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Different Studies on the Same Behaviour

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An independent academic psychologist, based in England, who has written extensively on different areas of psychology with an emphasis on the critical stance towards traditional ideas.

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1. TWO UNDERWATER ANIMALS

1.1. HUMPBACK WHALE SONG

Humpback whales (Megaptera novaeangliae) [1] (figure 1.1) create songs made up of repeated themes which last up to twenty minutes, and song sessions can continue for over twenty hours (Stimpert et al 2012). But what is the purpose of such songs?

i) To attract females - Because it seems that only males sing, the songs are displays to attract females. But females tend not to approach singing males. Also the singing has been recorded "off-season" (ie: outside the breeding season) (Stimpert et al 2012).

ii) A display of quality for rival males - The songs are a form of competition between males to establish some form of dominance or a threat display. "Chorusing" has been recorded, which is "multiple whales singing at the same time, not necessarily synchronised" (Stimpert et al 2012).

iii) To aid in migration and/or as a form of biosonar (eg: long-range sonar to locate other whales in breeding grounds; Frazer and Mercado 2000).

iv) Other suggestions include a way to synchronise female oestrus, a method of spacing between singers, or a way of organising males during the breeding season. Darling et al (2006) suggested that the "song unites males...[and is] a real time measure of association between individuals, possibly providing a means of reciprocity for mutual assistance in mating" (p1051). This idea was based on observations of 167 song interactions off Maui, Hawaii, between 1997 and 2002. Around 80% of the singers were lone adults who sang until joined by a non-singing adult most of the time (89% of cases).

The problem is how to study the whales and their songs. One common method is with the use of hydrophones

[1] Humpbacks are baleen whales (Mysticeti) about 10-16 m long. "Baleen is the name for the flexible keratinous sieve-like structure that mysticetes possess in lieu of teeth, through which they strain sea water to extract the krill and small fishes that make up the bulk of their diet" (Frazer and Mercado 2000 p160).

(Source: in public domain)

Figure 1.1 - Humpback whale.

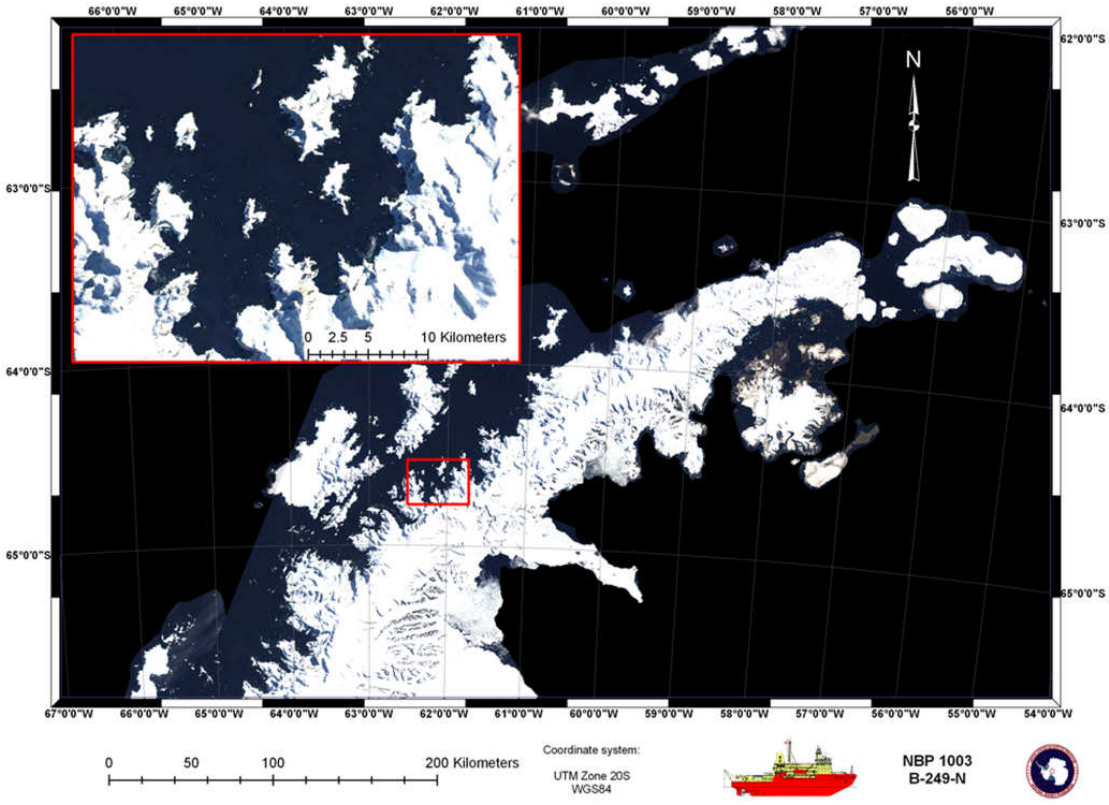
(underwater microphones) left on migration routes and in breeding grounds (eg: Eastern Australia, North-West Atlantic). It is not possible with this method to capture the complete song of individual animals (Stimpert et al 2012).

Stimpert et al (2012) reported the use of non-invasive suction-cup acoustic tags located on the backs of two male humpback whales in the feeding grounds of Western Antarctica (figure 1.2). Over a 24-hour period the songs were recorded as well as measures of pressure and temperature. For example, one whale produced bouts of singing which lasted between one to fifty minutes during a total singing duration of about two hours.

The study showed that whales regularly sing at the feeding grounds (which is different to the breeding grounds) at the beginning of the feeding season (called the "shoulder season"; Stimpert et al 2012) [2]. But the length of singing was less than that recorded during the breeding season.

Another difference found was singing while actively diving (eg: 100 m depth). Singing in the breeding grounds

[2] Recordings of songs at http://www.plosone.org/article/info%3Adoi%2F10.1371%2Fjournal.pone.0051214#s4.



(Inset shows Wilhelmina Bay, which is east of Anvers Island and Palmer Station. Flandres Bay is two bays south of Wilhelmina, close to Anvers Island. The two focal animals in this study were tagged in Wilhelmina Bay)

(Source: Stimpert et al 2012 figure 1)

Figure 1.2 - Map of study location off the Western Antarctic Peninsula.

occurs in shallower water (15 -25 m) while the animal is stationary.

Stimpert et al (2012) proposed that their findings showed the behavioural flexibility of whales - "exhibiting both display and foraging behaviour, and even singing amidst lunge-worthy prey patches. Humpback whale behaviour may be more tied to the time of year than to physical location, in which case this behavioural trade-off between feeding and mating behaviours would be a common dilemma faced by whales remaining on the feeding grounds later in the year due to varying environmental conditions".

The function of auditory communication can be tested with acoustic playback experiments, behavioural response studies (BRS), and controlled exposure experiments (CEE) in which sounds are played and the animal's response is measured (Dunlop et al 2013).

Such methods are popular to study insects and birds (since the 1950s), and terrestrial animals, but less so with marine mammals because of cost and logistics. There

were five times as many playback experiments reported with birds than marine mammals between 2000 and 2005 (Dunlop et al 2013).

Dunlop et al (2013) performed BRS at a site north of Brisbane (Peregian Beach), eastern Australia, on the migration route of humpback whales. Using an underwater speaker, either social sounds [3], tones, or silence were played for twenty-minute periods. The diving and surfacing behaviours, and the direction of swimming of the whales were observed before the stimulus was played, during, and after [4]. In September-October 2004, sixteen experiments were performed - seven using social sounds, seven using tones, and two with silence, while during the same period in 2008, there were fifteen experiments performed (8, 6, and 1 respectively).

In response to the tones, the exposed animals tended to move away from the coast and spend more time near the surface. The response to the social sounds depended on the social group exposed. For example, female-calf groups moved inshore and away from the speaker, while other groups moved towards the speaker.

1.2. WHITE SHARKS

The observation method is the only one available for studying certain behaviours in the wild. In this case, white sharks' (Carcharodon carcharias) (figure 1.3) predation of Cape fur seals (Arctocephalus pusillus pusillus) (figure 1.4) around Seal Island in False Bay, South Africa. The sharks attack at the water's surface from below which means the event is highly visible to the observers.

(Source: Sharkdiver68; in public domain)

Figure 1.3 - White shark.

[3] All humpback whales produce "social sounds" (eg: tail slaps on the water surface; social vocalisations), which convey information about the signaller as well as facilitate social interactions between groups and members (Dunlop et al 2013).

[4] BDA design - before, during, after.

Martin et al (2009) were able to observe the waters for two kilometres around Seal Island from two boats, and recorded 340 attacks during the winter of 2004 (May-August). When an attack was observed, one of the boats moved in to categorise the event as successful (seal eaten) or unsuccessful (seal not eaten). If the attacker was still nearby, an estimation of shark length was made - small (<3 m), medium (3-3.5 m), or large (>3.5 m).

(Source: Robert.raderschatt; in public domain)

Figure 1.4 - Cape fur seal.

Martin et al (2005) and Hammerschlag et al (2006) had collected data for this area for eight previous years. They reported that most shark attacks were during low light levels, and on lone, young seals.

Martin et al (2009) applied the principles of geographic profiling (Rossmo 2000), as developed for human criminal investigation, to the shark attacks. This techniques analyses the geographical pattern of serial crimes to establish an anchor point (the offender's point of origin) [5]. Martin et al (2009) wanted to establish if the sharks had an anchor point near Seal Island [6].

This was found to be 100 metres south of a partly submerged rocky outcrop called the "Launch Pad" where the

[5] For example, Le Comber et al (2006) applied the technique to the foraging behaviour of two colonies of different pipistrelle bats in north-east Scotland to show their roost locations.

[6] "An anchor point represents a 'centre of gravity' around which a predator's efforts to locate prey are based, characterised by an optimal balance between prey density, competition and environment" (Martin et al 2009).

seals concentrated. Most attacks were in this area. The authors noted: "Our data resulted in a clear and well-defined single peak on the geoprofile, suggesting not only that shark movement around Seal Island is non-random, but also that sharks follow search patterns around an optimal common anchor point" (Martin et al 2009). It was not where the sharks encountered the most seals, but the best location that combined the presence of prey, capture access, and less intra-specific competition.

The anchor point of large sharks was more focused than small and medium sharks. "Size dominance is one possible explanation for this pattern as larger sharks may competitively exclude smaller sharks from the most profitable hunting areas" (Martin et al 2009). Also larger sharks are probably more experienced and have learned where to achieve successful attacks in past years, while younger (smaller) sharks have not learned yet.

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2. DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF EMOTIONS STUDIED WITH DIFFERENT METHODS AND APPROACHES

2.1. LANGUAGE OF EMOTIONS

Quantitative analysis of data involves counting the amount of certain things and drawing inferences from that. The growth of electronic data which is accessible is attractive to researchers of human behaviour (Weinberger 2011).

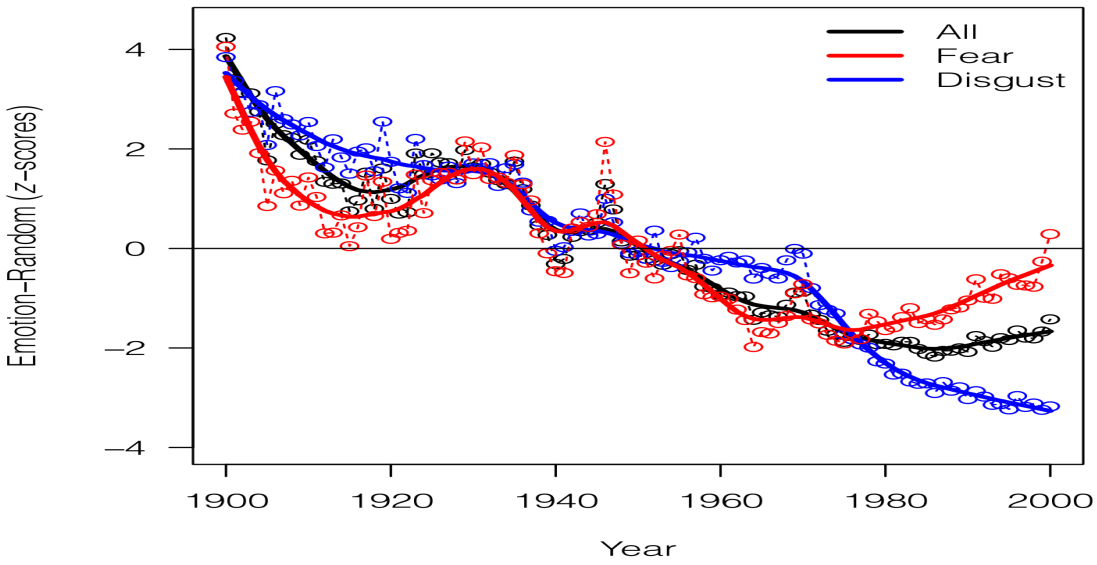
For example, Twenge et al (2012) counted the frequency of "individualistic" words and phrases between 1960 and 2008 using Google's Ngram database (digitally scanned books) (Michel et al 2011) [7] [8]. Specifically, in American books, words like "self" and "individual", and phrases like "all about me" had increased in the time period under study, while "communal" terms (eg: "team", "band together") had not. It can be inferred that US society has become more individual-oriented in recent years.

Acerbi et al (2013) counted the frequency of six mood terms (anger, disgust, fear, joy, sadness, and surprise) over the 20th century in books in the English language in the Google Ngram database. Because the absolute number of books varies over time, the researchers converted the frequencies into z-scores which show the changes in relation to the average for the whole period ("normalisation" of data). For comparison the frequency of 307 content-free words (eg: the, you, about), 10 000 random terms from speech, and the 100 largest urban agglomerations (eg: Tokyo, Berlin) were used.

The researchers found:

i) A general decrease in the use of mood words over the 20th century. Disgust words showed the strongest decline, and fear words had an increase since the 1970s (figure 2.1).

[7] At http://storage.googleapis.com/books/ngrams/books/datasetsv2.html.
[8] It is estimated to represent 4% of all books ever produced in history (Acerbi et al 2013).

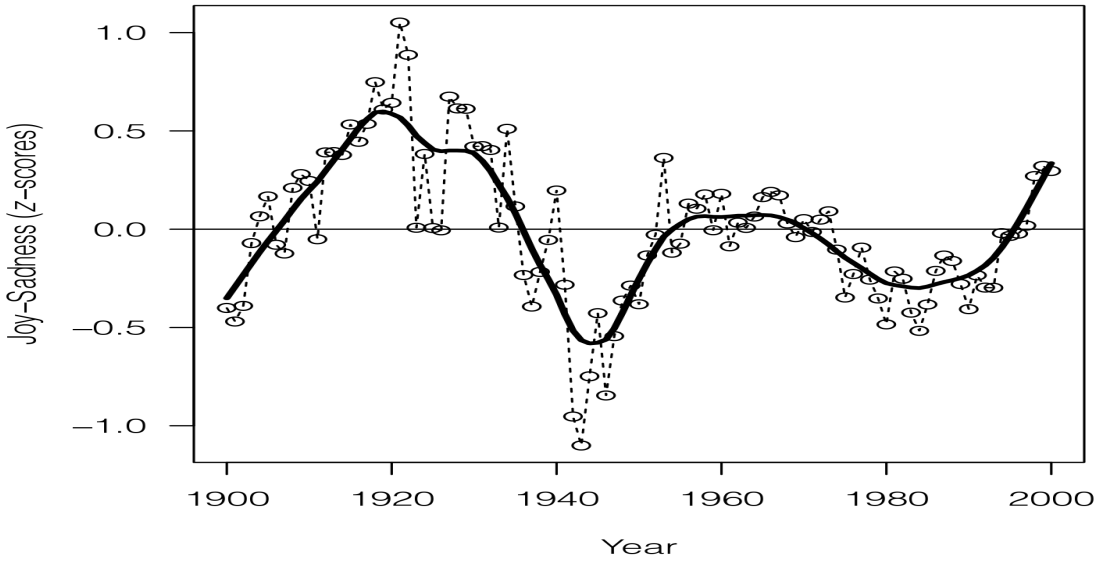


(Difference between z-scores of the six emotions and of a random sample of terms for years from 1900 to 2000 (raw data and smoothed trend). Red: the trend for Fear (raw data and smoothed trend), the emotion with the highest final value. Blue: the trend for Disgust (raw data and smoothed trend), the emotion with the lowest final value)

(Source: Acerbi et al 2013 figure 2)

Figure 2.1 - Use of emotion-related words over 20th century.

ii) There were broad historical trends in the use of joy and sadness words - sadness and World War II (1939-1945), and joy peaking in the 1920s and 1960s (figure 2.2).



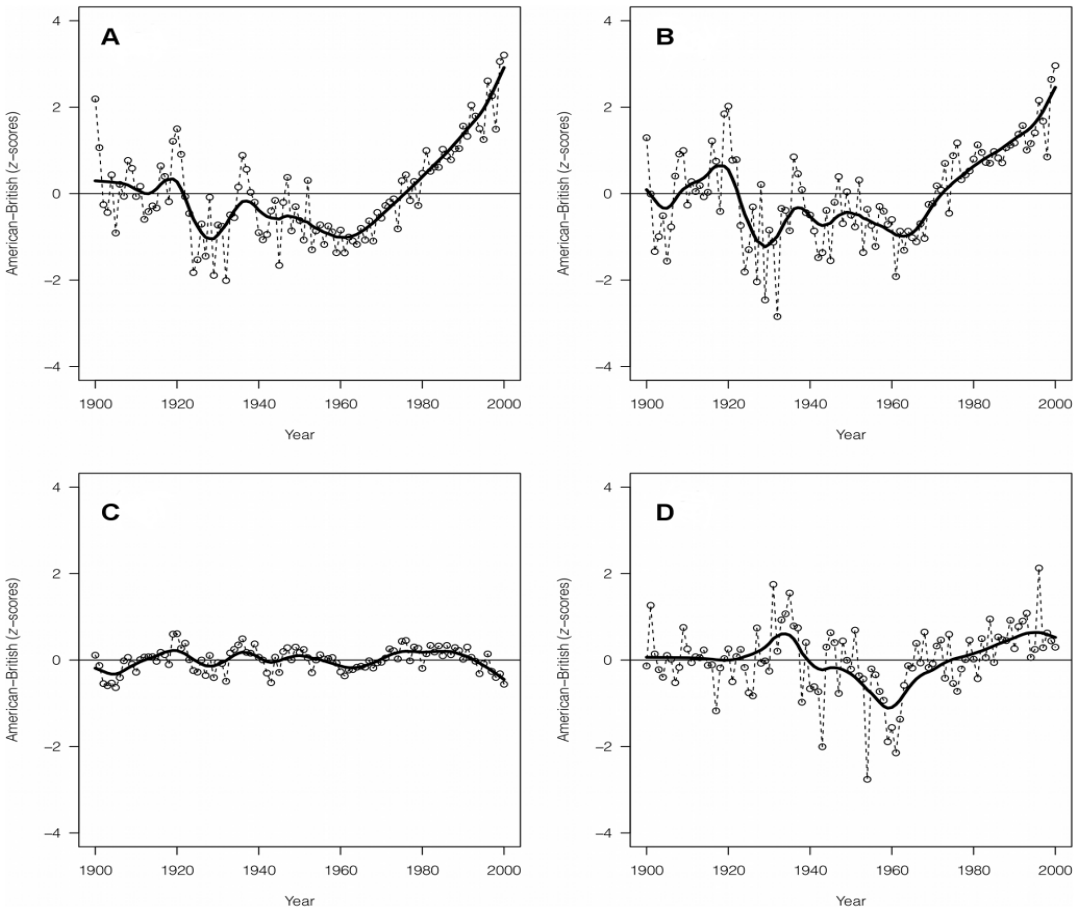
(Difference between z-scores of joy and sadness for years from 1900 to 2000 (raw data and smoothed trend). Values above zero indicate generally "happy" periods, and values below the zero indicate generally "sad" periods)

(Source: Acerbi et al 2013 figure 1)

Figure 2.2 - Use of sadness and joy terms.

iii) Since 1960 mood words have increased in American English books compared to British English books (figure 2.3).

"Our results also support the popular notion that American authors express more emotion than the British. Somewhat surprisingly, this difference has apparently developed only since the 1960s, and as part of a more general stylistic differentiation in American versus British English, reflected similarly in content-free word frequencies. This relative increase of American mood word use roughly coincides with the increase of anti–social and narcissistic sentiments in U.S. popular song lyrics from 1980 to 2007 (DeWall et al 2011), as evidenced by steady increases in angry/antisocial lyrics and in the percentage of first-person singular pronouns (eg: I, me, mine), with a corresponding decrease in words indicating social interactions (eg: mate, talk, child) over the same 27-year period" (Acerbi et al 2013 p4).



(Difference between z-scores in American English and British English for years from 1900 to 2000 (raw data and smoothed trend). A: Emotion terms. B: Content-free words. C: Random sample. D: 100 largest urban agglomerations in the world)

(Source: Acerbi et al 2013 figure 3)

Figure 2.3 - Differences between American English and British English.

2.2. EMOTION REGULATION

In a romantic relationship there may be disagreements and conflict. In fact, Hafner and Ijzerman (2011) said: "Romantic relationships can sometimes be a hassle: agendas to be synchronised, compromises to be found, and one's own and one's partner's emotions to be regulated. Even though such deliberate actions often require cognitive effort, motivation, and thorough negotiations, partners are often willing to undergo these exertions to maintain the relationship. When destructive behaviours occur, partners thus do not simply retaliate but instead absorb them — at least in committed, supportive relationships" (p1551).

So, in some cases, one partner may not respond to the negative behaviour of the other partner. This is called "accommodation" - "the ability and the willingness of an individual to inhibit one's own initial destructive impulse in response to a partner's destructive behaviour" (Hafner and Ijzerman 2011 p1551).

It is an example of the "social emotion regulation process". A partner is more willing to accommodate if they are satisfied with and committed to the relationship (Rusbult et al 1991). But the question is whether accommodation is a deliberate (ie: conscious) behaviour or spontaneous (ie: outside conscious control). If it is the latter, the soothing response will be quicker in reaction to the destructive behaviour (eg: smile in response to an angry face).

Hafner and Ijzerman (2011) investigated this question using facial expressions as the measure of accommodation in their three experiments.

Experiment 1

This experiment was designed to see if an individual accommodates, by a spontaneous smile within one second, a partner's angry face, but not a stranger's angry face. The facial reaction was measured by attaching electrodes to facial muscles to record activity (electromyography) - the Musculus Zygomaticus major (MZm) (smiling) and the Musculus Corrugator supercilii (MCs) (frowning). Twenty-three heterosexual couples in the Netherlands were recruited for a repeated measures study.

Initially, all participants were asked to make a happy and an angry face, which were photographed. During the experiment, a participant was shown, for two seconds, a picture of their partner or an opposite-sex stranger showing a happy or an angry face. Each participant saw 32 pictures.

The participants were more likely to smile in response to their partner's angry face than that of a stranger (ie: more MZm activity). But the "communal

strength" of the relationship was also important (ie: level of commitment in daily interactions) as measured by questions like "How large a cost would you incur to meet a need of your partner?". Individuals in high communal strength relationships showed faster smiles in response to the partner's angry face than those in low communal strength relationships.

Experiment 2

This was similar to the previous experiment, but the picture of the face was shown subliminally (ie: too fast to consciously perceive - 16 milliseconds), and only angry or sad faces of the partner were shown. If the accommodation was spontaneous, then it should occur even when the face is presented subliminally.

Using another thirty couples, the researchers found that individuals in high communal strength relationships showed a weaker frown towards their partners' angry face as compared to their sad faces (ie: less MCs activity).

Experiment 3

In this experiment, individuals were asked to mimic their partner's angry face with the prediction that those in high communal strength relationships would find it harder. Individuals in thirteen more couples were asked to mimic or produce the opposite facial expression to their partner's or a stranger's happy or angry face (shown for two seconds).

Individuals who rated themselves as in relationships with high communal strength "showed increased accommodation and decreased mimicry of the angry face of their partner. This pattern was not found for people scoring low on communal strength, or for responses to happy faces..." (Hafner and Ijzerman 2011 p1558).

Hafner and Ijzerman (2011) argued that the results of the three experiments together showed that accommodation to a partner's angry face takes place spontaneously (ie: within one second of exposure).

2.3. DISCURSIVE PSYCHOLOGY AND EMOTION

Discursive psychology is interested in how individuals talk about the social and psychological world as language is key in the social construction of "social reality". Such concepts are not "facts" that need to be tested for accuracy, but are used to perform social actions. In other words, when an individual expresses an opinion, it is not whether that is their real belief, but

rather what is being done in expressing that attitude (eg: making sense of the social world, bonding with other people, or justifying their behaviour).

Applying the principles of discursive psychology to understanding emotions means that a different view is taken to traditional psychology. As Edwards (1999) says: "The emotions are often defined, both in professional and in lay psychology, in contrast to cognition and rational thought. They are conceived to be natural bodily experiences and expressions, older than language, irrational and subjective, unconscious rather than deliberate, genuine rather than artificial, feelings rather than thoughts. However, rather than adopting and using such categories and contrasts, discursive psychology examines empirically how they are invoked, and what kinds of discursive work such invocations perform" (pp272-273). The phrase "emotion talk" (Parkinson 2012) is sometimes used to describe how emotions are constructed in talk and social interactions rather than as physiological processes.

Individuals express their "emotion talk" and experience emotions depending on their participation in an interaction. For example, in an argument, anger may be expressed as justified, provoked, or inappropriate. "Emotion categories provide a flexible resource for situated discourse, including the potential for rhetorical opposites and contrasts, rather than a set of semantic templates, or fixed scenarios, that will mean or imply the same things about actors and events whenever used" (Edwards 1999 p278).

Emotion metaphors are an example of how "emotion talk" is used differently in different situations. Edwards (1999) called them "conceptual resources". For example, anger that "bit his head off" is more active than "boiling with rage". "The choice between such alternatives is useful for constructing alternative narratives of causal attribution and accountability" (Edwards 1999).

Edwards (1999) listed a number of ways in which "emotion talk" is used in social interactions ("rhetorical constructs"). Take the example of an argument between a heterosexual couple over the woman's apparent flirting with another man and the male partner's angry reaction.

i) Irrational vs rational - eg: the man's angry is an understandable reaction to the woman's provocation (rational) versus "pathological jealousy" (irrational) from the woman's point of view.

ii) Emotion-driven vs dispositional - eg: anger caused by situation (event-driven) versus product of

jealous person (dispositional).

iii) Dispositions versus temporary state - eg: always angry person (dispositions) versus only in this situation (temporary state).

iv) Honest vs fake - eg: the anger as an honest reaction or as an attempt to make the woman feel guilty (fake).

v) Internal states vs external behaviour- private feelings versus public displays.

vi) Emotion vs cognition - action (emotion) versus mental states (cognition).

vii) Cognitively grounded and/or cognitively consequential - thoughts are inspiring emotions (grounded) and insights from emotions (consequential).

viii) Controllable action or passive reaction - dichotomy between feeling and action as in "controlling my anger".

ix) Spontaneous vs externally caused - assigning a cause for the emotion.

x) Natural vs moral - unconscious, automatic, physiological responses (natural) versus social judgments (moral).

Edwards (1999) summarised: "These oppositions and contrasts are used discursively to construct the nature and causes of events, and (thereby) to manage accountability. They may be used in various combinations. For example, the public–private dichotomy may be used in relation to active–passive and honest–fake. Thus, 'true' emotions may be those avowed from private experience, denying any impression based on superficial appearances. But such confessions might also be treated as fake, on the grounds that they contrast with actions (which proverbially 'speak louder than words'); or again, actions may be treated as insincere when they conflict with (ascribed) inner feelings" (p283).

2.4. AFFECTIVE BLINDSIGHT

Tamietto and de Gelder (2010) pointed out that the non-conscious perception of emotional stimuli is "an intrinsic property of the health brain" and is based in evolutionary ancient parts of the brain.

Sensory information that is not consciously perceived can be due to selective attention (or

"attentional unawareness") (ie: filtering out irrelevant information) or "sensory unawareness" (ie: a stimulus is too weak to be detected). Each process involves different brain areas (Tamietto and de Gelder 2010).

Attentional unawareness is studied using the dual-task paradigm, for example. An individual is asked to perform an attention-demanding task like spotting the difference between two pictures presented very quickly while two irrelevant pictures are also presented. Afterwards, the participant is questioned about the irrelevant pictures, and usually cannot recall any information about them.

Sensory unawareness is tested with a technique like backward masking. This is the presentation of two pictures, one after another, but the first one appears so quickly (eg: less than 30 ms) than the viewer reports only seeing one picture. During neuroimaging of backward masking, the visual cortex (on the surface of the brain) shows no response to the first picture, but a sub-cortical visual area (deep in the brain) like the superior colliculus does respond. But with the dual-task paradigm, the irrelevant information does produce brain activity in part of the visual cortex (Tamietto and de Gelder 2010).

Individuals who are able to "recognise" emotional signals in the absence of conscious vision have "affective blindsight" (de Gelder and Hadjikhnai 2006). Such individuals have damage to the brain which causes the conscious blindness rather than damage to the eyes (known as "cortical blindness").

A well-studied case is the middle-aged man called "G.Y", who suffered a left hemisphere brain injury as a child in a road accident. He is blind in the right visual field. de Gelder and Hadjikhani (2006) presented G.Y with 160 pictures of semi-professional actors, where half of them showed body language expressing happiness and half neutral. The pictures were presented to the intact visual field and the blindsight one separately, and the task was to say if the body expression was happiness or not.

In the intact left visual field, there was 87% correct identification of the body language, and 67% in the blind right visual field. This latter accuracy is significantly greater than chance (50%). G.Y reported that he is guessing (ie: cannot consciously see the pictures), yet his accuracy is greater than chance such that the brain is "seeing" something. This experiment took place in a functional magnetic resonance imaging scanner, which showed brain activity when the pictures were presented to the blindfield, but also difference areas activated depending on the body language being happy or neutral.

Individuals with cortical blindness are not able to

guess correctly non-emotional facial characteristics like personal identity, nor facial expressions of complex "social" emotions like arrogance or guilt (Tamietto and de Gelder 2010).

2.5. EMOTIONAL LABOUR AND HAIRSTYLISTS

"Emotional labour" is "the management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial and bodily display" (Cohen 2010) [9]. It was first described by Hochschild (1983) in flight attendants with their ever-present smiles.

Bolton (2005) described it as "the incursion of management into the area of emotion". The corporate demand for emotional labour leads to alienation (Marx 1844/2000) - "It is difficult to continually feign emotion (do 'surface acting') so workers do 'deep acting', like the method actor, adjusting their emotions to fit the emotional demands of the job. Since emotion work is inherently interactive this involves alienation from the self and from others" (Cohen 2010 p198). At the extreme, individuals experience "personal breaking points" where they "go into robot" and go through the motions (Hochschild 1983).

Cohen (2010) explored emotional labour with semi-structured interviews with fifteen hourly-paid and thirty-two self-employed hair stylists in a city in northern England in 2002-3. Interactions with clients were described as the best part of the job (eg: "meeting people from all walks of life"), but also the worst part (eg: "having to listen to people talk about themselves").

Spontaneous mentions of emotional labour appeared in phrases like "always having to be nice, even when you're upset", and the need to "perform" friendliness. Emotional labour was manifest also in "doing favours" (eg: transporting clients to and from their homes or going to clients' homes to style their hair), particularly among self-employed stylists [10]. For example, "Janet" described the favours thus: "I class everybody as friends that come in here because I've known them for such a long length of time" (though she did not socialise with the clients outside of work) (Cohen 2010 p208). Spencer and Pahl (2006) called such behaviour, "limited friendships". The

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[9] This is different to "emotional work" (ie: controlling emotions) evident in social interactions (Cohen 2010).

[10] Cohen (2010) referred to favours as "congealed service"- "a commodity whose value is externalised (as goodwill)" - in reference to Marx's (1867/1967) idea of "congealed labour-power". Hourly-paid workers have sold their labour in exchange for a wage, and their commitment to the client stops at "closing time", whereas the self-employed worker has no "boundary" (entering into direct exchange with customers).

hourly-paid workers were less likely to do favours, mainly because those stylists have little incentive to build a personal following.

The doing of favours, however, risked the possibility of a "personal breaking point", particularly where the favours were unreciprocated. For example, "Elise" reported the case of a client who did not come back: "One year I had four days off. I get married and I had four days off and went to Venice for my honeymoon. And it happened to be over a Bank-Holiday weekend and nobody was available to do her hair. She's not been since. And she was furious... But when she was ill I went to her house and did her hair..." (Cohen 2010 p211). The breaking point is no longer putting themselves out for clients, and an estrangement can develop towards the client. "Mary" stated: "as I've got older I don't forgot anymore... the client's not your friend" (Cohen 2010 p211).

The doing of favours is part of the "deep acting" (emotional labour) and clients are reconceptualised as "friends", but after a breaking point, the stylists moved to "surface acting" (Cohen 2010).

Cohen (2010) concluded that the deployment of emotional labour within the same profession depended on the structural relations of employment (ie: wage-earners or self-employed).

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3. VARIED STUDIES ON RELATIONSHIPS

3.1. PRE-ADOLESCENTS AND ROMANCE

Pre-adolescence (9-12 years old) is a key period in the socialisation of adult relationships:

> As children move from middle childhood into early adolescence, they typically enter a social world that includes expectations for romantic heterosexual pairings. A number of researchers concerned with adolescent sexuality have recognised these expectations as a threat, especially to the development of girls and young women... The notion of threat or vulnerability relates to the positioning of females as submissive, passive, and dependent within dominant cultural discourses of both heterosexuality and romance... Female sexuality in these discourses is subjugated and defined by a hegemonic male sexuality that requires proof of masculinity through heterosexual performance..., effectively extinguishing possibilities for an active, desiring female sexuality... The gender order established in these discourses is reflected in normative social practices such as compulsory heterosexuality... and the sexual double standard that endorses sexual initiation and permissiveness in males but punishes it in females (Walton et al 2002).

Walton et al (2002) explored these issues in stories written about interpersonal conflict experienced by 9-10 year-olds in two inner-city public schools in the southern USA. Thirty-three stories were selected for analysis of how friendship and romance were construed by the pre-teens. Two main interpretative repertoires [11] were highlighted - "romantic contest" and "romantic intrigue".

a) Romantic contest - Two friends being romantically interested in the same person had the potential to harm the friendship. A conflict between loyalty to friend if the object of romantic interest chose one of the friends, and romance was emerging. This linked to the cultural norm that romance is important.

b) Romantic intrigue - On the other hand, romantic

[11] These are "meaning systems" used in talk to describe and interpret the social world and events (Walton et al 2002).

scenarios could strengthen friendships - eg: two girls having a crush on the same boy became something the friends shared. This linked to the contradictory idea that romance is trivial.

Furthermore, Walton et al (2002) observed: "This strategy allows one to opt out of romantic practice (and attempt to protect important same-sex friendships) by constructing romance as a distraction from more worthwhile pursuits. However, although this approach may be mobilised by girls against their positioning as passive objects in the romantic contest or romantic intrigue repertoires, it is scarcely better for them. Taking an anti-romance stance positions the self as not-feminine in a system of binaries that aligns 'practical' and 'rational' with the masculine and 'romantic' and 'emotional' with the feminine. Appropriation of a 'romance is trivial' discourse and thereby aligning the self with the masculine could make a girl more vulnerable to sexual insults and even sexual violence" (p685).

In relation to these repertoires, girls made sense of their position as active agents "fighting for a boy" and passive objects won in fights by boys.

3.2 A PHENOMENOLOGICAL APPROACH

"Kindred spirit connection" is a "feeling of being understood and accepted by others, alongside the awareness of shared interests and passions" (Finlay and Eatough 2012 p70).

Finlay and Eatough (2012) asked twenty-four individuals to write about the experience of "discovering a kindred spirit connection", which were then analysed using the phenomenological approach. This focuses on the richness of experience and meaning for the individual.

Finlay and Eatough (2012) described the analysis thus: "The process of analysing the accounts became, for both of us, an embodied, reflexive lived experience in itself rather than simply a cognitive, intellectual exercise. We found ourselves sensing, moving, empathising, responding and resonating with our whole body-selves, sometimes almost re-living and re-embodying what was said. We sought out those parts which resonated for us as individuals, often when something particularly significant, interesting, poignant or paradoxical was being said..." (p72).

Five intertwined themes about the "kindred spirit connection" were produced:

i) Bonding: close meaningful friendships - Terms like "solidarity" (eg: "siding with the other against all

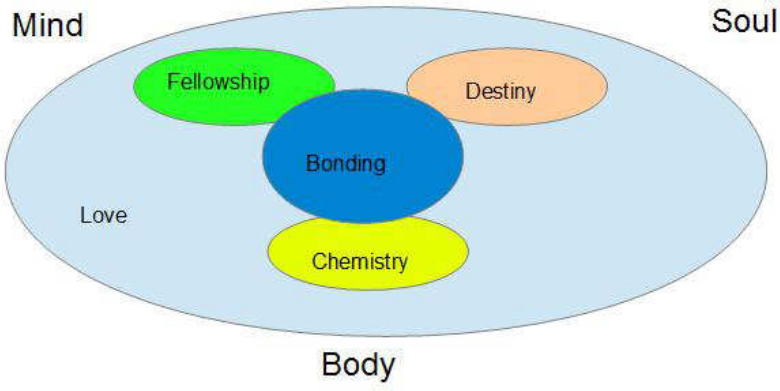
adversity"), "meshing (shared interests), and enrichment ("validation, affirmation and gaining from the relationship") were used.

ii) Fellowship: affirming meeting of minds - The connection may be a single encounter or a fleeting contact rather than a friendship as in the previous theme. One participant said: "It was as though we had been travelling the same journey in parallel, never meeting but experiencing the same frustrations, excitement and challenges. We had shared one email correspondence and yet I felt as though I had known him forever" (p75).

iii) Destiny: meeting a soulmate - Some participants referred to a sense of other-worldliness about the relationship. "The world becomes an enchanted, magical place, full of mystery. The world and the union are bigger than oneself and life takes on the patina of an idyll whilst symbolic signs point to the inevitability of the connection. One participant described this other-worldliness in a story about her dog, Higgins, who uncharacteristically ran off to greet a stranger. She believed this was the result of 'a higher power'... The stranger eventually became her life partner" (Eatough and Smith 2012 p76).

iv) Chemistry: bodily-felt affinity, attraction and eros - For some individuals, the connection had a sexual element. For example, one woman referred to the instant physical attraction and connection with a man met through an online dating agency as a "buzz of energy".

v) Love: romance, sex, friendship and agape - This diffused the relationships in different ways as seen in the other themes (figure 3.1).



(Based on Finlay and Eatough 2012 figure 1 p82)

Figure 3.1 - The intertwined themes of the "kindred spirit connection".

3.3. OBJECTIFICATION

The perception of an individual may not be based on the individual's uniqueness because of two processes - objectification and fungibility. Objectification is the "perception of people as mere objects", and fungibility is the "perception and treating people as interchangeable with others who could share the same function" (Gervais et al 2012). For example, an individual pressing a particular lever in a factory is perceived as the body parts relevant to that task by the employer, and is interchangeable with anybody else who can do that. It is a form of dehumanisation, and is reductionist.

Sexual objectification theory (eg: Nussbaum 1999) has proposed that women, in particular, are reduced to sexualised body parts or functions that are interchangeable with other women with similar body parts or functions. "When people become fungible or replaceable with similar others, they are perceived and treated as if their sexualised body parts or functions are capable of representing the entire person. Like objects, for example, one woman may be interchangeable with another woman with a similar body type, regardless of her facial features, skills, abilities, personality features, and preferences" (Gervais et al 2012 p500).

Furthermore, "When the camera lens focuses on women's bodies or sexualised body parts, rather than on their faces, viewers unwittingly adopt the objectifying gaze towards women. As a result of being persistently exposed to objectified images of women in the media, people chronically adopt an objectifying view of women and may consequently perceive women as fungible" (Gervais et al 2012 p501).

When individuals are dehumanised in this way, restraints on violence towards the "object" are reduced, and "self-objectification" (ie: internalisation of the process) can lead to body surveillance, shame and dissatisfaction (Gervais et al 2012).

Based on objectification and fungibility theory, Gervais et al (2012) predicted that women with similar body types would be interchangeable to the perceiver, but this would be less so for men with similar body types. Gervais et al (2012) designed an experiment to test this prediction.

Sixty-six US undergraduates on an introductory psychology course were individually shown the images of twelve women and twelve men, whose sexualised body parts had been modified to appear average or ideal according to cultural norms. For women this was breast size and waist-to-hip ratio, and arm muscularity and chest-to-waist ratio for men in the pictures.

After viewing the images, the participants were given a surprise matching task. This involved matching

the body with the face. Where the body type was fungible, it was predicted that participants would mismatch the body and the face (ie: not recall original picture).

Ideal and average women received a similar fungibility score (ie: more matching errors) (means of 13.4 and 13.3 respectively), but ideal men were significantly mismatched more than average men (means of 15.6 and 14.0 respectively). Overall, "the results are consistent with the notion that women, regardless of body type, and ideal men are more fungible than average men" (Gervais et al 2012 p507).

3.4. ONLINE DATING ROMANCE SCAMS

The growth of the Internet has allowed the growth of mass marketing including unsolicited communication (eg: "spam" emails). In the UK in 2011, it was estimated that three-quarters of all adults (37 million people) received such communications, one million of them sent money in response and about half of them were defrauded (National Fraud Authority 2012 quoted in Whitty 2013). So the growth also of mass marketing fraud.

One such is the online dating romance scam, which appeared in 2007-8, and is a variation on a non-Internet version. The perpetrators create a false profile on an online dating site, for example, and form relationships. Early on in the relationship, they declare love for the victim, and, in time, ask for money. "The fraud ends only when the victim learns and accepts that they have been scammed and ceases to give money" (Whitty 2013).

Lea et al (2009 quoted in Whitty 2013) explained the success of this scam and other types as similar to techniques used by legitimate mass marketing to persuade individuals, and result from errors in decision-making by the victim. For example, the use of "visceral triggers" (cues that focus the attention on large future gains) in advance fee fraud. A victim is told that they have won a large sum of money or highly desirable prize, and must send a small fee to cover administration or shipping costs, for example. After which, the prize will be sent, but, of course, nothing arrives for the victim. Other techniques used include social proof (saying others are buying, and thus it must be a good deal), scarcity (time limited offer which forces a decision), appeals to trust and authority (use of people or institutions to give authenticity), and reciprocation (giving a gift in order to receive something back) (Whitty 2003).

However, this could suggest that individuals never spot the scam or, at least, are not suspicious of the offer. Lea et al (2009) suggested that "some people viewed responding to a scam as a long-odds gamble: they recognised that there was something wrong with the offer, but the size of the possible prize (relative to the

initial outlay) induced them to give it a try on the off-chance that they might succeed" (quoted in Whitty 2013 p667).

Whitty (2013) interviewed twenty individuals in the UK who had been victims of an online dating romance scam. There were 14 heterosexual women, four heterosexual men and two homosexuality men who volunteered from an online support group. Four of them had not been scammed out of money, but felt victimised. The amount of money lost ranged from £300 to £240 000, and the fake relationships lasted from a month or two to three years. The age of victims varied between 38 and 71 years, and some of them had been repeat victims to different criminals.

A common scenario to acquire money was the need for cash for a ticket (usually plane) to come to see (or start a new life) with the victim. Something supposedly happens on the way to the airport, say, like a car accident, and more money is needed for hospital bills etc, and so on.

A new story that appeared was of an American soldier working in Iraq who is about to retire and wanted to come to the UK. "In the process of the move, they asked the victim if they would accept bags containing personal goods for them to take care of, whilst they get ready for their move. After acceptance, the victim received a phone call from someone who claimed to be a diplomat and was looking after her supposed lover's bags. The victim was told that, given the flight had been delayed, the diplomatic seals were about to expire and that money was needed to ensure that the bags could still be sent through to the victim. The victim sent money next to learn they were too late and that the bags had been sent to customs and x-rayed, only to find that there was money and gold in the bags. This led to a series of new reasons why the victim was asked to pay money, including paying money to the fake persona who claimed to have been wounded in Iraq" (Whitty 2013 pp670-671).

Whitty (2013) drew out themes from the analysis of the semi-structured interviews that supported the techniques used in mass marketing generally, but also were the basis of her "scammers persuasive technique model".

1. Examples of techniques used in marketing.

i) Person of authority - The person of authority created the belief of trust. "Pam" admitted: "Oh he was absolutely charming. I couldn't believe my luck. I mean he would... He made promises that he was getting this big pay-out... when he was coming out the air force... And... he wanted me to meet his people and his base... and we would go down... but he named the base. It was one just

outside Westminster. I knew the base, and everything. So I thought it was all very feasible. Erm. So I was preparing for him to come back. His son was at... was studying to be a doctor... at this university in London" (Whitty 2013 pp671-672).

ii) Scarcity - This was created by an emergency, and/or the threat of the ending of the relationship. In the former case, "Ted" told of his "lover" being mugged on the way to the airport to come to the UK, and needing money for another ticket.

iii) Similarity - Individuals are more likely to be persuaded by those who are like them. This led to a bond for the victim, and terms like "soul-mate" and "emotional connectedness" came up a lot in the interviews.

iv) Near-win phenomenon - In the psychology of gambling, a near-win or near-miss is a powerful incentive to continue. The false persona apparently on the way to the airport when something happens and they never arrive was perceived as a near-win in the "long-odds gamble" on love, particularly for repeat victims.

2. Scammers Persuasive Techniques Model

Whitty (2013) argued that as well as errors in decision-making by the victims, the scam is designed in a series of stages that increase trust and reduce the ability of the victim to refuse requests.

Stage 1: Motivation to find ideal partner - The victims are seeking the "perfect" relationship.

Stage 2: Presented with the ideal profile - The fake profiles "tap into the typical characteristics that men and women seek in a partner" (Whitty 2013) (eg: stolen photographs used of men in uniform and women scantily dressed).

Stage 3: Grooming process - "Similarly to grooming a child, scammers groom their victims until they are ready to give money. They gain the victims' trust by providing them with a seemingly safe environment to disclose their deepest thoughts, secrets and insecurities (often revealing aspects about their lives that they had opted to not disclose to any other, including previous loved ones)" (Whitty 2013 p678). Trust is gained by extensive and regular communication (eg: every morning and evening), and this creates a "hyper-personal"

relationship (Walther 1996) [12]. "Walther argues that, when people are communicating via ICTs, they become much more focused on the online communications, blocking out other environments. The victims reported continuously re-reading emails and looking forward to the next romantic email or IM chat session. Although adding phone might theoretically increase trust, communicating via ICT leaves a record for individuals to revisit whenever they want – reinforcing the romantic messages being sent by the criminals. ICTs, therefore, help strengthen the relationship, making it more difficult for victims to break away from the relationship" (Whitty 2013 p678).

Stage 4: The sting - The scammer now asks for money, often with the scenario of a crisis. Initially, a small request followed by larger ones. This is known as the "foot-in-the-door technique" (Freedman and Fraser 1966; table 3.1). Individuals who agree to a small request are more likely to agree to a larger request compared to asking for the larger one immediately.

- An experiment was set up in a small town in USA to see how many home-owners would display a large sign saying "Drive Carefully" in their gardens. The control group were asked directly, and 17% agreed. One experimental group was asked to display a small sign, then two weeks later asked to display the large sign. Of those who agreed to the small sign, 76% agreed to display the large sign. The second experimental group was asked to sign a petition about driving safely as the small request. Of those agreeing to this request, 50% complied to the large sign when asked later.

Table 3.1 - Freedman and Fraser (1966).

Stage 5: Continuation of the scam - Depending on the response to stage 4, different strategies and outcomes will occur. For individuals who agreed to requests for money, these will continue until the victim runs out of money or exits the relationship (maybe learning or realising that it is a scam). For refusers in stage 4, a technique called the "door-in-the-face technique" (Cialdini et al 1975; table 3.2) is used. Individuals who refuse a large request are more likely to respond to a smaller request afterwards. For example, "Fred" reported being asked for £2000 for a plane ticket, and after saying he could not afford it, the request was half and he succumbed.

Stage 6: Sexual abuse - In a few cases, when the victim had no more money left to give, they were

[12] The Internet allows "more intimate relationships that would be otherwise experienced in face-to-face conditions" (Whitty 2013).

- College students were asked to commit themselves to counsel a group of juvenile delinquents for two hours per week for two years. There was no agreement to this request. Then the students were asked to take the group of juvenile delinquents on a day trip to the zoo - 50% agreed. This compared to 17% in the control group, who were asked directly about the day trip.

Table 3.2 - Cialdini et al (1975).

exploited sexually (eg: asked to do things via web-camera).

Stage 7: Re-victimisation - Despite learning the truth about the scam, some victims returned to the situation where the scam has started and were re-victimised by the same person or another scammer.

Whitty (2013) noted how the victims were totally immersed in the relationship (during the grooming stage) and then in getting money to their "lover". there are elements of addiction shown in the victim's behaviour.

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4. HEALTH PSYCHOLOGY - TWO APPROACHES, TWO STUDIES

4.1. Discursive Approach

Seymour-Smith et al (2002) used the discursive approach in interviews with six doctors, a consultant, and two nurses in the English Midlands about men's health and general practitioner use.

Three interpretative repertoires (IRs) [13] (Potter and Wetherell 1987) were identified in the analysis:

i) Women are health conscious and responsible while men are not - eg: female partners bringing the men to the doctor.

ii) Men don't talk about emotional issues - health is assumed to be an emotional issue.

iii) Men are the serious users of the health service - the infrequent use of the surgery by the men meant they were viewed as "serious users", while women's attendance was "routine" or "standard".

These IRs were how the health professionals talked about the male patients, and showed how important gender was as "a powerful organising practice for making sense of everyday reality" (Seymour-Smith et al 2002). But the positioning of men and women was ambivalent: "Women are health conscious and that is usually seen as a good thing but women worry too much. Men do not take responsibility for their own health but they are usually the 'properly ill' patients" (p262). Ironically, men who attended the surgery often were viewed as deviant cases. Thus, "the status quo was preserved through the construction of men as hapless and helpless but this 'hopelessness' was celebrated and deferred to, positively tolerated and welcomed" (Seymour-Smith et al 2002 p265).

[13] An IR "is a recognisable routine of arguments, descriptions and evaluations found in people's talk often distinguished by familiar cliches, anecdotes and tropes. Interpretative repertoires are the commonplaces... of everyday conversation and the building blocks through which people develop accounts and versions of significant events and through which they perform social life" (Seymour-Smith et al 2013 p255).

4.2. Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) (Smith and Osborn 2003) is an approach that seeks to understand the lived experience of an individual, and explore the meanings of their behaviour.

Dean et al (2005) used this approach in interviews with nine individuals with low back pain and eight physiotherapists in the UK about adherence to exercise programmes.

The main theme from the analysis related to time and pressure on it, and how that influenced adherence to exercise. For example, one patient ("Harry") said: "There's always a thousand things that need to be done and somehow doing exercises... tends to fall further and further down the list" (p629). This was compounded by the fact that there was not necessarily a "quick fix" to the pain. The physiotherapists attempted to understand time for the patients, so as to help their adherence to the exercise - eg: "Lesley" explained: "Find out a little bit about when they would exercise rather than just saying you must do this first thing in the morning and last thing at night... so trying to find out... when would be a good time... what fits in really" (p629).

The patients also expressed fears of a future with pain - eg: "Kim" expressed it thus: "the pain was so bad that I'd never be able to walk again. I couldn't have pictured this pain leaving me, you know" (Dean et al 2005 p631).

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5. TWO DIFFERENT GROUPS AND RELIGION/SPIRITUALITY

5.1. INTRODUCTION

Religion is usually defined as "beliefs, practices and rituals associated with the sacred" (Koenig et al 2012 p1169 quoted in Bennett et al 2013 p79). The definitions of spirituality, however, are less clear-cut - eg: "the personal quest for understanding answers to ultimate questions about the life, about meaning and about the relationship with the sacred or the transcendent which may (or may not) lead to or arise from the development of religious rituals and the formation of the community" (Koenig et al 2001 p700 quoted in Bennett et al 2013 pp79-80) [14].

Common elements of spirituality include (Sadler et al 2013):

- "a transcendent power or force beyond life";
- "values related to meaning and purpose";
- "relationships between self/others/God";
- "inner resources such as peace, hope and strength".

Spirituality tends to be viewed as private, focused on experience, and informal, while religion is public, involving beliefs and practices, and formal (Sadler et al 2013). This distinction fits with the post-Christian West's "subjective turn" (Houtman and Aupers 2007), which sees spirituality as based around the self and involving a choice of ideas (Heelas et al 2005) [15].

The common theme among these, sometimes called, "New Age" ideas is the "Self" (an authentic self beyond the socialised self) and "inner spirituality". "This, then, is the main tenet of post-Christian spirituality: the belief that in the deepest layers of the self the 'divine

[14] The terms "religion" and "spirituality" are sometimes interchangeable in the academic literature (Bennett et al 2013) (appendix 5A).

[15] Houtman and Aupers (2007) referred to "idiosyncratic packages", while "pick-and-mix religion" was used by Hamilton (2000) and "spiritual supermarket" by Lyon (2000) to suggest the variety of spiritual views held.

spark' — to borrow a term from ancient Gnosticism — is still smouldering, waiting to be stirred up, and succeed the socialised self... Paradoxically, then, New Agers believe that working on the self raises consciousness about the true, divine nature of the world as a whole..." (Houtman and Aupers 2007 p307). "Truth can only be personally experienced" (Hanegraaff 1996).

Using data from the World Values Survey in 1981, 1990 and 2000, Houtman and Aupers (2007) showed the "spiritual turn" in twelve Western European and two North American "Christian" countries. The key item was the response to the question about which statement comes closest to an individual's beliefs - "there is a personal God", "there is some sort of spirit or life force", "I don't really know what to think", or "I don't really think there is any sort of spirit, God, or life force". There has been an increase in most of the countries over the 20 years of the study in respondents choosing the second option. "What we are witnessing today is not so much a disappearance of religion, but rather a relocation of the sacred. Gradually losing its transcendent character, the sacred becomes more and more conceived of as immanent and residing in the deeper layers of the self" (Houtman and Aupers 2007 p315). The authors referred to a "sacralisation of the self".

Religious or spiritual wellbeing (RSWB), defined as "the ability to experience and integrate meaning and purpose in existence through a connectedness with self, others or a power greater than oneself" (Unterrainer et al 2011 quoted in Bennett et al 2013 p80), is associated with positive physical and mental health outcomes (Koenig et al 2012).

5.2. PERSONALITY DISORDERS

There is an emerging interest in spirituality and personality disorders, particularly schizotypal, borderline, and anti-social personality disorders (Bennett et al 2013).

i) Schizotypal personality disorder - Schizotypal traits include excessive social anxiety, no close relationships, paranoia, and limited emotions, but also "magical thinking". This latter characteristic positively correlates with RSWB ($r = 0.20$; $p<0.05$) (Unterrainer et al 2011), while the other traits negatively correlate with RSWB ($r = -0.24$; $p<0.05$) (Abbott et al 2012). But this research involved students, showing mild levels of schizotypy and no diagnosis of the personality disorder (Bennett et al 2013).

ii) Borderline personality disorder - For example,

Sansone et al (2012) found a significant negative correlation ($r = -0.56$; $p<0.01$) between RSWB and borderline personality disorder. The researchers suggested that therapy that develops such wellbeing (using mindfulness, for example; appendix 5B) could have success with this personality disorder (Bennett et al 2013).

iii) Anti-social personality disorder - High self-reported "religiosity" is negative correlated with less anti-social behaviour via self-control (eg: Laird et al 2011; among 166 adolescents) (figure 5.1). Other studies have not confirmed this relationship because of different measures of religiosity, self-control, and anti-social behaviour (Bennett et al 2013).

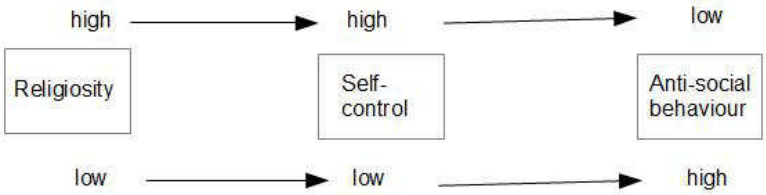

Figure 5.1 - The relationship between religiosity, self-control, and anti-social behaviour.

The research in this area generally tends to use predominantly Christian populations (Bennett et al 2013).

5.3. OLDER ADULTS

In terms of spirituality and older adults, MacKinlay (2002) found, from interviews with older Australians, the concept of "spiritual tasks" including finding ultimate meaning, transcending loss, limitations, or disability, and finding intimacy with God/others.

Fowler (1981) proposed a model of the development of faith through sequential stages during the lifespan. The final stage in old - "universalising faith" - is where the individual embraces and lives out the spiritual way of life. But Fowler (1981) found little evidence for this stage among older adults (Sadler et al 2013).

Alternatively, "gerotranscendence" (Tornstam 2005) is the idea that older adults shift from everyday (worldly) concerns after fifty years old to deeper (transcendent) ones.

Sadler et al (2013) distinguished four categories of religious, spiritual or existential relationship in a

spiritual typology, from interviews with 34 "Christian" 60-95 year-old British adults in south London. The categories were:

- "God to self" - Eight interviewees were placed in this category, which reflected a personal relationship with God that directed their lives.

- "Self to God" - Twelve individuals described spirituality similar to the first group, but emphasised more the drawing on God in times of need.

- "Self to universe" - Nine interviewees showed a growing awareness of general transcendent issues, and such forces (including nature, music and art) that were drawn upon in times of need. This could be similar to "gerotranscendence" ideas.

- "Self to life" - Five individuals talked of existential issues (related to meaning and purpose in life) rather than transcendent issues.

Sadler et al (2013) concluded: "The typology identifies spirituality as partly representing a developmental process (ie: spiritual or religious) among some older adults, but mostly a socially and culturally constructed process, shaped in particular by ethnicity, but also by gender, and changing life events and circumstances related to growing older" (p534).

5.4. RELIGION AND MENTAL HEALTH

The relationship between religion (or faith) and mental health can be both positive and negative. On the positive side, sufferers of mental illness report that religion is a resource to help cope with their symptoms (eg: 80% of outpatients of a psychiatric hospital in Los Angeles; Tepper et al 2001). While 90% of Hindu family caregivers of schizophrenia sufferers in India coped by praying to God (Rammohan et al 2002).

A content analysis in Switzerland of interviews with individuals with serious mental illness found that religion had the following functions - meaning, comfort, self-respect, self-confidence, compassion, hope, love, and acceptance (Mohr et al 2006). In another study in Switzerland, religious coping predicted fewer negative symptoms, better social functioning, and quality of life over three years among individuals with schizophrenia and schizoaffective disorders (Mohr et al 2010).

On the negative side, "religious struggles" can affect mental health. These are defined as "questions, tensions, and conflicts about spiritual issues within one

self (intrapsychic), with others (interpersonal), and with higher powers or God (divine)" (Pargament and Lomax 2013 p28). Primary religious struggles are where they lead to mental health problems, while secondary struggles are a product of mental illness. Complex religious struggles combine both (Pargament and Lomax 2013).

5.5. APPENDIX 5A - TWO FRAMEWORKS FOR UNDERSTANDING SPIRITUALITY AND RELIGION

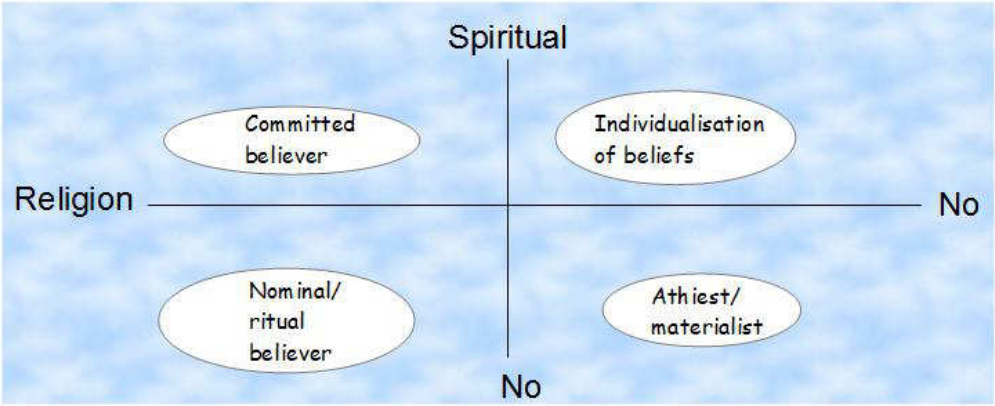

Figure 5.2 - Spirituality (individual experience) and religion (formal organisation).

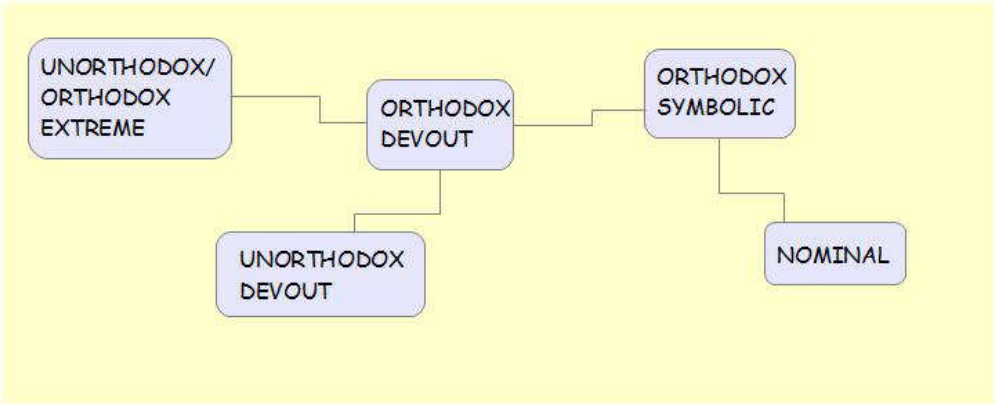

Figure 5.3 - Different types of religious beliefs/behaviour.

5.6. APPENDIX 5B - MINDFULNESS

Mindfulness "involves intentionally developing an awareness of moment-to-moment experience through meditation exercises, reflecting upon the findings and gaining insight into the cognitive, emotional and physical internal processes which underlie our experience

of the world" (York 2007 p603) [16].

Stanley et al (2006) referred to "the combination of attention to and awareness of the momentary occurrence of events both internally and externally", and "the awareness of events occurs without judgment and without any expectation for outcome or goal" (p327).

Bishop et al (2004) talked of two components of mindfulness - "The first component involves the self-regulation of attention so that it is maintained on immediate experience, thereby allowing for increased recognition of mental events in the present moment. The second component involves adopting a particular orientation toward one's experiences in the present moment, an orientation that is characterised by curiosity, openness, and acceptance" (quoted in Stanley et al 2006).

York (2007) found positive responses reported by inpatients suffering from a variety of mental disorders in south-west England using mindfulness-based techniques [17]. Users reported positive changes in thought patterns, increased concentration, and a sense of peace and relaxation. Singh et al (2006) reported benefits for staff teams in a psychiatric hospital using mindfulness-based mentoring.

Mindfulness-based cognitive therapy (MBCT) (Segal et al 2002) was designed to help individuals with recurrent depression "to learn to become more aware of the bodily sensations, thoughts and feelings associated with depressive relapse and to relate constructively to these experiences" (Allen et al 2009 pp413-414) [18]. It is an attempt to challenge automatic ways of thinking, feeling, and behaving, which are seen as underlying depression relapse.

Williams et al (2006) described techniques like "mindful eating" (focusing attention on eating), "mindfulness of everyday activities", and body scan (paying attention to different parts of the body).

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[16] It has origins in the meditation tradition of Asia (York 2007).

[17] "Using the mindfulness-of-breathing technique as an example, participants were instructed to sit comfortably with eyes closed and spine straight and to direct their attention to their breathing. When thoughts, emotions, physical sensations or external stimuli arose, participants were encouraged to simply accept them, creating a space for them to come and go without judging or getting lost in them. When their attention had drifted from the focus of the breath and became identified with thoughts and feelings, participants were instructed to simply and gently bring it back to the breathing and continue with the exercise. Importantly, participants were reminded that it is okay and natural for thoughts and sensations to arise and for their attention to follow them. The technique involves gently bringing the attention back to the breath (or alternative focus of awareness) no matter how many times this occurs" (York 2007 p604).

[18] "It teaches participants to develop moment-by-moment awareness, approaching ongoing experience with an attitude of non-judgment and acceptance. Participants are increasingly able to see their thoughts as mental events rather than facts (metacognitive awareness)" (Williams et al 2006 p201).

Ma and Teasdale (2004) found a halving of relapses of recurrent depression with the use of MBCT.

Allen et al (2009) interviewed twenty individuals in south-west England after twelve months of using MBCT (which included guided mindfulness practices like meditation and yoga). Four main themes emerged from analysis of the semi-structured interviews:

i) Control - MBCT helped the sufferers to recognise the "early warning signs" and take action (eg: positive focus of attention). "Prior to MBCT the majority of participants stated that they had viewed depression as an opaque process over which they felt helpless. During MBCT participants spoke of becoming better able to discern processes of relapse and acquiring tools that enabled them to avert or limit the progression of their relapse. This facilitated a movement from helplessness and passivity to one of perceived control and self-efficacy" (Allen et al 2009 p418).

ii) Acceptance - Though some individuals still experienced periods of depression, the MBCT helped them cope. For example, "approximately half of the participants described a new perspective on their depression-related thoughts and feelings that can be summarized as 'These thoughts and feelings aren't me'. For some, this was because, having met others with depression, they now viewed some of their difficulties as characteristics of an illness rather than as fundamental aspects of themselves" (Allen et al 2009 p421).

iii) Relationships - "First, most participants said they had become aware that they often put others' needs above their own. This awareness enabled them to take better care of themselves with a sense of legitimacy and with reduced guilt. Second, participants spoke of several changes in their interpersonal relationships that they attributed to positive changes in their mood and thinking" (Allen et al 2009 p421).

iv) Struggle - Though individuals reported benefits from the use of MBCT, there was a tension between accepting depression as an illness and the feeling of control over it. For example, "Irene" said: "When I was first diagnosed with depression it took me a long, long time to accept it was an illness I couldn't actually help. And eventually I accepted that and after that I coped nicely. I accepted it was an illness like diabetes and I needed my antidepressants... Then I came on the course and I was in limbo for a bit. Here I am. I've got this new skill. It is actually working at the moment. Perhaps I can help having depression. So it confused me a bit. But now I've got it into perspective now" (Allen et

al 2009 pp422-423).

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