The Australian Community Psychologist

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General Information

Editorial
Dawn Darlaston-Jones

Welcome to the second issue of the *Australian Community Psychologist*. The first issue, published in April this year has attracted positive responses from readers around the world. Our new *Insight* section also attracted a lot of international attention and comment, which was exactly what we had hoped it would do. In fact we discovered recently that Neil's paper is being used by a lecturer outside of Australia to illustrate how not to work in community psychology! In addition, we are delighted to publish a response to Neil's paper in this issue which we hope will provide the impetus for others to engage in debate and discussion on this and other issues published in the journal. This is what the editorial team regard as a successful journal.

In this issue we have six outstanding papers, four from Western Australia, one from Sydney and one from Canada; and the content is as diverse as their origins. Each of these papers might be regarded as challenging and might even be contested; but stimulating and promoting academic debate is why we disseminate our research and the reason why we are prompted to respond. Critical academic debate enriches and furthers our collective knowledge, understanding and practice and we actively encourage readers to contribute in this fashion.

The first of these, from Fisher, Guilfoyle, and O'Connor examines social work in palliative care using Foucauldian discourse analysis. The authors illustrate the value of employing this type of deep analysis and emphasise the complexity and challenge of working within a critical constructionist perspective. The insights provided in this paper could not have been extracted from the data using a more traditional approach and therefore highlights the importance of employing critical methodologies.

Related in some respects is the paper from Bishop, Johnson and Browne, which explores theoretical aspects of research practice and argues for an increase in the contextualisation of research; specifically that conducted under the auspices of *community psychology* which often has a positivist epistemology underpinning it. This is a thought provoking paper and one that is

particularly relevant as it challenges community psychologists to analyse our practice in relation to the values we claim to hold. Given the dominance of positivism in the schools of psychology it isn't surprising that it continues to influence the practice of those who explicitly reject it. While this might seem counterintuitive it doesn't take great scrutiny of the community psychology journals to see the prevalence of the positivist epistemology.

In addition to the need for reflective practice is the importance of working in a culturally appropriate manner with research partners. This becomes especially important when working with Indigenous communities and the second paper by Bishop, Vicary, Andrews and Pearson offers a set of guidelines for conducting research in diverse settings. Deconstructing methodologies has long been a goal within community psychology but once again it is something that has a greater body of evidence in the rhetoric rather than the reality. It is often more time consuming and more difficult to conduct research in a culturally meaningful way and consequently there is a tendency sometimes to default to the path of least resistance.

The other papers might be regarded as examples of community research in action, Angelique and Cunningham examines the role of grassroots activism as an integral component of liberal democracy. The authors illustrate their argument with reference to the protest movements that emerged after the Three Mile Island nuclear disaster in 1979. Given the increasing pressure on energy reserves the debate over nuclear energy can only increase. This is a timely paper that explores the important role of free speech, and within the post 9/11 climate of fear and suspicion this is a right that is constantly under threat. It is somewhat ironic that as a result of the preoccupation with the so called 'war on terror' that the loudest calls for restrictions on these basic human rights is now coming from the community that 25 years ago would probably have been joining the protest marches.

Green, Cohen and Pooley, revisit concepts of Sense of Community and attempt to connect a

number of related, but distinct concepts to understand the many ways the phrase is used. The authors argue that understanding how the term is interpreted by the public can assist in community development initiatives; particularly planned communities.

The final paper is from Wertheim, Freeman, Trinder and Sanson, which describes a wonderfully innovative and successful anti bullying programme. The unique feature of the *ERIS* project is that it is a whole of school approach based on strengthening relationships rather than punishing negative behaviours. We look forward to reading more developments of this really important project in future issues of ACP.

In addition to these six papers we also have two book reviews; Katie Thomas reviews the latest contribution from Isaac and Ora Prilleltensky, while Neil Drew urges us all to read Quentin Beresford's emotive biography of Rob Reilly. Both make excellent reading.

Finally, the editorial team invites you all once again to contribute to the development of the Journal by providing feedback, papers, book reviews as well as opinion pieces and commentaries for *Insight*.

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'Listening with the third ear and other expertises': A case analysis of social work discourse in the context of the multidisciplinary palliative care team

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The philosophy of palliative care is to provide holistic support to people living with a life threatening illness and their families, optimally delivered by a multi-disciplinary health care team with the patient and his/her family centralised as the prime drivers of decisions about support and care. We argue, however, that palliative care is in effect more than this: it is an expression of shared cultural beliefs about the 'right' way to die in the context of a terminal illness with a concomitant impact on the ability of the patient to define his/her own support needs. Drawing on the work of Michel Foucault and through analysis of a case study of the social worker on a palliative care multidisciplinary team, we argue that the impact of shared cultural beliefs about ways of dying, coupled with the functioning of the multidisciplinary team, can work to marginalise the patient and render his/her voice silent, and hence, become secondary to professional expertises in decisions surrounding support and care at the end of life.

The World Health Organisation (2002) defines palliative care as a holistic approach to care of people living with a life threatening illness and their families, optimally delivered by a multidisciplinary health care team (O'Connor, 1998). Ostensibly, palliative care is constructed as a "symbolic critique" (McNamara, 1997, p. 3) of medical, institutionalised death through its tenets of attempting to maximise quality of life, offering a support system to help patients live as actively as possible until death and assisting the family cope during the patient's illness and during their bereavement (Palliative Care Australia, 1999).

This notwithstanding, underpinning palliative care philosophy is a shared cultural idea, which is largely unexamined and unchallenged in the literature, about the ideal circumstances and 'way' of death (Mamo, 1999). Often referred to in the palliative care literature as the ideology of the 'good death' (McNamara, 1997; McNamara, Wadell, & Colvin, 1994) such circumstances are characterised by awareness of impending death, an acceptance of and preparation for it, and achievement of a sense of peace and dignity. As constructed in palliative care philosophy, a good death, ideally, is experienced through the dying person, the family and the health professionals all working together in decision making before death (McNamara,

1998). Palliative care then, is more than the 'symbolic critique' referred to by McNamara (1997): it is an embodiment of expectations of the 'right' way to die (Clark and Seymour, 1999).

Reflecting its philosophy of holistic care, palliative care attempts to integrate the patient's psychological, emotional, spiritual and social issues (collectively termed provision of psychosocial care), together with physical treatment into the plan of care. Palliative care then, extends services and supports beyond medical interventions needed to palliate the distressing physical symptoms of illness on the patient's body. Through the provision of 'psychosocial' care, a space is provided for non-medical palliative care professionals to extend their 'gaze' (Foucault, 1977) beyond the concrete condition of the body of the patient, and enter into his/her private subjective realm (Fox, 1993), or, as we argue in this paper, to 'intrude' into this realm.

Whereas the 'truth' of the terminally ill body can be rendered visible to palliative care medical professionals through examination and biomedicine, the resolution of patients' psychosocial problems requires the production of knowledge by non-medical palliative care professionals about individuals. This subjectifying power cannot be "exercised without knowing the insides of people's minds…making

them reveal their innermost secrets" (Foucault, 1986, p. 214). Through encounters with non-medical palliative care health professionals the patient's uncertainties and anxieties about, for example, his/her prognosis, become redefined by these professionals explicitly in terms of psychosocial care. Psychosocial care thus, takes on a formal symptomatology and becomes reconstituted as 'psychosocial problems' for the non-medical members of the multidisciplinary team to 'resolve'. These 'problems' require new techniques of exposure, interpretation and resolution (May, 1992).

Non-medical palliative care health professionals can appropriate the function of pastoral power (Foucault, 1980) to penetrate the subject and to effect its normalisation and integration in relation to a particular body of ideas about what constitutes psychosocial well-being in the context of terminal illness (May, 1992) and thus, speak the 'truth' of the 'palliative care patient'. Pastoral power in the context of palliative care can, therefore find its expression in a therapeutic gaze directed at the production of truth about the patient often via normalising and individualising professions, such as counseling, nursing and social work. Through being 'known' and through the non-medical palliative care health professional 'listening', the patient is encouraged to talk about his/her private and authentic concerns, thus producing and exposing his/her own truth (May, 1992). Through 'knowing' the patient, and hence, being privy to his/her concerns, a space is constructed for professional interventions.

The site at which the authentic 'palliative care patient' is revealed is the confessional encounter (Foucault, 1978) between the patient and the palliative care health professional, i.e. their interpersonal relationship. The 'work' that the non-medical palliative care professional undertakes to 'locate' psychosocial 'problems' and the interpersonal relationship between them and the patient then, are, effectively, indivisible.

The confessional encounter, however, is rarely one of equality as is implied in palliative care philosophy of shared decision making between patient and palliative care health professional (Andershed & Ternestedt, 2001). "The confessional is a ritual that always unfolds within a power relationship" (Foucault, 1978, p.

59). Foucault (1978, p. 62) argues that one confesses to a real or imaginary partner who is not merely the other party of a dialogue, but rather "the authority who requires the confession, prescribes and appreciates it, and intervenes in order to judge, punish, forgive, console and reconcile". The knowledge that this encounter generates may or may not be 'true', but importantly, is effective in producing what is deemed the 'truth'. Hence, subjectivity of the palliative care patient is intimately and inextricably bound up with regimes of 'power-knowledge' (McHoul & Grace, 1993).

In palliative care practice, psychosocial problems are less well defined than medical (i.e. physical) problems. Additionally, they are seen as entities separate from the body of the patient and as such, we argue, this quality makes their location, definition and resolution more open to contestation among non-medical palliative care professionals. Indeed, in the palliative care literature the 'psychosocial realm' of the patient is considered a 'shared realm' (Monroe, 1998). We contend, however, that this realm is more than shared: it is a contested realm with a number of non-medical multidisciplinary team members including nurses, social workers, psychologists and counselors competing to 'speak the truth' about the patient and hence, locate and define his/her psychosocial problems. Further, this contestation creates an enlarged space to implement interventions informed by disciplinary knowledge.

This issue of resolving psychosocial problems raises two questions: how is legitimisation for undertaking the 'work' of locating these 'problems' operationalised in the context of the palliative care multidisciplinary team and; is the patient able to resist professional intervention if s/he deems it inappropriate or unnecessary?

Foucault has argued that particular disciplines or discursive practices are privileged in institutional and other social contexts. The dominance of a particular discourse, then, can be challenged or modified by other discourses presenting differing representations of reality (Foucault, 1978, 1991). We attempt to show how relations of power inherent in the relationships among the various team members become manifest in a particular multidisciplinary team

members' talk; constantly directing energy to legitimising his/her position on the team by articulating a special and particular knowledge that enables such professionals to 'know the palliative care patient'. These professional discourses, however, discipline the body of the patient and subjugate the patient as unknowing and an object of, not only professional interventions, but a taken-for-granted palliative care discourse, dominant in the palliative care setting, about the 'right' way to die. We do this by a case study examining the discourse produced by an individual multidisciplinary team member – the social worker.

Method

Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis provides a framework for exploring the construction of a professional identity (see for example, Antaki, Condor & Levine, 1996; Billig, 1987; Edwards, 1995, 1997, 1998; Edwards & Potter, 1993, 2002; Potter & Edwards, 1990; Rapley, 1998; Rapley, McCarthy & McHoul, 2003; Wiggins & Potter, 2003). The discourses produced by individual multidisciplinary team members as they negotiate their role in providing palliative care to patients are an important site for reflection. We apply this work to examining the possible consequences of this construction on the patient's ability to define his/her own needs.

Design and data

Our design is based on what we call a critical incident case study. The case study approach is a well recognized approach in qualitative health research in general and in discourse analysis specifically (see for example Willis, 1977; Bloor, 1986; Stake, 1994; Kamilla & Urmilla, 2004; Urek, 2006; Weinberg, 2006; van Nijnatten, 2006). The data were from an in-depth qualitative interview with an experienced social worker in a multidisciplinary palliative care team. The interview was part of a larger study that aimed to elicit psychosocial issues facing palliative care patients. The data provide an example of the impact of the ongoing struggle between the social worker and other team members to 'speak the truth' about the patient and their psychosocial problems in the context of terminal illness, and how, potentially, this struggle could effectively subjugate the everyday

knowledge of the patient and render his/her voice silent. Our focus is not on the individual social worker or his/her intentions per se. It is on the discourses that define and legitimise a professional role in the palliative care multidisciplinary team and on how this interacts with providing patient care.

Data Analysis

The interview data were taped, transcribed and checked against the respective audio tape to ensure an accurate representation of speech. At this time notes identified salient features of interest in the discourse and the analysis proceeded by constant review of both transcript and the audio taped original in order to identify linguistic devices deployed by the participant. The analysis is presented below as a thick description and interpretation, including representative segments of texts. In particular we emphasise the use of extreme case formulations (Pomerantz, 1986) as these marked the speech through the interview as well as self sufficient arguments (Wetherell & Potter, 1992; Potter, 1996) and self-deprecating talk (Potter, 1996; Rapley 1998) which acted as effective rhetorical devices in the social worker's self-presentation as expert in knowing the truth of palliative care patients.

Findings and Discussion

Our analysis identifies three intertwined themes within the talk, each framing the legitimation for this professional's knowledge in the context of the palliative care multidisciplinary team. The first 'Contesting the confessional relationship – being 'with' the patient' examines the large proportion of discourse dedicated to social work knowledge and expertise and prioritising these as central to revealing the truth of 'the palliative care patient'. Here the social worker directly distances the social work role from that provided by others, particularly through access to a particularised professional knowledge which allows the social worker to 'see the whole person' and through possessing a 'third ear' to hear the truth about 'the palliative care patient', often beyond the words that the patient actually speaks. In 'Subjugation of everyday patient knowledges' we examine the displacement of the patient from a central position in decisions about

his/her needs and supports, to a marginalised position where decisions about intervention are determined in light of social work knowledge. Finally in 'Socialisation into palliative care discourse and the good death' we examine the way in which palliative care discourse regarding the 'right' way to die works to socialise patients into a predefined 'good death' life trajectory.

Contesting the Confessional Relationship – Being 'with' the Patient

The confessional, therapeutic interpersonal relationship between palliative care health professional and patient is, we argue, the site at which the 'truth' of the 'palliative care patient' is revealed. When psychosocial problems resulting from knowing this 'truth' are identified by the professional, there is an entry point also warranting that particular 'knowing' professional to resolve them using their specific professional interventions. Because of the shared nature of the 'psychosocial realm'(Monroe, 1998), we argue there is a context for an ongoing struggle among non-medical multidisciplinary team members to 'occupy' this site. Thus, the psychosocial realm is a contested realm. What is at stake is legitimacy for a specific profession and associated professional discourse to be able to 'resolve' psychosocial problems. This claim is to be staked against both the patient and other team members. Further, this legitimacy ensures that profession's ongoing and valuable membership of the multidisciplinary team.

Unique ability to see the 'whole' person

A significant theme within the talk argued towards a superior ability to know 'the palliative care patient' vis-à-vis other disciplines because of social work's exclusive ability to see the 'whole person':

> That's the other thing, particularly social work, I think, we do look at the person in their environment. I mean, I love my profession and I think a lot of times that's where other people get it slightly wrong because they don't look at the broader picture and then just see the person in isolation and you can't do that

> I I I have a prejudice to social work but I do, I do think that everybody has to learn to communicate but I think social worker, social work has a um defined role and that there are times when people um you know can be seen by everybody but they really need to see a social worker because of the expertise of social work and, and, I've been frustrated by that in palliative care because everybody thinks that everybody can do it and they can't.

> …but when they [other multidisciplinary team members] talk about seeing the person in their environment, I mean, that's a big part of what social workers study and so I don't expect everybody to have that level of expertise.

Statements in the above excerpts that directly assert the social worker's role characterise a large part of the interview with the social worker and are fashioned in terms Potter (1996) calls 'offensive/defensive' talk. In the interview the social worker supports their veracity by use of a linguistic device known as a rhetorically self sufficient argument (Wetherell & Potter, 1992; Potter 1996) which works up common sense notions then to be deployed to warrant other claims. In our data, the social worker states "they really need to see a social worker because of the expertise of social work" which has a circularity that relies on, and further establishes, an implicit common sense about social work. However, it also warrants a tight control by the social worker over what is the complete picture in which the patient can be situated. The (strategically) offensive nature of this talk is that it directly excludes other professionals.

In our data the exclusion of other professionals works offensively also via a series of generalisations and categorisations ('us' and 'them' statements) that set up a general contrast pairing. There is an inclusive 'we' ("we do look

at the person in the environment…") set against an excluded generality 'they' who are to be implicitly excluded from the expertise being claimed ("they don't look at the broader picture and then just see the person in isolation…"). A second rhetorical device, an extremitisation (Pomerantz, 1986) takes this even further. The social worker fluctuates between an entirely personalised 'I' ("I love social work…." and, "…I've been frustrated") that speaks on behalf of all social work, but could also be read as subjective. Thus, a more defensive, distanced and objective speech about social work also enters. This assertive offensive and guarded defensive work Guilfoyle (2000) argues, is the archetypical sign for observing social identity work being carried out. Here the social worker, who is actively working a personal identity to be constructed as a 'good' social worker, also creates a social identity for social work. This results in the exclusion of other professionals as knowing the complete picture, ie, one that includes the patient.

Claiming a special ability is, therefore, an important part of the speech. Being the only team member with the ability to see the broader context, then, is the discourse through which the social worker claims both legitimacy as a team member and the ability to 'know' the palliative care patient.

The 'Third Ear'

Claiming a unique ability is aided by a general extremitisation that works up some extraordinary talents. Through access to social work knowledge and skills our interviewee suggests that social workers have a unique ability to interpret, beyond the level of language, the 'real' meaning in patient talk:

> I think that where, where I come in, particularly is when, when a person is complaining about something but it's something that's, oh, that's been a major issue their whole life and like, you know they've never loved their husband or whatever and we don't just go in and make that right, we kind of need to look at the broader picture, really what

they're communicating, like, because I think a lot of time when people say things like that they're saying, "yes I've got a really hard life". They're not saying "I don't like my husband" and you go off at a tangent…. And that, that you always have to look beyond the actual words and keep clarifying. So if you don't really um listen with, with your third ear about what that actually means then you're not hearing.

A series of extremitised characterisations of the patient "complaining about something… that's oh, that's been a major issue.." helps to enlarge the perceptive ability of the social worker (and his/her intervention). Extremitising the patient in this way warrants the social worker as extraordinarily able to cut through the 'noise' of the patient. The identity of the patient is deployed as if like a space on which the social worker can display an extension of his/her previously claimed special talent to know the palliative care patient. For example, toward the end of the previous excerpt, we hear about how skilled the social worker is in negotiating or re-negotiating the expressed reality of the patient. The social worker and his/her special abilities are set up then as one half of a contrast pair (Jefferson, 1990): the other half is a patient who is misrepresenting his/her own reality.

Ability beyond the tangible- the 'sixth sense'

The social worker in our interview assumes an ability to 'know palliative care patients' even without having met them in a therapeutic exchange. In essence, social work knowledge gives him/her access to a 'sixth sense' to know when 'problems' are likely to exist or arise:

> You don't even have to know, you just know if you feel that kind of, and it always is true and sometimes I've said, on no I'm wrong about this and I go and see the person and they're lovely and doesn't seem to be any problems. Every time, down the line, you know, there's you know, step

father comes in that was an axe
murderer, I mean you know,
there always is something that
happens afterwards. But um,
never that dramatic. But, so
that's one thing absolutely, it's
the kind of um, tension and
activity around the case.

Another way to claim uniqueness is to
blur the boundaries of 'ability'. The
extremitisation of the social worker's abilities
continues by vague formulations (Edwards &
Potter, 1992). Hence, abilities become defined
as something unique and personal, owned by
the social worker and also hard to achieve by
others. A display of self reflection through self-
deprecating talk (Potter, 1996; Rapley, 1998)
enhances this ownership and the requisite skills
required. The social worker reflects on how
sometimes s/he can get it wrong – but has
special skills, a kind of 'sixth sense' developed
to (self perceive and) guard against any
misdiagnoses.

Appropriation of medical discourse
If raising the status of self, by claiming a
special ability is one rhetorical strategy to
demarcate a professional space, the talk further
sets the social worker apart from other
professionals by inferring that s/he is equally
able to perform psychosocial 'work' that other
members undertake:

Interviewer: What, what do you
think would be one or two key
issues for you if you could ask
questions, screening issues if you
life. That may necessarily you
wouldn't ask, but nurses or other
people on the team would ask in
order to know whether to refer to
you – straight away?
Social Worker: I'm trying to get
a little tool myself
Interviewer: Truly
Social Worker: together of my
own so…

This adds to attempts by the social worker to
legitimise the value of social work to the

multidisciplinary team. Through the
development of a 'tool' the social worker is
appropriating the methods routinely used by
nurses and other medical staff to screen for issues
such as pain and fatigue. Again the talk appears
interested in staking a claim for legitimate
professional knowledge by positioning it firmly
within, yet beyond, medical knowledge.

*Subjugation of everyday patient knowledges: To
'go in', or 'not to go in'*
Palliative care philosophy claims, at least
rhetorically, the patient and his/her family as
central in determining their care and support
needs (Doyle, Hanks, & Mac Donald, 1998) and
are equal members of the multidisciplinary team
in terms of decision making (Buckingham, 1996).
The basic assumption is that the patient knows
what s/he needs (Fisher, O'Connor, Abel &
White, 2005) and that the health care professional
brings expertise to meet these needs – effectively
a partnership between the patient/family and
palliative care health professional is formed
(Andershed & Ternestedt, 2001). This notion of
a partnership, however, is unproblematic in the
palliative care literature despite research that
suggests that health care professionals are often
unwilling or unable to create such partnerships
(see for example Davies, 1999).

The inherent danger in not problematising
the notion of partnership is evident in the
following excerpt:

I think it's the crux uh, uh of the
helping person to be really
sensitive to that, to know when to
go in and when not to and to not
let your own um prejudices
interfere with those of the people
you're helping because that
always happens.

Through this talk of the social worker the patient,
rather than being central to the functioning of the
multidisciplinary team and arbiter of the services
s/he receives and an equal member of a
partnership; has been rendered passive and an
object of social work intervention. The decision
of whether to 'go in' or 'not go in' is not
contingent on a request from the patient, but

rather made by the social worker by virtue of access to professional social work knowledge.

As if to inoculate what could be read as 'subjective' decisions to intrude into the 'emotional realm' of the patient, the decision is framed within a pseudo medical spatial metaphor akin to 'objective' decisions to enter 'in and out' (of the body). Despite palliative care philosophy, the active agent in this talk is the social worker with the patient rendered passive (awaiting expert entry) and hence, has no voice in inviting entry or preventing a prejudiced entry. Thus, the talk converts what could be subjective 'prejudices' into objective work – making sure the decision to enter is without any 'prejudices'. This is self identity raising speech (Antaki, Condor & Levine, 1996; Reicher & Hopkins, 1996), positioning the social worker as an objective member of the team – along with other professionals who would claim to make objective assessments about interventions. Indeed the professional's own identity is raised even further in these rhetorical constructions as a reflective observer on what a prejudiced entry would be.

Socialisation into Palliative Care Discourse

For members of the multidisciplinary team, achieving a 'good death' becomes rhetorically self-sufficient (Wetherell & Potter, 1992) as the 'right way to die' (McNamara, 1997), a discourse which stands alone as a 'given' and a 'truth' – unable to be challenged. Patients making visible their experiences of a terminal illness, dying with dignity and free from pain, being able to convey feelings and thoughts to family and friends, and resolving private anxieties and fears (May, 1992) are central tenets. Hart, Sainsbury and Short (1998) suggest that the goal of the 'good death' appears, on face value both laudable and desirable. However, they go on to explore how the predominance of good death ideologies can lead directly to the labeling of 'good' and 'bad' patients, and with it the exercise of normative control over the lives of dying people. In such a way the goals of the good death become transmuted as:

> '…[exposing] an ideology that constructs a socially approved form of dying and death with powerfully prescribed and

normalised behaviours and choices' (Hart et al., 1998, p. 72).

The 'good death' acts as a warrant to construct an associated prototype identity of an ideal patient or way of coping, and thus reality, which is designated by palliative care health professionals and philosophy to be imposed legitimately on patients. Any patients who do not conform to this ideal become re-classified as 'bad' and labeled with a pathology, for example being in denial of this real and true identity, that is professionally predefined for them. A vital feature of the adjustment of the patient to living with impending death is a collision between the understanding of the patient about his/her life which is oriented to a past and a future (Price, 1996) and the understanding of members of the multidisciplinary palliative care team whose 'work', as disclosed by our interviewee, appears to be to integrate the patient into a new 'problematic future' bounded by disclosure of a terminal prognosis. The intrusion of the social worker into the subjective realm of the patient, then, opens up the possibility of revealing the patient's intimate and private character, but ironically, also provides a space where the social worker's intervention can attempt to define the social reality which the patient experiences. The question that needs to be examined, therefore, is: does the everyday knowledge of the patient/family concerning decisions about end–of-life care become subjugated by palliative care discourse of the 'right' way to die, should the two be in conflict.

Socialisation of the patient into palliative care discourse, we will argue below, is achieved partly through the modification of the way in which the patient interprets and understands his/her own experiences. This becomes evident in the talk of the social worker in this study in terms of the patient 'relinquishing' control, the social worker's reconceptualisation of patient resistance as being in need of more social work intervention and pathologising the patient as being in 'denial'.

Relinquishing Control

In contrast to the philosophy of palliative care, the idealised patient below is one who is not central to the care being provided – but one who gives up control

and allows others to care for him/her. Thus the talk of the social worker in our data is left unguarded when it explicitly states the aim of care is making sure the patient converts his/her 'personality' into one that is more desirable and perhaps malleable.

> I was just thinking about how do you help a person, um, relinquish not only their life but their need for control or have them, have some peace with changing that whole part of their personality or however you classify that.

Throughout the talk homage is paid to alternative discourses including, in this case, a 'psychological' discourse that examines 'personality'. The throw away, non specific completer (Pomerantz, 1984) "… or however you classify that" evidences a professional who claims to be engaged in shaping the identity of the patient, by applying the professional terms or skills others in the team might deploy. But the talk does so apprehensively and also dismissively. The social worker is again carving here a rhetorical space for social work than can compete with, but be separate from, other discourses. It is precisely within this rhetorical work where one professional identity is constantly separated from another and the patient is subject to imposed definitions to which s/he needs to conform to receive professional care.

Reconceptualising patient resistance

As power is inherent in all relationships (Foucault, 1980), palliative care patients can disrupt social work interventions through, for example, non-legitimation of the interventions being proposed (Foucault, 1977; Fisher 2001; Bloor & McIntosh ,1990) as the social worker in our interview recalls one of his/her patient's did:

> …The next time I went in I talked to the husband, and he just started talking, and he talked about the fact that he loved to work and he didn't think he'd be able to go back to work and, you know, actually he was dying and weak,

> and …..we talked a little more and I was going to do some practical things and I went out and when I came back he basically told me not to come back again.

A rhetorical 'inoculation' (Sacks, 1992) is evident in the above excerpt where the social worker relays that the patient "just started talking". This protects against an alternative reading that the social worker was actively intervening. (See also Woofitt's, 1992, 'I was just doing X when Y happened'). In effect, this device allows the discourse to read like an ideal version of palliative care philosophy where the patient seeks the support of the professional on their own terms. The social worker asserts a passive, as if innocent, bystander identity. This stance becomes important against an accusation of interference that follows when s/he is ejected from the patient's house, and hence from his care.

The social worker, however, does not construct or understand this exchange as one in which the patient exercises power through resisting unwanted social work intervention. The important by-line "actually he was dying and weak" overrides the patient's voice with a special professional commentary for the ears of the listener. In this display of professional reflection the reality of the patient – wanting to return to the work that he loved - is overrun by a reality enforced by the professional and constructed as being outside the 'good death' trajectory as operationalised by the multidisciplinary team. Hence, the patient has additional problems for social work to resolve and a need to be active in modifying the way in which he interprets and understands his own life experience. In this instance, the patient is pathologised by the social worker as being 'in denial'.

> I read a short article on denial and um, I it it talked about really listening to what the person was saying and I realised that when he was talking about not being able to go back to work, he wasn't actually talking

about work, he was talking about
all the things he'd lost and if I had
been with him instead of thinking
about the boys and how he needs
to spend time with the boys, then I
could have really, I I might have
been able to get in there and I
didn't …but I worried so much for
that man that I had an opportunity
to stay with him and help him and
talk about, um you know, being
out of control or not being able or
losing things in your life and
never being able to go back to
work, and then we could have
talked about his kids. You know, I
was thinking about what about his
kids.

The social worker talk has, thus, attempted to
render the patient's changing reality plausible
through the sustenance of his/her version of the
patient's trajectory. The question remains,
however, how is palliative care discourse
concerning the 'right' way to die produced and
reproduced in the context of the multidisciplinary
team?

Production and reproduction of palliative care
discourse and the 'good death'
        Through the vehicle of multidisciplinary
team 'peer review', shared cultural beliefs about
the 'right way to die' find expression and are
produced and reproduced. As shown in previous
excerpts of our interview with the social worker,
attempts by him/her to socialise, in this case, the
young male patient into palliative care discourse,
revolve around the modification of the way in
which the patient interprets and understands his
experience. He resists social work intervention
by ordering the social worker from his home,
effectively rendering the social worker unable to
undertake this socialisation. This resistance,
however, is classified by the social worker as the
patient being 'in denial'. In this manner, the
validity of palliative care discourse remains
unquestioned while at the same time a space for
future intervention is created. The effect of the
failure of social work to effect its intervention is
to suggest, not that its exercise was mistaken, but
rather that there is a need for more knowledge (or

probing) about the person or persons to be acted
on. This in turn leads to a further refinement of
social work interventions with this patient.

        I did it for peer review and what
        happened in the peer review was
        everybody, um, tried to comfort
        me and say, oh oh you did do a
        good job, and it's not that I, which
        was a funny outcome because I
        probably learned more from going
        through the process myself
        regards this…everyone was
        reassuring me and I didn't do a
        terrible job but I certainly wasn't
        with him….I mean, I'll probably
        mess up again, because you do
        sometimes when your own
        worries about a client come, but
        um but I worried so much for that
        man that I had an opportunity to
        stay with him and help him and
        talk about, …..But um, so it was
        awful at the time but a wonderful,
        wonderful, um opportunity for me
        to learn that, um that I'll never
        forget, because it was so, it was so
        slight, you know because I didn't
        do anything terrible but I wasn't
        there with him…

        In the above excerpt, the talk of the social
worker is about seeking support from other team
members. There is a series of extremitisations
(Pomerantz, 1986) and enlargements (Callon &
Latour, 1981; Condor, 1997; Guilfoyle, Fisher &
O'Connor, in press) of the identity of the social
worker as 'good'. Consensus formation
(Edwards & Potter, 1992) is achieved by
statements such as "Everybody….". This also
acts as an enlargement to collaborate or shore up
the position of the social worker as having done a
'good' job rather than a 'poor' one or, indeed
against the extremitised version having done
"anything terrible". There is also a self
deprecation (Rapley, 1998) about 'messing up
again' which helps inoculate the identity of the
social worker as reflective and indeed only to be
'accused' of caring too much.
        All of this talk, however, is not focused on
the patient and how 'awful' this scenario may

have been for him, but rather it provides a space to further the position of the social worker as an ideal palliative care team member, ie, a member who brings issues back to the team, is reflective, aware of his/her own shortcoming and willing to learn, and only to be 'accused' to caring too much. The talk is a display of professionalism: it constructs the social worker and how the team works well and nominates self as an important ideal member. As Billig (1985) reminds us, it is often instructive to ask not only what a discourse includes, but what it excludes. While the professional identity work is made possible by the patient's condition, there is neither reflection on the negative impacts on the patient nor any need to qualify future interventions. Indeed, the extremitisations (Pomerantz, 1986) and consensus forming (Edwards & Potter, 1992) talk above only act to legitimise and indicate further increased intervention- along the very same lines objected to by the patient. Thus, the position of the social worker and palliative care discourse about 'the right way to die' are shored up simultaneously within the multidisciplinary team.

Conclusion

Through our reading and our interpretation of the talk of an experienced social worker on a palliative care multidisciplinary team we have argued that, while this professional's position as a valuable and legitimate team member is being shored up, the implicit shared cultural belief of palliative care philosophy regarding the 'right' way to die is reproduced. Additionally, our interpretation highlights a distance between palliative care philosophy that clearly locates the patient and his/her family as central to, and prime drivers of, care needs, and how this manifests in practice. We have argued, through analysis of our data, that the voice and concerns of the patient were rendered invisible through the power inherent in the interpersonal relationship between him and the social worker as the speaker illuminates on his/her professional attempts to 'resolve' his psychosocial 'problems'. In essence, contrary to palliative care philosophy, the patient's

everyday knowledge of his care and support needs became marginalised and subjugated to those defined by virtue of access to the professional knowledge and expertise of social work while the consequences of this for the patient remained unaddressed.

Notes
[1] Whilst the authors do not feel comfortable using or with the term 'patient' to refer to people receiving palliative care, as it is the convention, in the palliative care literature and in practice, we have adopted it for the purposes of this article.
[2] Our broader argument is that similar observations can be made in other team members' talk.
[3] To protect the anonymity of the social worker we have not elaborated on this his/her personal characteristics

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Understanding of Persons in Community Psychology: A Grounded Holism?

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Ecological analysis is fundamental to community psychology (Rappaport, 1977). An ecology epistemology implies that a systemic or contextual research approach should be prevalent; however reviews of community psychology research indicate that individualistic research and theory still dominate (Speer et al., 1992). We assert the need to increase contextualist research. To understand the nature of contextualist research, its underlying assumptions are discussed in the context of other research frameworks. We further argue that the dominance of positivism in community psychology is both inappropriate and misguided, and comes from a misunderstanding of the nature of people, and consequently, community. A deconstruction of personality theory is presented to allow a better understanding of people in context. Through this deconstruction, we argue for a grounded approach to research that operationalises contextualism.

The call for reconciliation between the demands of action, values, and research in the area of community psychology has been manifest since the 1965 Swampscott conference. Reports from this conference reveal a mounting appeal for new ways of training students, and others, for social action (Bennett, et al., 1966). Reconciliation of 'science' and community action has been the subject of numerous papers (e.g., Tolan, Keys, Chertok, & Jason, 1990). Recently, two special editions of the American Journal of Community Psychology relating to this issue have been published. The most recent (2005, #3/4) provides commentary on what 'community psychological science' should be, or is. In this edition the issue is addressed from a variety of viewpoints, from prevention based science, to methodological pluralism. The influence of context on human action was therein represented as a central aspect of community psychological research and practice. The ontological (nature of reality) and epistemological (nature of knowing) assumptions of the discipline were also explored by a few writers. Tebes (2005) argued for critical realism using a perspectivism epistemology. Hess (2005) advocated a hermeneutic approach. The work of these authors, and a number of others (e.g., Linney, 2005; Luke, 2005; Wandersman, Kloos, Linney, & Shin, 2005), culminates to send a clear message that community psychology needs to develop its science utilising a contextual

approach. Although many recognise the need for contextualism, its operationalisation has proved difficult. Payne (1996) argued that a 'true' contextualist approach to research has not been achieved, and this is due to a failure to address the assumptions underlying contextualist research. In this paper, we look at the conceptual underpinnings of contextualism and its difficulties in being operationalised. We argue that contextualism for community psychology involves an understanding of people in, and of, context. We also argue that the notion of people has been distorted and consequently the fundamental understandings for community psychology and contextualism are at risk. We deconstruct personality theory as a basis for developing a better understanding of the social context of community and make some suggestions about how contextualist research can be undertaken through a critical appraisal of some attempts to address the issues.

The psychological and philosophical underpinnings of contextualism

Discussion of contextualism is not new within the social sciences or psychology going back to the American Pragmatists over a century ago (e.g., James, 1907/1991). Contextualism has been articulated in contrast to other modes of social inquiry. For example, Stephen Pepper (1942, 1966) wrote of four world hypotheses[1], being Formism, Mechanism, Organicism and

Contextualism. These modes of thinking parallel four ontological and espitemological lines of inquiry in psychology; individual differences, positivism, systems analysis, and cultural and worldview studies respectively. Pepper makes the important point that each world theory has its own guiding principle, or what he termed as root metaphor. Formism's root metaphor is 'similarities and differences'; Mechanism is 'the machine', Organicism 'harmonious unity' and contextualism 'the act in context'. Not only do the root metaphors of each world theory differ, the philosophical assumptions are different. Altman and Rogoff (1984) further articulated these differences by integrating the world hypotheses with Dewey and Bentley's (1948) typology of psychological agency of self-action (emergent action), interaction (cause and effect) and transaction. Transaction is a difficult concept as it is somewhat counter intuitive. Altman and Rogoff described as:

> The *transaction* approach assumes an inseparability of context, temporal factors, and physical and psychological phenomena. Unlike interaction approaches, where phenomena interact with and are influenced by contexts, transaction orientations treat context, time, and processes as aspects of an integrated unity. Thus one is not dealing with separate elements of a system. Instead, a transaction approach defines aspects of phenomena in terms of their mutual functioning. Persons, processes, and environments are conceived of as aspects of a whole, not as independent components that combine additively to make up the whole. (p. 9)

In community psychology Newbrough (1992, 1995) further developed these modes of inquiry using Dewey and Bentley's (1948) notions of self action, interaction and transaction. He argued that self action was associated with pre-modern thinking and with what Macmurray (1957, 1961) called 'the one.' Self action was emergent agency with people responding to internal drives and traits. 'The one' referred to the structure of community as having an emphasis on cooperation and collectivity. Newbrough argued that after the 1664 Treaty of Westphalia, interaction became the more prevalent mode of thinking. The emergence of the modernist period brought about the rise of science and causal thinking. The idols of this era were positivism and individualism and what Macmurray termed 'the many.' Newbrough (1995) suggested that, in 1974, Kuhn's work on scientific paradigm shifts heralded the beginning of the post modern, and what Macmurray termed 'the one and the many.' It was Newbrough's (1995) belief that a major challenge for community psychologists is to address the form of society and the implementation of community interventions based on the one and the many, or what he called, the third position. Macmurray (1961) argued that our lives must be seen not in terms of the individual alone, but in terms of the reciprocity of personal relationships, or transactions. He questioned the modern view of people and argued that the unit of psychological analysis should not be the 'I' but the 'You and I'. These world theories and other philosophical approaches to psychological phenomena are presented in Table 1.

World hypotheses analogies: A musical whim

A musical analogy may provide additional clarity for distinguishing between these four worldviews. Consider that there are four individuals in a barber-shop quartet, with each individual singing a different harmony. Investigating this phenomenon according to a trait approach, one would investigate the characteristics of each voice in isolation. In doing this, one perceives the role of each quartet member to be different from any other member, as each person is singing a different combination of notes, which may be defined as their possession of a unique harmony; this is similar to personality theory. Approaching this same situation with an interactional worldview, a researcher might recognise that each of the voices interact with one another. They may investigate how different notes combine to compliment one another, or, when someone is out of key, how certain notes do not compliment. This analysis is most likely to be mathematical. Taking an organismic approach, a researcher may begin to recognise that the interaction between the notes of the harmony is more than just a simple additive interaction of complimenting notes. They may perceive that, when each voice

Table 1:
Philosophical approaches to psychological phenomena (adapted from Altman & Roggoff, 1984, p. 9)

Period (Newborough)	Dewey & Bentley	Pepper	Altman & Rogoff	Definition of Psychology	Notion of Community (Macmurray)
Premodern	Self-action	Formism	Trait	The study of the individual mind or mental & psychological processes	The one
Modern	Interaction	Mechanism	Interactional	The study, prediction & control of behaviour and psychological processes	The many
		Organicism	Organismic	The study of dynamic and holistic psychological systems in which person & environment components exhibit complex, reciprocal & mutual relationships and influences	
Post-modern	Transaction	Contextualism Selectivism	Transactional	The study of the changing relationships among psychological & environmental aspects of holistic entities	The one and the many

of the harmony 'locks' together, the synergistic combination of the voices forms a fifth 'voice', something that cannot be defined simply by the interaction of notes. So far, however, each of these approaches have been confined to the four people involved in the quartet, and although an organismic worldview acknowledges the context of combination; recognising the combination as synergistic rather than additive; it is still bounded by the individuals involved in the quartet. Although within the quartet, the nature of the individuals' contribution; such as the relative loudness of each of the voices, or the replacement of one individual with another; may change the nature of the fifth voice, it is still bounded by those involved in the harmony. A transactional approach, differs from the organismic approach by recognising broader context, and moves the focus away from just the voices to the historical and social context which is part of group understandings and meaning. The question moves away from focusing just on the performance, to hearing and attaching meaning to the events in terms of the role of music in society and how we are socialised into specific understandings surrounding interpreting and experiencing the singing.

Trait, as a worldview has been typified in the approaches to psychological science represented by personality theory, abilities, and individual differences in general; an interactional worldview has been used widely in most aspects of psychology including physiological, perceptual, social and clinical psychology. However, the way in which context is conceptualised according to these worldviews makes the use of either of these approaches questionable within the discipline of community psychology, since an essential aspect of community psychology is that people are seen in context (Dalton, Elias, & Wandersman, 2001). The notion of the person-in-context is a part of the fundamental ecological basis of community psychology. Trait theories are largely context-free and the interactional approach assumes that the person and context are separate: person and context. Organismic and transactional approaches involve the person-in-context, but in subtly different ways. Organismic worldviews see the person as separable from the context, existing within a larger bounded system, analogous to systems theories in organisations. In a transactional worldview, the person and context are not separable; but are entities of a larger holistic entity. Given that community

psychology was developed in the recognition of the limitations of individual clinical work and the importance of broader social contexts, it would appear that trait and interactional worldviews would be inappropriate for community psychology. Organismic and transactional approaches would seem more appropriate.

False starts in adopting Organismic and Transactional approaches

Despite organismic and transactional approaches lending themselves most appropriately to community psychology, due to its adoption of the person-in-context as part of its fundamental ideology, these approaches have not been the mainstay of thinking. Even a cursory review of the community science special edition of the American Journal of Community Psychology (2005), shows that interactional approaches are still very much in vogue. There are a number of reasons why organicism and transactional approaches have not been widely adopted in community psychology. Mainstream psychology's concern to be seen as a 'real science' (Hayes, 2002; Leahey, 1992; Sarason, 1981; Smith, Harré, & van Langenhove, 1995; Tuffin, 2005) created a paradox for community psychology in that it was required not only to be a psychological science, but also a 'separate' psychological science. Furthermore, the fact that most researchers are housed within a university setting presents an added disadvantage in that researchers become separated from the culture and context of their research participants (Margolis & Romeri, 1998; Sarason, 1981; Wicker & Sommer, 1993). Feeding into the positivistic and reductionistic mentality (Hayes) is the conventional opinion within university housing that theory testing is more important than theory generation. Many community psychologists in Australia are both housed within universities and trained as practitioners, highlighting a need to be particularly wary of these influences on research objectives in this discipline. Finally, organismic and transactional worldviews are complex and often difficult to capture in a research design since the consideration of context warrants the inclusion of other settings such as community and policy in the investigation. The experience of Geoff Syme of CSIRO (personal communication, June, 2004)

is witness to the difficulties encountered when one decides to adopt a transactional approach to research. Many of the policy makers with whom he deals remark that they do not 'enjoy' involving him because his contextually based input complicates their decision making process.

Problematics of a clumsy contextualist approach

To perceive the individual as being inseparable from the context, as in transactional approaches, is to reveal the quintessential problem arising from a contextualist approach. By conceptualising every individual in terms of his or her context, we begin to view each individual as distinct and different, created as such by our unique and individual experience of our context.

Intuitively, the separateness of individuals is obvious; we are all different. In positivistic psychological science, this 'fact' allows us to easily operationalise research, as we are able to treat 'subjects' individually and as separate entities, though we do so in such a way that then erodes this 'singularity' by attempting to find generalisable truths. Sarason (1981) asked the question of what psychology would look like if early learning theorists had put two or more rats in a maze, rather than treating them singly. His point being that psychology assumed it was about the minds and behaviours of individuals. Similarly, community psychology was born out of a need to be able to work with the mental health problem in social settings in which prevention and early intervention were possible. This required community housing of psychological interventions, in which social change was necessary to reduce the psychological toxicity of some environments. It called for a change in approach from one in which mental health issues were seen as predominantly intra-psychic phenomena, to one in which social and physical environments were incorporated as essential components of mental health interventions. Reiff (1968) outlined the ecological perspective in which the individual is seen only as one level of intervention. He argued that interventions could occur at family, organization, community, and societal levels. In down playing the role of individual intervention, community psychology has partially defined itself as being 'not of the individual', but being

concerned about the broader context. Reiff (personal communication, June, 1982) argued that it was easier to change schools than to change a student. Community psychology, in adopting a stance which rejected the individual, created a paradox that has impacted the broader conceptualisation of social systems.

We argue that community psychology was defined with reference to individual level intervention, rather than with specific reference to social justice and social action (Reiff, 1968). Nelson and Prilleltensky (2005) clearly demonstrated this point by contrasting clinical interventions with community interventions; individual analysis and intervention with community level analysis and intervention. In this text they suggest that community psychology unintentionally defined itself using the individual as a referent, and it was the bounded isolated individual of the modernist period that was used. Consequently counselling and clinical psychologists are thereby excluded from contributing to the development of community interventions. Reviews of the literature in this discipline assert that community psychology is still too individualistic (e.g., Lounsbury, Leader, Meares, & Cook, 1980; Martin, Lounsbury, & Davisdson, 2004; Speer et al., 1992). Martin et al., reported that:

> A breakdown by dependent variable categories used in quantitative studies showed that most (94%) were defined or operationalized at the individual level of analysis. Compared to the two previous reviews, this reflects a decrease in dependent variables assessed at a level of analysis above the individual, such as selected community, organizational, and person-environment constructs, such as crime, sense of community, social change and spirituality… (p.169).

In making these statements, the authors draw attention to the pervasive nature of individualism. They urge the discipline to move away from individualism towards more collective or communal levels of analysis. Kelly (2002, 2003), for example, perceived community psychology as emerging from the Swampscott conference "with a focus beyond the individual" (2002, p. 44). In

rallying for the rejection of individualism, community psychology defined itself as being 'not of the individual.' However, complete rejection of the individual was a vital mistake. This is a subtle process. An example can be found in Janice Raymond's (1980) discussion of the medical profession's reaction to gender 'dysphoria'. She argued that some males interpret aspects of their behaviour as being at odds with the stereotypes of masculinity. It is through the processes of not being able to identify with the distorted common view of what a male is in our society that leads them to feel they may be more female. She argues that the notion of a 'female being born in a male's body' comes from the distorted views of gender that are created from the gender tensions in society. She goes further to argue that surgeons collude with what she sees as a fallacy because of self-interest in 'gender reassignment'. In this case, a medical and psychological theory of gender is based on the naïve rejection of the complexity of gender roles based on a common and misguided view of what masculinity constitutes.

It would be inadequate for the individual referent for community psychology to be the same as the bounded individual of the modern era. However, contrary to the assertion that community psychology needs to focus less on the person and more on other ecological levels, we assert that without understanding what a person is, and the notion of the person throughout different ecological levels, we will not be able to understand community. As a point of departure, we see the 'bounded individual' most clearly in personality theory (Sampson, 1989). Through the deconstruction of personality theory we might be able to suggest post-modern ways of contemplating the nature of people in community.

Personality and people of context

Personality theory that arose during the modernist era was embedded in positivistic and reductionistic logic. Psychologists of this era believed that through identification of the elements distinguishing individuals from one another, one could infer the building blocks constituting individuals within a community (Gergen, 1992; Hayes, 2002). It was believed that through identifying the causes of individual

behaviour, and analysing the interactions between these individuals, one would be able to understand the community. This individualistic and reductionistic approach has since been recognised as having a limited ability in explaining the complexity of social processes (Hayes, Sampson, 1977). It was identified as an interactional approach to the study of the social world, addressing only relationships between discrete individuals, not capturing the reciprocity of the transactions of people and their environment, a key aspect of the contextualist approach. The failure of personality theory to develop beyond single loop learning (Argyris & Schön, 1974), to capture the essence of the person in context, called for a paradigm shift in the conceptualisation of the individual. In the discipline of community psychology, the call for this paradigm shift was in the form of a petition for the community to be viewed as more than just a collection of individuals, but a dynamic entity that is shaped not only by processes internal to it, but by the external environment that not only influences the internal substance of the community but may change the very bounds of its existence.

Post-modernism introduced deconstruction as a strategy of appreciating the influence of context, history and culture on social processes and the individual (Gergen, 1973, 1992; Richer, 1990). Breaking away from the positivistic paradigm, truth became viewed as a matter of perspective, a construction of socio-cultural time, place, and history (Gergen 1992; Sampson, 1978). The postmodern viewpoint perceives the individual as influencing and being influenced by culture, history and social processes (Crossley, 1996; Sampson, 1978). For example, socio-culturally salient personality variables may act to influence how an individual behaves in response to their social environment, their behaviour then impacts on and consequently alters the social world, thus affecting the types of situations the individual may encounter in the future (Shoda & Mischel, 1996). This in essence demonstrates the reciprocal relationship between the individual, society and history on a micro-scale (Shoda & Mischel). When the reciprocity of the interrelationship between the individual, society and history is expanded beyond the individual level, a dynamic socio-historical process

emerges. Post-modernism does not reject the individual or consider it non-existent, rather it recognises that the individual is a complex entity that has individual and collective aspects that are formed, which modify, and which are modified by dynamic social and historical processes (Baumeister, 1987; Burr, 2002; Gergen, 1992). Writing in the 1960's, Macmurray commented that:

> Hitherto, though we have stressed the relation of persons, even to the extent of making it the matrix of personal individuality, we have looked at it from the standpoint of one of related individuals. Morality is still, in this sense, characteristic of the individual. It is the individual whom the demand to act morally arises, so that it is experienced as a demand that he makes upon himself. Yet its reference is to him as a member of a society of agents, and its function could not be fulfilled – indeed it would not be a moral demand if it were not universal, if each member of the society did not make the same demand upon himself. It is this essential character of morality which led Kant to say that the moral individual, in acting morally, is legislating for all members of the Kingdom of Ends; acting in a representative capacity; acting for humanity in his own person. (1961, p. 127).

This argument does not oppose scientific enquiry into the relational individual; however, it suggests that psychology should be wary of presenting scientific findings as absolute truth or un-shiftable knowledge, with applications beyond trait worldviews (Gergen, 1992). Furthermore, post-modernism proposes that the relationship between society and science should constitute a feedback loop (Gergen, 1973). This suggests that problems need to be investigated and solved continuously as the nature of history and society changes (Sarason, 1979). That is, due to the reciprocal nature of social processes and their influence on the individual, the very nature of any measured variables in scientific enquiry are open to re-definition and alteration as the context changes over time (Farmer, 1997; Gergen, 1972, 1973, 1992; Sampson, 1977).

Consequently, postmodern epistemology identified the need for psychological theory to develop beyond modernist studies of the isolated individual, towards the recognition of the dynamic nature of current context and social processes and their reciprocal interrelationship, that is, towards recognition of the organismic qualities of society (Gergen, 1973; Sampson, 1977). The translation of this paradigm shift into scientific enquiry, however, remains limited by its existence within a hypothetico-deductive paradigm, elements of the social reality remain to be viewed as discrete manipulable entities, as a result, the postmodern notion of the person-in-context is not fully realised; an organismic appreciation of the individual is all that is achieved.

Therefore, in order to fully appreciate postmodernist thought; to capture the influence of the values of the researcher and broader society on research practice; a fundamental deconstruction of how we address issues is necessary. Part of the problem of understanding people as part of context is influenced by the individualism of Western society. In the case of personality, the debate has been characterised by looking at the unique aspects of the individual. The above critique has demonstrated a need to recognise the influence of the broader context in which the person is situated and to consider the characteristics the person shares with members of their families, and the organisations, communities and societies they are part of. This whole approach is person-centred. However, current enquiry does not begin by viewing society as a whole before deconstructing society to analyse differences in between communities, families and finally among individuals. Considering the individual from this orientation would indeed lead us to view the person quite differently. A metaphor for the person centred approach in contrast to the 'top down' approach is the fashion industry. If we observe fashions, we see them speaking of individuality. If we deconstruct fashion, we can see broader social trends and cycles. If we look back at the 1960s or 70s, we see much greater homogeneity; we see from a societal and cultural perspective, in which the individual is far less important. Thus, our vantage point influences how we see and conceptualise persons and context.

In a post modern approach, we need to be able to look both ways simultaneously. This presents conceptual problems, which some others have attempted to address (e.g., Linney, 2000; Shinn & Toohey, 2003; Pattersen & Zimmerman, 2004). Peterson and Zimmerman review a central concept of community psychology, empowerment theory (Dalton et al., 2000; Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). Their attempts to move beyond the individualistic conceptions of this fundamental concept of empowerment are significant and worthy of investigation. In the next section we look at how Petersen and Zimmerman have attempted to address contextualising empowerment.

Moving to the organisational level: A critique of Peterson and Zimmerman (2004)

Peterson and Zimmerman (2004) present a significant critique of the work on empowerment. They make the point that the research reflects Martin's et al. (2004) comment about the individualistic nature of community psychological research. Peterson and Zimmerman wrote:

> Although empowerment may be considered multilevel in nature, most empirical work has been limited to the individual level (Zimmerman, 2000). Studies have focused on participatory mechanisms … and measurement … of individual-level empowerment rather than relevant processes, structures, and outcomes for organizations and communities. (p. 129)

Peterson and Zimmerman (2004) argued that there had been conceptual confusion about the nature of empowerment and make the distinction between personal levels of empowerment and those at broader levels. The following long quote is significant.

> Empowerment at the individual level may be labelled psychological empowerment (PE). Zimmerman (1995) proposed one way to conceptualize PE as intrapersonal,

interactional, and behavioral components. At the organizational level, OE [organisational empowerment] refers to organizational efforts that generate PE among members and organizational effectiveness needed for goal achievement. Empowerment at the community level of analysis—community empowerment—includes efforts to deter community threats, improve quality of life, and facilitate citizen participation. This framework is useful because it extends empowerment theory and asserts that there are specific processes and outcomes across levels of analysis, and that these need to be developed in more detail to delineate a nomological network for OE. To date, empowerment theorists have not developed a clear and coherent nomological network for OE that articulates a clear differentiation from PE. Although the term appears in the empowerment literature, OE is often defined as individual empowerment derived within organizational contexts (Hardiman & Segal, 2003; Segal et al., 1995). This conceptualization, however, fails to incorporate organizational-level constructs that are separate and distinct from individual members. (p. 130)

While Peterson and Zimmerman do set OE in broader contexts as they conceptualise it at three levels, interorganisational, intraorganisational and extraorganisational and in both process and outcome terms, we would argue that their separation of PE and OE reflects the failure to address notions of the person. This leads to the separation of the person and the social environment. They develop research models in which variables they identify from the three levels of OE can be manipulated in quasi-experimental designs and modelling studies. We would argue that they have made the same conceptual flaw that others have made (e.g.,

Linney, 2000) in which the notions of the individual are not divorced from notions of the anti-individual. They have conceptualised the issues in interactionist terms, separating the person and environment and treating them as isolated and manipulable variables (experimentally or statistically) as a means of 'contextualisation.' This is not transaction, but would be an organismic approach. As we have argued, the organismic worldview fails to address the nature of people and thus cannot be an effective means for understanding people-in-context.

We argue that organismic worldviews is not suitable, as it is really a compromise between transactional and interactional approaches, and Pepper warns us about mixing worldviews (or world theories in his framework). How then can research be undertaken if we need to conceptualise in transactional terms? This worldview requires that we see people as part of context and contexts as part of people. It requires us to treat people and situations as aspects of the context and not as separable. We suggest that grounded methodologies provide a conceptual framework, and we explore that next.

How to operationalise a post-modern notion of people in community

Transaction and post-modernism do not imply universality of reality. Thus in a transactional approach, generalisability is not assumed. A more difficult issue is how we are to go about conceptualising individuals and situations as aspects of a holistic context. Grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) provides a methodology for integrating phenomena in context. It can be used for theory generation (Creswell, 1998) using an 'abductive' process outlined initially by Peirce (1955) in the late 19th century. Abduction involves the development of theory from an intuitive appraisal of a mixture of known and speculative information. In formal logic, abduction refers to the process whereby conclusions are drawn from a major premise and a likely premise. It involves developing speculative conclusions that Polkinghorne (1983) referred to as 'assertoric knowledge', and Bishop, Sonn, Drew and Contos (2002) saw as an iterative and incremental process of developing knowledge.

Wicker and Sommer (1993) called for resident researching, where researchers live in the area they are researching. This also has important implications for a transactional approach. Theory generation implies a process in which concepts emerge from the context and they are very amenable to being defined in relation to the context.

The contrast of theory testing and theory generation has greater meaning than simply how we go about research. Theory testing necessarily involves instruction of abstracted variables, often foreign to the context of interest (although Glaser & Strauss would not necessarily agree). Theory generation requires abstraction of phenomena and relationships, and if done well, can reflect entities as aspect of the context and not separate from it. Contos' (2000) work with the Bindjareb Nyungar people of Pinjarra is a good example of this process where understandings developed regarding race relations and action were integrated into the local and broader contexts. She worked with the local Aboriginal community on social justice orientated projects such as developing local understandings of the impact of an 1834 massacre of Aboriginal people. The historical situating of current phenomena was essential, and the study would not have made sense if this was not done.

Grounding research does not simply raise methodological issues, but epistemological and ontological ones. By grounding research, issues are more likely to be defined in situ and not abstracted. In many cases, abstracting phenomena from their context reduces or destroys the concepts being studied. In working locally, we need to recognise the reciprocal and relational nature of people and to define our research objectives in those terms. If the fate of Geoff Syme is to befall us all; if we are all to be opposed by those around us for making things 'too complicated;' let us be comforted by the fact that in resiting the urge to neglect context and abstract phenomena from it, we save ourselves from becoming agents in creating false impressions of the nature of community and persons in community.

Contrary to the popular opinion of policy makers, organismic and transactional approaches to research do not actually create complexity. By adopting organismic and transactional research

processes and perspectives you are simply highlighting the underlying complexities of community and social life that are already there, which are experienced holistically by all agents in all settings. These philosophies of investigation simply allow for the complexity of the inextricable link between human, communities and context to emerge into our (researchers/practitioners) awareness.

In conclusion, we are arguing that the notion of personhood is essential to community psychology. In researching and thinking about community psychology phenomena, we need to understand people and context; we need to be able to see and operationalise people as part of the context, not as separate entities, but as aspects of a holistic situation. In deconstructing personality theory, we have sought to argue that mainstream psychology, with its highly individualistic conceptualisations of people is ill-founded. More importantly, we have argued that in defining community psychology as 'not individualistic' we have unintentionally created a concept of context that is equally flawed. This flaw comes from the failure to see people as part of context. We acknowledge that this approach is conceptually more difficult, but argue that by using a grounded approach, we will at least have to begin our research by acknowledging that people are part of the context and the context is part of them. It is only by reconciling these underlying philosophical positions with the current and future nature of community psychology that we can begin to reconcile this nature with our desire to create change in society for social and human justice

Note

[1] Pepper lated added a 5th world hypothesis, Selectivism, but it is not essential for the argument presented here.

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Towards a Culturally Appropriate Mental Health Research Process for Indigenous Australians

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The aim of this paper is to consider culturally appropriate research methodologies for working with Indigenous Australians and to suggest some alternatives. The emphasis is on developing culturally sensitive approaches that are not culturally offensive or continue a colonial mentality (Smith, 1999). Historically, Australian Aboriginal cultures have been one of the most researched in the world, yet despite this, some authors argue that the Aboriginal community has very little to show for this considerable body of research (e.g., Garvey, 2000a). Research strategies and methods applicable for use by non-Aboriginals intending to undertake research projects with Australian Indigenous people are suggested. We propose research strategies that represent an amalgam of the literature for use with individuals, groups and communities. These methods have been tested through post graduate, post doctoral and large grant research projects. In conclusion, the authors caution that just as Indigenous people are not a homogenous group, due to different languages, cultural practices, country, family relationships, levels of acculturation and impact of western colonisation, no one research method will provide a universal panacea. Instead the authors provide guidelines that allow for the researcher to adapt to the idiosyncratic nature of Indigenous communities.

Psychology's treatment of minorities has been patchy. While cross-cultural and community psychology have strong values of diversity and respecting cultural relativism, other areas have been supportive of dominant racist views. Galton, for example, developed the eugenics movement, a racist movement that was concerned with miscegenation and the dilution of the 'superior white genes' (Augoustinos & Reynolds, 2001). More recently, Jensen (1967), Hernstein and Murray (1994), and Rushton (1995) have promoted the genetic inferiority of some 'races', even in the face of sustained rebuttals (Kamin, 1974; Mensh & Mensh, 1991; Winston, 2004) and DNA studies showing that race is a genetic myth (Augoustinos & Reynolds; Bonham, Warshauer-Baker & Collins, 2005; Smedley & Smedley, 2005). For example, Ruston and Jenson (2005) still advocate genetic bases of racial differences (read oppression). In Australia, psychology's treatment of Indigenous people has not been without concerns of oppressive overtones (Riley, 1997; Garvey, Dudgeon & Kearins, 2000; Sanson et al. 1998). Garvey, et al., looked at the 'black history of psychology' showing the prevailing social evolutionary model of Spencer (1855, as cited by Garvey et al.), which was based on social Darwinism assumed an evolutionary hierarchy of 'races', with Indigenous Australians being seen as less complex and evolved. They argued that the prevailing racist values influenced the nature of the interpretations of research findings. Smith (1999) goes further to argue that the nature of the research processes itself is stepped in colonial mentality, and as such, represents an oppressive force in psychology.

For many Indigenous peoples the term 'research' summons a range of responses ranging from distrust to anger. Smith argues that "the

collective memory of imperialism has been perpetuated through the ways in which the knowledge about Indigenous peoples was collected, classified and then represented in various ways back to the West, and then through the eyes of the West, back to those who had been colonised" (p. 1). According to Smith, one of the key issues for western scientists to understand, is just how dubious Indigenous people are of both research and researchers. Garvey (2000a) agreed writing that Indigenous people have the dubious honour of being one of the most researched groups, with little to show for it.

Given that much psychological research design has inherent colonial trappings, the issue of doing research becomes an ethical one. At one level, the simplest response is not to do research with Indigenous Australians. This can then be seen as an error of omission, rather than one of commission. The other approach is to develop research strategies that are informed by past problems and involve self-critical reflexivity that may help reduce the colonial and oppressive impacts. This requires procedures that involve meaningful negotiations with Indigenous people at all stages of the research process.

Researchers in the general domain of health have developed recommendations for research processes. In 2003 the National Health and Medical Research Council (NH&MRC) updated their ethical guidelines for working Indigenous people. They outline 6 core ethical values and recommendations for research based on these. These include notions of inclusion, respect for Indigenous cultural ways and diversity and accountability for outcomes. Cunningham, Reading and Eades (2003) reported on the signing of a memorandum of understanding on health research with indigenous people between Australia, Canada and New Zealand which indorse the general thrust of the NH&MRC guidelines. Public health researchers have developed similar principles (such as ATSIC et al., 2003; Donovan & Spark, 1997; Grove, Brough, Canuto & Dobson, 2003; Humphrey, 2001; Miller & Rainow, 1997; Todd, Frommer, Bailey & Daniels, 2000). In general terms, these authors (collectively) endorse respecting Indigenous ways and knowing, respect for cultural diversity, negotiation of research agenda and methods with Indigenous communities and

agencies, the use of reference groups, and, transparency and responsibility for outcomes. Humphrey goes further to suggest that negotiation must be an ongoing and evolving process, and that here is a need for institutional change of the researcher and organisations. This need for change is greater than simply rhetorical change, where the underlying social dynamics remain unchallenged (as Smith, 1999, has pointed out). Humphrey saw research as political action and the development of models which can inform the wider research practice.

In psychology there has been less debate about structural changes to research method. An exception is Fielder, Roberts and Abdullah (2000) who proposed guidelines for non-Indigenous people intending to undertake research with Indigenous people. They argued that the following procedures can be applied across a range of research methods and strategies:

1. Wherever possible, attempt to form an Indigenous Steering Committee or reference group to guide the formulation and direction of research projects;
2. Identify key Indigenous stakeholders for the research topic and include them in the research process throughout the process;
3. **Wherever possible, endeavour to inform sponsors of the research of the need for, and the value in, consultations with the relevant Indigenous groups – ideally from the outset, so that the worthiness and the value of the project is confirmed and owned by Indigenous people; and**
4. **Ensure that Indigenous participants are acknowledged and valued for their input and cultural expertise -payments are often made for professional services, so it may be appropriate and equitable to make payments for specialised indigenous services (p. 354).**

Perhaps the paucity of information about successful engagement and intervention with Indigenous people by non-Indigenous researchers stems from the lack of culturally appropriate, valid and pragmatic information gathered from research. The complexity and methodological issues many non-Indigenous community researchers confront may be a major deterrent

from undertaking research with Indigenous people. In the following section we will attempt to synthesise many of the recommendations and practices identified in the literature and through our research experience. The proposed research model is evolutionary in nature and constantly changing due to the nature of engagement with Indigenous people and communities. This most recent iteration is flexible enough to incorporate idiosyncratic engagement requirements of both the Indigenous community and non-Indigenous practitioner, while ensuring that the process is culturally sensitive and relevant.

Proposed Research Model

Curtin University psychology staff and students have been involved in research with Indigenous people over many years (e.g., Bishop, 1976; Mueller & Bishop, 1975; Sonn, Bishop & Humphries, 2000; Vicary & Andrews, 2000; Vicary & Bishop, 2005). Through that experience issues of culturally appropriate methodologies have been explored. Extremely valuable input has been given by the staff of the Centre for Aboriginal Studies at Curtin, who have contributed very significantly to research and practice with Indigenous people (e.g., Dudgeon, Garvey & Pickett, 2000). These methodologies have been employed by past PhD (e.g., Contos, 2002; Westerman, 2002; Vicary, 2002), masters and honours students, current PhD and other research It has been influential in a range of settings in government in Western Australia, such as in the design of community interventions of the Department of Community Development (Office for Children and Youth). For example, the methodology forms the basis of a research program on mental health and community capacity building project in the North-west of Western Australia. The following proposed research model is the cumulation of the experience gained in these many activities.

1. Formative Preparation

The authors highly recommend that prior to undertaking a research project with Indigenous people the researchers consult as widely as possible with Indigenous people in the research projects target region. It is important to consult widely with male and female Elders, Indigenous health workers, Indigenous policy and programme personnel, members of the Indigenous community and non-Indigenous government and not for profit stakeholders. One of the principal aims of this consultative process should be to examine the Indigenous community's response to the broad objectives of the proposed research. For example in one research project addressing Indigenous perceptions of mental health and psychotherapy (Vicary, 2002) the limited information about Indigenous perceptions of mental health, western therapy, non-Indigenous therapists and counsellors, traditional mental health healing practices and culturally appropriate approaches were discussed as part of this consultative process. Through this discussion the main areas of interest for the proposed study were identified and outlined to informants, so that they could comment on the study's aims and their relevance to the Indigenous community. Another aim of the formative consultation process was the identification of potential problems that might arise in the proposed study.

Consultation with the members of the Indigenous community has highlighted the frustration that many Indigenous people experienced in dealing with the western mental health and research systems. Much of this frustration appeared to relate to the dissonance Indigenous people experience when they came into contact with western health practitioners. A number of those consulted felt that there were many myths about Indigenous culture and misinformation about traditional health practices that sometimes formed a barrier in developing a relationship with a non-Indigenous practitioner. Others felt that non-Indigenous people were confused about Indigenous concepts of mental health. They also highlighted concerns about the application of generic approaches to indigenous mental health. Another frustration was the lack of consultation they experienced. Several Elders provided examples of how westerners had assumed that they knew what was best for a community, based on limited experience or consultation. As one Western Desert Elder stated:

> They came out here in their flash government cars and looked around. They waved to us but didn't get out and have a yarn. A few weeks later

we heard that we were going to get a playgroup for the kids. What we really needed was some work for our young men and women. No one asked us and as far as I can remember no one went to the playgroup; although they tried to chase us up. We call those people White Toyotas. They come out here in their four-wheel drives, look around, don't talk to anyone and make decisions for us. We don't even know who they are most of the time

A great many Indigenous people believe that consultation with the Indigenous community is the key to understanding the Indigenous world-view. They feel that relationships built on trust can facilitate a greater understanding of the Indigenous worldview.

Intrinsic to any consultation about proposed research with Indigenous people is the question of significance and the appropriateness of the project and its objectives. This gives Indigenous people the opportunity to provide input into research methodology and discuss the impact the research may or may not have upon their lives. From the authors' experience these discussions can also highlight some of the potential barriers and pitfalls that may be experienced by the proposed research project. For example, in a recent research project (Vicary & Bishop, 2005) some Indigenous people described general concerns about what they perceived to be typical western research methodology. Many Indigenous people had been participants in previous research undertakings and had not been provided with feedback about the results of the study. Others had found that their involvement in questionnaires and epidemiological research had been depersonalising as they were treated as subjects rather than people. In their view the most effective way to carry out research with Indigenous people required a number of research pre-conditions. These pre-conditions included: (1) developing a relationship with and collecting data from a potential study participant by 'yarning' with them; (2) working with local Indigenous cultural consultants; (3) providing feedback to study participants; (4) involving the Indigenous community as much as possible; and (5) assembling an Indigenous Steering Committee.

2. The Steering Committee

The literature (Drew, 2000; Fielder et al., 2000; Garvey, 2000b; Lowe, 2000), anecdotal and research evidence (Vicary & Andrews, 2000; Vicary, 2000a, 2003; Vicary & Bishop, 2005) has clearly demonstrated the importance of an Indigenous Steering Group to guide non-Indigenous investigators intending on conducting researching in the Indigenous community. The authors strongly recommend that once deciding to undertake cross-cultural research one of the first steps that should be taken is to form an Indigenous Steering Committee. This committee should be representative in terms of gender, age and geographic location (if the research is to be conducted across more than one site). Some of this Committee may be made up of individuals who indicated their willingness to help in the formative consultative phase of the research while others may have been identified as potential Steering Committee members during the same process. Potential Steering Committee members should be formally invited to become a member of the committee and their role and expectations clearly explored. In some cases members may need to be paid for their time and this should be negotiated prior to the first meeting.

Perhaps one of the major roles of the Steering Committee is to guide and advise researchers about cultural aspects of research content, process and methodology. During the developmental stages of the study it is advised that researchers meet with their Steering Committee on a regular basis to discuss the most efficacious and reliable method of gathering data from members of the Indigenous population. It is recommended that the Steering Committee have the power to veto any part of the project they believe to be culturally inappropriate and then work with the researcher to design a more sensitive alternative.

In studies conducted by the authors, members of the Steering Committees formed to guide the investigative process had considerable experience with other research undertaken with Indigenous people in Western Australia. In their opinion these studies met with varying degrees of success in terms of data reliability and validity. Members of these Committees maintained that successful investigations involved a number key

of elements. First, they urged that the research be qualitative in nature with the requirement that the researcher develop a relationship with prospective study participants. Second, they argued that the best way to collect valid data from Indigenous people was to undertake the research in a non-threatening (e.g., Indigenous friendly) and transparent manner. They also thought that quantitative methods would be too constraining in terms of developing a relationship with the informant and constrict the richness of the data gathered. A number of the various Steering Group committees had been a participant of research in which the non-Indigenous researcher was quite distant, in both proximity and communication. Therefore, according to committee members, a limited level of trust developed. Hence, they strongly advocated that the success of new and proposed research revolved around the development of an equitable relationship that would build trust.

One Steering Committee (Vicary & Bishop, 2005) recommended a strategy to overcome some of the perceived short-falls of earlier projects these included:

1. informing and regularly updating study participants about the progress of the study,
2. the Indigenous community be consulted regularly to ensure the study is meeting with their expectations (this may be done through the Steering Committee),
3. ensure that potential participants are completely comfortable with data collection methodology,
4. ensure that potential participant's are clear about the objectives of the study and their rights (e.g., confidentiality, study withdrawal);
5. the data be collected primarily though an informal interview or 'yarn',
6. the findings of the project be returned to participants for their comments and validation,
7. local Indigenous cultural consultants provide guidance and advice to non-Indigenous researcher(s), and that
8. the research be easily understood and presented in language familiar to Indigenous people.

One of the significant benefits of forming a Steering Committee is that they are then able to 'vouch' for the research and research team. Usually it can take some time for a relationship to be established between non-Indigenous and Indigenous people (sometimes many years). Potential Indigenous respondents may also be cautious about the non-Indigenous researcher's motives and possible use of the information they supply. Being 'vouched' for by a group of well-known and significant Indigenous people was a way of guaranteeing open engagement with potential participants.

For example in doctoral research undertaken by Vicary (2002b) 'vouching' meant that members of the Steering Committee would convey positive information about the research and the non-Indigenous researcher to potential informants. Potential respondents might then view the research and study team in a more favourable light, knowing that an individual with a good reputation and significant standing within the Indigenous community had made the recommendation. The acceptance of the research and non-Indigenous researcher by Indigenous interviewees was indicative of the value of this process. Two Kimberley Elders clearly articulated the importance of the vouching process;

> "I normally don't yarn to gudyas [non-Indigenous people] about mental health concerns but I had a yarn with [a Steering Committee member] and she convinced me about the importance of what you are doing."

> "I wanted to come and check you out for myself. I have heard all about you from this person and that [Steering Committee member], but I was still not sure. Now that I have met and yarned with you I can see what he [Committee member] was getting at. If he hadn't got in my ear first I don't know if I would have come and had a yarn with you."

The 'vouching' process follows methods Indigenous people often employ to gather information about unknown non-Indigenous

people. Generally, Indigenous people seek out other Indigenous people who have had contact with the non-Indigenous individual and ask their impressions of him or her. Indigenous people often go to great lengths to gain this information (e.g., long distance telephone calls, asking relatives in other regions to consult on their behalf, visiting other towns). If the consultant gives a positive recommendation, the applicant is likely to be more receptive to working with the non-Indigenous worker.

Vicary's (2002b) Steering Committee recommended that the researcher draft a document outlining the study's objectives, a list of proposed questions and areas of interest, as well as some information about the researcher. This procedure allowed potential respondents substantial time, prior to the study commencing, to enable them to 'check' on the researcher's credentials and qualifications before being approached personally by the researcher. The Steering Committee suggested that the research summary document should be sent to agencies and organisations by the Committee so they could then provide more information about the research (and researcher) and answer any questions that may be generated from the document. The Steering Committee felt that use of the electronic mail system would expedite ongoing information dissemination. Additionally, they could regularly update organisations within the regions of interest as to the study's progress. The Committee maintained that early information dissemination would increase the rate of respondent participation.

3. Development of culturally sensitive data collection methodology

The initial formative consultation and the Indigenous Steering Committee are instrumental in assisting the non-Indigenous researcher to develop a data collection method suitable to engage with the informant and to collect accurate and valid information. In earlier studies a key recommendation derived from the initial community consultation and the study's Steering Committee was that the researchers build a relationship with the study participants during the data collection phase. To achieve this, the researcher and the Steering Committee should review potential data collection techniques and

decide on the most efficacious and sensitive method or methods for collecting the data. For example in Vicary's doctoral research a total of 380 questions were generated from these consultation processes. These questions canvassed the study's five main objectives. Members of the steering committee then screened the 380 questions based on their:

1. cultural appropriateness (e.g., questions were rejected if their content was ambiguous, culturally inappropriate or contained words that might offend some participants);
2. use of language (e.g., questions were rejected if they contained jargon, too many polysyllabic words or if the way they were phrased in what was considered 'high' English);
3. question content (e.g., some questions were rejected due to their content being culturally inappropriate due to gender, law or personal issues);
4. clarity (e.g., questions that were unclear were rejected);
5. nature of question (e.g., it was considered important to make as many of the questions open so that a more natural conversational interview might occur); and
6. relevance (e.g., if the questions did not map onto the five study areas they were rejected). The outcome of this initial screening developed a smaller pool of 50 questions.

From this pool 9 questions were selected that were considered culturally appropriate by the Steering Committee. Others were rejected on the basis that they were not culturally sensitive or appropriate to ask in a cross-gender study. Some questions were removed on the basis that their wording may reflect eastern Australian Indigenous cultural beliefs and attitudes, rather than those held by western Indigenous people (e.g., some of the questions excluded were more reflective of the Koori and Torres Strait Islander cultures).

4. Cultural Validation Focus Groups

As discussed earlier in this paper anecdotal and research evidence has illustrated

that focus groups should be a primary vehicle of information dissemination and for reviewing the validity and reliability of study results (Vicary & Bishop, 2005). Steering Committees formed as part of earlier research have been strong advocates for the use of focus groups as they felt that this methodology would allow a group of Indigenous participants to meet in a non-threatening manner and explore the research findings and add additional information.

Cultural validation focus groups may be used in two ways. In the preparatory phase of the research to assist in clarifying Indigenous community perceptions and attitudes to the proposed investigation and to ensure that the non-Indigenous person's interpretations of the information are valid. In this initial phase focus groups can be employed to reveal the range of thoughts and experiences of potential research participants. This information is extremely important as it assists in the determination and construction of a culturally correct methodology. Importantly, focus groups should also be employed in the cultural validation phase of the research. Such groups are conducted after the data have been collected and analysed. This procedure provides the non-Indigenous researcher with an opportunity to follow up on issues that appeared during the investigative process and subsequent analysis of the data. This is an extremely important component of the research as focus groups enable the researcher to expand on themes of interest, review research methods and processes, and determine the validity of interpretations made from the data.

5. Cultural consultants

The authors strongly recommend that potential researchers work in an egalitarian and collaborative relationship with a cultural consultant. Cultural consultants can provide ongoing cultural information/advice and has the potential to avoid potential faux pas, both of which are invaluable to non-Indigenous researchers. It is recommended that cultural consultants are selected based on information gained from the Indigenous community and/or steering Committee. These bodies are best likely to select a consultant most appropriate to

the projects objectives (e.g., researching women's interests may require a woman or women to act as cultural consultants; men's business will require men to act as consultants). Generally the selection of cultural consultants is facilitated in that they are derived from the community, town or region. However, on some occasions the consultation may indicate that an Indigenous person from outside the community is preferred. This preference may be due to the individuals expertise, reputation and perceived independence from any politics.

It is very important that the cultural consultants be engaged **early** (e.g., at the commencement) in the research process and that remuneration and the roles and responsibilities of the consultant are clarified. The engagement of cultural consultants must <u>not</u> be a tokenistic gesture; rather it should be viewed as a genuine co-research partnership. The cultural consultant's information will expedite the research process and also assist in the vouching and engagement processes. The consultants should be privy to all levels of information to ensure research transparency (apart from confidential identifiable data), access to the Steering Committee (they may sometimes already be a member) and the freedom to disagree with research methodology if it is perceived as inappropriate.

Cultural Consultants are a good information conduit from the community to the non-Indigenous researcher regarding the research's progress and perception. It is important to note that not all of the Indigenous people canvassed as part of the study will want to meet with both the non-Indigenous researcher and the Cultural Consultant. Some will be comfortable with the researcher by themselves while others will prefer the cultural consultant by themselves. Therefore it is imperative that the Cultural Consultants be trained to a degree to which they can conduct the data collection without the non-Indigenous co-researcher.

6. Training of non-Indigenous researchers

Recent research findings (Vicary, 2002b, 2003) have suggested that non-Indigenous psychologists should be more knowledgeable about Indigenous cultures. The lack of cross-cultural knowledge was considered a barrier, by Indigenous people, that could only be overcome

through an educative process that commenced in primary school and then was carried through to tertiary institutions. Many new tertiary graduates have experienced minimal exposure to Indigenous people and their culture, nor have they had exposure to cross-cultural methods of working. Sue, Ivey and Pedersen, (1996) raised concerns that many tertiary mental health programmes were (1) ethnocentric/monocultural; (2) unsophisticated in their attempts to adapt current ethnocentric theories to a culturally diverse population; (3) lacking conceptual frameworks that incorporate culture as a core concept of the therapeutic relationship; (4) not explicit about cultural bias; (5) not explicit about the assumptions of the various theories, and furthermore (6) propose a definition of the helping process devoid of a culturally appropriate conceptual framework. Others (Davidson 1995; Drew 2000) argue that psychology does not equip new practitioners to engage in a culturally appropriate manner and although there is an increased understanding of the role of culture this does not extend to psychological practice. According to Tamasese (1993), psychotherapists who assume that their own value system is 'right', that their discipline is scientific, therefore value-free, inter-cultural and international pose a very real danger if they intend on working with indigenous peoples.

In Australia, there needs to be more exposure to Indigenous culture in the education system and particularly at the tertiary level in programmes that train mental health and human service professionals. This information and knowledge might better prepare graduates for working with Indigenous people. The authors strongly recommend that all researchers intending to work with Indigenous people undertake an accredited cultural awareness course facilitated by Indigenous people.

Summary

A number of factors need to be addressed to encourage appropriate, accountable and culturally sensitive psychological research with Indigenous Australians. These factors can be divided into four components: (1) improved methods of cross-cultural psychological research practice; (2) increased knowledge of Indigenous cultures; (3) negating the influence of

psychological research myths; and (4) information dissemination. Firstly, new culturally appropriate methodologies need to be developed, or existing models radically altered, so that research conducted with Indigenous Australians can be evaluated and modified according to the Indigenous community's requirements (i.e., level of acculturation). These methods must reflect new social realities that disavow the promotion of colonial mentality (Smith, 1999). These models and systems require an understanding of the Indigenous worldview and the dissonance that exists between this reality and the reality of the dominant western culture. Similarly, models and process for the incorporation of cultural consultants and co-researchers should be developed so that they might act as a guide to practice.

Unfortunately, many non-Indigenous researchers are often anxious about working with Indigenous people due to issues discussed earlier in this paper. One way of reducing this anxiety may be the development of clear research models for use with Indigenous clients (Boyd, 1993; Ivey et al., 1993; Rosen 1994; Slattery 1987; Vicary & Andrews, 2001). Models and processes would provide a starting point for embarking in work with Indigenous people, while simultaneously allowing the flexibility to begin to address community needs. Non-Indigenous researchers should also be encouraged to develop relationships with Indigenous people apart from the research environment so that they can dispel myths, create friendships and access reality based cultural information to move towards at least a metaphorical sense of resident researching (Wicker & Sommer, 1993). Cultural awareness training provided by Indigenous lecturers in conjunction with familiarity with a selection of models and processes may encourage and facilitate new researchers to work with Indigenous people.

If non-Indigenous researchers are to work with Indigenous clients their work must be accountable. Casey (2000), Karpfen (1997), Humphries (2001) and NH&MRC (2003) highlight the importance of the development of processes of accountability so those Indigenous cultural consultants can raise matters of concern. Research issues can be raised in a non-judgmental setting by both the non-Indigenous

practitioner and cultural consultant so that solutions are developed and research practice improved. It is envisaged that this reciprocal process of accountability will strengthen the non-Indigenous psychologists' skills and knowledge.

Secondly, non-Indigenous researchers require a greater understanding and sensitivity towards Indigenous culture. Information and awareness about Indigenous culture is sorely lacking in our education system and should be redressed to improve understanding and reduce racism towards Indigenous people. For example, the majority of students who select a psychology course receive very little information pertaining to Indigenous people (or other indigenous people) and their culture (Sue et al., 1996), This training deficit continues through to the post-graduate level. When this educational deficiency is addressed non-Indigenous professionals sometimes undertake such training which does not adequately prepare students for working professionally with Indigenous people (D. Garvey, personal communication, August, 2004).

Finally, the information, ideas and research findings required by those working in the field should be more available so that practitioners have the opportunity to access material for the benefit of their clientele. Professional secrecy should be avoided and an open, transparent information dissemination process encouraged. (NH&MRC, 2003; Prilleltensky & Nelson, 2002; Vicary, 2000a,b; Vicary & Andrews, 2000, 2001; Vicary & Westerman, 1998). A utilitarian focus provided by a practice-theory-practice orientation of the researchers would help to ensure that the research outcomes would be useful to professionals working with Indigenous people.

If the alterations to education, research and social policy are made in conjunction with modifications to tertiary curriculum and research practice a major step will have been achieved. Such an achievement would represent a movement towards psychological research practice that will improve the efficacy, accountability, sensitivity, appropriateness and relevance of research. Such changes would have a profound impact on the nature (e.g., method, cultural appropriateness, validity, reliability) and relevance of research conducted with Australian Indigenous people.

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Media framing of dissent:
The case of initial anti-nuclear protests following the Three Mile Island accident

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In this paper, we use a critical theoretical lens to argue that grassroots protest movements are vitally important to a meaningful, democratic public sphere. In light of renewed US government interest in developing new nuclear power plants, we revisit the protest following one of the world's worst nuclear accidents at Three Mile Island (TMI), Pennsylvania, just over twenty-five years ago, and discuss the problem of historical forgetting. We analyze the anti-nuclear protest movement as it was reported in the New York Times and the Washington Post in the six weeks immediately following the nuclear accident at TMI. Specifically, we explore how the media framed the anti-nuclear protest movement, and nuclear issues more generally. Our findings are somewhat mixed, although the majority of media coverage was unsympathetic to the protest movement. Despite media attempts to downplay activist efforts and risks associated with nuclear power, we find that the anti-nuclear protest movement around TMI did have a world-wide impact. Insofar as the coverage was disproportionately both pro-industry and slighting toward the movement, we argue for the importance of an engaged public to offer and to consider other interpretations, especially as we face renewed US government interest and

On March 28, 1979, the worst nuclear accident in US history occurred at Three Mile Island (TMI) nuclear power plant, in Middletown, Pennsylvania (PA), sparking activism across the country and around the world. Almost immediately, media coverage of the accident and the protest movement brought anti-nuclear issues to the forefront of grass-roots, scientific and political discussions. As a result, no new nuclear power plants have been commissioned in the US since the accident. Now, over a quarter of a century later, the US government plans to commission new nuclear power plants and renew licenses of old plants, as outlined first in the Bush Administration's *Clear Skies Initiative* (2002) and more recently in Bush's *Energy Proposal* (2005). To date, these plans have met with little opposition. However, for a deliberative, democratic political will to be achieved, it is important that all sides of the nuclear debate receive consideration in this new wave of nuclear interest.

The purpose of this paper is to analyze and assess mainstream American newspaper coverage of the TMI protest movement in the period immediately following the accident. We begin with the critical theoretical view of the importance of an engaged public sphere and the

central importance of the media, and in this case newspapers in particular, in shaping and influencing that sphere (Calhoun, 1992; Habermas, 1974). Newspapers contribute to the possibility of open dialogue and debate that can influence public opinion and alter the social, political and cultural constellation of forces of public life. However, a critical theoretical lens suggests that the tendency in late capitalism is that the news media increasingly has become the voice of elite interests and part of an attempted "manufacturing of consent" (Adorno, 1991; Calhoun, 1992; Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Hallin, 1985). From this perspective, it is important to deconstruct the dominant discourse and analyze the extent to which it is supporting the views of dominant groups. As such, we aim to examine newspaper coverage (one important component of the public sphere) in order to assess the ways in which it shapes public opinion in its reporting of the anti-nuclear protest movement (a component of an engaged public) in the first six weeks following the TMI accident. We argue that protest movements are important, in-and-of-themselves, as vehicles which challenge the dominant ideology, as well as science and technology, but they are also interesting in terms of what they reveal about

media coverage of dissent against dominant groups. Although we focus on the case of TMI, we believe the issues and processes discussed here have broader implications in many parts of the world for public participation, dissent, protest, government action and the role of the media.

The Accident at TMI: A Brief Recap

At approximately 4:00 am on March 28, 1979, the worst nuclear accident in US history began its week-long run (Osif, Baratta, & Conkling, 2004). At 7:24 am Metropolitan Edison (Met Ed., owner of the TMI plant and subsidiary of General Public Utilities) informed the Pennsylvania Emergency Management Agency that they were declaring a general state of emergency at the site due to high-level radiation readings. Met Ed informed the PA office of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) about the emergency at 7:41 am (Rubin, 1987).

At the time, there was significant disagreement and confusion about the accident's causes, consequences and seriousness. Today, we know more about the event but many facts still remain disputed. The industry, government and opponents alike agree upon some basic aspects of the accident. In the simplest terms, Unit 2[1] overheated, causing uranium fuel to melt and discharge radiation into the atmosphere (Walsh, 1988). Above normal levels of radiation were released into the air in the morning hours of Wednesday, March 28th, including radioactive iodine, krypton and xenon. The accident began with a series of problems in the primary cooling system of the Unit 2 reactor. A set of water pumps shut down for unknown reasons. An emergency response system started automatically, but malfunctioned when a crucial water valve stuck in the open position and water began to drain from the cooling system. These problems were exacerbated by misinterpretations and mistakes of plant operators who shut off additional water pumps that could have cooled the nuclear core to some extent. Instead, uranium pellets in fuel rods began to melt, releasing radiation. The valve that was stuck open, allowing water to escape, was not discovered and closed until about 6:22 a.m., almost two-and-a-half hours into the accident. The overheating

caused a rupture in a drain tank, releasing radioactive steam. This also caused a dangerous build-up of pressure in the reactor itself, requiring the power plant to continue to release radiation into the air to relieve some of the pressure (Osif, et al., 2004; Walker, 2004).

By Thursday, radiation was found in the atmosphere at least sixteen miles away (*New York Times*, April 1, 1979). John Herbein's (Vice President of Met Ed) initial estimate of the amount of radiation being released was about 168 millirems a day (170 millirems of human-made radiation per *year* was the maximum recommended by scientists at that time). Experts were most concerned with the release of radioactive iodine which accumulates in the thyroid (Janson, 1979). By Thursday evening, utility and NRC officials admitted that the reactor core[2] had suffered major damage during the first day of the accident (Walker, 2004). At this point the officials worried about the possibility of a meltdown of the entire core (referred to as a *China Syndrome* after a movie that had just been released) or considerable melting of radioactive fuel (a partial core meltdown), which did in fact occur. (Walker, 2004; Osif et al., 2004).

On Friday morning, March 30th, TMI employees released more radiation into the atmosphere in order to relieve pressure that had built up in storage tanks. A helicopter read the amount of radiation to be 1,200 millirems per hour. Today, some experts contend that it was a misreading (Walker, 2004), while others report that because it was recorded 130 feet above the ground, that it posed no serious threat to the public (Osif et al., 2004).

In addition, officials at TMI at the time found that the damage to the core had caused increased radioactive gas in the plant's auxiliary building. The pressure had continued to build as an explosive hydrogen bubble was formed in the reactor by severe damage to the radioactive fuel rods. Furthermore, they discovered that an explosion on Wednesday had gone unnoticed in the early stages of the accident. The hydrogen bubble was about 1,000 cubic feet and expanded through most of the container (Walker, 2004).

Officials admitted that neither Met Ed nor General Public Utilities (GPU) had the expertise to handle the problem and did not know if the conditions in the reactor were continuing to make

the bubble grow (Walker, 2004). With all of the confusion, an evacuation advisory was issued on Friday for pregnant women and pre-school children within a five mile radius. Chaos ensued on the streets of the rural, blue collar town of Middletown and the adjacent city of Harrisburg. About 100,000 people within a fifteen mile radius attempted to evacuate immediately, causing traffic jams, and tying up gas stations and phone lines. All twenty-three schools in the five mile radius were closed and another level of chaos developed as parents frantically tried to get to their children. Over 200,000 people eventually evacuated the area (Walsh, 1988).[3]

After five more days of confusion, chaos, disagreements among experts, and a community torn apart, the reactor was finally stabilized. By April 4th, the accident was over (Osif et al., 2004). Later, when a mini-camera was lowered into the reactor, officials discovered that virtually all of the radioactive fuel rods had melted, forming a solid mass at the bottom of the core. About half of the reactor core melted down. Officials discovered that the molten mass had burned through part of the support plate in the lower vessel of the core. If the stuck valve had not been detected for a bit longer, and the meltdown had continued, the lower part of the reactor could have melted, releasing hot molten fuel out of the core and uncontrolled radiation releases into the environment. In other words, the TMI accident probably had been within twenty to thirty minutes of a complete meltdown – a *China Syndrome* (Osif. et. al., 2004).

A Quarter of a Century Later: On Historical Memory

Over a quarter of a century has passed and memories are fading. Children born in the US in the eight years or so after the TMI accident are adults today – some have never heard the words "Three Mile Island." Even in Middletown, PA many young adults are oblivious to the history associated with the nuclear power plant in their town. But even for those who are informed, memory is shaped, distorted and reorganized over time; even when people claim to recall events with vivid accuracy (Thelan, 1989). The reorganization of memory depends upon a variety of factors, including individual, social, cultural, and political influences. Collective memory, in

particular, relies on the creation of a social history that is accepted by the masses, regardless of factual accuracy. The story of Columbus discovering America is an example of a social history that lives in the collective consciousness of US residents, regardless of its level of factual accuracy (Benford, 1996).

Collective memories are reconstructions of the past. These memories are important because our understanding of the past helps us devise strategies to address current problems (Schwartz, 1982). For example, if nuclear energy is deemed safe, a strategy to build new nuclear power plants is reasonable. But, as George Orwell stated in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, "who controls the past controls the future: Who controls the present controls the past." So, who controls the present? Political and economic elites and the media are primary sources of social control; their interrelationships are complex and have been analyzed extensively (Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Domhoff, 2002; Evans, Rueschemeyer & Skocpol, 1985). By controlling images of the past, the media can shape the present (Levy, 1999). As such, public discourse, shaped by media coverage, has the potential of losing critical understandings and opposition derived from past events. The accident at TMI has been credited for igniting a worldwide protest movement and drawing attention to the risks of atomic energy. This distrust of nuclear power remained strong throughout the 1980s (Snow & Bedford, 1992). Risk assessment was informed, in part, by the public's interpretation of government and industry's (mis-) handling of the accident (Beamish, 2001). With time, however, the collective consciousness has begun to shift toward a more neutral or positive position. It is evident that objections to nuclear power have faded over time as there has been little controversy over plans to re-license old plants and build new nuclear power plants.

The Anti-Nuclear Protest Movement at TMI: A Test of Democracy

Environmental protest movements are considered to be at the core of environmental reform (Buttell, 2003). These movements vary greatly across time and space, and by form, purposes, strategies, tactics, ideologies, and so forth (Goodwin & Jasper, 2003; McAdam &

Snow, 1997; Tilly, 2004). Technological protest movements are distinctive in at least two ways. First, the main goal is to challenge the government's and industry's commitment to a certain technology at the expense of the health and well-being of an entire community – or in the case of nuclear proliferation, *the entire planet*. Second, while many protest movements operate within the context of a representative democracy, there is a tenuous relationship between technology and democratic process (Walsh, 1988). With technological advances has come the reliance on inside "experts" who are designated as decision-makers *on behalf of* the public good. Furthermore, high-technology industries are bureaucratic systems, notorious for their lack of citizen control. Bureaucracies tend to be undemocratic structures (Clegg & Hardy, 1999; Habermas, 1984, 1987; Marcuse, 1964; Perrow, 1986; Weber, 1978). Within the bureaucracy of the nuclear industry (specifically the NRC), democratic processes are quite limited. From an activist standpoint, grievances and concerns must be made to a federal regulatory agency that is linked to the nuclear industry (Walsh, 1988). The industry is managed technocratically, by insider "experts", and hence the democratic process for concerned residents is significantly compromised (Cunningham & Angelique, 2005).

The anti-nuclear protest movement at TMI can be seen as a test of American democracy (Kemeny, 1980; Cunningham & Angelique, 2005).   After the accident, residents around the nuclear power plant quickly organized with the national anti-nuclear movement. The local residents were mostly politically conservative without prior activist experience while the national movement was considered to have a liberal political agenda (Culley, 1998). Their main goals were to (1) impose high safety standards for the plant, specifically the cleanup of Unit 2, and (2) challenge industry plans to restart Unit 1 (Cable, Walsh & Warland, 1988; Walsh, 1988; Culley & Angelique, 2003). Initially, there appeared to be outlets for public participation. Government and industry leaders held town meetings where concerns could be shared. The President, Jimmy Carter, empaneled an independent commission to investigate the causes of the accident and to make recommendations

(Kemeny Commission, 1979). Finally, on May 18, 1985, residents voted in a non-binding referendum 2 to 1 against the restart of the undamaged[4] nuclear reactor (Walsh, 1988). It appeared to be a local victory. However, there was no democratic process in the final decision-making and on October 3, 1985, Unit 1 of TMI was restarted and remains active today. To the activists, the industry regulation had only succeeded in creating an illusion of public participation when, in fact, there was no democratic process in the final industry decision making.

Media Framing and Public Opinion

Mass media has the ability to control images and shift the collective consciousness. However, in the US the mainstream media are privately owned and profit-oriented. The increasing concentration of corporate ownership of media, along with reliance on advertising, ensures that only a narrow range of interests are represented (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). As such, the primary focus of the media is determined by those in power and geared toward maintaining the status quo (Croteau & Hoynes, 1994). Jamieson and Campbell (1988) outlined three themes that were pervasive in the media, including the notions that (a) the system works and is fair, (b) people who challenge the system are wrong, and (c) the status quo is preferred over change. Within this framework the voices of dissent are discredited as unreasonable, un-knowing ("mis-informed") and/or just plain wrong.

Parenti (1986) described ways in which political protesters are discredited in the media. They include: (a) appearance of protesters (b) activities of protesters, (c) undercounting, and (d) omission. By describing activists as marginal people and by focusing on their appearance, chants and banners rather than the seriousness of the issues, they can be discredited by the media. When a movement and its activities are completely ignored, it is rendered non-existent. The issues remain invisible to the broader public. Smith et al., (2001) posited that *thematic* (focused on the issues) rather than *episodic* (focused on the demonstrations) framing by the media is more conducive to the goals of protest movements.

Framing, in this case, refers to the ways in which the news is packaged for consumption by the public. In print media, the subtleties of language are often used to frame an issue (Hermann & Chomsky, 1988; Parenti, 1988). For example, a news article may report on a "civil disturbance" or a "movement for peace" (Parenti, 1986, p. 220). While each phrase may be technically accurate, they are both politically slanted to invoke different reactions. Other ways that print media frame issues is through the amount and placement of coverage, the tone of the report (whether it is *sympathetic* or *slighting*), the visual effects and the headlines. While many regard news as sensationalist, it's goal is often to neutralize the events instead. For example, reporting that a foreign leader has "died" presents a much more neutral account than reporting that he was "murdered... by the military." (Parenti, 1986, p. 222). Herman and Chomsky (1988) pointed out how media elites "fix" the parameters of the discourse and "manage" public opinion. They fix the discourse through placement, tone, repetition, and excluding inconvenient facts. Representation, then, favors government and the powerful elite.

The Media and TMI

Mainstream American media coverage of nuclear issues before and after TMI is a distinctive case. Between August 5, 1968 and March 28, 1979 (over 10 ½ years), there was under eight hours of television coverage of nuclear issues on the three major networks (Media Institute, 1979). Then, the accident at TMI changed everything. From March 28, 1979 to April 20, 1979 (less than one month), there was over five and a half hours of television coverage of nuclear issues on the major networks (Media Institute, 1979). In part, no one was prepared for such an accident. With a long history of distrust between the media and the nuclear industry (Campbell, 1988) and with vastly conflicting accounts in the first few days of the accident, the first weeks of coverage of the TMI accident is a special case. Both opponents and proponents of nuclear energy had not imagined that an emergency of this magnitude could happen. With this collective denial, everyone was unprepared for the TMI disaster. Without time to frame the issue or set the agenda

for the debate, we were interested in the question of whether the initial media coverage would appear more neutral ("balanced"), or less slanted, biased or "managed" in the early stages of the accident. Because the accident was unfolding so quickly, and with such grave consequences, we conjectured that the coverage might be more straight-forward and un-biased, with less government and/or industry *spin,* or pro-nuclear slant.

Today, with renewed government and industry interest in nuclear power, all sides of the debate must be included in mainstream public discourse. Toward that goal we ask, "What can we learn from mainstream US media coverage of anti-TMI protest, immediately following the advent of the accident? What lessons does this coverage provide about the need for public engagement today? What can we learn from the past to prepare for the future?"

Method

To gain an understanding of how the media covered the initial protest of TMI, we analyzed national newspaper coverage following the nuclear accident on March 28, 1979. Specifically, we analyzed news coverage of TMI protests for the first six weeks (from March 29th to May 9th) following the initial disclosure of the accident, in both the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post.* We chose to analyze print media because television coverage during this time-frame rarely focused on the anti-nuclear movement. In fact, Nimmo (1984) analyzed the television coverage of the TMI accident and reported that interest group leaders (i.e., activists) were almost never used as sources of information. In accordance with Smith et al., (2001), we chose the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. These are the two major national newspapers closest to the site of the accident, and are highly respected publications (as national papers "of record") that not only report news, but also feed information to other news sources as well (Parenti, 1986).

We included only articles that specifically noted the TMI accident AND the protest movement. Specifically, we analyzed how articles were *framed*. First, we coded whether the headlines and articles were primarily *episodic, thematic* or equally mixed in coverage.

Following Smith et al., (2001) *episodic* coverage was defined as stressing "predominantly the details of the demonstration itself...with minimal or no attention to the issues raised by the demonstration. *Thematic* coverage was defined as focusing on "the more general issues raised by the demonstration." (p. 1419).

Second, we coded both the headlines and articles as either *primarily sympathetic*, *primarily slighting* or *neutral* toward the protest movement. "Primarily" was defined by both the quantity and intensity of statements. Coders paid attention to (1) coverage of themes/issues and episodes/protests, and (2) disparaging and/or sympathetic language throughout each article. We both coded independently (initial inter-rater agreement =82%), then met to discuss ratings and re-coded until 100% inter-rater agreement was established.

Third, we used a grounded theory approach to analyze the themes that emerged regarding protest demonstrations and nuclear issues. In all, we reviewed 17 articles, 11 from the *New York Times* and 6 from the *Washington Post*.

Results: Analysis of News Coverage
Headline and Article Framing
The *New York Times* had 6 headlines that were *episodic* (focused primarily on the demonstrations), 2 that were *thematic* (focused primarily on nuclear issues) and 3 that were *equally mixed*. The *Washington Post* had 3 headlines that were *episodic*, 2 that were *thematic*, and 1 that was *mixed*. In all, there were 9 *episodic* headlines, 4 *thematic* headlines and 4 *mixed* headlines. See Table 1.

In the *New York Times*, 5 articles were considered *primarily episodic* and 6 were considered *primarily thematic*. In the *Washington Post*, 4 articles were considered *primarily episodic,* 2 were *primarily thematic*, for a total of 9 *primarily episodic articles* and 8 *primarily thematic* articles.

The *New York Times* had 2 headlines that were *sympathetic* toward the anti-nuclear movement, 4 that were *slighting* and 5 that were *neutral*. The *Washington Post* had 1 headline that was *sympathetic* toward the movement and 4 that were *slighting* and 1 that was *neutral*. In all, there were 3 *sympathetic* headlines, 8 *slighting* headlines and 6 *neutral* headlines.

In the *New York Times*, 5 articles were

considered *primarily sympathetic* toward the protest movement and 6 articles were *primarily slighting*. In the *Washington Post*, 1 article was *primarily sympathetic* and 5 articles were *primarily slighting*, for a total of 6 *primarily sympathetic* articles and 11 *primarily slighting articles*. Since the articles are listed chronologically by newspaper in Table 1, a trend from *primarily sympathetic* to *primarily slighting* articles is noted. Both the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* printed *primarily slighting* articles on 3/30 and 4/1, respectively (while the accident was still occurring). Within less than a month (by 4/22) all of the articles reviewed were *primarily slighting*. The *Washington Post* printed only one *primarily sympathetic* article in the six weeks following the accident (on 4/4).

Also, in contrast to Smith and colleagues' (2001) contention, we noted that 2 headlines and 3 articles that were both *episodic* and *sympathetic*. Furthermore, 2 headlines and 5 articles were both *thematic* and *slighting*. Only 3 headlines and 9 articles supported claims by Smith et al., that thematic coverage would be sympathetic and episodic coverage would be slighting toward the movement.

Episodic Themes in Media Coverage: On Demonstrations and Demonstrators
The TMI accident immediately spawned protests around the country. The *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* reported on protests in Pennsylvania (7;12)[5], Washington DC (12), Wisconsin, New York City, (5), Connecticut (6), Virginia (14), Colorado, Vermont, New Mexico (10;15), Massachusetts, Arizona (15), Arkansas, and New York (10). The accident also sparked protests around the world, including West Germany (2; 13), Sweden, Denmark, Japan, France, Italy, Brazil (2) and South Africa (4).

How protesters are described.
The newspaper media coverage of the protest movement was mixed, albeit mostly *slighting*. While many of the leaders were noted by name and credentials, this was juxtaposed to descriptions replete with negative language suggesting that the activists were offbeat and their strategies were overly dramatic and sometimes illegal. Prominent activist leaders

Table 1.
*Articles and codes used in the analysis of media coverage of the protest movement
 following the Three Mile Island Accident.*

CODES: (Th)= thematic/nuclear issue focus; (E)= Episodic/protest focus; (M)= mixed, equally thematic and episodic; **sympathetic**=pro-movement; *slighting*=anti-movement; or neutral=neither pro- or anti-movement.

From the *New York Times*

HEADLINE TITLE	HEADLINE/ARTICLE CODES	
1. Nuclear Foes See Grave Risk in Pennsylvania Mishap, but Utility Aides Are Unalarmed (3/30/79 A19)	(M) *Slighting/*	(Th) *Slighting*
2. Anti-nuclear Activists Abroad Use U.S. Accident to Support Cause (4/1/79 p.32)	(E) **Sympath/**	(E) **Sympath**
3. Taste of Doomsday in Pennsylvania Nuclear Accident (4/1/79 E1)	(Th) **Sympath/**	(Th) **Sympath**
4. French and West German Inspection Teams Are Sent to Harrisburg (4/2/79 A1)	(Th) Neutral /	(Th) *Slighting*
5. Nuclear Critics Plan Political Moves and Mass Protests (4/7/79 p.39)	(E) Neutral/	(E) **Sympath**
6. 3,000 Demonstrate Against Trident Christening (4/8/79 p.28)	(E) Neutral/	(E) **Sympath**
7. 'Good News' at Three Mile Island But 1,000 Stage Harrisburg Protest (4/9/79 D9)	(M) *Slighting/*	(E) *Slighting*
8. Critics of Nuclear Power to March on Capitol May 6 (4/19/79 B13)	(E) Neutral/	(Th) **Sympath**
9. Students Continuing Protests at Columbia Over Nuclear Reactor (4/22/79 p.24)	(E) Neutral/	(Th) *Slighting*
10. 280 Seized At Rally At A Nuclear Plant (4/30/79 D8)	(E) *Slighting/*	(E) *Slighting*
11. Carter Tells Protesters Closing All Nuclear Plants is 'Out of the Question' (5/8/79 A18)	(M) *Slighting/*	(Th) *Slighting*

From the *Washington Post*

12. No Fallout Is Detected in Md. Sampling (4/1/79 A6)	(Th) *Slighting/*	(E) *Slighting*
13. Nuclear Protests Given New Force (4/4/79 A17)	(E) **Sympath/**	(Th) **Sympath**
14. Nuclear Activists Dominate Vepco's Annual Meeting; Nuclear Critics Booed at Vepco (4/19/79 D11)	(E) *Slighting/*	(E) *Slighting*
15. Anti-nuclear Protests Spread (4/29/79 A4)	(E) Neutral/	(E) *Slighting*
16. Carter Letter Urges Larger A-Program (5/4/79)	(Th) *Slighting/*	(Th) *Slighting*
17. 65,000 Protest Dependence on A-Energy; 65,000 March on Capitol, Score Nuclear Dependence (5/7/79 A1)	(M) *Slighting/*	(E) *Slighting*

included Dr. George Wald, a Harvard biologist, Dr. Ernest Sternglass, a University of Pittsburgh radiologist (1), William Vastine, Chair of *Three Mile Island Alert* (1), Richard Pollack, Director of *Critical Mass Energy Project* (5), Dr. Thomas Winters, an Associate Professor of Medicine at University of Massachusetts (7), Dr. Fred Millar, Professor of Sociology and spokesperson for the Potomac Alliance (14), Ralph Nader, consumer advocate (8), Dr. Daniel Ellsberg (who made the "Pentagon Papers" on the Vietnam War public), and Dr. Benjamin Spock (pediatrician and author) (10). When individuals were not noted, groups sometimes were, including Japanese environmentalists, trade union leaders, Communist party members (13), the *American Indian Environmental Council* (15), *Friends of the Earth* and a Navajo Tribe (10). Despite the credentialed list of protesters, the only description of the activists within the first month was that they included "senior citizens, low-income people, minorities, workers, consumers and people who are concerned about safe energy." (14). Only one pro-nuclear event was noted in the month following the TMI accident. The *Energy Fair Day*, in Northwestern New Mexico was held at the same time as a protest rally thirty miles away. It featured then-Senator Harrison Schmitt, representatives of energy companies and government nuclear contractors as speakers (15).

Often the language of the news reports includes negative implications of the protest activities or something flippant about the activists. For example, one protest in Harrisburg, was reportedly in response to the *"near disaster"*[6] at TMI and was *"dramatized"* with *"soaring balloons and folk songs"* (10). Daniel Ellsburg was once referred to as a *"protest regular"* and the group of demonstrators that he

led "*descended* on the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant north of Denver..." This protest included about 7,700 people (15). In a series of protests reported in the same article, demonstrators were described in this way: "About 200 hikers left the University of Colorado campus at Boulder, *bound for a civil disobedience rally* today at the gates of the Rocky Flats"... and elsewhere.. *Banner-festooned bicycle caravans converged* on the rural western Massachusetts town of Rowe near Yankee atomic reactor," and at another event in Vermont, where activists were protesting an attempt by a West German company, Urangesellschaft Inc., to prospect for uranium in the area, activists were described as "*toting* anti-nuclear signs" (15).

Just a few weeks later the *Washington Post* described a large anti-nuclear protest (with no arrests) in DC as a site where people "picnicked in the afternoon sun," where "beer and wine flowed freely" and "the sharp fragrance of marijuana floated..." While speakers included then California Governor Jerry Brown, Ralph Nader, Jane Fonda, Tom Hayden, Benjamin Spock, comedian Dick Gregory, feminist leader Bella Abzug and Robert Pollard (former safety engineer who resigned from the Nuclear Regulatory Commission in 1976) activists were reported as ranging from "suburban liberals" to "assorted socialists and communists." (17).

Another common theme is presenting activists as disrespectful, disorderly and/or delinquent. For example, The *New York Times* reported that "in Wisconsin, Governor Lee Dreyfus was *pelted* with eggs, fruit and a banana cream pie by 300 student protesters" (5). In another incident, activists were *chained together* and *refused to move*. Police had to snip the chains and carry them off. A 60 year old protester, Maryanne Maloney said, "They say we're breaking the law. We're upholding the law of life." (6).

In other reports, illegal activities are highlighted. Just days after the TMI accident, the *Washington Post* (12) reported "two unrelated demonstrations resulted in four arrests after one group of four nuclear power protesters sat down in the tourist line outside the east wing of the white house at 11am and

unfurled a banner saying, 'Politicians, Profiteers, Nuclear Criminals.' They were charged with unlawful entry and failure to leave, both misdemeanors." The *New York Times* reported that "about 280 protesters were arrested in Colorado, when they marched on a nuclear weapons plant that produces plutonium 'triggers' for nuclear weapons" (10).

Motivation for protests

According to one report in the *New York Times*, the movement appeared to be based mainly on fear rather than facts (5). Some reports characterize public fears as irrational or unfounded. When about 400 student protesters demanded that Columbia University's nuclear reactor be dismantled, Columbia's President Dr. William McGill said that the decision "not to activate the reactor was not based on the belief that it was unsafe but because the community was afraid and would not stand for it. I am much more concerned with the psychological explosion than I am about a nuclear explosion" (9).

The source of the problem

In some cases, it appears that the protesters, rather than the nuclear accident or the industry's response, were the primary cause of the problem. One example of this was when anti-nuclear protesters attended the Virginia Electric & Power Co.'s (Vepco) annual meeting. Vepco Chairman T. Justin Moore, Jr. complained that critics tied up construction of new nuclear plants and said, "it should be an embarrassment to all American's that it takes 10-12 years to complete a nuclear plant in this country," (14). Some reports are belittling toward the protesters and disparaging in the way actions are described. Referring to the Vepco's annual meeting, the Washington Post reported (14) "a write-in slate of utility critics was nominated for Vepco's board of directors, but drew only 3,000 votes from the 64 million shares of stock. But the informal balloting appeared to be *illegal* anyway. Under the Securities and Exchange Commission rules, stockholders must be notified in advance of issues to come up at the meeting. But Vepco executives *played out the charade*, giving the critics ballots for their

write-in candidates and hastily drafting resolutions. This flippant attitude did not go undetected by the protesters. "I think we raised serious issues," Fred Millar (spokesperson for the Potomac Alliance) said after the meeting, "we were treated with a kind of condescending tolerance."

Thematic Coverage: On Nuclear Issues and Impact of the Movement
The pro-nuclear focus

Many media reports took an industry perspective, claiming that the accident was not as bad as some might have believed, and that the TMI plant, and nuclear power in general, was still safe. Two days into the accident, the New York Times (1) reported that Walter Kreitz, President of Metropolitan Edison, claimed "the *mishap* was not a catastrophe...there was nothing that was catastrophic or unplanned for." He described radiation release as "insignificant" and "minuscule." When asked if people should seek medical attention, John Herbein, vice president for power generation at Met Ed said, "No, I don't think they should see a doctor. There is nothing like that kind of concern. I can tell you that we didn't injure anyone, we didn't overexpose anyone, we didn't kill a single solitary soul."

A day later, the *New York Times* reported (3) that industry officials claimed that the TMI's safety systems prevented any real disaster, proving that atomic plants are safe. The same day, the *Washington Post* reported (12), "Maryland radiation officials tested air, water and milk samples again yesterday and found 'no detectable' indication that contamination from Pennsylvania's Three Mile Island nuclear is moving south." And when describing the cleanup of the accident, Jim Hatchett, Public Relations Specialist for the NRC, said, "As far as I know, today was all good news." He described the lowering of pressure in the reactor cooling system as "similar to letting out the bubbles in a bottle of champagne." (7).

Industry leaders maintained that nuclear energy was still safe. While all three of Vepco's operating atomic plants (north Anna 1 and Surry 1 and 2) were shut down for repairs

and inspection after the NRC had shut down both Surry plants due to mistakes in computer programs that operated cooling pipes, the Vepco Chairman defended the safety records of both Vepco and the industry saying the Three Mile Island *incident* "is probably the worst problem that has occurred (and) it still shows that the safety record of nuclear power is outstanding." (14). In the same article, the Surry plant was described as "the third dirtiest in the nation to work in" and reported that workers get "three times the yearly dose of radiation of the average atomic plant employee."

The industry sometimes diverted attention away from the potential risks of nuclear power to other forms of risk. For example, Vepco President Stanley Ragone warned, "'this country is going to be absolutely energy bankrupt if you don't have nuclear power.' Vepco Chairman T. Justin Moore, Jr. added, 'It's whistling in the dark, and I mean dark, to think of giving up the 13 percent of our energy in this country that comes from nuclear power.'" (14).

Overseas, governments and industry officials denied the possibility of similar accidents. For example, the "British Prime Minister James Callaghan assured Parliament that an accident similar to the Pennsylvania *mishap* could not happen in Britain because it uses a different kind of nuclear reactors-ones that are cooled by gas instead of water.." (13). Even when faced with actual problems, the risk was downplayed or denied. When two reactors that were the same type as the TMI reactor were forced to close in Sweden due to two leaks in the steam generator in the previous four months, Lars Gustafsson, technical director of the power board, said, "The leak is another like the Pennsylvania accident and the reactor should be working again in a week." (13).

The anti-nuclear focus

In considering risk, the protest movement maintained a distrust of both industry and government. William Vastine, chair of Three Mile Island Alert claimed that the government misrepresented the seriousness of the threat and called the accident "a regrettable blessing in disguise-with a continuing disguise of facts and figures" (1). Similarly, Ralph Nader said that, "President Carter has deceived and lied to the

public about nuclear power" (8).

As presented in the news coverage, the protest movement focused on health and environmental risks. Within days after the accident was first made public, the New York Times (1) reported, "Longtime foes of nuclear development, Dr. George Wald (Harvard Biologist) and Dr. Ernest Sternglass (University of Pittsburgh radiologist) both urged pregnant women to leave immediately. Dr. Sternglass said, 'The radioactive risk to a fetus is 100 times that of an adult.' He used his own radioactive measuring devices on a flight earlier that day and reported that radioactivity was up '15 times the normal background from natural sources. This corresponds to a major fallout pattern from a bomb test. The government is giving us the same fictions as in the bomb tests-that it is insignificant. But in a matter of hours people here are getting nearly a year's dose of background radiation. We would expect to find 5 to 20 times excess children's deaths.'" A week-and-a half later, the New York Times reported, (7) that "Dr. Thomas Winters, Assoc Prof of Medicine at University of MA Medical School and member of Physicians for Social Responsibility said that he, 'believed the true levels of radiation from the plant had been played down....I don't think anyone can make such a prediction (referring to the amount of harm caused by the release of radiation).'"

Protesters mobilized quickly after the accident to make demands of the industry and to prepare to fight legal battles. The immediate goals of the TMI movement were to keep the plant closed permanently and to make sure that the public utilities agency of the commonwealth did not grant an increase in electric power rates to Met Ed (predicted increases were about 20%), thereby placing part of the financial burden of the accident on the community (7). In other areas, anti-nuclear activists used the TMI accident as an example when approaching industry leaders. In Virginia, activists asked Vepco to close all of its atomic plants, hold meltdown drills twice a year for people in the immediate vicinity and to send evacuation maps to all customers (14). The goals of the anti-nuclear movement, more broadly were to make nuclear power a major

issue of the 1980 Presidential election. (8).

About a week-and-a-half after the accident the New York Times reported on a proposed moratorium on the licensing of nuclear power plants (5). Shortly thereafter, protesters representing over 90 groups called for a repeal of the Price-Anderson Act, which limited "the liability of utilities to $560 Million for any single nuclear accident" (8). And by the end of April, a Navajo tribe and Friends of the Earth filed a lawsuit demanding that detailed environmental impact statements be prepared for all new uranium mining on the reservation in Mount Taylor, NM (10).

Impact of the Anti-Nuclear Movement

Reports contended that protesters where ineffective. The New York Times reported (4) that France "remained committed to nuclear power despite opposition from political parties and trade unions. Industry Minister Andre Girard claimed that France could never experience an accident like the one at TMI because of different safety precautions and building regulations." A few days later (13) the French government reportedly "defied environmental groups and oppositions politicians yesterday to give formal approval to construction of two more reactors cooled with pressurized water, similar to the one at Three Mile Island."

Despite what appears to be industry attempts to downplay the accident and media reports that often discredit the activists, the accident and resulting protest movement had an immediate impact. As noted earlier, the accident sparked protests around the world, which captured extensive media coverage, including the Soviet press (2). By April 4th, the Washington Post reported, "The Three Mile Island nuclear accident has caused a slowdown in Japan's atomic power program, prompting anti-nuclear demonstrations around the world and added emotional force to demands that the construction of new reactors be halted." (13) In the same article, other indications of impact were reported to include:

"As an indication of the spillover from the American accident, a group of Japanese environmentalists, trade union leaders and Communists Party

members Monday demanded that the government and utility company executives stop operations at the country's 19 nuclear power plants."

"In West Germany...where 35,000 anti-nuclear activists demonstrated...one newspaper" reported that the "Three Mile River (sic) accident may indicate an early end to the nuclear age."

"The nuclear waste issue caused voters in Austria to reject by a bare majority government plans to place in operation a $600 million nuclear plant that is already built."

"Another referendum is scheduled for May on a new nuclear safety law in Switzerland, and a Swiss government official said that the Three Mile Island accident casts a 'long shadow over that vote.'"

"Denmark's parliament is in the midst of a debate on nuclear power..Newspapers and politicians called Three Mile Island accident a dark warning of what could happen if Denmark goes nuclear." (13)

To sum up the potential impact of the accident and the movement, "Richard Pollack, the Director of Critical Mass Energy Project (a group founded by Ralph Nader) said there has been a shift in the burden of proof from critics to industry leaders. Activists no longer need to prove their point about nuclear energy. Now, the burden falls to the industry to make their case. He said, 'This has been a major turning point for the nuclear industry...They are facing the biggest credibility crisis in their 30-year history'" (5).

Discussion

On Protests, Media Framing and Nuclear Issues

Our main finding was that initial mainstream US media coverage of the protest movement at TMI was more biased than

expected. Consistent with Smith et al., (2001), media coverage focused on the demonstrations and demonstrators at the expense of reporting on nuclear issues. However, our findings refute Smith and colleagues' theory that thematic coverage would be more sympathetic to a movement's cause than episodic coverage. Less than half of the articles that we reviewed supported that contention. We did find support for Parenti's (1986) contention that protest movements are discredited by the media. Almost twice as many articles that we reviewed were slighting (as opposed to sympathetic) toward the movement. Contrary to our expectations, we discovered that newspaper coverage of the TMI protests quickly took on a pro-industry spin. While our findings were gleaned from two respected national newspapers we want to caution that generalizability of our findings may be limited.

Media Framing of the Protest Movement at TMI

A demonstration described as extremely festive, including sunbathing and marijuana smoking, seems unimportant, if not miscreant. On the other hand, by focusing on arrests, the protesters appear militant and out of control. When media reports emphasize youthfulness, they suggest that the protesters are immature and irrational. By comparing all protests to those of the Vietnam War, they can be disregarded as nostalgic imitations and repeats of the past. In all of these cases, when the focus remains on the protesters, and the protesters are described in disparaging and distorted ways, the result is that the movement is trivialized and the concerns go unheard. When the protest itself is described, but the size is severely underestimated, its impact is diminished.

From newspaper reports, we ascertained that the TMI accident sparked protests in at least thirteen states and nine countries. We learned that anti-nuclear activists include biologists, radiologists, professors, other doctors, union leaders, a former engineer for the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, among others. However, activists were not described as concerned, informed citizens. Readers were left with the idea that the activists were not in any way part of the cultural mainstream or in any way experts on the matter. Activists were

described as liberals, socialists and communists; not the sort of people that many ordinary folks wanted to be associated with in 1979 (in the midst of the Cold War era). In the case of the TMI activists, this was more than a stretch of the truth. In Middletown, PA the activists were primarily politically conservative (Culley & Angelique, 2003).

Fairly quickly after the advent of the accident, the media appears to have become savvy in subtly discrediting the protesters. We witnessed less mentioning of experts and more reliance on Hollywood actors, folk singers, etc. During the progression of the six weeks following the accident, we heard less from Harvard biologists and more about those who picnicked in the sun and smoked marijuana. The reader was left with an image of people who are not to be taken seriously; their pursuits and actions were often presented as trivial. When they were not protesting in silly ways, with soaring balloons and folk songs, they were out to cause trouble. They upset perfectly legitimate business meetings and participated in illegal activities. Why? Presumably (according to impressions given by the media) because they were frightened, irrational and/or un-informed.

At the most extreme, the protest movement was more than a nuisance; it was considered the actual cause of the problem. This reversal of blame diverted attention away from the nuclear accident completely and kept the reader focused on the antics of a group of malcontents or hooligans. From the point of view of the main media frames, the protest movement was also typically described as very ineffective. While we could not investigate Parenti's (1986) claims that protesters are discredited by undercounting and omission, we did find clear evidence that descriptions of the appearance and activities of the protesters were derogatory and devalued.

Media Framing of Nuclear Issues

When thematic coverage of nuclear issues were noted, reports often favored industry. The major theme repeated by the industry was that nuclear energy was still safe and no one was harmed. The language used in the reports suggested only minor incidents,

calling the worst nuclear accident in history at that time a mishap, insignificant, minuscule, nothing catastrophic or unplanned for, with no detectable radioactive contamination in the air, water or milk supplies. Even when nuclear plants were shut down because of problems, the industry maintained that nuclear energy was safe and that the real problems lay elsewhere; with the activists, media exaggerations, oil imports, etc., but certainly not with the partial core meltdown at TMI.

In short, we discovered that the media was quick to put an industry spin on protest coverage, despite the highly unexpected conditions, the media distrust of nuclear "experts" and the chaos surrounding the accident. Even in this case, the media posited that, generally, the system works and those who challenge that system are misinformed and/or wrong. Even under these grave circumstances, the status quo appeared to be preferred over change.

Lessons Learned

We approach a renewed nuclear age at the same time that democracy is in a state of turmoil in the US, and under-going significant processes of change in many other parts of the world. There are lessons to be learned from the past. First, we have learned that the media appears willing to be skeptical and somewhat critical of the government and industry in the case of nuclear issues — or at least disposed not to accept all of their assertions at face value, and to cover other points of view. This is an important point. With media criticality, there is a willingness to report on inconsistencies as presented by industry. Second, we learned how easily a protest movement can gain a credibility problem. Third, we discovered efforts to divert attention away from the issue at hand. Being prepared and focused on the issues in question will help prevent protesters from being sidetracked in the future. Fourth, the distrust of government and industry that underpins the protest movement is a catalyst for critical thinking. Critical thinking should remain at the forefront of any protest movement. Finally, and possibly the most important lesson is that despite industry attempts to downplay the accident and despite media coverage of the movement that was largely negative, the anti-nuclear movement

was very successful, with world-wide visibility and impacts. The fundamental marker of this success is the fact that, at the time of this writing, no new nuclear power plants have been commissioned in the US since the TMI accident, over one quarter of a century ago. Active public participation effectively helped to shift the national and international discourse on nuclear power. The protest movement did have an impact for a long period of time. Anti-nuclear activism may seem somewhat dormant today, but we believe it can be reignited in the face of the current political climate of a more pro-nuclear government.

Conclusion

The protest movement appeared to be founded on distrust for government and industry officials. This position was corroborated by media distrust of the nuclear industry. Protesters reported on evidence of radioactive contamination that was gathered from independent sources. With their own data on health and safety risks, the protest movement prepared for legal battles in addition to the peaceful protests reported around the world.

The importance of media framing on public opinion must be underscored. Initially, mass media controlled images to shape the collective consciousness toward an anti-nuclear position. However, within weeks of the accident, media coverage became biased against the protest movement, helping to shift the collective consciousness from an anti-nuclear to a more neutral position. Early media framing and the problem of a quarter century of historical forgetting together helped to create a social memory that presented nuclear issues in a neutral (or positive) light.

After the crisis at TMI, activists referred to their efforts as democracy in the shadows (Walsh, 1988). Today, we would go further and assert that the US faces a democracy in crisis. For democracy to be meaningful, individuals must be free to participate publically in all aspects of society of public interest. A successful democratic process requires effective participation, a critical understanding of issues and control of the decision-making agenda. In this paper, we

underscored the importance of highlighting the TMI accident and subsequent protest, given the current political climate and the potential of socio-historical forgetting. Embedded within the dominant discourse and media framing that the nuclear accident at TMI was not too serious, and that the activists were a nuisance, lies another story – a complex story that after the accident everything changed about the way almost everyone thought about nuclear energy around the world. The fact is that most people began to think about the issue in new ways, began to think critically about the issue, whether they were for or against nuclear energy. The story of protest against TMI is a story of public participation as a mechanism of social change. The protest movement shattered the (partly real, partly illusory) consensus and public acquiescence about nuclear power – it made clear that large numbers of US and world citizens were no longer willing to "leave it to the authorities." And it is an inspiring story that reminds us of the importance of public, critical, engaged, political participation.

Notes

[1]. TMI consists of two units. Unit 1 began operation in 1974 and was shut down for refueling (a process of replacing highly radioactive fuel) at the time of the accident. Unit 2 began operation in December, 1978, only three months before the accident. The site of the accident was Unit 2. (Walsh, 1988; Walker, 2004, Osif, Baratta & Conkling, 2004)

[2]. The reactor core is the part of the nuclear reactor that contains radioactive fuel elements (Osif et al., 2004)

[3]. It should be noted that the Middletown/ Harrisburg area did not have an appropriate evacuation plan in place. There were 600,000 people living within a twenty mile radius of the plant. There were thirteen hospitals and one prison (Walker, 2004). To this date, critics contend that the area still has no adequate evacuation plan (Lenton, 2005).

[4]. To call Unit 1 undamaged is a stretch. According to Walsh (1988), GPU discovered that sulfur in a coolant system had eroded 29,000 tubes in Unit 1's steam generator in November, 1981. In May, 1981, GPU planned to repair all 31,000 tubes.

5. Numbers refer to articles as they are numbered in Table 1.

6. Unless otherwise noted, italics in news quotes are used for emphasis at the authors' discretion.

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In Search of Community In Western Australia: A Qualitative Study of Adults Conceptualisations of Their Communities

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Communities are dynamic, historically determined, and complex, and the topic itself has concerned social scientists for some time (Durkheim, 1964, Weisenfeld, 1996). However, there has been an intrinsic problem in previous research arising from the ambiguity of the concept of 'community', specifically, the contradictions concerning its essential meaning. The aim of this study was to determine whether there are other ways of thinking about community without taking on any unwanted connotations of previous conceptualisations from past research. The research was based on the social constructivist paradigm and qualitative methodology was employed. Conceptualisations of the term community were surveyed among 16 participants using semi-structured in-depth interviews. Results were analysed using analytic induction methodology. Participants identified seven interrelated concepts: geographic attachment to place, communality, social interaction, active involvement and participation, family, sense of belonging, and transience. From this research, understanding of the term 'community' has been shown to have far reaching implications, which involve influencing the assumptions underlying community development initiatives and programs promoting social change. Furthermore, a socio-psychological understanding of community can help to facilitate the intentional creation of community when and where it is needed.

While the idea of community has been studied at length in the United States of America and the United Kingdom (Puddifoot, 1996), community studies in Australia are relatively recent in comparison (Bishop, Sonn, Drew & Contos, 2000). There are major differences between the Australian context and that of the United States of America and the United Kingdom. For example, Australia has a different socio-political history to both these countries (Archer, 1997; Rappaport, 1977). Furthermore, geographic size, population demographics, urbanisation, and distances between major towns and cities are also major differences between all three countries (Jupp,1997). One of the implications of these differences is their unique influence on how Australians, particularly people living in the Perth metropolitan area, view and understand the notion of community.

There is a need to seek another way of thinking about community without incorporating any unwanted connotations of previous conceptualisations, since previous research within the area has tended to obscure rather than clarify this concept of 'community' (Puddifoot, 1995). Previous research has indicated that there is an intrinsic problem concerning the difficulty of the concept of 'community'. That is, there are contradictions concerning its essential meaning (Puddifoot). Many definitions of the term 'community' have been offered during the past 100 years. Over 40 years ago, Hillery (1955) noted 94 different definitions of community that had been cited within the research literature. However, as Puddifoot noted, the 'catch-all' nature of these definitions inevitably lead to a dilution of the essential nature of the phenomenon.

Theories and Definitions
Although there have been many attempts to define the term community no definitive definition has been proposed. From the literature reviewed, four broad perspectives on community have emerged. First, community as a geography or territory, which has a finite and bounded physical location. Second, community as a local social system, with interrelated social institutions

and relationships. Third, community as a particular kind of human association or relationship irrespective of location, for example, relationships of tradition or religion. Fourth, community as ideology, which is an expression of what it should be rather than what it is – 'the good life' (Hillery, 1955; Heller, 1989; Wiesenfeld, 1996).

Garcia, Giuliani and Wiesenfeld's (1999) definition of community as "a dynamic whole with the structural and functional aspects permanently articulated with each other" (p. 730) is the most comprehensive and workable to date (Chavis & Pretty, 1999). However, the term community remains an abstract concept containing several dimensions (Bulmer, 1985; Day & Murdoch, 1993). The need to study, explore and understand these dimensions have led to the development of models and measures of how people feel about living within a community

Dimensions of Community

The identification and examination of the processes and dimensions that are specific to community, and are not found in other social structures, provide much of the rationale for regarding 'community' as a distinct area of investigation. Two concepts closely related to community are sense of community (SOC) (McMillan & Chavis, 1986) and community identity (Puddifoot, 1994, 1995, 1996). The components of these concepts and their relation to similar ones, including community attachment (Riger & Lavrakas, 1981) and community satisfaction (Bardo & Hughey, 1984; White, 1985), are considered to be fundamental to the comprehension of community phenomena (Garcia, et al., 1999). These models also detail how the various definitions of community within the literature have influenced the way researchers have sought to understand and measure community.

Sarason (1974) termed sense of community as being characterised by "the perception of similarities to others, an acknowledged interdependence with others, a willingness to maintain this interdependence by giving to or doing for others what one expects from them, (and) the feeling that one is part of a larger dependable and stable structure" (p. 157).

A comprehensive theory for SOC was created by McMillan and Chavis (1986), in which they conceptualised and identified four underlying, interrelated, dimensions of SOC. The first dimension was membership, which had four attributes: boundaries, emotional safety, sense of belonging and personal investment. The second dimension, the capacity to influence the referent group, also has four attributes: attraction to the community in which one feels one has power, conformity to the community to which one feels belonging, the need for consensual validation within the community and reciprocal and concurrent influence between the individual and community. The third dimension of SOC is the collective meeting of need, that is, the implication that community is distinguished by its capacity to organise for the mutual needs of its members. The fourth dimension, a shared emotional connection, is an affective component based upon opportunities to share, experience, and resolve events through the development of trusting bonds.

The importance of this model is that it demonstrated that an operational definition of the term 'community' can be formed, since there is agreement on what living in a community is like, that is, SOC. The model also treated SOC as a multidimensional construct which has been very influential in the consideration of the term 'community' as multidimensional as well.

However, research (e.g. Hedges & Kelly, 1992) suggests that SOC is, to a significant extent, setting specific. That is, often the results of these studies cannot be replicated or generalised since their premise was based on the definition of community as a clearly defined geographic locality. Since the conception of SOC's, researchers have remained unclear about whether it should be a part of the definition of community, or whether it should be considered to be the product of a developmental process that is parallel to the community's own development (Garcia et al., 1999).

In an effort to incorporate past models of the dimensions underlying community and to foster the comparative analyses of different communities, Puddifoot (1994, 1995, 1996) developed the notion of community identity. Puddifoot (1996) viewed 'community' as a positive, meaningful entity that provided order to

Table 1
Elements and Dimensions of Community Identity

Element		Dimension
E1: Locus	**D1**	Members' own perceptions of boundaries and key topographical/built features
	D2	Members' own perceptions of key social/cultural characteristics of their community
E2: Distinctiveness	**D3**	Members' own perceptions of the degree of physical distinctiveness of their community
	D4	Members' own perceptions of the degree of distinctiveness of key social/cultural characteristics of their community
	D5	Members' own perceptions of the special character of their community
E3: Identification	**D6**	Members' perceptions of their own affiliation/belonging/ emotional connectedness to location
	D7	Members' perceptions of their own affiliation/belonging/ emotional connectedness to social/cultural groups/forms
	D8	Members' perceptions of others' affiliation/belonging/ emotional connectedness to location
	D9	Members' perceptions of others' affiliation/belonging/ emotional connectedness to social/cultural groups or forms
E4: Orientation	**D10**	Members' own reasons for identifying (or not) with the community
	D11	Members' own orientations to their community
E5: Evaluation of community life	**D12**	Members' own evaluations of the quality of community life
	D13	Members' perceptions of others' evaluation of the quality of human life
E6: Evaluation of community	**D14**	Members' own evaluations of community functioning

everyday life. He assumed that 'community' involved living in, belonging to, and having some commitment to a specific area. From a review of the research literature Puddifoot (1994, 1995, 1996) identified 14 dimensions underling community identity, which were then divided into six broad elements. These are summarised in Table 1.

Important features of communities include community services, leisure services, health services, commercial services, economic and other opportunities, the quality of life, the quality of the environment, the quality of decision making, and the ability to influence decisions. Of specific relevance to the present study are the elements of identification, orientation and evaluation of community life, with specific reference to dimensions 6, 7, 10, 11, and 12.

Puddifoot (1996) argued that regardless of the different theoretical perspectives and methodologies, most theorists have come to similar conclusions about the nature of community and its underlying dimensions/ concepts. Puddifoot suggests that the term 'community' is a multidimensional construct. However, one of the major problems with this model is that it is applicable only to specific geographic areas and localities.

Studies have shown that many people now attain their identities and experience feelings of belonging in communities that are not only located within specific geographic areas, but with relational communities as well (Heller, 1989; McMillan & Chavis, 1986; Sonn & Fisher, 1996). Therefore, the application and measurement of the dimensions of community need to be extended beyond the geographical units such as the block, neighbourhood, community or city to incorporate and examine the relational aspects that may be important to its members (Royal & Rossi, 1996). In order to achieve this, the term 'community' needs to be clarified and understood first.

The relationship between community and the models surrounding its measurement has been studied at length in the United States of America and the United Kingdom. While they have been applied with modifications in Australia (e.g., Coakes & Bishop, 1996; Fisher & Sonn, 1999; Rapley & Hopgood, 1997; Sonn, Bishop & Drew, 1999; Sonn & Fisher, 1996), results have been mixed and varied. While these three countries have more communalities than differences, as mentioned earlier, Australia has a different sociopolitical history and geographic infrastructure to both the United States of America and the United Kingdom (Archer, 1997). Furthermore, its geographic isolation, particularly in the case Perth, from other towns, cities and countries (Bishop, et al., 2000), may also be considered an influential factor in the way Australians may conceptualise the term community.

Added to this is the relative newness of Australia as a nation (federation was in 1901) which has implications for the development of community. In the United Kingdom and the United States studies indicate that the longer an individual resides in a community, the more they interact with others residing in the same area, and this in turn influences their feelings and perceptions of how they feel about living in that area (Garicia, et al., 1999). In addition, the locality of residence is often the place of birth of residents, as well as a source of family ties (Puddifoot, 1994). Added to this, the Australian ideology and government policies of multiculturalism have created a space for cultural diversity, which plays an important role in

peoples' perceptions of community.

The issue of urbanisation and distance is also a distinguishing feature between Australia and the United States and the United Kingdom. Australia may be of similar size to the United States, but has only 7% of its total population (Hugo, 1996). Physically Australia is approximately 30 times the size of the United Kingdom, but has only 32% of its total population (Hugo). Within Australia, Western Australia is the largest state, occupying 33% of the total landmass, but comprises only 10% of the total population (Hugo). Additionally, Australia is considered to be the most urbanised country in the world (per capita). The size and distances between major towns and cities may influence how Australians, and people living in the Perth (Western Australia) metropolitan area particularly, view and understand the notion of community.

The Australian, particularly the Perth metropolitan, context of community is unique and comparatively different in geographic size, population density, and demographic profile. Accordingly, the underlying assumptions guiding the present research process is that the meaning and understanding of the term community will differ in Australia from those offered by research in the United States and the United Kingdom.

Method

Research Design

This current research used qualitative methodology to allow an understanding of what the term community means in a contextual, holistic way, (Wiesenfeld, 1997). An interview-based research design was used in order to assess the complexities and processes that emphasised the participants' frame of reference (Marshall & Rossman, 1989).

Participants

A purposive rather than representative (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Patton, 1990) participant selection process was utilised where adults (over 18) of both genders, at different ages and from different cultural/ethnic backgrounds were sought out to participate. Therefore, the sample consisted of 16 participants, 8 males and 8 females, whose ages ranged from 18 to 68 (M = 38.31, SD = 15.59). The number of interview

Table 2
Broad Concepts and Specific Dimensions Representing Concepts of 'Community'

CONCEPT	DIMENSIONS
Geographical Attachment to Place	
Communality	: shared responsibility
	: shared interests
	: shared goals
	: shared ideas
	: shared past
Social Interaction	: social networks
	: support
	: helping behaviour
Active Involvement and Participation	: having a voice
	: having influence
	: making a contribution
Family	
Sense of Belonging	: safety and security
	: comfort

participants was determined when the information elicited reached saturation point (Lincoln & Guba, 1995).

Materials and Procedure

An interview schedule was developed to discover the participants understanding, experiences and interpretation of the term community (see Appendix). The recorded interviews lasted approximately 30 minutes to an hour. Data collection and analysis occurred simultaneously as the data was repeatedly organised and coded according to the conceptual themes that emerged. The themes were derived from the theoretical frameworks, the research question, and each former participant interview. A list of the major ideas, concepts and themes were then member checked (Cresswell, 1994) and resulted in a conceptual model for the emergent theory of understanding the underlying concepts of how participants made sense of the term 'community'.

Results and Discussion

The aim and objective of this study was to broaden the information base on 'community', and to explore the conceptions underlying individuals' understandings of the term 'community'. The following vignette is a compilation of participants' responses and observations about how they responded to the concept of community:

"Community involves where you live, your neighbours, your suburb. On the other hand it also includes a group of people who are bonded together through similar values, beliefs and identity, who do not necessarily live in the same area. People within a community support one another and offer help when it is needed, and they get involved and participate in things that matter within the community. Community also involves the family, since family is a group of people who share a certain commitment together. When a person belongs to a community they feel accepted and loved, and this sense of belonging

provides a feeling of security and safety. This sense of belonging means that one can feel a connection to more than one group since community is something that is dynamic; its changing all the time depending upon the needs of the individuals within it."

The concepts that emerged from the data are multidimensional, and reflect similarities and differences to previous findings in related areas, supporting the rationale that West Australians may conceptualise the term 'community' differently. However, as the sample only consists of 16 participants further research may verify be needed for verification of the results. A summary of the broad concepts and specific dimensions arising from the interviews are in Table 2.

This conceptualisation of community reflects similarities to those expressed in the literature, comprising ideas and notions expressed by Hillery (1955) and Wiesenfeld (1996) for example. One of the reasons for the similarities may be the fact that each previous definition explored in the literature contained one or more of the concepts of the term community as identified in the present study. While participants in the current study were able to distinguish between their 'ideal' community, and the reality of the community to which they felt they belonged, community was overwhelmingly viewed as an important, positive entity. Accordingly, community is a key word that is of considerable importance in society, and a concept that has figured predominantly in discussions of the very nature of society (Wild, 1981).

Geographical Attachment to Place

Geographic attachment to place referred to the ties that participants felt toward their geographic place of residence. According to the data, geographic community, whether it be neighbourhood, suburb, town or city is still a major concept underlying the participants' understanding of community. Comments included:

"For me community involves where you live, your neighbours"
"I see it [community] as a group who basically live in a suburb"
Upon further analysis, the data revealed that,

while all participants were able to identify an aspect of community as geographical, not all personally identified as belonging to a geographical community, as is highlighted by the following:

"With me working at the Fremantle Hospital, you've got people that you work with and that's another part of your life which is still part of community, it's just a working community".

The data also suggested that the geographical layout of an area, and its associated environment, play an integral part in everyday life. Furthermore, the length of time participants had lived in a place also determined the extent of their geographical attachment. This is illustrated by the following comment:

"We've lived here in Mount Pleasant for a long while now, but before that we were living in a house down the road. We found that we like the area so much that when we decided to move, we decided to pick the same community".

While one may consider that the neighbourhood is not more than a minor element in the grander concept of community (e.g., Wellman, 1979; cited in Unger & Wandersman, 1985), it still remains an integral part. There is a need to view the link between geographic location and community from alternative points of view in greater detail, and the emergence of this concept from the data has several implications. Firstly, this result highlights the point made by Warren (1963) that social life has to take place somewhere, and any discussion of community needs to have some territorial reference, in order for it to be distinguishable and measurable. Secondly, it indicates the presence of Puddifoot's (1994, 1995, 1996) first and second elements of community identity, namely Locus and Distinctiveness. However, the results of this study do not distinguish between the various dimensions identified by Puddifoot, possibly because the term community has been conceptualised differently.

Thirdly, it implies that the notion of community does not have to be distinguished as either relational or geographic as previously

argued (Gusfield, 1975; Heller, 1989). The results of the present study indicate that the discussion of the term community may be both geographical and relational, since all participants noted that they belonged to more than one community. This is further supported by the work of Riger and Lavrakas (1981) who divided affective attachment to community into two dimensions: "Physical Rootedness" which refers to the link between people and their physical environment, and "Social Bonding" the link between people and their relational environment. In a recent study, Tartaglia (2006) examined a new model for sense of community and found two factors that represented the affective ties with aspects of the local community, the physical (ie. Place Attachment), and the relational (Social Bonds). These two factors are consistent with the model of community ties proposed by Riger and Lavrakas. The inclusion of place attachment in Tartaglia's model supports the territorial and relational dimensions of community.

Communality

Communality is the subjective feeling that people belong together. Data collected suggested that the concept of communality includes the attributes of shared responsibility, shared interests, shared goals, and shared ideas. It is these "common things" that are thought of, by participants' as providing a "bond" and "connection" between people. An example included:

 "Community is a group of people who are bonded together through sharing a similar set of values and beliefs and identity …identify themselves as being part of a larger group"

Participants noted that when people live or work in close proximity to one another, or are involved in groups or organisations that meet regularly, they can communicate more frequently about how they view their world and how they cope with it. This point is illustrated by the following observation:

"The more experiences people share the more they can identify with other people …the more that other people can identify with each other".

Regardless of which community, or how many communities participants felt that they belonged to, certain elements appear to be essential in a community. These include: a core of commonness or the concept of communality, as identified by participants, that includes a collective perspective, agreed upon definitions, and some agreement about values. Communities are unique social collectives because they provide a context for personal integration (Wild, 1981), and the emergence of this concept supports Puddifoot's (1994, 1995, 1996) fourth element of community identity, namely Orientation. Furthermore, the results of the present study support components of Wiesenfeld's (1996) discussion on community, that is, members of a community are committed to the extent of identifying directly or indirectly with the whole, and by having shared rather than just having functional bonds with others.

Social Interaction

Social interaction refers to the degree to which some people engage in social interactions with one another. It is an individual level concept, and factors such as social networks, the availability of support and help, appeared to be very significant when discussing this concept of community. Social networks refer to a person's overall connections to others with regard to the supportive content of its ties, while social support refers to the various resources that can be provided by supportive interpersonal relationships. Participants noted that this support could be social, emotional or physical. The importance of these factors was stressed by all participants, and is evident from the following remark:

"Community is a group of people that can help you if you ask for it …it is a group of people that can support and help you like the Huntington's Disease Support Association".

Furthermore, participants noted that this support was through informal networks, offering them a sense of "togetherness". As illustrated by this participants' reflection:

 "The good thing about this community is that you get support from one another, being a community and a diverse group of people and especially with your neighbours, you support each other in many ways"

Data suggested that social interaction has a

"buffering" effect, and that the "helping" behaviour of people within the various communities may be identified as resources for helping others to cope with stressors, to promote psychological adjustment and wellbeing, and to improve the overall "quality of life". From the data it is apparent that the more people interact, the more they tend to develop similar feelings and understandings. As previously stated, these are related to the concepts of communality and sense of belonging since it fostered feelings of being connected.

In relation to results from previous studies (Chavis & McMillan, 1986; Heller, 1989; Royal & Rossi, 1996) and definitions of community (Gusfield, 1975; Hillary, 1955; Warren, 1963; Wiesenfeld; 1996) social support and help are increasingly being found, not just in the local neighbourhood, but through social interaction within social networks. From the results, of the present study, it appears that what brings people together is not just locality, but something common around which social relationships develop. The provision of social support through bonds within the community is a key area of interest for mental health professionals (Riger & Lavrakas, 1981), and the importance of social interaction lies in the fact that social networks provide a mediating structure for society (Heller, 1989). That is, they serve to connect individuals to the larger whole by supplementing interaction with the community, thus, encouraging the fourth concept of active involvement and participation. Previous researchers have indicated that both these concepts are central to any discussion on community and should be included in any definition of the term (Buckner, 1988; Glynn, 1981; McMillan & Chavis, 1986; Sarason, 1974).

Active Involvement and Participation

Involvement and participation refer to the process by which individuals take part in the decision-making processes of groups or institutions that affect them (Unger & Wandersman, 1995). It is a community level concept, and issues relevant to involvement and participation were particularly emphasised by most participants, even those who did not

feel that they were involved, or that they participated in the community. The type and extent of involvement and participation differed among participants, ranging from political participation in community organisations to voluntary action in voluntary associations. Many participants commented that their overall participation within their community depended upon their own and the community's "needs". This point is reflected by the following remark:

"I'm comfortable with not doing much in the community, but if I saw a need and I could help in that need then I would do it, but it would depend on the need".

Data collected suggest that the attributes of having a voice, and having an influence over the community are related, and are considered by participants to be important. This influence appears to be bi-directional, and is illustrated by the following comment:

"Carramar is a really new community and everyone seems to have the feeling where they're involved with what's going on within the community …if something happens in the area, well they seem to band together and get everyone's point of view and what to do about the problem, and that's great because someone else wants your opinion on what to do."

Making a contribution was considered to be the impetus behind why many participants were involved and participated within their respective communities. The following observation is indicative:

"Because I feel that I'm active in the community I feel like I'm making some sort of contribution …and it makes me feel good"

Being involved and participating in one's community, much like the individual level concept of social interaction, are also related to the concepts of communality and sense of belonging.

The concept and related ideas of active involvement and participation are consistent with some of the definitions and theories of community presented in the literature (e.g. Gusfield, 1975; Hillery, 1955; Warren, 1963;

Wiesenfeld; 1996). In addition, it equates to Heller's (1989) third attribute of community – as a collective power, and Buckner's (1988) theory of neighbourhood cohesion, specifically residents' sense of community and attraction to community, and the degree of their social interaction.

The concepts of active involvement and participation also form a major part of McMillan and Chavis' (1986) second and third dimension underlying their definition of sense of community: namely, the capacity to influence the referent group, and the collective meeting of need. According to McMillan and Chavis, these dimensions are of particular importance because they promote social changes, influence self-identity, and impact upon self-efficacy. This concept is also related to Puddifoot's (1994, 1995, 1996) fifth element of community identity, namely Evaluation of Community Life, since it appears that participants used the degree of their social interaction, active involvement, and participation in community affairs as their benchmark for the quality of community life.

Family

Family is a subject that was repeatedly discussed as a constituent of the term community. For all participants, family referred to those people of immediate blood relation, or step families that lived in the same house. The subject of family was considered significant by all participants, particularly with reference to community, since every person interviewed considered family to be part of their 'definition' of community. Comments included:

"…community to me is a lot to do with family, centers on family"
"Coming from an Aboriginal family and growing up with all of my family in Kalgoorlie, community to me would probably be people around me that mean a lot to me … friends and family"

Data collected indicated that children were identified as influencing the type of social interaction, and community involvement and participation. Children appeared to influence the type of community organisations that people were involved in, as well as the frequency of their involvement. One participant commented:

"When we had kids we did a lot more because you're a lot more involved in the community when you've got youngsters going to school with playgroups, dancing lessons …once they leave, you don't have the involvement with the community like you used to have".

The data suggests that any discussion of community needs to include the concept of family.

The emergence of 'family' as a central conception underlying the discussion of community indicates the importance of its inclusion in any future discussion or research into the area. Not only does family promote integration into the community, but it also forms the basis of social support and social networks that exist within any community. The significance of this result suggests that friends, neighbours and family be included as concepts in any analysis of community (Bulmer, 1985), since these relationships and associations are often located outside the 'neighbourhood' yet are still considered part of community.

Sense of Belonging

Sense of belonging alludes to feelings of group acceptance and devotion (McMillan & Chavis, 1986). From the analysis of the interview transcripts, it appears that the specific communities to which participants felt that they belonged, was influenced by the way they felt. Overwhelmingly these feelings were of a positive nature, mostly related to feelings of acceptance and a sense of relatedness. This point is highlighted by one participant who suggested that:

"a person who belongs to a certain community would have a greater sense of well-being and happiness and I just think that most people need that sort of …sense of belonging"

Data suggested that these feelings were created and maintained by a safe environment, and familiarity with the community to which participants felt they belonged. The issues of safety, security, and comfort were raised by all participants. This is suggested by this remark:

"The ability to identify with a certain group of people is very important and it gives a lot

of people security"

A sense of belonging and a sense of security, safety and comfort are shown to be important positive phenomena for all those living and interacting within a community. It is also apparent from the data that this concept is closely related to the degree of social interaction within a community, as well as being involved and participating at the community level.

Further analysis of the interviews showed a clear presence of some of the elements that make up the definition proposed by Minar and Greer (1968), as well as elements of the sense of community as proposed by Doolittle and MacDonald (1978) and the sense of belonging proposed by McMillan and Chavis (1986). This concept also highlights Puddifoot's (1994, 1995, 1996) third element of community identity, namely Identification, with specific reference to dimensions 6 and 7. These dimensions involve participants' perceptions of their own affiliation/belonging/emotional connectedness to location, and to social/cultural groups/forms. The results indicate that multiple elements are attached to this idea of a sense of belonging, which include safety, security and comfort. Accordingly community is partly based on the subjective feelings that individuals within the community have of belonging together. This concept of sense of belonging is evident in all definitions and models of community within the literature, although its exact nature and relationship to the term 'community' remains unresolved.

Transience

The notion of community as transient emerged from the interviews. Transience refers to the ever-changing nature of community, that is, community is seen as dynamic and constantly changing according to the needs of its members. Participants remarked that

"community is something that is dynamic … its changing all the time"

and

"I think of the Perth community as being a multi-ethnic melting pot of

various races and backgrounds and religions".

Furthermore, it is apparent from the data that membership within specific communities is also seen as dynamic. In addition to the demands and actions required for community involvement and participation, individuals must simultaneously deal with the many distinct identities that are interdependent by nature. For example, fulfilling the role of family member, student and employee. According to participants, it is this self-identity that allows them to feel a part of more than one community. This issue is illustrated by the following:

"I think my conception of community as it stands is me. I think that there's a lot of other communities that I would feel that I'm part of, like I feel I'm a part of the university community. I feel like I'm part of the north of the river community, I feel like I'm part of a middle class Australian community. I feel like at times I'm part of the gay community as well as a male community"

Data collected suggested that this notion of the transience may explain why some people identify community as either geographic or relational, or both. For example, a participant explained:

"When I think of community I think about it in terms of religious communities, ethnic communities, communities of belief, …and then you can look at communities based on location to where you are at a particular point in time, so I guess to me community is all of these things mingled together"

The data suggested that this particular concept is independent of the interrelationships between the other identified concepts. Regardless of how community is defined, or how one feels about belonging to a particular community, it is still seen as constantly changing according to the needs of the individual.

Participants noted that individual differences allow communities to be dynamic and transient in order to facilitate and cope

with change. Durkheim (1964) and Tonnies (1957) discussed the notion of community as something stable that is eroding, as society becomes more modern. The results of this study indicate that contemporary communities and the people within them are capable of changing and adapting, in order to facilitate their needs. Community has not necessarily been eroded, it has simply changed over time.

The findings of the current study raise a series of questions concerning the definitional nature of community which need to be clarified through future research. For example, the way in which participants identified themselves tended to influence the type of community to which they felt they belonged. Further, the extent of the involvement and participation of participants in their communities seemed to influence the extent to which they felt they belonged. The concept of sense of belonging appears to be related to whether community is seen as a positive or negative entity. These relationships need to be explored further.

Future studies could also be undertaken throughout Australia to establish an 'Australian' conceptualisation of the term 'community' and could advance this study from the individual level to the community level in order to gain a deeper understanding of the importance of the social, cognitive and affective components of community. This may enable a more holistic model of the 'Australian community' to be developed.

Conclusion

In Perth, Western Australia, heterogeneity and individual differences appear to be valued, and diversity is encouraged (Bishop, et al., 2000). As previously mentioned, Western Australia, and Perth specifically, appear to be unique due their geographical size and isolation, the demographic composition, and the socio-political history. These may be some of the reasons why participants felt ties to more than one community, and may be unique to this study, since the context in which it was conducted differs from other published theories and research originating in the United States (e.g., Buckner, 1988) and the United

Kingdom (e.g., Puddifoot, 1994, 1995, 1996).

It can be seen from the literature and the results of the present study that the concept of community is a multifaceted term (Heller, 1989). People belong to multiple communities bound by the places in which they live and work, the institutions and organisations to which they belong, and by their shared activities with others. For example, the village is a community, so is the city, the neighbourhood, membership in a religious, racial or political group, or membership in a professional organisation. The definitional status of the term community may remain unresolved, but the results of the present study indicate that 'community' is a universal concept that is still evolving. It can be concluded from the current study that there are many concepts and issues influencing people's understandings of the term 'community', and it is hoped that future research will aid in qualifying the concepts identified in this study in order to facilitate a greater understanding of 'community' in the Australian context.

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Interview Schedule

The interview schedule is divided into four parts:

1. *Beginning the interview –*

    a) Tell me about yourself (demographic details)

    b) Tell me in your own words what you think of when I say the word 'community'. I have no particular set of questions to ask you. I want you to tell me what the term 'community' means to you, and why it is important to you. There is no right or wrong answer. Just tell me in a way that is most comfortable for you

2. *Facilitating recall -*

To help think of your understanding of the meaning of 'community', other people have indicated that this may include: ties to a geographical area or relational ties to people or groups in other areas around Perth, Australia, or the world.

3. *Prompts and further questions -*

    a) How long have you lived here?

    b) Tell me about your community:

    c) How would you describe your community?

    d) How do you see yourself in the community?

    e) What does your community mean to you?

    f) Tell me about good things in your community

    g) Tell me about bad things in your community - Why do you think that is?

4. *Clarify uncertainties with follow up questions.*

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Lessons drawn from the
Enhancing Relationships in School Communities Project

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This paper describes the Enhancing Relationships in School Communities (ERIS) project, which was designed to provide support to primary schools for creating school communities that could resolve conflicts productively, address issues of cultural diversity positively, and enhance relationships among teachers, children and parents in the school community. Professional learning teams from twelve schools took part in a series of workshops and school visits over an 18-month period. This paper describes the background and rationale behind the approach taken. A series of lessons for project implementation in schools drawn from the research literature and the ERIS experience are discussed. These include the importance of building in methods for schools to take ownership of the program; involving school leadership; developing teachers' capacities to implement programs through extended skills development; offering support for overcoming obstacles to implementation over an extended period of time; assisting schools in integrating the programs for their own needs in the context of their specific school structures and processes; and ensuring that the project is truly collaborative so that the program developers maintain an enquiring and open stance in relation to learning from those they are supporting.

The aim of this paper is to describe and draw lessons from a project designed to enhance primary schools' capacities to foster peaceful and productive relationships in their school communities. Twelve Victorian schools participated in the *Enhancing Relationships in School Communities* (ERIS) project over an 18 month period from February 2005 to June 2006. The project was designed to provide support for creating school communities that could resolve conflicts productively, address issues of cultural diversity positively, and enhance relationships among teachers, children and parents in the school community.

Background to the project

In 2003, Psychologists for Peace (PFP; an interest group of the Australian Psychological Society, at that time called Psychologists for the Promotion of World Peace) decided to establish a Peace Education Coordinator position, filled by Margot Trinder, with a mandate to develop peace education programs in schools, and work towards the role becoming self-funding. The aims of PFP are to: encourage the study of issues related to

the promotion of peace and prevention of war; acquire and disseminate knowledge about psychological issues related to war and conflict; advocate and promote the use of peaceful rather than violent methods for the resolution of conflict; and liaise with other professional groups whose aims are congruent with those of PFP and in accordance with those of the Society. In response to this impetus, Margot and a team of interested psychologists from University of Melbourne and La Trobe University developed the idea for the ERIS project which eventually culminated in $75,000 funding from Scanlon (formerly Brencorp) Foundation to run the project.

In the early stages, the developers discussed different models for approaching a project that had the aim of fostering peace education in schools. The options centred around whether to go for breadth or depth. Conducting one or two day centrally located workshops for school staff and providing them with relevant curricula to use with their students would ensure maximum exposure of the ideas and resources to a large number of schools and students. The options at the other end of this continuum included offering a lengthier

intervention to a limited number of schools in which a series of workshops would be presented over an extended period of time. In addition to centrally located workshops, school visits would take place to support implementation of the project in the schools. Ultimately the developers chose the latter model. This paper outlines the rationale for this choice and also describes the lessons learned from the ERIS project which have convinced us that we made the better choice for our aims.

The ERIS project consisted of a program in which professional learning teams of three to five teachers and principals (or assistant principals) from participating schools took part in workshops and received school visits from an ERIS consultant over a period of 18 months. The aims of the ERIS project were to enhance the well-being of children and full school communities through building competencies in resolving conflict constructively and building positive relationships. We hoped to help the schools create a whole-school environment with better conflict management abilities and awareness of cultural diversity issues. More specifically, the program was designed to help (1) develop teachers' skills for managing conflict situations in the playground and classroom, as well as with other staff and parents; (2) support the development of improved curriculum in conflict management and cultural diversity; and (3) impact on policy in the school in relation to conflict resolution and cultural diversity. Therefore, the project took a broad approach to fostering relationships, by addressing ways to negotiate with others co-operatively, handle conflict constructively and enhance awareness of cultural diversity and how schools may address these issues within their community and in curricula.

Our approach was to assist schools in defining their specific community needs and then to support them in utilising a core set of curriculum resources and developing further resources and skills to meet their individual goals. The project took a whole school approach in which interventions were aimed at not just classroom curriculum changes, but also changes in staff relationships, parent-teacher relationships and school-community relationships.

Rationale for the project approach

There were several sources which informed the format and processes chosen for the ERIS project: our own prior experiences in school intervention programs, previous published research including the literature on school change, and our consultations with the school communities when developing the program. From these sources specific factors that would need to be addressed to ensure maximum impact of ERIS were identified.

Impressions from our own prior experiences in school intervention programs

Most of our team had previous hands on experience in school intervention programs of longer or shorter duration. Our own experiences in evaluated programs were that short-term interventions often had limited impact and where changes had been achieved they were difficult to sustain. Therefore, while brief interventions could be useful for examining specific elements of programs in a controlled manner to incrementally inform the field of research, it appeared from our own work that longer, more intensive interventions would be needed if one wanted to make substantial and lasting changes in the schools.

Lessons in the literature

A second source for informing the process chosen for the ERIS project was the existing research literature on implementing change in school communities. At the time we explored mostly the conflict resolution literature and the generic literature on school change, however, the principles could easily be generalised to teaching about issues of cultural diversity, which was our other key area of interest in the project, and to other fields of change in schools.

Many of the current interventions that aim to improve conflict resolution in schools focus on developing student skills. Possible underlying assumptions for this focus are that conflict in schools is confined to students and that teachers have necessary knowledge and skills to teach the programs. However, Raider (1995) has suggested that teachers often need the opportunity to extend their own skills in resolving their own, and mediating others' conflicts, and that a focus on teachers' own conflict management skills is often neglected. A number of researchers concur with this view (Elias, Zins, Graczyk & Weissberg,

2003; Girard & Koch, 1996; Jones & Compton, 2003) arguing that teachers who are expected to implement change are often offered too little in the way of preparation and support, and that needs of adult learners tend to be neglected. Therefore bringing about effective conflict resolution processes in schools involves not only teaching children concepts and processes, but also enhancing the teachers' own skills so they can model effective conflict resolution strategies, use their skills in wider interactions with the school community, and teach those skills to children most effectively.

Similar issues arise in the area of cultural diversity. Unless teachers' own attitudes towards diverse cultures are positive, enquiring, empathic and open-minded, it is unlikely that the teachers will be able to communicate these values convincingly to students in their classes. Therefore, teachers need time to explore issues of cultural diversity and to consider how they might work with students to increase awareness and understanding of the value and challenges of diversity.

Consistent with these ideas, past research on school improvement places teacher professional development at the heart of creating lasting change in schools (Hargreaves, 1997; Stoll, 1999) and researchers have argued that there has been insufficient focus on professional development for teachers and school leaders in the domain of relationship building in general (Girard & Koch, 1996; Jones & Compton, 2003). Furthermore, teachers need sufficient time to thoroughly integrate new skills and attitudes (Freeman & Marshall, 2003; Freeman, Strong, Cahill, Wyn, & Shaw, 2003; Labaree, 2003). Thus, it appears that teacher capacity to put into place skills and curricula related to conflict resolution programs and cultural diversity needs to be directly supported.

Research findings also suggest that school-based conflict resolution programs are generally very well received initially; however, they are often not sustained over time (Deutsch & Coleman, 2000; D.W. Johnson, Johnson, & Dudley, 1992). Therefore, consideration needs to be given to the development of program strategies to ensure the maintenance of changes.

Related to this issue, programs offered have not always been relevant to the specific concerns of schools. It has been found that programs that are too externally defined for teachers are less effective in the long term. On the other hand, implementation and maintenance of programs in schools is more successful when teachers are actively engaged in tailoring the program to meet their specific needs (Everhart & Wandersman, 2000). The greater success of programs in which teachers are actively involved may relate to developing programs for schools that are seen as relevant, as well as ensuring teacher and school ownership of programs.

Another factor that has appeared in the literature as important in promoting maintenance of program gains is a professional learning team, sometimes known as a collegial teaching team. Indeed, Ishler, Johnson and Johnson (1998) have reported that in relation to cooperative learning, "the only statistically significant predictor of long-term implementation [by teachers] was membership in a collegial teaching team" (p. 273). This process involves several members of the school forming a team in which they can support each other in learning new skills and knowledge, and implementing related changes in the school. Therefore, in addition to ownership of the program by schools and teachers, maintenance appears to be enhanced when teams are formed to implement the program in the school.

Themes arising from consultations with schools

As a start in tailoring the ERIS program to school needs, and consistent with a community psychology approach, our third source for the program design was discussions with members of the relevant communities. Early in the development stage, one of our team (MT) consulted a range of school personnel, including principals and teachers from Catholic schools and Victorian state schools, personnel from the Catholic Education Office, and educational psychologists from Psychologists for Peace, to learn about their perceptions of the content of the proposed program and what the most appropriate format and process for the project would be. These consultations confirmed our initial inclinations, and conclusions drawn from existing research, to conduct a more intensive intervention in the schools. School staff made comments indicating that they were tired of 'one-hit wonders' in which the latest new program was offered in a

workshop without any further support. They pointed out that the time when expert consultants could be particularly useful was during attempts to implement the program, at which point obstacles often arose and support was needed to overcome those difficulties.

In addition to concerns about the short duration of much of the input related to new programs, staff we talked to stated that some of the conflict resolution programs being offered at the time were too narrow in scope. An example they gave of this was some peer mediation programs which focused on building the conflict resolution capacity of only a few students, rather than the wider student body or full school community. Our discussions with schools also made clear that teachers had many demands on their time and schools had many demands on their budget. Staff that we consulted recommended that schools be asked to pay half of the teacher replacement costs to ensure commitment on the part of the school (by paying something), without excessive demands on the budget (although in the end schools paid full costs since our own budget was limited and schools that were interested in the project were willing to provide the resources). Existing social emotional learning programs, including conflict management programs were perceived as generally not well evaluated. We were told that there were many different 'programs' being offered to schools, and that without evaluation evidence it would be difficult to choose or support one over another. A properly evaluated program was seen to be more attractive to schools given their competing priorities and the time commitment required. Finally, we received feedback from various sources that the name of the project would be very important. Schools want to publicise their participation in programs; but taking part in a program called something like Handling Conflicts Better might elicit concerns in the community that there was a lot of conflict in the school that needed to be handled! A community or positive psychology approach also aims to build on strengths, instead of repairing deficits. Thus Enhancing Relationships in School Communities was chosen as the project title to suggest a positive and enhancing, rather than a deficit, focus.

In summary, our research suggested that, most conflict resolution programs in the past had been introduced into schools as a set 'package' geared to teaching students and that professional development related to the programs was offered over a short period of time with little evaluation. While many of these programs had demonstrated short-term benefits, teachers often did not have sufficient training, support and resources to implement the programs with fidelity or maintain them when the researchers left. Successful implementation and maintenance of programs depends on (1) a high skill base in the school after program facilitators leave; (2) teacher ownership of the project, resulting in them actively tailoring the program to meet their specific needs; and (3) a strong support system in the school to sustain the programs. Table 1 summarises the specific problems we noted and ways in which we sought to address them.

Project implementation

In this project, teachers from schools in a variety of metropolitan regions, including multi-cultural suburbs, were offered skills for handling conflict and enhancing relationships, including those between different cultures, and then supported over an 18-month period in (1) teaching these skills to other key groups in their school communities, and (2) developing strong support structures so that programs would be sustained. Finally, we are evaluating how effectively the project has increased teacher constructive attitudes towards conflict, teacher skills, and program implementation in schools; and we have provided support for teachers to evaluate the impact of their individual school programs in the short and long term.

To ensure a whole school commitment to the program we selected schools on the basis of their agreement to provide the school-based resources required by the project (i.e., time, personnel and materials). Principals were asked to discuss the ERIS project with staff to ascertain whether substantial school support for the project would be forthcoming. We further asked schools to provide a core team of at least three staff who would commit to: attending seven days of training over 18 months; completing between-training activities; meeting regularly with a

Table 1
ERIS project response to core problems identified with many school intervention programs

Problem	How the ERIS program addressed the problem
Ownership	Including schools and teachers in all stages of program development over an extended period of time
Ownership & Capacity	Flexibility of delivery – core conflict resolution skills and cultural diversity input were incorporated into a program by each teacher to suit his/her capacity and student needs
Capacity	Providing resources to implement the new program without draining other resources in the school
Teacher learning	Extended skills development - in contrast to 1-2 day programs which mainly develop awareness of concepts and skills, this project developed skills for competent implementation through extended training and follow-up support
	Structuring in time for skill development, reflection and feedback at all stages
Maintenance	Developing professional learning teams with responsibility for dissemination and maintenance
	Providing professional learning teams with guidance and support over time
	Allowing time to directly address barriers to ongoing maintenance of the program

support community established at the school; taking part in support visits from ERIS staff; and implementing and evaluating at least two conflict resolution programs in their school.

The original project was designed to support six schools. However, because a large number of schools (12) expressed interest in the project (and our budget was limited), we accepted all schools and half the schools were randomly assigned to a full intervention and half to a partial intervention program. The full intervention group received seven workshops, while the partial group received only the first two workshops (basic skills building and forward planning) but both groups received the same curriculum resources from ERIS and the same number of ERIS staff in-school support visits (four visits) at similar time points to assist with in-school implementation. A comparison of the two approaches enabled us to examine whether the additional professional development would lead to substantially improved outcomes, as had been expected on the basis of the literature and school consultations.

Content of the program was based on well-established programs that have been developed, implemented and evaluated both overseas (e.g., D. W. Johnson & Johnson, 2001; Stevahn, Johnson, Johnson, & Schultz, 2002); and in Australia by some of the current project personnel (Littlefield, Love, Peck, & Wertheim, 1993; Littlefield, Wertheim, & Love, 1989; Wertheim, Love, Littlefield, & Peck, 1992; Wertheim, Love, Peck, & Littlefield, 1998; 2006) and others (Davidson & Wood, 2004; Feeney & Davidson, 1996). The programs help individuals learn cooperative problem solving; active listening; perspective taking; understanding the needs and concerns behind conflict; building respect for and acceptance of differences; challenging assumptions and stereotypes as well as prejudices and discrimination; developing creative options to solve problems, resolve disputes and address injustices; managing one's own emotions; and handling emotions and aggression from others.

The first two workshops (both full and partial intervention groups) focused on theory and skills training in conflict resolution, with between-session practice and reflection activities. Teachers worked on learning the conflict resolution model and applied the model to a real

life conflict through developing a written plan for a negotiation, submitting it for individual feedback from the ERIS team, carrying out the negotiation and writing up a report on the negotiation, and submitting it for individual feedback. In addition to their own skill development, teachers also learned about the skills students need to resolve conflict independently. The full intervention group further worked on emotion management skills while the partial intervention group made plans for implementing and disseminating the ideas in schools (which was covered in the third workshop for the full intervention group).

Subsequent workshops for the full intervention schools covered further exposure to the conflict resolution model, discussion of the change process in schools, methods for teaching a conflict resolution curriculum to students, awareness raising about cultural diversity issues, methods for teaching students about cultural diversity, addressing cultural diversity in the school community, dealing with adult conflicts in school settings, how to disseminate the ideas broadly in the school, and identifying and addressing broader school issues.

Conflict resolution and cultural diversity curricula were developed in the early stages of the ERIS program and in the first year these were trialled in the schools. In the workshops, full intervention schools presented to each other their choices in using the curriculum materials, their experiences implementing and developing them, and suggestions for how others could implement the ideas. These discussions led to revisions being made to curriculum materials which were circulated to all schools, including partial intervention schools. The result has been three parallel versions (for differing age groups) of the Wise Ways to Win conflict resolution curriculum and a Valuing Diversity curriculum for teaching about cultural diversity. Other support materials (e.g., a DVD demonstrating teacher skills in a parent-teacher encounter) have also been developed for the program.

Outcomes of the project

The outcomes of the project are being evaluated with data collection having taken place at four time points: (1) pre-intervention, (2) after the first two workshops, (3) mid-program and (4) end of program. Full and partial intervention teachers have been compared, and a non-direct-intervention control group (teachers from the same schools) served as a further comparison group.

While final evaluations have not yet been completed, based on several criteria the program appears to have been successful. First, we attracted a much larger number of schools to take part in the program than originally anticipated. The schools all contributed 3-5 staff members to the program and paid full teacher replacement costs for the teacher absences, which our initial consultations with schools had suggested might be difficult. Principals or assistant principals from many schools took part. There was a high retention rate of schools participating in the project over the full period of the program. Two curriculum programs (one focusing on conflict resolution and the other on cultural diversity) were developed, piloted with the participating schools and refined with the input of participating teachers. Workshop evaluations indicated that the topics covered have been relevant and were rated as high quality. School reports, confirmed by school visits by ERIS staff, suggested that the schools have been implementing related curricula in their classes. Finally, mid-project evaluations relating to teacher implementation of skills and curricula were very encouraging (E Wertheim et al., submitted).

Key lessons learned from the ERIS project relevant to implementing programs in school communities

In the process of conducting the ERIS project we learned a series of lessons as schools shared both their achievements and the obstacles that they were facing in implementing ERIS in their schools. The lessons emerged from our day-to-day work with teachers and principals in the ERIS-participating schools, from discussions during school visits and through systematic evaluations (questionnaires). We also received feedback from the full intervention group during report-back sessions that were built into two of the ERIS workshops, in which each professional learning team presented their progress in implementing the ERIS skills and curricula. In these sessions schools often made comments

about factors related to their success or methods for overcoming barriers to implementation; shared interesting anecdotes; and demonstrated the creativity with which they had tailored what they had learned from the ERIS project to the specific needs of their own school communities.

Importance of ongoing workshops to enhance skills (capacity) and maintain motivation over time

At mid-project, both the full intervention and partial intervention schools were reporting relatively similar outcomes based on a variety of measures (Wertheim, et al., submitted). At this point both groups had taken part in two full days of workshops and two support visits in the school; however, the full intervention group had also received a further two workshops. Both groups were reporting gains in conflict resolution skills and confidence in a variety of contexts (with staff, parents, and children in the classroom and while on yard duty). Both were reporting having implemented more related curricula than the control teachers in their school. The full intervention group, however, were somewhat more likely to have implemented the complete (10 session) conflict resolution curriculum with the children. Staff from these full-intervention schools reported having learned more in professional development sessions about implementing related curricula on conflict resolution.

By the 18 month point, the full intervention group had taken part in a full 7 days of workshops (compared to 2 days for the partial group) and both groups had received four support visits. At this point it became apparent from reports in the school visits that while teachers from both groups reported utilising their skills to respond to conflicts (i.e., with and between students in the classroom and in the schoolyard, as well as with parents and staff), the full intervention schools were being more proactive; implementing more curricula; and offering more professional development with fellow staff in the school than teachers from the partial intervention schools. A final evaluation is yet to take place and will further inform

these conclusions by assessing pre-post changes in teacher attitudes and skills.

Importance of ongoing support over a period of time

School visits appear to have been a very important component of the overall program. Four school visits took place over the 18 month period. In each case the project coordinator met with the school team to discuss progress, obstacles and resources needed from the ERIS staff. These visits appeared to partly act as motivators for the professional learning teams to make progress, since for many schools the visits acted as an external impetus to accomplish something prior to the visit of the ERIS team member. Unless a special effort or occasion takes place, it is often difficult to make the time for something new.

While, by the end of the project, the schools in the partial intervention group had lower rates of staff professional development and curriculum implementation than full intervention schools, it was still higher than it had been prior to the intervention. Teachers in partial intervention schools often commented that without the ongoing visits they would have been unlikely to have persevered with teaching the curriculum or utilising their skills. The visits served many purposes. They brought the team together to reflect on, discuss and problem solve how the ERIS project could best be used to benefit their school community. As teachers began implementing the programs with their students they came across issues or problems that they were unsure how to address, such as how to integrate program material into other curriculum areas; how to identify core components of the model to teach; and how to support students to generalise what they were learning in the classroom to other contexts. The meetings provided a forum to address these issues. Of significance is that schools were very creative in how they supported these meetings which required the school releasing up to 5 teachers for 1 ½ hours during school time. The fact that schools continued to accommodate these visits over 18 months was evidence of the whole school commitment to involvement in the project.

The ongoing support of schools enabled

further capacity building in the schools. An example of this was the growth of local professional learning initiatives by ERIS participants. ERIS participants were very keen for their colleagues at their schools to have the opportunity to learn the ERIS conflict management model and skills. Rather than directly delivering the professional development at each school, as initially requested, the ERIS project coordinator worked with each school team to identify ways they could share what they learned with other staff and she provided appropriate resources. A number of staff later commented that being supported to do this increased their learning and confidence. It is hoped that this capacity building process has helped to build skills and resources within each school that will be available when the schools' participation in the ERIS project concludes.

Usefulness of substantive professional learning teams for ensuring implementation

Consistent with the findings of Ishler and colleagues (1998), our experience certainly supports the significance of the professional learning team approach to promote engagement and commitment. Schools which were interested in participating in the project were provided with written information and a Powerpoint presentation for staff that clearly outlined the rationale for the project, what schools would receive and also our expectations about what schools would contribute. As noted, schools were asked to make a substantial commitment by the school (both in time and cost). We asked principals to ensure that all staff were well informed of the commitment and that at least 80% of the staff supported the school's involvement in the project. Our intention was to model the importance of collaboration and inclusion in decision-making from the start. This proved beneficial in two ways. A number of interested schools reported back that while the staff thought the project was great, they felt that they were already overcommitted to a number of other projects and therefore would not go ahead with an application to participate. Therefore

schools were able to assess whether the commitment of resources (both theirs and ours) would be cost-effective and likely to produce worthwhile outcomes. For the schools that did apply, the process of engaging the whole staff from the beginning led to greater support for the professional learning team in their efforts to disseminate their learning.

Professional learning teams ranged from three to five people initially. Many participants commented on the value of a supportive team in maintaining their efforts. The formation of professional learning teams enabled teachers to divide up activities and tasks so that the project was not so onerous. There were also many examples of cooperative work within school teams, particularly in preparing staff professional development and the development of other creative uses of the ERIS model and skills within the school. Greater credibility for ERIS was gained by members of the professional learning team presenting jointly at professional development sessions for the school. Even more importantly, with the inevitable staff changes in schools, a team provided continuity and support to new members if one of their number had to depart as happened in some schools. As might be expected there was a trend for the larger teams to make better progress in implementing the project more widely within the school. It was also important to achieve representation of both teachers and staff in leadership positions in the team so that it would be sustainable and able to work at the whole school level as well as the classroom level.

Involvement of school leadership in producing substantive change

Many of the professional teams included the principal or assistant principal. The major advantage of participation of senior staff in the team was the capacity to champion a whole school approach to the project and pave the way for strong endorsement and support of the program in the implementation phase. The ERIS experience is consistent with the findings of previous research that highlights the significance of the support of school leadership in the promotion of a new initiative through the allocation of time, resources and professional development (Han & Weiss, 2005)

As examples of whole-school dissemination and uptake, two (relatively small) schools with principal/assistant principal involvement in the professional learning team trialled the curricula in the first year and implemented a version of the conflict resolution curriculum in every class in the school in the second year. In addition, ERIS related professional development was implemented for the whole school. One of these schools also implemented a major system to categorize and track school conflicts and incidents to assess change over time.

At the opposite end of the spectrum, in one school without a senior staff member on the professional learning team, two out of three members of the team left the project (one member had other commitments and another changed schools and continued to implement the ERIS project there). Although the remaining team member was teaching the curriculum to her own class alongside a fellow teacher at the same level, she was having some difficulty promoting the ERIS project more widely in the school without the support of a professional learning team. Following supportive discussions with the ERIS project manager the teacher successfully sought more active support from the school leadership. A plan for presenting the project to the staff was devised to achieve greater implementation. There were a number of existing strengths in this school which enabled the remaining ERIS participant to still have an impact on the school. ERIS school visits still continued to engage a broader school team, including the assistant principal and the student welfare coordinator, and the school also had a strong commitment to teaching social and emotional curricula with a Prep to Grade 6 coordinated approach. Some of the challenges for this school were how to effectively integrate the ERIS curriculum with existing programs and how to engage the rest of the staff in additional skill development. These challenges were met when the principal allocated two staff meetings to ERIS professional development.

Flexibility in finding existing structures in which to integrate the new programs and skills
One of the challenges encountered in schools was the need to find creative ways of incorporating the ERIS skills, processes and curricula into the overall school strategic plans and structures. Several schools already had existing structures and processes relevant to the focus of ERIS project. Rather than attempting to add yet another program and approach, the ERIS school teams were encouraged to integrate the new approach within existing programs. One school indicated that being able to 'seamlessly' incorporate the ERIS curricula, rather than having it be viewed as an 'add on' assisted in gaining support from other staff.

For example, one school reported that the National Safe Schools Framework (NSSF; Australian Government Department of Education, Science, and Training, 2003) had provided a strong framework within which to incorporate the ERIS project as their NSSF school audit identified conflict resolution as an area requiring attention. Other schools were able to integrate ERIS with established social skills programs. Yet other teachers chose to teach the skills in their literacy programs with one teacher librarian incorporating conflict management and cultural diversity into her library lessons. Some grades wrote plays and performed them at whole school assemblies.

During the ERIS project the release of the Victorian Essential Learning Standards (VCCA, 2004) provided a timely affirmation of the goals of the ERIS project. VELS (Prep – Year 10) comprises three interrelated strands of learning for Victorian school students. Of relevance to the ERIS project is the strand of Physical, Personal and Social Learning. Included in this strand is the learning domain of Interpersonal Development which emphasises the importance of helping students learn to build positive social relationships, work and learn in teams, and manage and resolve conflicts. The other relevant learning domain within this strand is that of Civics and Citizenship which emphasises the need for students to "develop the knowledge, skills and behaviours that enable them to take action as informed, confident members of a diverse and inclusive Australian society" (VCCA, 2005, p.5). As a mandated systemic initiative VELS increased the potential to link the ERIS approach with mainstream curriculum.

Input from the community itself as a means to advance the project as a whole

While the ERIS project facilitators provided trial curriculum materials, the process of curriculum development was collaborative, with schools giving feedback to the facilitators. This enabled the curricula to be refined over the time span of the project. Not only did the collaborative process allow for greater school ownership of the project, but it also encouraged each school to adapt the program to its own needs.

Two of the most valuable workshop sessions (in which the full intervention group took part) involved schools formally sharing how they had put the ERIS project into practice. They reported a range of successes including implementing curricula, professional development sessions for the full school, supporting other staff in implementing skills from the project, improving relations with parents, putting the ideas into place in yard duty interactions, and applying the ideas to a peer mediation program. The variety of ways in which the ideas had been implemented in each school gave other participating schools new ideas and motivation, and taught and inspired the ERIS project team as well. Seeing the project as a mutual learning venture allowed greater progress to be made for all involved.

Conclusions

In concluding, the Enhancing Relationships in School Communities project was developed to focus on capacity building for teachers and schools, with an aim to support sustainable implementation of relationship-building skills and process in schools, including in the areas of conflict resolution and cultural diversity. The process has been a very rewarding one for our team and has led to a variety of lessons learned about factors we believe are likely to lead to the success of similar school programs. These have included the importance of: building in methods for schools to take ownership of the program (including the process being collaborative and involving school leadership); developing teachers' capacities to implement programs offered through extended skills development; offering support for overcoming obstacles to implementation over an extended period of time

(through workshops and school visits); assisting schools in integrating the programs for their own needs in the context of their specific school structures and processes; and ensuring that the project is truly collaborative so that the program developers maintain an enquiring and open stance in relation to learning from those they are supporting.

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BOOK REVIEW

Rob Riley: An Aboriginal Leader's Quest for Justice
Quentin Beresford
Aboriginal Studies Press: 2006.

Read this book. If you have any interest in Aboriginal history in the period since colonisation, particularly the more recent history that unfolded during Rob Riley's life: read this book. If you have no particular interest: Read this book. You have an obligation to engage and attempt to understand the often terrible consequences of white Australian rule in this country. Rob Riley's story (told with the support and cooperation of his family and friends) is a personal, professional, provocative, powerful, poignant and… intensely painful one that challenges us on every page. I was speaking to some friends and colleagues about this book and I told them that it is 336 pages long and will break your heart on every page. Let it break your heart 336 times then rebuild and steel your heart with a stronger resolve to never be complicit in the kinds of events that defined Rob's life; that ultimately led to him take his own life in 1996 saying 'I can't make peace with myself' (p. 1). He went on to say, "Understand White Australia that you have so much to answer for. Your greed, your massacres, your sanitised history in the name of might and right'. (p.1). The kinds of events that Riley referred to are still a yearly, monthly, daily, hourly reality for Aboriginal people.

The book begins with the story of Rob Riley's family, of Moore River, of Sister Kate's and leads us through some of the defining moments of the Aboriginal political struggle: Noonkanbah, The National Aboriginal Conference (NAC), Land Rights, the emergence of the Aboriginal Legal Service as a genuine political force in WA culminating in Rob's ignominious departure from the ALS and subsequent death. One of things that struck me most was the venality and almost casual callousness of the political imperative. Some betrayals we would expect from, for example, the intergenerational Court dynasty in Western Australia. More surprising and disappointing was the performance of those from whom I expected better: Hawke, Keating, Carmen Lawrence to name a few. The depths of their betrayal through Riley's eyes is a devastating indictment of the Australian political system and its failure to honour and deal respectfully with Aboriginal Australians.

In many ways Rob's story is emblematic of the experience of many Aboriginal leaders. Indeed, I was drawn to the stories of many of Rob Riley's colleagues and friends each with as compelling an account of their experiences alluded to but largely untold in this book.

I am conscious that this review borders on the proselytising and evangelical. It may sound a story ultimately of despair and failure; but is not. The family (through the author) do not attempt to sweep Rob's flaws under the carpet; and he was indeed flawed in many ways. However, his substance use, lapses of judgement and sometimes erratic behaviour were intricately and inextricably bound up in his personal history and struggle for identity. Rob Riley was complex, conflicted and contradictory by turns but never less than wholehearted in his beliefs and passion for his peoples' struggle. The book works as a powerful narrative because it elegantly weaves the personal, professional and historical into an all too human account of a period of history that for many is nothing more than rhetorical abstraction. It also serves to humanise and personalise the experience of Aboriginal people for the non Indigenous audience that for too long has conveniently homogenised Aboriginal people according to the stereotypical accounts provided by the media and other self interested parties. Rob Riley's legacy is that of an inspirational leader who battled in the company of many profoundly important Aboriginal colleagues and friends, literally to his death for a better deal for Aboriginal people in this country. He did not live to see the fruits of his life's work and perhaps neither will many of us, for the wheels of justice for Aboriginal people turn exceedingly slow. But… he was an important part of the movement for social justice through the latter

part of the last century that will not, can not, be
denied.
I say again: Read this book.

Neil Drew

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Book Review: "Promoting Wellbeing: Linking Personal, Organizational and Community Change."
Authors: Isaac and Ora Prilleltensky, Peabody College of Vanderbilt University

Isaac and Ora Prilleltensky's first collaborative text skillfully integrates theories from multiple levels of application – individual, interpersonal, workplace and community- and provides a comprehensive range of strategies and tools to facilitate greater wellbeing in each domain. Together the Prilleltenskys provide a stimulating blend of personal experience and professional knowledge. The philosophy of supported empowerment has always been a hallmark of the authors' individual work and combining their talents has resulted in even greater clarity about the processes that can be used to foster wellbeing. Their text provides information, processes and practical tools to support ecological analysis of wellbeing for people working in areas as diverse as government, policy, education, therapy, organizational change and community work.

Throughout the text the reader is challenged to explore his or her own value system and personal commitment to change and is simultaneously supported to do this through strategies and toolkits embedded in each chapter. The language is powerful but written at a level that makes it useful for students at undergraduate as well as postgraduate levels. The personalized vignettes sprinkled throughout the book are particularly helpful for maintaining the dialectic of the personal and the political as an integral part of ecological wellness analysis.

The Prilleltenskys use a number of acronyms throughout the book to focus the reader on systematic analyses of wellness. SPEC, for example, stands for Strengths, Prevention, Empowerment and Changing Conditions – a set of analytical categories that are designed to stimulate practitioners to think beyond simplistic "pull yourself up by your bootstraps" mentality when working with disadvantaged clients. As the authors explain on page 80:
"No matter how fervently we believe that individuals can lift themselves by their bootstraps, the facts tell us otherwise. If you don't have any boots, there are no bootstraps."

The Prilleltenskys pull no punches in discussions of power; from their observation that board rooms are filled with societies' elite to their challenge of charity as a primary vehicle of care. Caring, they assert, must also entail commitment to changing oppressive social conditions "so that charity becomes obsolete." Their templates for analyzing individual, organizational and community readiness for change are particularly helpful. These templates also establish the implicit expectation that thought and energy needs to be devoted to understanding the levels of commitment available for positive social change and to increasing these levels of commitment at all levels of society.

Solid professional advice is provided throughout the book, from admonitions to avoid quick fixes to tolerating imperfection and ambiguity in change processes. We are reminded that, "Wellbeing is not about perfection." (p. 152). While the text is rich and full of personal stories it is also intellectually rigorous and replete with sociological, anthropological and psychological analyses. The Prilleltenskys deftly and intelligently discuss issues as complex as the psychological effects of relative deprivation; the impact of the social gradient on life expectancy and global neo-liberal agendas. They provide comprehensive global statistics on maternal mortality, child abuse and poverty and effectively challenge Social-Darwinists and others who would claim that the social conditions in any particular nation or culture are part of the immutable order of things. The reality that it is the poor, the marginalized and the least powerful who carry the heaviest burden of social decay is skillfully elucidated and thoroughly supported by statistical and social analysis. This analysis is supported by discussion of the impact of social oppression on individuals. For example the authors discuss the fact that unfair treatment and ongoing humiliation (enduring the social stigma of poverty) increases the risk of heart disease for poor individuals.

In discussing professional responsibilities the assertion is made that effective professional work needs to be both ameliorative and transformative.
"Whereas ameliorative work soothes wounds, as in the efforts of Mother Theresa and Albert

Schweitzer, transformative work alters the social conditions that led to suffering and ill health, as in the efforts of Rosa Parks, Dr. Martin Luther King and Ghandi." (p. 408). A comprehensive Chapter on Disability emphasizes this point with challenges to commonly held misperceptions about disability and reframing the 'difficulty of disability' as communities being unwilling to facilitate the inclusion of all people. Ora Prilleltensky does a masterful job of highlighting how oppression of people with disabilities has also fuelled effective resistance and highlighted strengths of mobilization.

The book concludes with several powerful chapters which draw together the multiple levels of analysis of wellbeing under the titles of "Disability; Injustice and Arrogance, complacency and blinders." In these Chapters the Prilleltenskys discuss issues as complex as justice, rights and responsibilities and assert that, "The more privilege there is…the higher the responsibility." This will be unwelcome news for those who have profited from unfairly regulated economies and who hold the personal mythology of rugged individualism as a buffer from communal responsibility.

Succinct and powerful statements are delivered throughout the concluding sections of the book. Despair is defined as a combination of pessimism and paralysis; delusion as the apology of the status quo. Page 489, "You don't want to see other people's struggles because it is against your self interest," is followed swiftly by, "We have been taught since young age that this is the best possible world, and even if we wanted to change it for the better we couldn't. This breeds a combination of surplus powerlessness and acquiescence to authority. Supporting text for the status quo abounds while alternative discourse for families, organizations and communities are scarce." (p. 491).

This text is certainly no apologetic piece. It provides a wealth of information and depth of critical analysis to enable students of wellbeing to challenge "surplus powerlessness and acquiescence." The conclusions of the text are salient and powerful: "It is only when we

take control of health and wellbeing away from professionals that we have a chance of empowering the population." (p. 496) This text can enable students of all ages and levels to begin the counter-habituation process which the Prilleltenskys assert is necessary to "Institutionalize ways of challenging the institution." (p. 495). The authors end their text as they began it, with a plea for consideration of the negative effects of social inequity and a call for greater social justice: "Nothing replaces the fact that some people have more of it (wellbeing) than others and it behooves the privileged to share it."

This is an intelligent and well reasoned text which provides multiple pathways to achieve change and enables consideration of the multiple constructs that must be challenged to interrupt unthinking reproduction of the status quo. I highly recommend it for all teachers, students and practitioners of social, individual or community change.

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How irresistible is the seagull imperative?: Countering the 'dead hand of academe'

Brian Bishop
Curtin University

Neil Drew's timely piece (2006) reminds us of the perils of academic constraints upon the conduct of community based research. The academic housing of much community psychological research can offer barriers to effective integration of the researcher into communities and threatens the obligations our value systems place on us. The issue is not simply one of academic laziness, but reflects tension between the espoused theories of community psychology and the theories in use, in Argyris and Schön's (1974) terms. Argyris and Schön distinguished between espoused theories which is the value rhetoric expressed by professionals, and the theories in use, obviously, which are the applied theories values that guide the professionals actions. This distinction has implications as it involves the way in which we teach, or attempt to teach, the values of the discipline. Too often the values expressed and learned by students from textbooks, such as Dalton, Elias and Wandersman (2001) are not translated into theories in use, and this could be part of the basis for Drew's notion of the 'Seagull Imperative'.

Academically based research does not need to be so insensitive to the communities we work with. A few examples of some PhD research can indicate that we do not all suffer from the 'Seagull Imperative'. For example, Dr Natalie Contos worked with the Aboriginal community of Pinjarra for seven years. She spent considerable time immersing herself in the community through involvement in the Murray Districts Aboriginal Association (MDAA). This period of time allowed the community to accept her. It also gave her time to understand their context and their agendas. Central the work of MDAA was getting recognition of the massacre of 20 to 80 Aboriginal people in 1834 by a force of police and soldiers led by Lieutenant (later Governor) Stirling. For the Aboriginal descendants of the people, the recognition of the massacre was central to reconciliation.

Natalie became part of the MDAA team, and was employed by them to research the massacre and oversee a search for graves of the victims. The community was eventually able to have a memorial site approved by the local council and for this to be opened by the current governor. Natalie was able to write a thesis which recorded the struggles of the community to achieve social justice.

Dr Lizzie Finn worked for 10 years with GROW, a self-help group for consumers of mental health services. Her research was a mixture of quantitative and qualitative research; of positivistic and action research models. Her research involved extensive 'scoping', which allowed members of GROW to get to know her, understand the purpose of her research and to accept her. She had a very strict model of confidentiality, as while GROW members do discuss their problems and issues freely, she could not. In the last three years of her research, she was employed by GROW on a part-time basis. During that time (and subsequently), she actively promoted the work of GROW in a variety of forums from the ABC to community workshops, and to professional and academic conferences. She developed a training package for GROW to continue to inform the community of the social problems faced by those with mental health problems and the associated stigmas. Her research was aimed at a number of goals. She was able to demonstrate the effectiveness in creating change in people wellness through their involvement in GROW's activities. She was able to identify the processes involved in creating change, such as the importance of providing an environment where GROWers can take positive risks. She was also able to relate this to an academic model of well-being. Lizzie's research is an exemplar of community psychological research in which there is a negotiated set of research agendas that provide outcomes for the both the community and the researcher.

A final example of how academic

researchers can engage with a community and to provide beneficial outcomes, was the research of Dr David Vicary. David recognised the paucity of research investigating the provision of psychological services to Aboriginal communities. The need for his research came from his observations in the north west while working as a psychologist. As the first phase of his research, an Aboriginal Steering Committee (ASC) was established to oversee all aspects of the research. The ASC helped develop the research questions and the methods. The committee, along with an Aboriginal cultural consultant, allowed a 'vouching' process which helped in the engagement with member of the communities in the north-west and in Perth. David conducted 60 interviews and from the analysis, he developed a model of the style and nature of providing psychological services to Aboriginal communities. He has disseminated the model widely, even writing a manual for Emergency Management Australia (Vicary, Bishop & Coghlan, 2003). This model has formed the basis of other interventions and research for PhD students and governmental policy makers. For example, he was involved in a project by the WA Department of Community Development and Healthways to investigate alternative ways for Aboriginal people to apply for community development funding.

While the above are only a few examples of how researcher can avoid the problems highlighted by Drew (2006), there are some common elements that can be identified. The ethics and values of all three researchers are those championed by Dalton, Elias and Wandersman (2001), Prilleltensky (e.g., 1994; Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005), Rappaport (1975) and Reiff (1968). They were all motivated by a strong sense of social justice, and the belief that the resources provided by universities could be brought to bear on social issues. In terms of Argyris and Schön (1974), they were operating at Model II, and their espoused theories were their theories-in-use. Developing appropriate theories-in-use is relatively easy if the a student comes with strong social justice motives, as was the case with the three examples above. What is more difficult is developing action values for

students who values systems are not as well developed. There is the danger that without challenging the theories-in-use the naïve values that help reproduce socially dominant oppressive ideologies will remain the theories-in-use. One way I have found useful is to involve students in applied, community based projects in which there is some ambiguity and uncertainty, and an obligation to communities or groups to provide an outcome. The combination reflects the processes described as iterative-generative reflective practice (Bishop, Sonn, Drew & Contos, 2002). The ambiguity forces students to question their assumptions and values and the obligations ensure that they will be aware of contextual issues. In these conditions change is possible, especially if the processes is carefully monitored and guided.

The issues raised by Drew (2006) are important and need further consideration. The willingness of students and staff to take risks is fundamental to addressing the translations of espoused theories into theories-in-use. This can be seen as more difficult in the risk averse environments that universities are embedded in at the moment, but it may present opportunities as it is in conservative times that planning for change is best done.

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