus operandi* of cyber crime weak

spots – like the link between online and offline criminal activities – could improve counter measures and therefore strengthen cyber security.

Limitations of the studies can be seen in their qualitative nature, not achieving statistical significance of the results. Furthermore, in psychological studies, there is always a certain error, loss and uncertainty, which might be even greater than in the field of computer forensics, from where these measures are derived (Casey, 2002). Errors might easily occur due to different language conversions, e.g. using fellow inmates as translators and even when using professional translators. Furthermore, information obtained from interviews is trivially not complete and valuable information might be lost due to an incomplete amount and direction of questions asked. Uncertainty (or fuzziness) is another important factor when human communication is concerned, because language is derived from thinking in a certain (so far unknown) way and transferred through different channels (e.g. verbal, non-verbal, para-verbal) to the communication partners. Using such communication paths is subject to the widely discussed challenges of the linkage between thinking and language, the objectivity of communicated thoughts, psychological sender-receiver models as well as different language models. As a conclusion, the presented results can always be considered as subjective interpretations of the interviewers, even if a maximum neutrality was aimed at.

Future work should include a higher amount of interview partners for more reliable and quantitative results, allowing numerical statistical analysis strategies, e.g. cluster analysis. Within that method, a general and interactive connection between motivation, modi operandi and personal or financial background can be computed to derive and predict future criminal developments. Also, the crime fields might be defined more specifically to discover crime type related differences. The findings should be checked against publicly available information and statistics and should be modelled in a formal way, e.g. as proposed by Merkel et al. using a financial crime field ontology and logical reasoning (Merkel et al., 2016). They should furthermore be visualized in an efficient and scalable way to provide forensic investigators with better and semi-automated means for evidence structuring and crime investigation. Furthermore, emerging trends and corresponding preventive measures should be extracted and discussed from the findings of the studies.

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Bargaining for Better Jobs: A Meta-Study on Antecedents and Outcomes of Individualized Employee-Employer Negotiations

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Abstract

Individualized employee-employer negotiations are the topic of an emerging literature on idiosyncratic deals (i-deals), person-specific work and employment conditions that result when individual employees seek out and employer representatives authorize deviations from standard human resource practices, e.g., working time arrangements and personnel development schemes. I-deals are based on procedural justice and mutual benefits to employee and employer, setting them apart from micro-politics and illegitimate preferential treatment of “playing favorites” and “old boy networks”. This meta-study was conducted to synthesize, i.e., to compile, aggregate, integrate, and evaluate, the results of a research program examining theoretical assumptions on i-deals in a series of eight empirical studies. Shared study features were a focus on antecedents and outcomes of successful negotiation, use of survey data, comparable instruments, and statistical methods. Information extracted from the studies was organized into a meta-model of individualized employee-employer negotiation. Antecedents were categorized as organizational (e.g., work arrangement), individual (e.g., proactivity), and interpersonal (e.g., leadership) factors. Outcomes were grouped into benefits for the individual (e.g., job satisfaction), organizational benefits (e.g., task performance), and mediating processes (e.g., work design). For these correlates, the quality of evidence was evaluated based on methodological criteria (e.g., single or substantiated result). Major findings of the assimilated meta-model are reviewed and implications for research and practice discussed. Calling attention to research limitations, boundaries and constraints of the program are delineated and reflections are offered on the challenges of integrating imperfectly compatible studies, connected to iterative, inductive-deductive, and partially opportunistic features of “real-world” research processes.

Keywords: Idiosyncratic deals, individual negotiation, antecedents and outcomes, individual and organizational benefits, meta-model, research synthesis

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Introduction

Individualized employee-employer negotiations are the topic of an emerging stream of literature on idiosyncratic deals, commonly referred to as “i-deals” (Rousseau, 2001, 2005; Liao, Wayne, & Rousseau, 2016). The purpose of this meta-study was to synthesize, that is, to compile, aggregate, integrate, and evaluate, the results of a research program on i-deals. Theoretical assumptions were examined and further developed in a series of altogether eight empirical studies, conducted between 2009 and 2015. The author played a leading role in this collaborative effort and synthesizing research outputs was part of the final program evaluation. This contribution consists of two parts. First, conceptual issues and theoretical assumptions of research on i-deals will be presented. In the second part, empirical studies will be reviewed and procedures for a qualitative integration of results into a meta-model of individualized employee-employer negotiation will be outlined. Further discussed are the practical relevance of synthesized results and challenges of integrating limitedly cumulative and imperfectly compatible studies, arising from iterative, inductive-deductive, and partially opportunistic features of real-world research processes.

Layers of Variability in Job Features

A starting point for the study of i-deals is the observation that job features vary, not only across organizations and positions, but also among job holders (Rousseau, 2005). *General features* are tied to formalized Human Resource (HR) practices, either *standardized* (e.g., facilities and benefits available to all employees) or *position-based* (e.g., bonuses and status privileges for managers). *Person-specific features* result from *self-enacted* or *negotiated* job modifications (e.g., work assignments, work hours, or learning opportunities). The distribution of standardized, position-based and person-specific layers of variability is influenced by a number of factors, e.g., labor laws, market standards, HR philosophy, egalitarian or hierarchical culture, hierarchical job level, degree of formalization, work characteristics, and actions of the job incumbent. The concept of i-deals is useful to analyze, explain, and predict how person-specific variability in job features develops through individualized bargaining processes.

Defining the Construct of Idiosyncratic Deals

I-deals have been defined as “voluntary personalized agreements of non-standard nature negotiated between individual employees and their employer regarding terms that benefit each party” (Rousseau, Ho & Greenberg, 2006; S. 978). Several aspects of this definition require some elaboration. *First, as voluntary agreements* mutual consent of employee and employer is assumed. I-deals are typically initiated proactively by employees and authorized by employer agents (e.g., supervisors, HR managers). Their contents can involve all aspects of employment, such as work schedule, workload, job content, learning and training opportunities, etc. *Second, as person-specific conditions* i-deals differ from standard practices and job features in similar positions. Heterogeneity refers to variety in contents, extent, composition, and ways of negotiation. Particularity emphasizes the personal meaning and value of such arrangements (e.g., personally interesting job content; work schedule suited to family situation). Uniqueness means that i-deals are limitedly applicable to universally valued and scarce (fixed-pie) resources, such as pay or promotions. Specifically, they are not intended as a tournament situation or to increase competition among

employees. *Third, mutual benefits* implies that both employee and employer interests are served. For employees i-deals offer a way of modifying work and employment conditions to better fit personal needs, goals, and/or preferences. Employers use i-deals to attract, retain, develop, and motivate qualified employees, to align HR practices with growing workforce diversity (e.g., gender, age, culture), and to increase HR responsiveness in competing on increasingly globalized labor markets.

Paradigm Changes in Organizational Theory

Research on i-deals has witnessed a strong reception and swift uptake, which needs to be seen in the context of broader developments in theorizing on organizations (Liao et al., 2016). In simplified terms these developments can be described as paradigm changes in organizational theory (Barley & Kunda, 1992). The *classics of industrial administration and bureaucratic management theory* have purported a view of organizations emphasizing formal structures and rule-bound standardization of processes, geared towards equal treatment of constituents without regard of the individual person (Weber, 1968). This principle of formalistic impersonality essentially eliminated the living person from administrative theory—in favor of an abstract, technocratic, and mechanistic conception of organization. This changed in the following institutional era under the influence of the *human relations movement and socio-technical systems theory*. Based on the core postulate that organizations need to be viewed as social systems, the new paradigm stressed the emergent informal organization between the working individuals, the importance of social phenomena and team processes, and the need to reconcile traditional management approaches with humanistic ideals and values (Roethlisberger & Dickson, 1939). It seems safe to say that human relations and socio-technical design have brought people back into theorizing on work and organizations. The following paradigm of *individualization and idiosyncrasy* went one step further, postulating that employees actively influence and shape organizational structures and working conditions. Important milestones in the development of a distinct perspective on individualization and idiosyncrasy in organizations include, for example, the work of Miner (1987), Lawler and Finegold (2000), and Feldman and Pentland (2003). The construct of i-deals was introduced by Rousseau (2001) around the same time as the influential research by Wrzesniewski and Dutton (2001) on job crafting. The new paradigm emphasizes structural flexibility and change, destandardization, improvisation, emergence, and has identified procedural justice as an important management principle. Building on these concepts, i-deals direct attention to complex social interdependencies and dynamics, such that the interaction between employees and their jobs is embedded in employee-employer interactions of negotiating for person-specific job features with organizational agents.

Related Constructs and Research Streams

Although i-deals are a relatively recent topic of scientific inquiry, several research streams have formulated related assumptions or developed related constructs. For instance, the concept of task redefinition in *Job Characteristics Theory* (Hackman & Oldham, 1980) posits that most work assignments are only incompletely specified (e.g., task goals and work approaches) and need to be reinterpreted and, thus, psychologically “appropriated” by the working individual. A similar idea is inherent in *Organizational Role Theory* and has been developed in the concept of job role differentiation (Ilgen & Hollenbeck, 1991), which describes work roles as “emergent”

social constructs, subject to processes of individual and collective redefinition and renegotiation with job constituents, such as customers, colleagues, or superiors. *Leader-Member Exchange (LMX) Theory* (Scandura & Graen, 1984) has outlined how shared role definitions, differentiation of status, and individual privileges are established among members of work groups through social exchange and negotiation processes with the group leader. Not coincidentally, i-deals share assumptions with *Psychological Contract Theory* (Rousseau, 1995). Specifically, the nature of the psychological contract and obtained i-deals are assumed to be interdependent (e.g., transactional or economic vs. relational or non-material content) and i-deals may be viewed as “amendments” to the psychological contract, (e.g., to compensate or remedy perceived imbalances). A particularly important basis of i-deals is *Organizational Justice Theory* (Greenberg, 1987). Both streams emphasize the social-psychological importance of procedural over distributive justice, i.e., of unbiased, consistent, transparent, understandable, and considered decision processes over the distribution of resources or rewards in itself. Procedural justice is regarded as a necessary condition of functional i-deals (Rousseau et al., 2006). Aligning i-deals with principles of procedural justice lends legitimacy to constraints to distributive justice (e.g., equal treatment), resulting from taking into account broader individual contributions and efforts as well as personal needs and circumstances.

Numerous parallels exist between i-deals and *Proactive Organizational Behavior* (Parker & Collins, 2010), an umbrella term for a broad range of intensively researched and increasingly differentiated constructs, all emphasizing the active role of individuals in shaping their work environments. For instance, early work on proactive socialization tactics (Ashford & Black, 1996) has developed a taxonomy of actions organizational newcomers engage in to find out how to enact their work role, including information seeking, relationship building, positive reframing, and negotiation of job responsibilities. The construct of job crafting (Wrzesniewski & Dutton, 2001) has provided the blueprint for discretionary, autonomous, or self-enacted modifications of task, relational, and cognitive job boundaries (e.g., adding or dropping tasks and collaboration interfaces). Personal initiative (Frese, Fay, Hilburger, Leng, & Tag, 1997) operationalizes proactive behavior aimed at effecting positive changes as part of the self-starting, future-oriented, and persistent pursuit of personal and organizational goals. Personal initiative represents an individual orientation towards autonomy as well as an active performance concept—and has been considered both as an antecedent and an outcome of i-deals. Parker and Collins (2010) have introduced the term of proactive person-environment fit behavior as an overarching category for behavioral constructs focusing on actions aimed at changing the work situation and/or oneself to improve fit with the job. The behavioral aspects of initiation and negotiation of i-deals correspond with this conceptualization.

Authorized and Functional Arrangements

Conceptualized as a form of legitimate unequal treatment, i-deals refer to personalized work arrangements that are both *authorized and functional* (Rousseau et al., 2006). These two dimensions are particularly useful to distinguish i-deals from related workplace phenomena. I-deals are created through interpersonal negotiation between individual employees and employer agents, entitled to authorize the resources bargained for. Further, these arrangements are assumed to contribute, overall and on aggregate, to the achievement of organizational goals, such as productivity, capacity

for innovation, employee motivation, loyalty and retention, etc. Based on procedural justice and mutual contributions and benefits, i-deals are distinct from manifestations of *organizational micro-politics*, that is, dysfunctional authorized arrangements, such as favoritism, cronyism, and “old boy” networks (e.g., undeserved rewards, based on personal relationship rather than employee contributions and needs). These forms of illegitimate preferential treatment are at odds with procedural justice, and detrimental to broader organizational interests and goals (e.g., organizational injustice and discrimination, employee dissatisfaction and cynicism).

Further, i-deals can be distinguished from behavioral concepts that are not based on negotiation and authorization, but on autonomous or “self-discretionary” actions of employees, aimed at affecting changes in the working environment. In the case of functional forms of *proactive behavior* (Parker & Collins, 2010), such changes take the form of voluntary actions of active performance, contributing to organizational efficiency and/or effectiveness (e.g., adopting a broader job role by supporting colleagues, providing extraordinary customer service, making suggestions, or implementing improvements). In contrast, in the case of *counterproductive behavior* or deviance (Marcus & Schuler, 2004), self-discretionary changes typically manifest in withheld contributions, neglect of job duties, or illegitimate appropriation of resources (e.g., engaging in personal activities during work hours, unexplained absence from the job, or workplace theft). With regard to i-deals, functionality and authorization are theoretically distinct, but mutually interdependent criteria. Explicit authorization by organizational agents acting (in good faith and on behalf of the employer) as negotiation partners to employees, ensures that these arrangements remain advantageous for both sides. This means that i-deals are functional partly because they rely on employer authorization, and, at the same time, become authorized partly because—or, rather, *if*—the underlying special arrangements promise to be functional from an organizational point of view.

Bottom-up and Top-Down Processes

Another way to think about i-deals is based on contrasting different sources of idiosyncrasy. From this perspective, employee-employer negotiations are a hybrid between *top-down* and *bottom-up* processes (Hornung, Rousseau, Glaser, Angerer, & Weigl, 2010). Organizational HR practices and programs promoting individualization are typically initiated and implemented “top-down” by the employer. Examples of HR practices introducing variability in job features are part-time work, working time accounts, development or training budgets, self-organizing teams, individual goal setting, and cafeteria benefit plans. At the other end of the spectrum are changes that are initiated and enacted “bottom-up” by employees through discretionary proactive and deviant behavior. In that case, person-specific variability in job features results from individual interpretations, use, expansion („stretching“), or overstepping of one’s zone of autonomy and discretion. This can refer to differences in the way job duties are performed, compliance with rules and regulations, use of working time arrangements, or involvement in training and learning opportunities. Combining characteristics of formal organizational and self-enacted discretionary individualization, i-deals are initiated bottom-up by employees and are authorized top-down by employer agents. Representation of employee and employer interests is assumed to ensure that these arrangement are mutually beneficial.

Review and Synthesis of Empirical Studies

Included in the present review are eight empirical studies the author was involved in, published between 2009 and 2015. Shared features were: a) A focus on antecedents and outcomes of i-deals at the individual level; b) use of standardized survey instruments, developed and continuously improved as part of the research program; c) a study design based mostly cross-sectional, single-source data (exceptions are Studies 5, and 6, which included the analysis of longitudinal data, as well as Study 7, which used supervisor ratings of job performance); d) statistical methods of confirmatory factor analysis and structural equation modeling, using the software AMOS (an exception was the alternative regression-based approach in Study 8; Studies 4 to 8 included mediation analyses; moderator effects were examined in Study 8). The scope of the research was international. Data were gathered in the USA, Germany, and China. An emphasis in settings and occupations was on hospitals and health care workers. Only Studies 1 and 2 were conducted in a public administration setting and Study 8 used a convenience sample of working parents. Several studies used overlapping data sets in different cross-sectional and longitudinal configurations and with different sets of focal constructs. Overall, the presented program was based on the analysis of ten cross-sectional samples, comprising altogether 2779 observations, and two longitudinal data sets, including 165 cases. However, only six samples were independent, obtained in five distinct organizational, occupational and/or cultural settings, based on N = 1990 persons in total. Non-independence of samples, however, was of minor concern here, first, because overlaps in analyzed relationships between studies were kept to a minimum, and, second, because the presented meta-study did not include a quantitative aggregation of statistical results.

Scope and Foci of the Research Program

Heterogeneity and variety of i-deals means an abundance in manifestations of personalized employee-employer agreements and in the ways in which these are arrived at or emerge. Thus, the scope of the research program was not comprehensive and reflects prior theoretical assumptions. With regard to negotiation contents, the focus was on the two broader types of flexibility and developmental arrangements. *Flexibility i-deals* generally refer to an individually customized working time schedule, but can also include number of work hours, workload reduction, or work location. *Development i-deals* broadly refer to learning opportunities and have been further differentiated into personalized work tasks and individual career support. I-deals on monetary or economic aspects, such as pay, promotions, or other material rewards were not explicitly investigated. In terms of negotiation processes, the focus was on employee-initiated, rather than employer-initiated arrangements, negotiated *ex post*, in an ongoing employment relationship, rather than *ex ante*, at the time of hire. Further, studies focused on successful negotiation, i.e., employee initiation and employer authorization, not taking into account negative implications of failed negotiations and unfulfilled, broken, or revoked personalized agreements.

Portfolio of Included Studies

Study 1 (Rousseau, Hornung, & Kim, 2009) investigated differential effects of negotiation timing and content of i-deals on employee perceptions of social and economic exchange with the organization. This study was the first systematic

empirical examination of i-deals and reports the initial development of the survey instrument and the testing of theoretical assumptions developed by Rousseau et al. (2006). Included aspects of i-deals were ex ante and ex post negotiation, paid work hours, and development opportunities. The sample consisted of $N = 265$ employees from all areas of a general hospital in the USA (e.g., nursing, administration, support).

Study 2 (Hornung, Rousseau, & Glaser, 2008) tested a model of organizational and individual antecedents and outcomes of flexibility and development i-deals in the context of a telecommuting program in a government administration in Germany. This was the first study on i-deals outside the USA and was based on data from $N = 887$ public employees. Examined antecedents included structural work features (e.g., part-time, telecommuting, and external assignments) and employee proactivity (personal initiative); outcomes were work-family conflict, affective commitment, voluntary overtime hours, and supervisor performance standards.

Study 3 (Hornung, Rousseau, & Glaser, 2009) represents the second part of Study 2 and focused on the perspective of supervisors authorizing i-deals. It used the same setting as Study 2 and tests a similar model, based on the responses of $N = 263$ public managers. Studies were separated as a requirement of the peer-review process.

Study 4 (Hornung et al., 2010) introduced the concept into the work design literature by presenting a model of task i-deals, work characteristics (control, complexity, and stressors), and indicators of well-being and active performance (work engagement and personal initiative). The relationship with the direct supervisor (LMX) was included as a basis of i-deals. The model was confirmed in a subsample of $N = 189$ hospital employees from Study 1 and a second sample of $N = 135$ German hospital physicians.

Study 5 (Hornung, Glaser, & Rousseau, 2010) was a reanalysis of the data from study 1. Based on a pooled cross-sectional sample of $N = 373$ and a smaller longitudinal data set of $N = 74$, the study reports, how improvements in job autonomy and distributive justice act as mediators between ex post negotiation of i-deals and enhanced job satisfaction. Backing up investigated relationships with a battery of cross-lagged path models, this study provided the first longitudinal results on i-deals.

Study 6 (Hornung, Glaser, Rousseau, Angerer, & Weigl, 2011) reported a model of employee-oriented leadership, development and flexibility i-deals, and quality of working life (work engagement and work-family conflict) among hospital physicians in Germany. This study was primarily a replication of previous results and was based on samples of $N = 159$ and $N = 142$ from two waves of a survey study, as well as a longitudinal subsample of $N = 91$; data partly overlapped with Study 4.

Study 7 (Hornung, Rousseau, Weigl, Müller, & Glaser, 2014) extended previous results by introducing a more elaborated measure and model of work design through i-deals. The model was tested in a sample of $N = 187$ clinical hospital staff working in a psychiatric-neurological clinic in Germany and included supervisor ratings of job performance. Development i-deals were divided into personalized work tasks and career support. Specific outcomes and intermediating processes were modeled for task (job autonomy and performance), career (skill acquisition and occupational self-efficacy), and flexibility i-deals (reduced work overload and psychological strain). The supervisor relationship (LMX) was confirmed as an antecedent of all three forms.

Study 8 (Tang, & Hornung, 2015) developed a model of flexibility and development i-deals, extrinsic and intrinsic motivation, work engagement, and mutual enrichment between the work and family domain. The model was tested in a convenience sample of N = 179 working parents from southern China. Theoretical assumptions regarding an important role of i-deals in the complex interactions between work and family life were supported. Personal initiative was confirmed as an antecedent of i-deals, especially in combination with a supportive family background.

Synthesizing a Meta-Model of I-deals

Structured summaries of all eight studies were created in a standardized format, including sample information, control variables, analyzed antecedents, dimensions of i-deals, mediating constructs, outcomes, and main results. Next, statistical parameters were extracted, compiled in a compendium of tables, and subsequently reorganized into a meta-model of individualized employee-employer negotiations. Antecedents were categorized into individual (e.g., personal initiative), organizational (e.g., work structures), and interpersonal (e.g., leader relationship) factors. Outcomes were grouped into benefits for the individual (e.g., reduced work-family conflict), benefits for the organization (e.g., task performance), and mediating processes (e.g., work design). For all correlates the quality of evidence was rated according to methodological criteria (e.g., singular or replicated results). Based on this meta-model, the following summary of results, limitations, and implications was derived.

Dimensions of I-deals

A central objective of the research program was to identify those aspects of work and employment conditions that are most commonly subject to personalization through i-deals. The development, psychometric assessment, and continuous improvement of survey measures, thus, was an integral part of the research. Established and validated was the distinction between agreements expanding individual working time flexibility (i.e., scheduling or distribution of work hours) and those providing personalized support for professional development (i.e., job content, training, and learning and performance goals). Less well studied were other time-related arrangements, e.g., targeting the number of paid work hours and workload reductions. In later studies, developmental agreements were differentiated into task and career i-deals. Additionally, general scales on ex ante versus ex post negotiation confirmed that the latter, negotiated in ongoing employment relationships, were both more common and psychologically relevant than the former, made at the time of hire.

Antecedents of I-deals

The best established individual antecedent of i-deals is employee proactivity, operationalized in terms of personal initiative. Although some studies have found effects of other personal attributes, such as gender and age, these results were somewhat context-specific. With regard to interpersonal or contextual factors, the quality of the work exchange relationship with the direct supervisor (LMX) seems to be the most critical aspect of the social capital required for successfully negotiating personalized arrangements. Less clear-cut were results on the organizational factors facilitating or constraining the use of i-deals. Whereas structural forms of de-

standardization, such as part-time work and telecommuting, seem to support primarily the negotiation of flexibility i-deals, in some settings a higher standing in the organizational hierarchy was associated with a greater extent of developmental arrangements. However, in some instances, a higher prevalence of development or career i-deals was also observed among less privileged groups of employees, such as part-timers and temporary workers, suggesting that individual negotiation may partly be used to overcome or compensate for experienced disadvantages.

Outcomes of I-deals

The most substantiated outcome of flexibility i-deals was a reduction of stressful work-family conflict, confirming that these arrangements are negotiated to offset overburdening job demands and support employees' work-life balance. Further correlates included less overtime and lower work pressure, which was associated with reduced cognitive and emotional strain, as well as higher extrinsic work motivation, which was found to contribute positively to work-to-family enrichment. Although there is some concern that flexibility i-deals lead to lower quality treatment by the employer (e.g., work assignments, training opportunities, promotions, etc.), no clear-cut indication for this was found. However, i-deals increasing or decreasing the number of paid work hours turned out to have negative implications for the quality of the employment relationship. Specifically, lower employee perceptions of social exchange with the organization and higher salience of economic aspects confirmed that i-deals are limitedly applicable to material or monetary aspects. Whereas flexibility i-deals appeared to benefit more directly the individual worker, developmental arrangements showed associations with outcomes that conventionally are more strongly the focus of organizational interests, such as employee attachment (i.e., affective commitment and social exchange perceptions), intrinsic motivation (i.e., work engagement), and performance (i.e., supervisor performance expectations, ratings of task performance, and voluntary overtime). Differentiating between task and career i-deals allowed a more specific allocation of outcomes connected to performance and learning, but this distinction was based on a single study and needs to be interpreted with caution. The same holds true for potential negative side-effects of increased work-family conflict, which were found in one study only.

Intermediating Processes

Some evidence was found suggesting that changes in extrinsic (e.g., distribution of rewards) and intrinsic (e.g., job autonomy) job features, respectively the activation of extrinsic and intrinsic motivational processes, mediated the relationship between i-deals and positive outcomes (e.g., work engagement and job satisfaction). Most substantiated in this regard was a mediating role of work characteristics, specifically higher autonomy or control at work, more complex or challenging work tasks, and lower levels of work stressors. Accordingly, i-deals have been advocated as an instrument for differential and dynamic approaches to work redesign.

Limitations and Challenges

Several limitations and challenges need to be mentioned. Rooted in the observation of individualized employee-employer negotiations as a factual workplace phenomenon, research on i-deals lacks a strong theoretical basis. Accordingly, the reviewed studies

have drawn on different models and concepts, such as social exchange, leadership, and work design, but defy integration into a coherent overarching and unifying theoretical framework. Further, focusing on individual-level outcomes involves the risk of neglecting relevant systemic or collective effects (e.g., implications for organizational climate). Methodological constraints arise from the context-specific inclusion of different items, contents, and dimensions of i-deals. As mentioned before, overlapping samples between studies are due to multiple analyses of the same data in different configurations and with alternative sets of focal constructs. To some extent, these limitations are attributable to the characteristics of “real world” research processes, unfolding in an iterative, stepwise, and retrospective, rather than a linear, planned, and prospective fashion. Potential biases can further arise from the amalgamation of interchanging phases of deduction and induction (i.e., theorizing and data analysis), combined with partially opportunistic elements, such as field access, sampling, and publication opportunities. Arguably, however, these are quite general issues and by no means limited to or even characteristic for this particular research.

Practical Implications

Evidence for the occurrence and relevance of personalized work arrangements was found in all organizational, occupational, and cultural contexts, raising questions regarding the practical implications of i-deals in contemporary workplaces. Results show that the perspectives of negotiating employees and authorizing supervisors on antecedents and outcomes of i-deals tend to converge. Both employees and managers need to pay attention to specific outcomes and potential side effects of different types of agreements. One way to avoid negative consequences is to try to balance flexibility and development by tying non-standard working time arrangements to learning opportunities and goals—and vice versa. Managers are cautioned that the use of individual negotiation as an instrument of employee-oriented leadership is contingent on prerequisites—most importantly, adherence to principles of procedural justice.

Concluding Remarks

The construct of i-deals was introduced by Rousseau (2001, 2005), based on the phenomenon of individualized employee-employer negotiations. At the outset of the presented research program, empirical evidence on i-deals was limited to indirect and anecdotal accounts. Reviewed studies represent an initial wave or “first generation” of quantitative research on i-deals, which has provided the impetus for a rapidly growing body of international research. Nonetheless, at this point it is still unclear whether i-deals can live up to the promise of transforming technocratic or “Tayloristic” work structures into personalized „custom-tailored“ jobs. There is some indication that the benefits of i-deals can best be realized if such arrangements are used as “secondary elasticities” to increase the responsiveness and flexibility of a well-designed HR management system. However, there is also a risk that i-deals aggravate existing inequalities and differences in status and power (e.g. core and peripheral employees), if misused as a cost-efficient way for a case-by-case upgrading of “no frills” work contracts, which otherwise have been stripped of traditional employee benefits.

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Supporting the Personnel Selection of Salespeople

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Abstract

The personnel selection of salespeople can rely on the measurement of basic abilities and personality features such as for example intelligence, communication skills, social skills and extroversion. However, a more specific measure, focusing on knowledge about persuasion would be beneficial in the decision process.

In a series of studies, a situation based, achievement measure of persuasion knowledge was developed. The test measures persuasion knowledge (e.g., Campbell & Kirmani, 2008; Friestad & Wright, 1994) in general, not focusing on commercial persuasion exclusively. The questionnaire requires recognition of others' intentions, persuasion strategies and predictions about the effectiveness of those strategies. The measure was developed based on data of university samples, but was also tried on salespersons, and its differentiation ability between the two groups was challenged.

Based on our results, the specific test is reliable; and shows validity. Two main underlying factors of the measure can be differentiated: agreeableness or critical thinking, and persuasion knowledge. Based on the collected empirical data, salespeople seem to show less agreeableness and more persuasion knowledge than university students. Based on a linear discriminant analysis, the measure can support the differentiation of salespeople, hence it has a potential in their selection process.

Keywords: persuasion knowledge, salespeople, salesmen, personnel selection

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Introduction

In the present paper, we study the potential of applying a recent construct, persuasion knowledge as a criterion in personnel selection of salespeople. Persuasion knowledge gathers all information learned in persuasive situations. This is a knowledge salespersons must have developed in a larger extent than laypeople did, given their everyday work requirements and could support the personnel selection process.

Obviously, personnel selection of the best potential employees for sales positions is crucial for most businesses. However, from the point of view of psychology, the process is rather challenging as applicants are skilled in impression making. In most cases, general abilities and personality features, such as intelligence, extroversion, sociability, uncertainty tolerance etc. is measured in the selection process. A more specific candidate for differentiation among applicants would be persuasion knowledge. Persuasion knowledge is measured in various ways in research context, but has not come into general use in practice, yet.

A new, achievement based measure is introduced in the paper, which was developed for the student population. Beyond describing the development process, an empirical study is presented, where the salespersons' data is compared to university students' data. The proposed measure is expected to differentiate between the two groups well. The latent structure of the proposed Persuasion Knowledge Achievement Measure is also investigated in the study. We believe, both the new measure and the considered practical application have a high potential, and even if this study is a small, cautious step to that direction, the outlined way is worth considering.

Personnel selection of salespeople

Salespeople are a special group of employees. Many of them work under a great pressure to achieve. Their salary depends on their regularly assessed performance given objective numbers (Armstrong & Murlis, 2007; Winer & Schiff, 1980). Their financial status depends not only on their work performance, but also on the specific field where they are applied. Salespeople's timetables tend to be very flexible and work environments vary a lot, where they have to accept several influencing factors to their work effectiveness. Probably, this is the reason why salesman are typically risk taking, as risk taking individuals are opt for such a job. Furthermore, salespeople are often achievement oriented, and eager to get feedback (Winer & Schiff, 1980).

Salespeople are good at communication, and have an advanced theory of mind ability (H. Pink, 2012), as it is needed for persuasion. The stereotypic salesman is extrovert, assertive, have good social skills. Correspondingly, their employers seek for employees possessing characteristics (Costa & McCrae, 1992; Kahneman, Diener, Schwartz, 1999). However, Grant (2012) provided empirical evidence, as the result of the investigation of 340 call-center representatives, that the relation between extroversion and sales is a reversed U-shape. This finding suggest that ambiverts have an advantage in sales. Grant's explanation is that ambiverts can both talk and listen, which supports largely the sale efforts in communication. Based on further relevant literature, salespeople are often talkative, enthusiastic, open and

optimistic (Cain, 2012; DeYoung, Quilty, & Peterson, 2007), and cannot take no as an answer (Vinchur, Schippmann, Switzer, & Roth, 1998).

Cron, Marshal, Singh, Spiro and Sujana (2005) provided a summary on the personnel selection trends of salespeople. In this paragraph, parts of the provided information are highlighted. Traditionally, salespeople's performance is linked to so-called role variables, such as accuracy, expectations; and in the personnel selection process applicants' cognitive abilities, personality and demographic features were examined mostly (Churchill, Ford, Hartley, & Walker). However, only a small variance of sales performance is explained by the dominantly assessed variables. In line with the development of measurement methods and emergence of meta-analyses, intelligence, emotional intelligence became important selection criteria. Salespeople are known to use typologies of products and consumers, and have more enriched information of certain categories than laymen have. From the investigated personality factors, integrity, consciousness, optimism and social competence seem valid predictors of direct sales performance.

In sum, an ideal salesperson shows risk taking behavior, achievement oriented, optimistic, not too extrovert, neither introvert, social, intelligent, precise, and conscientious etc. However, most of these variables have an indirect effect on sales performance, because for example risk taking behavior and optimism are needed to bear the uncertainties of their work. We believe that an achievement measure of orientation in persuasion attempts could be a more direct predictor of salespeople's work performance than some of these personality features and abilities.

Persuasion knowledge

The term persuasion knowledge refers to all aspects of personal experience, knowledge, attitudes, and beliefs which influence personal actions and reactions in situations involving persuasion (Campbell & Kirmani, 2008; Friestad & Wright, 1994). Furthermore, it contains information learned during the socialization process, and cultural schemas, which can guide one's behavior in persuasion attempts (Friestad & Wright, 1994).

Friestad and Wright published a complex persuasion knowledge model in 1994. The model differentiates the "agent" and the "target" of persuasive communication. According to this influential model, participants' thoughts, feelings, actions and reactions are affected by three types of knowledge: their topic knowledge; their knowledge about the partners; and their persuasion knowledge.

Clearly, persuasion knowledge is related to attribution, intent comprehension, mentalisation, and it contains beliefs and schemas about typical persuasion techniques and potential reactions to them. Moreover it includes beliefs also about the effectiveness of these techniques. The attribution of mental states, termed as mentalisation or theory of mind (Premack & Woodruff, 1978; Samson & Apperly, 2010), seems to provide a basis for persuasion knowledge (see e.g., McAllister & Cornwell, 2009). Theory of mind refers to the ability which supports the comprehension of other's mental states, feelings, and intentions during communication. This general skill can establish the development of the more specific persuasion knowledge. Persuasion knowledge is known to develop throughout the life span,

and with increasing age, a decline can be detected (Campbell & Kirmani, 2008). The early development starts around the age of seven and is studied more frequently (Wright, Friestad & Boush, 2005) than the decline of the skill (Campbell & Kirmani, 2008). In adulthood, a continuous growth can be assumed in line with the development of theory of mind (Samson & Apperly, 2010), and gaining experience. The more experience the individual has, the more developed persuasion knowledge can be assumed.

Although, most of the corresponding research focused on marketing related persuasion exclusively (e.g., Bearden, Hardesty & Carlson, 2007; Bearden, Hardesty & Rose, 2001; Boush, Friestad, & Rose, 1994), this topic has relevance in pedagogy, psychology, communication, and in the behavioral sciences in general. The same persuasion knowledge is used to maintain communication in formal and informal situations in everyday life, whenever persuasion is applied. However, for this study, the persuasion knowledge construct is considered as a potential criterion for personnel selection of salespeople. That is, the aim is to measure persuasion knowledge on a population who often act on the agent side of persuasive communication.

The measurement of persuasion knowledge

A wide collection of methods are used to measure persuasion knowledge. Recently, Ham, Nelson and Das (2015) summarized the existing approaches. Some of the often followed approaches are qualitative (Ham, Nelson & Das, 2015), possessing the typical disadvantages of qualitative studies, as for example the assessment requires lots of time; the process is not fully objective etc. For example, the researchers apply a content analysis (e.g., Lorenzon & Russell, 2012; Nelson, Keum, Yaros, 2004), or depth interview (e.g., Kirmani & Campbell, 2004). Content analysis was used to assess situational, while depth interview was used to assess dispositional persuasion knowledge in the referred studies.

Other measures are quantitative, mostly self-report questionnaires that can be affected by perceptual biases, social desirability. In personnel selection context, it is a well-known phenomenon that applicants distort their measurement of personality features (Hough, 1998). Part of the available quantitative measures, again, focus on situational persuasion knowledge, as for example Inference of Manipulative Intent (Campbell, 1995) or Understanding of Persuasion Intent (Campbell and Kirmani, 2000). Others focus on dispositional persuasion knowledge, such as the Knowledge about Persuasion Tactics (Boush, Friestad, & Rose, 1994), Lay People's Persuasion Knowledge (Friestad & Wright, 1995), or Self-Confidence Persuasion Knowledge (Bearden, Hardesty & Rose, 2001).

An unusual exception of self-report measures is an achievement based measure, which focuses on Pricing Tactics (Bearden, Hardesty & Carlson, 2007). However, the scope of this questionnaire is rather narrow, but, of course, it can serve specific needs very well. The necessity for further measurement tools is expressed by Ham and his colleagues (2015). From the perspective of psychological assessment, an achievement based measure with a more general scope on persuasion would be beneficial. In the following, we propose a new, achievement based measure that could be applied in theoretical investigations, could serve diagnostic and preventive purposes in the general population, as well as can support the personnel selection of salespeople.

Development of a new measure of persuasion knowledge

As it has been stated earlier, theory of mind (ToM) is clearly related to persuasion knowledge (McAllister & Cornwell, 2009). A widely accepted measure of ToM (the Imposing Memory Task, Kinderman, Dunbar, & Bental, 1998) inspires our new persuasion knowledge measure. ToM denotes the competence which enables people to understand other's mental states based on their behaviour (Premack & Woodruff, 1978). It establishes also the ability to understand others' latent motives and unexpressed goals. ToM is often assessed by the Imposing Memory Task (IMT, Kinderman, Dunbar, & Bental, 1998). In the IMT, short social situations followed by true or false items aiming to test the memory and mentalisation ability of the examinees.

Following this methodology, seven situations describing various contexts and context relevant, persuasion related items were constructed to measure persuasion knowledge. The situations were the following: a mother trying to convince a child about finishing homework (1); teacher encouraging a class participating in a contest (2); a couple discussing their holiday plans (3); agent of a nonprofit organization asking for support (4); a product description (5); a consumer shopping for clothes served by a shop assistant (6); a consumer looking for a present in a store for electric devices (7).

The situations incorporate items from earlier proposed questionnaires, but embedded in a specific context, which makes them less general. The situations also contain persuasion techniques and compliance gaining strategies defined in the literature (e.g., Kellerman & Cole, 1994; Perloff, 2010). Items include classical persuasion techniques, such as foot in the door, door in the face (e.g., Perloff, 2010); typical heuristics, as for example elegant person, high price (e.g., Perloff, 2010); compliance gaining communication tactics, such as negation (Wilson, 2002); pricing tactics, as package price and introductory price (Bearden, Hardesty, & Carlson, 2007); and items which require decision on the participants' attribute.

Each situation followed by corresponding statements. Examinees should decide on each statement whether it is true or false, and how sure they are in their decision. Stating this in another way, a Likert scale is provided with endpoints of surely false and surely true.

Here, we provide a typical example of the applied situations. Please note, that the questionnaire was administered in Hungarian, a translation of the original version is given in the following.

“An elegant young man knocks on a house door:

- Good morning, I am John Smith. I have a fridge magnet for you.
- Thank you, but we do not have a fridge, and do not want to buy anything.
- You don't need to buy it, it's a present. It reminds the family that overweight leads to illnesses. – And he talks lengthily about frequency and risks of overweight.
- I don't want to be unfriendly, but there are people waiting for me inside.
- Could you, please, give me a favor before going inside? Would you mind signing this petition? We ask the government to spend more money on preventing overweight. There isn't any real responsibility in signing.
- All right, I'll sign this, but could I go to have dinner right after this?

- Sorry for taking your time. Before I leave, I would like to give you this document on Harmbalm. This medicative product is developed for preventing heart disease by well-known scientists. It has utility not only for you, but you can cure your loved ones with it. One must spend money on such.
- And what is the price?
- This is high time to buy it for a reduced price. You need to decide, no one else can make a decision instead of you.
- Thank you for the information. I'll think it over. Good bye."

Corresponding items are for example:

„Based on John Smith's clothes and the graphs he presented, he seems a trustable expert to many people."

Surely false 1 2 3 4 5 6 Surely true

„There is no fridge in the house."

Surely false 1 2 3 4 5 6 Surely true

„The man gave a fridge magnet, it was a nice gesture, many people would feel afterwards, that they owe something to him in return."

Surely false 1 2 3 4 5 6 Surely true

We believe that the questionnaire captures relevant aspects of the examinees' behavior in persuasion contexts, and gives information about their persuasive knowledge. The preliminary version of the measure was tested in a series of studies, as it is going to be described in the following in details.

Pilot studies of a new persuasion knowledge measure

In the last year, four different versions of the measurement instrument were tested on heterogeneous groups of university students (N=540). Most of the data (80%) were collected in a personal assisted way, but in a small proportion of the sample, online data collection was also applied.

In the four data collection rounds, different features of the measurement instruments were modified and tried out. First, two versions were compared: a longer version contained situations followed by statements; and a shorter version, where the same statements had to be assessed, but the situations were incorporated in the statements only. Based on the results of traditional measures of reliability, and the feedback from the examinees, the version containing the introductory situations worked better. Probably, the situations help to identify the context and make the items more unambiguous, as decrease the occurrence of irrelevant associations.

In the third and fourth data collection rounds, university samples faced with two modified version of the original, longer questionnaire. Based on the results, some of the items did not fit to the dimension defined by the majority of the items. The well-fitting items belonged to four situations, which were finally kept. From the rest, the well-fitting items were integrated in those four situations, and different formulation of some of the items were also tried out.

Furthermore, a four-point scale and six-point scale of the answer categories were also applied. The higher scale points led to better indices, but made the data collection more difficult, as some of the examinees found it difficult to answer on a six-point scale.

In the third and fourth versions of the test, supplementary questionnaires were also filled out to study the validity of the measure. Such measures were the Persuasion Knowledge Subscale from the Consumer Self-Confidence Scale (Bearden, Hardesty, & Rose, 2001); Public Opinion Toward Advertising (Pollary & Mittal, 1993); a subscale of conversational indirectness measure focusing on the motivation to understand indirect messages (Holtgraves, 1997). The results were promising: the Cronbach-alpha values were above .6 and the correlation values mostly indicated weak, but significant relationship.

Main study on the Persuasion Knowledge Achievement Measure

The *aim of the main study* was to reveal the psychometric properties of a new persuasion knowledge measure, the Persuasion Knowledge Achievement Measure. Beyond studying its reliability, the validity of the measure is investigated in two ways. First, the measure was administered on a university and a salespeople sample, and a better achievement is expected from the older sample, who deals with persuasion in their everyday professional life. This way, we investigate the predictive validity of the test. Second, another measure of persuasion knowledge, and a related construct: intent comprehension in conversations were also administered on the samples.

The *method* was designed based on the pilot studies, a four situation based version of the measure with 27 items was administered. At the beginning of the questionnaire, information were given about the aim of the study, and anonym handling of the data and voluntary participation was declared. The first set of items were asking for demographic data of the examinees. The demographic questions included gender, age, and the occupation of the examinees. Afterwards, the Persuasion Knowledge Achievement Test was administered. Following the PKAM, the six items of the Self-Confidence Persuasion Knowledge (Bearden, Hardesty & Rose, 2001), and items from the intent comprehension subscale of conversational indirectness measure (Holtgraves, 1997) was filled out by the examinees.

University students either filled out the questionnaire in a paper and pencil form (N=97) in a supervised setting, or were reached online (N=122). A group of students were paid to recruit salespeople (N=88) to participate in the study. Students found this task very difficult, as most salespeople refused to take part in the study referring their limited free time. Some of them participated only because the online version of the questionnaire gave feedback on their achievement. The recruited salespeople mostly worked in real estate, insurance, and vehicle market.

At the end of the data administration in the supervised setting, the university students got a small present, mostly chocolate, for their cooperation in the study. While in case of the online version, the feedback on the achievement of the participants functioned as a reward. It was emphasized that the feedback is a rough measure of their achievement, as the measure is being development. The score was calculated in a way that is described in the following. The reversed items were recalculated in the usual way (5 minus the score here), then the four-

point scale items were dichotomized and the sumscore was provided at the end of the questionnaire. The maximum score was 27 and this was also told.

One of the items was very easy intentionally, because we wanted to test for automatic and reckless filling. All items were administered in Hungarian. The English translation of the verificatory item is “If someone says ‘Do it for me.’, this means the person wants us to do accordingly”.

The university sample consisted of 66 male and 153 female participants, their mean age was 25.99 (SD=8.18). The salespeople sample included 25 males and 63 females, their average age was 37.26 (SD=11.33). The gender rate is very comparable, but university sample is younger than the salespeople sample, which is not surprising.

Before *analyzing the data*, examinees with missing data and examinees who could not answer well on the verificatory item were left out of the analyses. This is an additional procedure, which was applied to eliminate the effect of inattentive participation in the study. Seven students who filled out the questionnaire in person and fourteen who filled it out online were failed to answer the filter item correctly. Nine of the salespeople were left out for the same reasons. The data of the filter item was not used in the following.

Furthermore, ten students in supervised setting missed to answer all items, and left out from the analyses. The remaining sample (N=267) consisted of 188 students and 79 salespeople.

First, the optimal number of components underlying the PKAM data was estimated by the nFactors package of the R program (Raiche Riopel, & Blais, 2006), see *Figure 1*. Based on the graph, depending on the applied criteria two or three components should be considered.

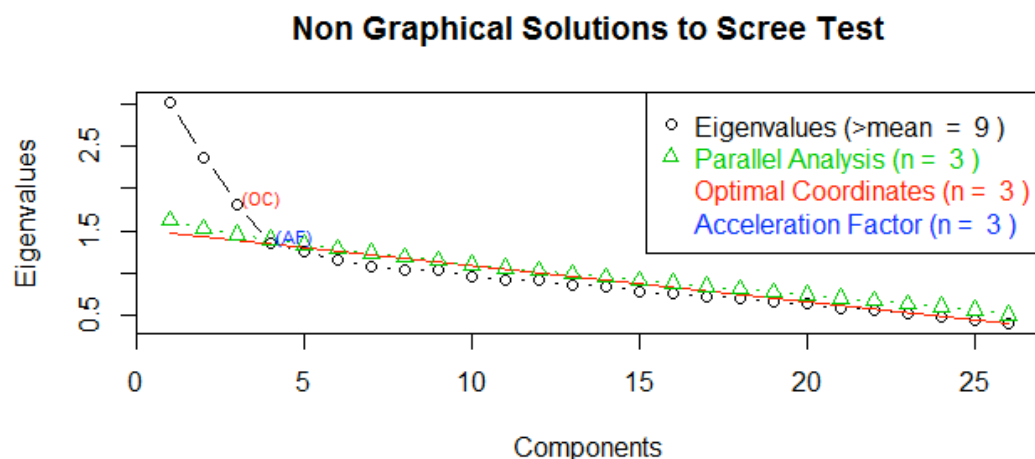


Figure 1: Optimal number of considered principal components.

Exploratory factor analysis was also applied on the PKAM data with varimax rotation. The three factor solution fitted well on the data ($\chi^2=270.94$, $df=250$, $p>.05$). The third factor seemed less important compared to the first two.

The first factor seem to capture “agreeableness” or “critical thinking” approaching the concept from the other side of the scale, as reversed items have positive and other items have

negative loadings on this factor. On one extreme, there are items for example: “The expensive product is always better than the cheaper ones.” or “All participants of the competition are going to receive a present.” (both are reversed items); while on the other side, there are items such as “The initiative price is used to make people try the product.” or “John Smith’s case is an example. It shows that those who participate in the competition must gain a good grade afterwards”.

The second factor seem to account for “persuasion knowledge” with all but one item having a positive loading. Typical items with high loadings are for example: „Based on John Smith’s clothes and the graphs he presented, he seems a trustable expert to many people.” or „If a shop assistant presents a very expensive carpet Hoover once, then a cheaper one, he or she wastes the customer’s time.” (reversed item).

Table 1.

Items loadings from Principal component analysis.

Item	Comp. 1	Comp. 2	Comp. 3	Comp.4
I.1	0.174		0.165	-0.159
I.2			-0.206	-0.136
I.3		-0.201	0.495	0.281
I.4				
I.5	-0.399	-0.259		0.113
I.6		-0.136		
I.7	-0.357		0.391	-0.274
II.1		-0.392	-0.212	-0.305
II.2		-0.251	-0.225	
II.3	-0.193	-0.145		
II.4		-0.146		
II.5	-0.158	-0.240	-0.120	0.592
III.1		-0.344	-0.144	-0.152
III.2		-0.170		
III.3	-0.142		-0.127	
III.4		-0.173	-0.148	-0.204
III.5	-0.133		0.115	0.137
III.6	-0.181	0.180	-0.212	
III.7	-0.446		0.136	-0.114
III.8	-0.270		-0.221	
IV.1		-0.362		
IV.2	-0.159	-0.182	0.254	-0.162
IV.3	0.301	-0.318		
IV.4	-0.229	-0.112	-0.254	0.161
IV.5	0.273	-0.145		0.398
IV.6			0.281	

The third factor seem to capture “experience based knowledge”. Items which evoke associations, often repeated sentences which interfere the understanding the item in the specific context load on this factor. For example, “He refers to the interested youth, as he believes this class is not such.”, or “The teacher wants to choose participants, in order to send the best ones”. In this last example, past experience object the good answer. Therefore, this factor is better to be eliminated. If three additional items are left out, a two factor model fits well on the data ($\chi^2=232.06$, $df=208$, $p>.05$).

Principal component analysis was used to obtain two components, and the individual total scores on those components were automatically calculated. In our case, this was reasonable,

as the loadings are not close to be equal (see *Table 1*). The theta values of the first two components were .626 and .629, given the four point scale it is acceptable.

Both for the university student and the salespeople sample, the total scores of the “persuasion knowledge” component are normally distributed based on Kolmogorov-Smirnov analyses ($D_s < 0.07$, $p_s > .05$). The variances must be different based on the data ($F(187,78) = 0.64$, $p < .05$), hence the two sample was compared with a Welch t-test. The test showed significant difference between the average achievements ($t = 3.24$, $df = 121.94$, $p < .01$) of students ($M = 0.18$) and salespeople ($M = -0.42$). As expected, salespeople showed higher achievement.

In a similar way, the total scores of the first principal component were investigated. The student’s data were not normally distributed (Kolmogorov-Smirnov test, $D = 0.11$, $p < 0.05$), hence a Wilcoxon test was applied which showed a significant difference between the investigated populations ($V = 9502$, $p < .001$). Students had higher average score on the agreeableness scale ($Med = 0.11$) compared to the salespeople’s average score ($Med = -0.46$).

Table 2.

Classification based on the discriminant analysis versus group membership.

	Student	Salespeople
LDA student	177	47
LDA salespeople	11	32

Using these two principal components in a discriminant analyses, the provided model results in a proper classification for 78.28% of the examinees. See *Table 2* for the details. The corresponding Kohen Kappa is 0.40.

Conclusions

The aim of the present research paper is to introduce a new persuasion knowledge measure, called Persuasion Knowledge Achievement Measure. Furthermore, a potential practical application of this measure is provided and tested empirically. The application of an achievement based persuasion knowledge measure in the personnel selection process of salesmen seems straightforward and beneficial.

A situation based indirect, but achievement based measure is established in a four stage pilot study. University students filled out different forms of the questionnaire in different settings. The personal feedbacks are positive, although the questionnaire seems long, but interesting. Situations, items were chosen during the process and formulation of the items were modified throughout the versions

In the main study, data was gathered from both students and salespeople. Based on an exploratory factor analysis and a principal component analysis, two meaningful factors/components can be differentiated. One of them is critical thinking/agreeableness, and the other one is persuasion knowledge. Given the four point scale, on which the answers were administered, the reliability indices of the components are good. However, this could be improved by applying a six-point scale, more scalepoints would not be beneficial, as the examinees considered six as difficult, already.

Based on a simple comparison of the obtained empirical data, salespeople showed more persuasion knowledge and more critical thinking as university students. Even more, a discriminant analyses was successful in predicted group membership in most cases. Clearly, age is a confounding variable here. From the perspective of predictive validity of the measure, this is not a problem. But for providing stronger evidence of the utility of the measure in personnel selection an age fitted sample is going to be needed.

In the near future, we follow this research line in two ways. First, the main study is repeated on a modified Persuasion Knowledge Achievement Measure with additional items administered on a six-point scale on demographically more similar groups. Second, several potential personality and ability correlates of the measure are investigated in a complex study on university students, such as self-efficacy, theory of mind ability, need for cognition etc. The new measure, and persuasion knowledge in general, has several field of applications, as for example prevention, personality development, communication training. The measure was successfully used as a tune up task in a consumer protection program for elderly. We believe that other practical applications of the persuasion knowledge construct are likely to appear more frequently in psychology in the near future.

The logo for the International Association for Frontiers in Psychology (iafor) is centered on the page. It features the word "iafor" in a light blue, lowercase, sans-serif font. The text is enclosed within a circular graphic composed of two concentric, slightly offset arcs. The outer arc is a light blue color, and the inner arc is a light red color, creating a ring-like effect around the text.

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***Constructing Social Identity: An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis
Approach to Understanding Filipino Migrant Workers in Wales, United Kingdom***

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Abstract

Migrants from the Philippines have been coming to the United Kingdom under the work permit scheme as a response to the country's shortage of workers in the 1970s. In 2015, there were 139, 570 Filipinos living and working in the UK, a small fraction of almost 8.5 million migrant population across United Kingdom. In rural areas of Wales, however, Filipinos are becoming one of the major migrant groups in the labour market particularly in the health care sector. Unlike other migrant groups, the Filipinos attract little and almost none existent attention from social researchers. Economic migration in Wales, in general, is also understudied. There is a need to understand the experiences, not only of the Filipino migrant workers but of all migrant groups as well as the impact of these experiences to their social identity, sense of belongingness and wellbeing. This study aims to fill these gaps in research. The methodology adopted in this study includes semi-structured interview and Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis of accounts to gain an in-depth understanding of the lives of Filipinos living and working in rural areas of Wales and how their perceived social identities are shaped by and in return impact their experiences in their receiving communities. The result of this study aims to add to the knowledge in the field and inform future public policies concerning economic migrants as a whole.

Keywords: Social Identity Theory, Economic Migration, Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis, Filipino, Wales

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Introduction

Since the 1970s, Filipinos have been coming to the United Kingdom under the work permit scheme as a response to the country's shortage of workers during that period (Winckler, 2008). In the year 2000, the United Kingdom issued almost 7,000 work permits among Filipino workers alone (Winckler, 2008; Hoegsholm, 2007). By the end of 2015, there were 139, 570 Filipinos living and working across United Kingdom (The Organisation for Migration, 2015). This number, however, is insignificant when compared to the population of other nationals who come to work or study in the UK every year. In the year 2011 alone, for example, around 343,000 long term migrants have entered the country most of which were Commonwealth citizens and EU nationals. In the same year, 690,000 National Insurance Numbers were issued among non-UK nationals (Office for National Statistics, 2012). By December 2015, a total of 8,543,120 immigrants, 13.20% of the total population, were living in the UK. These statistics may be the reason why Filipinos in the UK has received very little attention from researchers (Winckler, 2008).

Following an extensive research of the literature, it would appear that at the time of submission there is only one study found solely for Filipino migrants in Wales. A small scale study conducted by Winckler (2008) was commissioned by H. Francis, an MP for Aberavon, to better understand the diverse local community of Neath Port Talbot. According to Winckler (2008) working conditions of Filipinos were extremely favourable compared to their Polish counterparts although access to top wages, recognition of qualifications and previous experience, and access to training were reported problematic. It was also reported that, although most participants showed upward mobility and expressed their intentions of settling long term in the country the small Filipino community were less likely to engage fully in the local community. Moreover, Filipino adults who had been in Wales for years had very little contact with Welsh community. Compared with other ethnic groups, particularly Poles, only few Filipinos reported discrimination and insecurity at work. The study of Winckler (2008) is significant in this study; however, her study is considered non-representative of Filipino migrant community in Wales let alone in the United Kingdom. Employing only six Filipino workers confined in one area and the same line of work, which is health care, Winckler's (2008) study was not able to look at the day-to-day lived experiences of Filipino adults in the wider community.

Central to this study is Social Identity Theory (SIT) (Tajfel, 1982). Social identity as defined within SIT is the 'sum total of social identifications used by a person to define him – or herself' (Tajfel, 1982, p. 18). Social identification, in social psychological terms is the process of finding oneself or another person, within a system of social categorisation. Social identity in simple terms is the persons' sense of who they are according to their group membership. In society, social groups such as family, 'ethnicity' and 'race', nationality and social class which people perceived to belong to are important source of self-esteem, pride and belongingness (Tajfel, 1982). The tendency to seek belongingness is fundamental to people and people have strong aversion to exclusion (Hewstone, 2012). The need for belonging, strengthened by an unconscious positive emotion tied with membership in a group signifies an emotional attachment by which an individual seeks membership not only for personal benefit, but also because the alternative of solitary existence is something to be avoided (Davis, 1997). The idea of a nation, for example, has been the entity that most often

satisfies these demands (Davis, 1997). National identity is a form of social identity. It is a measure of self-identity reflecting the subjective nature of national identity. The feelings of attachment that comprise loyalty to certain nation for many are not whimsical but are generally basic to the individuals' definitions of themselves. Loyalty to a group, such as a nation, strengthens one's identity and sense of belonging (ONS, 2013). The nation and its tangible components represent one such form of group association by which individuals may fulfil this desire for involvement, affiliation and inclusion (Davis 1997).

Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1982) suggests that in order to increase self-esteem, we tend to enhance the status of the group (a country, perhaps) to which we belong. For example, English may say that England is the best country in the world! However, we also tend to discriminate and hold prejudice against the group we don't belong to. For example, a welsh fan may always say that English Rugby Team is not as good as the Welsh team. SIT assumes that members of an in-group seek to find negative aspects of an out-group to enhance self-image; and this may result to attitudes of racism, ethnocentrism, prejudice and stereotyping – all cognitive processes that enable us to make sense of our world or to simplify our social perception. Seeking positive differentiation from others is universal and fundamental and this tendency drives our anti-social behaviour and fuels group division (Hepburn, 2003; Tajfel, 1982).

Migration is a well-researched field in the UK and in the past years has become a popular topic of discourse both in the fields of politics and academic. However, research that links migration and social identity is still scarce, particularly in Wales. Polish migration UK has been popular among independent academic researchers, the politicians and policy makers in the UK (White, 2011). It is because Poles constitute the single largest nationality to migrate in the UK since the expansion of European Union in 2004 (White, 2011). Highlights of many studies on Polish migrants include how they become potentially vulnerable to social exclusions, workplace segregation, living in poverty and problematic English communication which can lead to potential life-long segregation in the society (White, 2011). Research suggests that Polish identity has a problematic impact among other Eastern Europeans migrants because British people tend to assume and label other Eastern European nationals such as Slovakian or Latvian, 'Polish'. This 'Polish' labelling was found to be unlikeable among other Eastern European nationals (White, 2011). The study of Eade, et. al. (2007) also highlighted the persistent conflict and social class division among Polish population in the UK. According to Eade, et. al. (2007), sense of division, although discrete, was one of the key features of Polish social identities. It was suggested that relationships among Poles tend to be opportunistic and individualistic. Criticism of fellow Poles and discourses of hostility were eminent among them. Direct competition especially those who were in the construction industry was also reported. Senses of suspicion and competition were also reported predominantly among men than women. Ethnic solidarity was therefore a realm of ideal rather than realistic day-to-day life. These ethnic conflicts and unfavourable views of co-ethnics caused some Poles to hide their ethnicity or true identity to avoid being unfavourably judged by British people in the labour market. In Wales, Polish migration also received fair attention from researchers. Kreft (2009), for example, reported that majority of Polish

migrants in rural Wales were young, healthy, motivated, and employed. Kreft (2009) also reported that Poles experience alienation in the community, insecurity at work, and doing menial low-paid jobs often in food processing, construction, hospitality and retailing. Similar to Eade, et. al., Kreft (2009) also suggested that Poles in Wales seem to be divided in sub-groups although networking and communication within groups are found to be good and effective.

Relating back to the study of Wrinckler (2008) on Filipino migrants, a similar study in America reported that Filipinos tend to be advantaged compared with other ethnic groups. They are known to be industrious showing upward mobility and the least likely to be poor (de Torres, 2002). This suggests similar standing of Filipinos in Wales who are less likely to report discrimination and insecurity at work (Winckler, 2008). Moreover, comparable with Eade, et. al.'s (2007) report, de Torres (2002) also reported disunity, regionalisation and class division among Filipinos in America (de Torres, 2002).

Methods

In social Psychology and in other fields such as health and clinical psychology IPA is becoming prevalent particularly in the UK (Reid, et. al., 2005). A study on lesbians or bisexuals 'You still feel different: the experience and meaning of women's self-injury in the context of a lesbian or bisexual identity', for example, used IPA to elicit a number of significant issues that emerge from social context (Alexander & Claire, 2004). The IPA approach is exemplar in understanding the lived experiences and how participants make sense of their experiences. As the name suggests, IPA is phenomenological. It aims to explore the participants' personal account of a phenomenon or an event they are experiencing, for example, migration. It does not attempt to produce an objective record of the event or the phenomenon itself (Smith and Osborne, 2007). Analysis of accounts in this study, as IPA suggests, involved two stages of interpretative activity: first, the participants tried to make sense of their world; and second, the researcher tried to make sense of the participants who were trying to make sense of their world (Smith & Osborn, 2007). This method is inevitably subjective because no two analysts of data are expected to come up with an exact interpretation or themes but is a powerful tool in eliciting unexplored phenomenon.

Semi-structured interview is exemplary in IPA because it allows open, spontaneous and deep exploration of thoughts of participants (Smith, et.al., 2009; Brocki and Warden, 2006). The researcher used a digital recorder and an interview schedule. Following the interview schedule, the researcher used the skills of reflexive thinking and questioning as well as warm and relaxed relationship with the participant. As suggested by Smith, Flower, and Larkin (2009), this study used a small sample – nine in total, 5 males and 4 females. All nine participants were purposely selected so that they were diverse in terms of age, tenure in the UK, job roles, location, and gender. With the aim of comparing trends in the experiences and the perceptions of identity over time and the quality of experiences from different communities and work environments, it was made sure that participants' demography was diverse. Participants' age ranged from 32 to 64 and the mean age was 40. They all have been living in the UK as permanent residents – seven are British citizens. None of them was a temporary or a contractual worker. Participants' tenure of residence in Wales

ranged from six to 36 years and with an average of 14 years. All participants came to the UK either through a working permit or as dependent of a Filipino migrant worker who have gained resident status in the UK. Those who came to the UK through another visa route like student visa were purposely excluded in this research to achieve a homogenous sample. The names used in this study were fictitious to ensure confidentiality and protect participants' privacy. The following names used in this paper - Benedict, Janina, Ricky, Gerard, James, Emrys, Joy, Delma, and Karen are all pseudonyms.

At the time of data collection, there was no previously published IPA study on either migration or social identity in Wales so it was considered both desirable and appropriate to formulate own open-ended and flexible questions. The questions were formulated to accommodate the interpretative aims of this study. They were drafted during the conception of the subject the researcher wished to explore and have evolved and developed into desirable and more appropriate questions during pilot interviews and consultations with the research supervisor. The participants were not given copies of question ahead of time, although they were briefed of likely questions, to ensure spontaneity and reflexivity which are principal in the study. The average time span of face-to-face interview was 45 minutes. Each participant was interviewed only once and on separate occasions.

The research question

Using IPA, the study sought to explore stories of Filipino migrants as they take on new lives in their receiving communities. Their accounts were critically examined of social identities or perception of selves. In what ways do their experiences impact their perception of selves and belonging? In what ways do their social identity affect their experiences or social participation and wellbeing? This research sought to gain an in-depth understanding of the lives of Filipinos living and working in rural areas of Wales.

Results and Discussion

Results of study suggest that social identity of Filipinos is complex. Due to limited space, only four of the most persistent and highly (and not so well) articulated accounts by the participants are included in this paper. The four superordinate themes are 'From old self to new self', 'National identity crisis', 'Collective values' and 'Group division.' These superordinate themes are presented in Table 1 below together with their subordinate themes and evidences in quotation marks. It has to be emphasised that superordinate and subordinate themes included in this paper are not solely based on the prevalence of accounts. Factors such as the richness of account, eloquence, and emphasis of particular thought or experience are also considered. Order of accounts is by no means arranged according to importance or frequency of accounts.

Table 1: Four superordinate themes, their subordinate themes and evidences

Superordinate Themes	Subordinate Themes	Accounts
Form old to new self	The 'old' self	<p><i>'My life was quite good you know... I was really contented there (The Philippines). I was happy because I was working as an optometrist.'</i> - Janina</p> <p><i>'I am uhh also businessman. I've got a gym and I got a pet shop but uhhh that was when uhh So I was happy because ah well that's my course.'</i> - James</p>
	The 'new' self	<p><i>'I think they're calling us economic people... It's quite sad.'</i> - Emrys</p> <p><i>'It takes time to kind of prove to everyone that you can do what you can do'</i> - Joy</p>
	The reality in between	<p><i>'I was really lonely. When I came over here, I thought I was gonna be really happy'</i> - Janina</p> <p><i>'Here you are on your own. You know... and rather than going out you stay and do some cleaning and looking after the children because nobody will help you'</i> - Ricky</p>
National identity crisis	Nationality vs. citizenship	<p><i>'I think its I don't it's alright. I feel proud to be a British citizen. I don't know.'</i> - Gerard</p> <p><i>It's just that the paper works is like uhmm it's the..uhmm the status is different but the feeling is the same. In my heart.. I am still a Filipino with British citizenship.'</i> - Janina</p> <p><i>'...I still want to retire in our country. But probably it will change in the future.'</i> - Ricky</p>
	Being British	<p><i>'It's all like a dream come true'</i> - Delma</p> <p><i>'Am proud to be a British citizen because it's like... (long pause)...an achievement.'</i> - Delma</p> <p><i>'with the current changes in immigration in the UK it is really quite securing and quite you know... uhmmm just makes you feel safe'</i> - Karen</p>
Collective culture	Family	<p><i>'I have 1 child... she's 2 years old now. And I've got another one expected for this year'</i> - Janina</p> <p><i>'I could say that I am a hard worker. A good friend. Uhmm hopefully I am a good mother as well and a wife. And definitely I am a good daughter. Uhmm uhhh... I think I get along well'</i></p>

		<i>with everybody... not everybody but most of the people I know and uhmmm Diyos ko (My God) And I am willing to help as much as I could.</i> - Joy
	All about relationships	<i>'trying to be accommodating trying to please everyone but that's impossible. I am struggling to kind of uhmm uhmm to say no when I should have to say no.'</i> - Gerard <i>'I avoid conflict. I don't want to be involved in conflicts about others ... I don't want them to have anything to say against me ... I don't do anything against them'</i> - Delma
	Submission to authority	<i>'As a Filipino, I am obedient to management... Having the fear of God'</i> - Delma
	Unstable self vs. stable society	<i>'...that's life. I have to accept it whether I like it or not.'</i> - Benedict <i>'I think it's just the way how they... their systems work here isn't it?'</i> - Joy
Group division	In-group is 'good'	<i>'We Filipino as you know it.... is more respectful and polite... the Filipino has an edge over the whites'</i> - Delma <i>'I don't know probably they envy my family because as I've said, I'm focused on my family. That's why my family ah, my family is very you know, my children are very obedient to us you know. And they're well taught also.'</i> - James
	Outgroup is 'not good'	<i>'It's quite a sad thing that the elderly just being left in a nursing home so it's not a good thing because I love... you know.. in the Philippines we used to take care of the elderly until their last breath that's one thing...'</i> - Emrys
	Discrimination of self	<i>'no matter how we regards.. it is still not your.. the country of your ... of you were born is still different you know.'</i> - Benedict <i>'We just came over in this country. This is their home. We are the invaders.'</i> - Emrys

Consistent with Tajfel's (1982) definition of social identity, participants were extremely inclined to view selves in the context of their membership to groups, particularly with family and job affiliations. When asked to describe self at the beginning of the interview most participants immediately talked about their roles in the family, for example as a father, a sister or a daughter followed by their vocational roles.

The theme **'from old to new self'** is found most interesting in this study because most participants spent considerable time and fondness talking about their past lives, particularly their job roles and experiences and often with a tone of 'happiness' and

contentment. The stark difference in the presentation between the old self and new self was also prominent. It has to be noted, however, that accounts on 'past and new lives', are confined within the contexts of vocation and lifestyle. Most participants shared their old professional affiliations, which include teaching, army, and engineering and how life was 'happy' and fulfilling. The positive nuance of past life was often linked to a desirable job as James and Janina shared, they were contented in life because they were doing the jobs that were related to their earned qualifications. The sense of belonging in family and relatives was also emergent in accounts about old self.

Example: 'I was happy there (the Philippines), all my friends and relatives there...' - Janina

Interestingly, participants talked about current vocations in a less engaged manner. For example, Janina who was a qualified optometrist in the Philippines was a student nurse at the time of interview and had been working as a nursing assistant. Moreover, Emrys was a marine engineer in the Philippines but worked as a maintenance worker in a local slaughter house and working towards a management qualification at the time of interview. Discourse about 'new self' were more pessimistic. The words 'sad', 'lonely' and other negative tones were found.

'When I still pass an optometrist shop, I still regret, How the four years of study were wasted. I still feel regrets, feels it's too late. It is sad.' - Janina

'Here it's just work, family, work, family, work, and that's it. In the Philippines we've got a lot of things you can do in there – socialize a lot with your family because of your close family ties they can come to you as often they want. Here ... it's quite, sometimes, what do you call this... one eh... it's a lonely place for us. It's a lonely place' - Emrys

The negative nuances attached to perceived new self were often linked to lifestyle and career outlook. For example, most participants and their partners were engaged in shift works to share domestic and childcare roles leaving them limited time to socialise, for example talking with neighbours and getting involved in community charity events. Moreover, most participants work long hours to earn as much money as they could for remittance purposes. Many of participants also invest in the Philippines for retirement. However, it is important to note that the negative nuance around job and lifestyle is not true with one participant – Delma. Delma is single and works in the kitchen at a local fast food restaurant. Her previous job was domestic help.

'I'm able to do what I want.... I also can buy what I want which I could not buy then because I didn't have money.' – Delma

This phenomenon shows that job affiliation, particularly the perceived direction of changes in employment (upgrade or downgrade) affect social identity and life perspective of participants.

The experiences of participants during transition from old to new selves indicate the space where processes of adaptation and integration occur. A pattern of integration

process and adaptation experiences within their receiving communities were salient in the accounts. The willingness to do menial jobs which are distant from their previous academic qualifications or acclaimed fulfilling jobs was highly implied although not directly claimed. Most participants landed with menial jobs if not jobs that were 'unfulfilling' when they first came to the UK. Participants then sought upward changes in their careers. Comparable with Winckler's (2008) report on Filipinos in Neath Port Talbot, participants in this study reported slow promotion and non-recognition of previous qualifications and access to top wages. Participants experienced and aimed to move their way up the ladder, work hard, and prove themselves capable of more challenging job roles and therefore acquiring the identity they aim to achieve. Take Joy, for example. Joy stated:

'It takes time to prove to everyone that you can do what you can do'.

She further stated at the later stage of interview:

'I'm looking forward to uhh moving to a more uhmm challenging environment... I am planning to do a speciality courses.'

The accounts above were consistent with the study of de Torres (2008) in America. According to de Torres, Filipinos in America tend to show upward mobility known for their industriousness. Compared to other minorities, Filipinos tend to climb up owning houses and lands and joining the richer communities.

However, in terms of social relationships, the process of integration was found to be in a pessimistic stance. Janina's early experiences in the host country, for example, had a shade of despondence because of the absence of social contacts; and in Ricky's experience, because of his overwhelming work and house responsibilities and the cold climate.

'Here you are on your own. You know... and rather than going out you stay and do some cleaning and looking after the children because nobody will uhmmm help you. You know... will help you look after the children.... here, it is cold. You don't want to go outside. You just stay at home.' - Ricky

Consistent with Winckler's (2008) report, accounts suggest that all participants have little contact with the Welsh community despite their long tenure and intentions of long term residence in the country. Ricky's account above offers an explanation to this phenomenon.

'National identity crisis' is the second super-ordinate theme that emerged from the rich accounts. Unlike other themes, discourse around national affiliation was carried out by participants with vagueness and sense of confusion. When asked about national membership many participants were not able to articulate their views although it was consistent that participants showed membership to both country of origin and the receiving country. Five participants and a total of seven accounts showed ambiguity of their national affiliation. Ambiguity was interpreted from long pauses, deep thoughts, repetitions, and unclear statements from the participants. For example:

'I hope there will not a time where in my loyalty will be tested as to which of the countries I really prefer.. because I.. I care them I like them both' - Benedict

'That's part of our Bri... we swore to be... you know to be British. Well uhhhh probably by probably by writing could be and but our heart belongs to our country technically. Well ... we try to be like a good, a good citizen here. And ah... (Deep breath .. sighs) just to be responsible and obedient citizen here in UK.' – James

Although there was a hint of confusion in terms of national membership, it was found consistent that all participants claimed Filipino nationality and British citizenship. Many participants were Filipino 'by heart'. Six participants disclosed their investments and plans of retirement in the Philippines. All participants go 'home' regularly to the Philippines to visit their families and relatives.

A question on national identity allows a person to express a preference as to which country or countries, nation or nations that they feel most affiliated to (ONS, no date). The sense of attachment that comprises loyalty for many is not unusual but is in general basic to the individuals' definitions of themselves. Loyalty to a group such as a nation strengthens one's identity and sense of belonging (Davis, 1999). Issue of national identity was strongly emergent in five of the participants' accounts.

'We don't want to stay here for retirement as much as possible... We don't want to stay here for retirement. We want to go home after a few more years. ... Honestly. (laughs) Uhhh ... because of... there is no place like home (laughs) that's it.' – Emrys

Many participants also take pride in their British citizenship. Emergent in the accounts were notions of security, freedom, convenience, achievement, belongingness and social acceptance. Seven participants are British Citizens at the time of interview and the remaining two are permanent residents awaiting British citizenships while two participants hold dual citizenships. Interestingly, only two participants showed interest in civil duties such as voting, community volunteering and watching local news. Many participants view British citizenship as an opportunity, security and comfort. For example:

'And having this citizenship status makes you feel secure for staying here.' – Joy

'But being British if you have British passport, it's just easy, you can go anywhere else in the UK.' – Janina

'We just want to because of this economy in the Philippines so ... we're forced to come here for money... honestly... there's no other reason' - Emrys

British citizenship was also viewed as an achievement or pride. As Delma shared:

'(I) Am proud to be a British citizen because it's like... (long pause)...an achievement.'

Or

'It's something that you just ,... have within you... you can not explain it... you know.. you can go abroad.. you can go to Europe, mainland continent and when people ask you where you from I am from Britain... it just gives you that uhmm ... that notion... that feeling that uhh you are .. British....' - Gerard

The notion of British citizenship as an upward movement or an upgrade of social status was suggested but not clearly supported although sense of discrimination of self as 'Filipino' was highlighted numerous times. This idea will be discussed further on in the paper.

Another interesting theme that emerged from the rich accounts of participants is the expression of **collective values** or culture. Kagoleraki (2009) suggested that Filipinos are generally collectivists. Collectivist culture is characterised by their pride of strong close family relationship, high regard to authority figures, and flexibility of self-views to satisfy the demands of the perceived unchangeable environment (Triandis and Suh, 2002). These characteristics were prominent in most of the participants' accounts. Participants showed pride in their close knit family relationship and value of social relationship. For example, James showed preference of family and domestic roles over self and career advancement. He also showed great pride of his role as a father and being able to pass on to his children the culture of respect and obedience.

Submission or high regard to authority figures was one of the collective values also found in the participants' accounts. Collectivists tend to be submissive to authority and to promote conventionalism (Triandis and Suh, 2002). Submission to authority is almost similar to the acceptance of the perceived unchangeable environment and fate. For example:

'As a Filipino, I am obedient to management... Having the fear of God' – Delma

Participants showed instability of self and acceptance of the changing situations around them. Participants view the society as stable and self as unstable. For example, Janina's qualification as optometrist was not recognised in the UK and did not pursue her profession because of lost confidence. She then took on a caring job because it was available and convenient.

'I was working as a health care support worker and in the end I loved what I was doing, So I said, well better... because I lost my confidence then' – Janina

'Well I felt sad because it's not our fault really. And we have to deal with it and go on like that.' – Joy

Joy's account above pertains to perceived discrimination at work. Joy disclosed that she often covers unsociable shifts and often feels excluded at work. Although this was viewed unacceptable, Joy never brought up the issue with her manager in order to avoid conflict and to maintain 'good' work relationships. According to Triandis and Suh (2002), where there is inconsistency or conflict in situations, collectivists tend to be more concerned in maintaining relationship with others than achieving justice.

Therefore, inconsistency in the environment, such as discrimination in Joy's case, was rather accepted than achieve justice to avoid conflict.

Group division is the fourth and last theme to be discussed in this paper. Although Filipino communities are often perceived as close-knit and united, discourses of group division and competition between sub-groups were evident in many accounts. James noted that:

'the Filipino community is now divided into groups, unfortunately but I don't like it.'

There was no clear account that directly explains group division, however, dialogues of perceived jealousy between families and subgroups were found. For example:

'Then... when there's a gathering, it was united. Now, there are cliques/factions/groups ... in-fightings/conflicts... They fight perhaps due to envy/intrigue' – Delma

'When you go to a big (Filipino) party, you feel some people are in a group and we can just feel them you know. But well... I just ignore it really. Maybe that's how... I don't know... maybe they have different, not really attitude, maybe same preferences' – Janina

Most participants disclosed that there were subgroups within Filipino communities where they live, however, no participant was able to articulate or identify factors of division or exclusion. Delma's accounts, however, suggest that social status or job affiliation is important in forging subgroups within Filipino community. Delma's closest contact at the time of interview was someone who she perceived as a person with similar social standing. Her friend also worked as a domestic help and worked part-time in the local fast-food chain. Sense of acceptance and belonging in the same social category is important in forging groups within the Filipino community. This suggests that the choice of contact is determined by the sense of acceptance of social standing or the sense of belonging in similar social category.

Self-discrimination is a notion that is understudied in the field of migration and integration. Hence, this is an interesting finding. Self-discrimination in this paper pertains to the thinking, treatment or consideration of self as not being equal with the local people because of ethnicity and nationality rather than on individual merit. For example, Janina felt treated unfairly at work and promotion has not been favourable to her but has been tolerant of situation because she perceives herself as a 'foreigner' despite her British citizenship.

'You feel that (discrimination) but sometimes you just accept it because you are here in a foreign country.' – Janina

'I think we will just be fooling ourselves if we think that we are equal with anyone. There is always a difference isn't it? Maybe it was not glaring. They don't show it but deep down.. you know that we are not equal.' – Benedict

Benedict's account was a strong example of self-discrimination against his adopted country. The perception of self as not being equal with the local people is found to be existent in many accounts. This notion is a strong assertion and is a significant proposition to explain group division, exclusion and problematic integration among migrants in the UK.

Conclusion and Recommendation

Filipino migration to the United Kingdom receives little attention from researchers. Migration to rural areas of Wales, although not a recent phenomenon, is also understudied. Underpinned by Social Identity Theory, this paper has explored how Filipino migrant workers in Wales view their social identity and the different ways identity and experiences affect each other. This paper provided an understanding of the lives of Filipinos living and working in rural areas of Wales. Using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis, a method that is exemplar to the nature of study, revealed the complex and unique features of the Filipino migrant group. The Filipinos' construct of selves is defined, not only by current job affiliation but also by previous profession and status acquired in the country of origin. This sense of 'old' self is suggested to remain to contribute to the sense of self-esteem and identity of the participants. Similar with Poles, Filipinos also show discourses of jealousy and fragmentation within their Filipino communities. Parallel with the study of Wrinckler (2008) on Filipinos in Neath, Filipinos in general have little contact with the Welsh community notwithstanding long term plan of residence in the country. Lack of social participation is suggested to be affected by domestic and work responsibilities but it would suggest that a deeper reason such as self-discrimination may be a barrier to full integration or social participation in their wider communities. The notion of jealousy, suspicions of envy and threat between different sub-groups were also eminent. National identity of Filipinos is confounded. All participants claim the benefits and pride of being British but also express strong affiliation with their home country. Lastly, most Filipinos still show strong collective values and are proud of them after many years of residence in the UK.

This study also uncovered interesting ideas that may be important in the exploration and understanding of social inclusion and integration not only of Filipino migrants in Wales but by all migrants across the UK. The notion of self-discrimination, for example, is understudied but may have bearing on migrants' reluctance and difficulty in integration. This discovery may add to the gap in the knowledge of migration and identity and may be useful in future policies on migration and integration.

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