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Special Section: Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods

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Three years ago, we edited an ISSBD Bulletin special section on “Innovative approaches to longitudinal data analysis” and received many positive echoes from the society’s members. For the current issue, we decided to follow up on introducing research methodologies by focussing on qualitative methods within behavioral sciences. Although qualitative methods became more popular during the last decades within developmental science, they had been often criticized because of their open format character and high complexity of data gathering, low standardization, small samples, and the interpretative and subjective character of data analysis (as compared to quantitative research methods). Contrary to that, several controlled methodological tools, such as Grounded Theory or Qualitative Content Analysis allow us to analyse qualitative data while considering aspects of standardization and criteria of quality in order to gain a holistic view of developing individuals. The special section of this Bulletin will introduce such ways of qualitative data gathering and analyzing, and give illustrative examples of qualitative research with the hope that besides the common focus in behavioral sciences on quantitative research methods, more and more scientists will consider qualitative methods an interesting supplement (or alternative) to their current methodological focus.

The special section of this bulletin aims at giving a broad overview on qualitative methods within developmental

science (Demuth and Mey) and discusses qualities (and quality) of qualitative research (Kessel). Furthermore, most commonly used qualitative methods will be introduced, i.e., multi-method approaches (Frost), narrative interview (Daiute), and qualitative interview (Ryen). In the section Reports from the Lab, we introduce three labs and their empirical studies while applying qualitative methods for data gathering and analyzing. One focuses on academic landscapes as experienced by university students (Kumar and Menon). The second paper communicates findings on ethnotheories on sub-optimal child-development based on a sample from Africa (Abukabar et al.), while the third lab report applies qualitative methods to the investigation of Indian *Hijras* (transgender individuals) in search of feminine identity.

This Bulletin also includes a country focus, reflecting on a decade of research on parenting strategies and children’s development in Nigeria (Akinsola). In addition, Wolfgang Schneider contributes the ‘Notes from the President’ to inform members on current and upcoming efforts and activities of the society, and Katariina Salmela-Aro summarizes the Minutes from the past ISSBD EC Meeting in Seattle, USA. In the news-section, we remind readers to contribute to the upcoming elections; we also edit a comment from the Early Career Representative (Julie Bowker), and give a list of upcoming conferences.

We thank all authors for their contribution to this bulletin, Wolfgang Schneider for his continued support, and SAGE for their patience. We hope that the special section of the Bulletin is well received (a considerable number of members wished to see methodological aspects in the special section of the Bulletin), and that it stimulates further discussion in the field. Please let us know if you have ideas for upcoming special sections or any comments on the ISSBD Bulletin. We will be happy to respond to them.

Qualitative Research in Developmental Psychology - Principles, Procedures, Perspectives

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Qualitative research is gaining increasing popularity in developmental psychology. Some of the most influential developmental theories are derived from qualitative research [e.g., Erikson's theory of psychosocial development (1959), Piaget's theory of cognitive development, Kohlberg's stages of moral development, Vygotsky's theory of higher cognitive functions]. Today, qualitative research is a vast and heterogeneous field rooted in diverse theoretical traditions. Qualitative methods are not simply a set of tools but constitute different methodologies that need to be understood within the relevant epistemologies and ontologies of these traditions. In this respect it is also important that procedures of data assessment fit the logic of data analysis and that both are concurrent in their epistemology. A genuinely qualitative research style aims at overcoming an abstract notion of development, as defined by the increase or decrease of specific abilities or by the transition from one hypostatized development stage to another (Valsiner, 2000). It pursues a holistic view of abilities and functions within a developing person and between a developing and actively constructing person in a developing environment. It is committed to the following three general and central principles of qualitative research (see also Mey, 2010; Flick, von Kardorff, & Steinke, 2004).

Principles

Principle of openness. Qualitative research follows an inductive-deductive and theory-generating logic. It aims at systematically reconstructing social reality and (further) developing theories and understanding of social phenomena. Theoretical preconceptions by the researchers are understood as "sensitizing concepts" that can be fruitfully used in the analysis. This is in stark contrast to the traditional conception of development as a more or less linear finality (that is defined *ex ante* from the perspective of the researcher). Openness also implies that research aims at studying naturalistic behavior.

Postulate of foreignness. This principle prohibits the researcher from (self-evidently) equating his or her own concepts (of development) with those of the culture, group or person studied. This is an essential principle in cultural developmental psychology and childhood studies where the difference between children and adults becomes evident when the "culture of the child" meets the "culture of the adult" (see Burman, 2008). To take an explicit position of "foreignness" deters researchers from confusing their own experiences and concepts with those of the participants under study.

Principle of communication. This principle is based on the assumption that all data is jointly constructed by researcher and participant. This requires also a much stronger reflection of the role of the researcher and consequently the conditions under which scientific knowledge is generated (Mruck & Breuer, 2003). Rather than being eliminated, the influence of the researcher should be systematically included in the analysis. Any research situation needs to be understood not as unit but as sequence of events taking place between those (researchers and researched) involved.

Procedures for data assessment

Interviews. Interviews are the most commonly used methods in qualitative research and developmental psychology. There are a number of qualitative interview variants available that have proved fruitful for developmental-psychological research ranging from special interview techniques which support the dialogue between interviewer and interviewees to more one-sided and open Narrative interviews (see Flick et al., 2004 for an overview). Specifics of conducting interviews with children have been discussed e.g., by Greene & Hogan (2005).

Written data. Existing written documents can be used to get insight into developmental processes. Analyzing diaries was, for instance, a prominent way to study the emotional life and thoughts of adolescents in early developmental psychology. Diaries can be used to study processes of transition within the family (e.g., through the birth of a child) or to investigate processes of coping with critical life events over time. A modern version of this line of research is the study of internet-based presentations (blogs, social networks, personal websites or newsgroups) also referred to as qualitative online research or "netnography" (Kozinets, 2006) which can be applied to study developmental tasks like single parenthood identity construction. Other possible areas are the study of essays produced in the context of



school exercises or the “Completing Sentences” test—a procedure in which the participants are asked to complete a partial sentence without being given further restrictions.

Group discussions and focus groups. The terms “group discussion” and “focus group” are often used interchangeably. Some scholars, however, relate the term group discussion to a more genuine understanding of qualitative research whereas the term focus group is then used for structured (standardized) discussions with a group of participants (Bohnsack, 2004). Group discussions are of particular value when it comes to analyzing how opinions, attitudes and orientations emerge, constitute, influence and modify each other in an exchange of views—i.e., when it comes to the genesis of (developmental) processes and knowledge construction. Possible areas of inquiry are the study of patterns of argumentation with respect to specific ways of reasoning, such as moral dilemmata or social rules, negotiation processes in age-homogenous and heterogeneous groups, or (self) socialization in peer cultures. Already Piaget demonstrated how children’s thinking developed after a quarrel took place between children and how during a quarrel or discussion functional moments emerge that initiate the development of self-reflection.

Qualitative experiments. Piaget recognized the value of experiments within a qualitative design. With his clinical method, he hoped to counterbalance some of the shortcomings of very rigid experimental designs. In a similar vein, Bronfenbrenner (1977) in his harsh criticism with regard to ecological validity pleaded for using experiments not as a verification tool but as a heuristic strategy.

Visual data. Visual data such as children’s drawings, films, photos, or other artefacts created during play and other mundane activities can be considered a valuable source for inquiry. Participants might be invited to photograph or draw their social and physical environments (kindergarten, school environments, houses for elderly, etc.). Besides analyzing the product itself (e.g., photographs, drawings), analysis of the process of producing provides insight into the way individuals construct person-environment relations. Videography has gained far-reaching acceptance within developmental psychology—albeit often in standardized designs. Such approaches risk ignoring the fact that the records produced capture only reduced fragments of reality that are restricted to the static perspective of the camera and in many respects are inferior to the human capability for sensual and Gestalt perception. More genuine qualitative research studies can be found within cultural and discursive developmental psychology as well as in the field of language socialization.

Ethnography. Ethnography is marked by the systematic but flexible deployment of a variety of methods such as participant observation, videography, field notes, questionnaires, and open, semi-structured, and focus group interviews (e.g., Jessor, Colby & Shweder, 1996). An important characteristic is the sustained contact and involvement with a community that allows the researcher to become deeply engaged in the lives and mundane everyday practices of the participants. The aim is to understand meaning from the perspective of the local participants within the context of mundane everyday life. It is this aspect that makes

ethnography of vital importance for developmental psychology since it permits a methodically comprehensive approach to studying human development where it actually takes place. It allows for detailed descriptions of different situations and for studying processes of transition and change over longer periods of time. Particularly with respect to the study of culturally distinct developmental pathways, ethnographic knowledge which can only be obtained through sustained fieldwork and engagement with the participants (caregivers’ ideas of good child care, socialization goals and an understanding of these in light of the prevailing socio-cultural and socio-historical living conditions) is indispensable.

Autoethnography. Autoethnography (Ellis, 2004) seeks to describe and systematically analyze personal experience in order to understand cultural experience. It combines characteristics of autobiography and ethnography. Through systematic analysis of one’s personal experience and through comparing and contrasting it against existing research, the researcher aims at identifying how personal experience is made possible by being part of a culture and/or by possessing a particular cultural identity. For developmental psychologists, it offers insights into individual psychological transformation processes across the life-span and in light of their socio-cultural embeddedness, e.g., the process of becoming a mother, the loss of a beloved person, or coping with illness.

Participatory action research. Participatory Action Research is based on an understanding that research should not only be done for but primarily with the people under study (Greene & Hogan, 2005). It is commonly related to the work of Kurt Lewin (2007/1935) and has a long tradition within community psychology. It is committed to the active, democratic participation and empowerment of individuals under study as a foundation for social change. Procedures range from naturalistic observation to interviews, case studies, surveys and even experiments. Human psychological functioning is understood as embedded in and systematically linked to various micro and macro levels of society as postulated in the ecological perspective of Uri Bronfenbrenner (e.g., 1977). It has a strong potential for applied developmental psychology, especially for developing intervention programs in many areas and across the life span e.g., to improve the quality of day care centers, youth delinquency prevention programs, preparation programs for parents, family-centered services and residential homes for the elderly. It explicitly promotes the participation of children and young people as active researchers in order to afford them a voice and to raise the potential for children’s self-development and political agency.

Procedures for data analyses

Qualitative content analysis. Qualitative content analysis allows us to analyze large amounts of verbal data and offers possibilities for quantification of categories (Schreiber, 2012). Its restriction to a coding-manual makes it less appropriate for reconstructing meaning-making processes and for highly open-ended research questions. It is hence less suitable for developmental-psychological research that is

concerned with the temporal nature of phenomena which need to be reconstructed.

Grounded theory methodology (GTM). First formulated by Glaser and Strauss and further developed by Strauss and Corbin, GTM has meanwhile been developed in a number of ways leading to a variety of existing versions today (e.g., Bryant & Charmaz, 2010). It allows for rigorous and systematic theory development that is grounded in the data. Although GTM envisages an explicit process perspective in its original sociological approach, a procedure elaborated from a genuine developmental-psychological perspective still needs to be developed. Similarly, the paradigm model proposed by Strauss and Corbin as a dynamic conditions-strategies-consequences-matrix still needs to be transferred to developmental psychology realms of inquiry.

Interpretative phenomenological analysis. Psychological phenomenology recognizes that a whole set of factors lead to differences in people's perception of reality and is committed to the exploration of individual lived experience. Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis comprises a series of sets that aim at interpreting the accounts of people of their personal lived experience and explicating an underlying structure in these accounts (e.g. Smith & Dunworth, 2003; Kvale, 1996). Its potential for developmental psychology lies clearly in the focus on the subjective experience of individuals and the possibility to study developmental processes in detail and is suitable for longitudinal designs (e.g., identity change during the transition to motherhood).

Discursive psychology and discourse analysis. Discourse Analysis as developed within Discursive Psychology (Potter, 2012) constitutes a particularly promising avenue to developmental psychology research. It is oriented to examining social interaction as the site in which psychological phenomena that have traditionally been conceived of as developing inside the mind (attitudes, traits, knowledge, intentions, agency, emotions, identity) emerge in a process of intersubjective agreement. It treats language not as referential, i.e., as means to refer to these phenomena as hidden "entities" in the isolated mind, but as constitutive of both social reality and the mind. It draws on procedures from Conversational Analysis and applies them to psychological inquiry. It is increasingly used in combination with videography allowing for paralinguistic features to be included in the analysis. It offers possibilities to study early socialization processes in childhood (e.g., family or peer interactions, see Gardner & Forrester, 2010) as well as locally situated identity construction across the life span (e.g., Bamberg, 2012). Promising fields are the study of internet-based communication like chats and blogs as they meanwhile constitute a central arena for social interaction especially in young people's everyday life.

Other forms of discourse analysis are Foucauldian Discourse Analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis or Genre Analysis (see Flick et al.; Willig, 2008 for an overview). Their focus is on institutional and social structures that frame specific discursive events and the ways in which ideological and political domination is reproduced in text and talk. Their relevance for developmental psychological research hence lies in studies concerned with cultural and historical

ideologies of various aspects of human development, like childhood, parenting, or aging.

Metaphor analysis. This linguistic approach aims to reconstruct cognitive strategies of action by systematically analyzing a person's use of metaphoric expressions (Schmitt, 2000). The use for developmental psychology becomes evident in that the term "development" can be understood as a metaphor itself (although mostly restricted to the path-metaphor: "to forge ahead," "to stay behind", etc.). Possible areas of investigation are, e.g., the study of a person's own understanding of development and aging (e.g., as a deficit-oriented by using terms like "age degeneration" or "loss of functioning") or of education (e.g., "to look after"/"to protect," "keep an eye on").

Narrative psychology and narrative analysis. Narrative Analysis is concerned with the structure, content, and function of stories in written and oral communication (Crossley, 2000). An early forerunner can be seen in Nelson's (1989) classic case study of a 2-year-old. Analyses of autobiographical life stories provide the opportunity to explicitly address temporality and the individual's reconstruction of developmental processes and are closely linked with the study of narrative identity. Social-constructivist approaches stress, however, the local and situated nature of identity construction and are more concerned with the analysis of "small stories" in mundane everyday interaction (Bamberg, 2012).

Video analysis. Video recording allows the capture of the high complexity of mundane social interaction and accordingly offers a number of possibilities for analysis (Heath, Hindmarsh, & Luff, 2010). It can be used in interview studies and group discussions as an additional source of information, or as part of larger ethnographic research, e.g., social interaction in kindergarten, at school, or within the family. Although technological advancements allow for increasingly sophisticated analysis of video material, transcription of selected portions that will be analyzed in more detail is still required after a substantive review of the data corpus. The most prominent procedures for qualitative video analysis in developmental psychology are discourse and conversation analysis (see above). Embedded in a longitudinal and ethnographically informed design, it allows micro-analytical analysis of change and transformation of interactional patterns over time and hence the study of developmental processes.

Performative social science. Performative Social Science refers to the deployment of different forms of artistic performance in the execution of a scientific project (Gergen & Gergen, 2011). Its aim is to offer a social constructionist alternative to traditional empiricist forms of communication in social science, such as theatre, dance, fiction, poetry, or multi-media performances. It challenges the assumption that traditional forms of social science writing are the only suitable way of communicating scientific knowledge. Research findings might, e.g., be presented in a poetic form or with visual and auditory expositions of data as a new way of dissemination and appropriation of scientific research. It strives for an interdisciplinary exchange between science and arts by creating new ways to make findings available and understandable to the participants under study.



Future directions

A number of computer programs have been developed specifically for qualitative research (Aquad, Atlas.ti, Dedoose, HyperRESEARCH, MAXQDA, NVivo, QDA Miner, XSight, Qiqqa, Transana) allowing investigators to systematically retrieve, organize, and efficiently manage larger data sets and hence to expand the size of the samples. Qualitative developmental psychology is a flourishing field that can be applied to studies of emotional, cognitive, social, and language development across all age groups, developmental contexts and cultural milieus. Systematic integration of genuinely qualitative and quantitative research designs seems to be difficult in light of the distinct epistemological underpinnings but is not impossible. Different ways of studying a phenomenon can for instance be regarded as taking different (methodological or theoretical) perspectives on the same phenomenon. Methodological pluralism in the study of human development as embedded in mundane everyday interaction and meaning-making processes within culturally pre-structured patterns of society can advance our understanding of the processes of change with age in the psychological functioning of individuals in a systematic and more effective way.

Note

A more expansive elaboration of this article will appear in: International Encyclopedia of Social and Behavioral Sciences (2nd Edition) James Wright (Ed). Elsevier Publ.

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On the Qualities, and Quality, of Qualitative (Developmental) Research: Some Semi-Random Reflections

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In various segments of international social science there is now greater openness to and appreciation of various forms of qualitative research. As only one noteworthy example, the U.S. National Science Foundation has released the report of a “Workshop on Interdisciplinary Standards for Systematic Qualitative Research” (Lamont & White, 2006). And the term “mixed methods” appears more frequently in research proposals and publications. However, judging by the kinds of studies published in primary developmental journals (including the *International Journal of Behavioral Development*), this trend has not fully taken hold in developmental science. Given that, the current edition of the *Bulletin* is especially admirable; and I am pleased to offer these shorthand reflections in the hope that they will serve primarily as a rhetorical framework—complementing the co-editors’ comments—for the more substantive contributions.

As a “rhetorical framework” I am following Julie Klein’s closing chapter in her foundational contribution on *Creating Interdisciplinary Campus Cultures* (2010), wherein she addresses a series of “myths” about interdisciplinary research.¹ In the same spirit, here are a few, briefly-considered “myths” about qualitative research.

Myth #1: Qualitative research is new

While there is indeed increasing attention to qualitative research, this kind of claim bypasses both recent and more distant history. For example, recently—over the past 20 years or so—the educational research community has become receptive to a rich range of qualitative approaches, so much so that it is almost impossible to decide which of a multitude of (text)books to adopt for an introductory course on (educational) research. More to the point, this assumption betrays an ignorance of some of the core features of the early (1920-30) history of developmental research, at least in North America. And that, in turn, bypasses the critical question of how and why a field of inquiry that was avowedly multi-disciplinary and open to multiple methods became monolithic in its assumptions about “proper” research (Kessel, 2009). As a corollary, and as Klein (2010) notes, “limiting developments to the singularity of the moment, renders them [such developments] more vulnerable to dismissal as a fad” (p. 153).

Myth #2: Qualitative research is superficial, not rigorous, un-scientific

Where to begin in addressing such claims and their more or less explicit assumptions (as reflected, for example, in some journal editorial judgments)? For present purposes, I will simply refer to the charge given to the participants in the NSF Workshop: “(1) articulate the standards used in their particular field to ensure rigor across the range of qualitative methodological approaches; (2) identify common criteria shared across disciplines for designing and evaluating research proposals and fostering multidisciplinary collaborations; and (3) develop an agenda for strengthening the tools, training, data, research design, and infrastructure for research using qualitative approaches.” And I will endorse a distant but none-the-less-relevant declaration by Jerome Bruner (1979): “Because our profession is young and we feel insecure, we do not like to admit our humanity... We are not satisfied to forge distinctive methods of our own. We must reject whoever has been successful in understanding man [and woman] if he [or she] is not one of our own—We place a restricted covenant on our domain” (p. 5)

Myth #3: Genuine qualitative research is of one specific type

The assumption that some forms of qualitative research are more appropriate or valuable than others is, in some ways, a converse myth. In practical reality, an enormous variety of methods now fall into such a category. As only two signs of this, see Camic, Rhodes, and Yardley (2003), Denzin and Lincoln (2011), and also Clark (2011). And while ethnography is one type of qualitative method increasingly used by developmental scientists, “ethnographic methods” include a great variety of versions and specific techniques. See, for example, Miller, Hengst, & Wang (2003).²

Myth #4: Qualitative methods cannot be combined with, are even a threat to, quantitative methods

Examples of the fruitfulness of blending methods to address developmental questions are becoming increasingly evident. Here are a few:

- Cynthia Garcia Coll and Amy Marks’ (2009) study of three immigrant groups combines history of the groups,



ethnography of the receiving communities, and conventional quantitative methods.

- The investigation by R. LeVine, S. LeVine, Schnell-Anzola, and Dexter (2012) of literacy and mothering in four countries/cultures (Mexico, Nepal, Venezuela, Zambia).
- Tom Weisner's (2005) edited volume, *Discovering successful pathways in children's development*.
- Karl Rosengren et al.'s (in press) study of children's understanding of death in cultural context combines a range of qualitative methods—ethnography, focus groups with teachers, in-depth interviews with mothers of children who experienced the death of a loved one—with conventional quantitative methods for assessing children's understandings of death.

Myth #5: Qualitative research is unmanageably complex

Complex and time-consuming? Certainly, at least in comparison to what have been regarded as 'experimental' methods. As a corollary, the devotion of time (often years) relates, in an important way, to disincentives arising from institutional assumptions about (number of) publications and "productivity" (although here again disciplinary cultures vary); and such assumptions need to be seriously scrutinized. But unmanageable? Surely not, as exemplified by an expanding, exciting range of qualitative/ethnographic studies in an array of developmental domains and cultural contexts. Here, in addition to the research reflected in this *Bulletin*, are some semi-random examples:

- Suzanne Gaskins' decades-long study of Mayan infants and young children, focusing on play and observational learning and revealing a new form of attention, "open attention" (Gaskins & Paradise, 2010). See also play-in-context research persuasively presented in Göncü and Gaskins (2007).
- Jean Briggs' (1998) study of Inuit morality play.
- Misa Kayama & Wendy Haight's (2013) study of learning disabilities in Japan, involving ethnographic work in Japanese elementary school classrooms and informed by both American and Japanese perspectives.
- Cindy Clark's (2003) study of children coping with chronic illness illustrating creative use of a range of qualitative methods—fieldwork, in-depth interviews with children and parents, use of photography and other media to facilitate expression of the children's experiences—that provide insight into such children's lives and ways of coping.
- The work of Miller, Fung, Lin, Chen, and Boldt (2012) that combined ethnography, longitudinal home observations, and micro-level analysis of everyday talk to reveal fascinating cultural differences in the way socialization takes place through personal storytelling and, more generally, demonstrating that this is "a highly dynamic process in which redundancy and variation are conjoined and children participate as active, flexible, and affectively engaged meaning makers" (p. 1).³

Concluding reflection

The publication of the Miller et al. (2012) research in such a prestigious, mainstream journal as *SRCD Monographs* suggests that the myths surrounding qualitative research are indeed being gradually dispelled, although I hasten to add my impression that the review process can remain a challenge (if "conventional" criteria are uncritically applied). But such research—by Miller and others—underlines a deeper point that is both substantive and institutional. Qualitative research provides detailed and genuinely new insights into how human development, meaning, and agency are grounded, and dynamically co-constructed, in cultural contexts. And such insights, I suggest, underline the particular value of qualitative approaches in conducting *comparative, culturally attuned research that is central, especially, to ISSBD's mission* (Kessel et al., 2010). Let us hope, then, that the "culture" of ISSBD—as reflected in, for example, *IJBD*—becomes ever more receptive to a rich range of research approaches.

Notes

1. Although this is not the place to develop the point, there is a significant overlap between receptivity to different methods of inquiry, on the one hand, and meaningful collaboration across disciplines, on the other. Indeed, I encourage developmental scientists to become acquainted with an ever-expanding international community of researchers engaged in the analysis and practice of inter- and trans-disciplinary ("ID/TD") work. (See Kessel et al., 2013.)
2. I am pleased to acknowledge Peggy Miller's invaluable suggestions regarding the variety of qualitative/ethnographic methods as well as other aspects of these reflections. But I hasten to add that it is my unprompted and unbiased judgment that the work of Miller and colleagues is a rich illustration of the substantive insights that can emerge from the thoughtful and rigorous application of such methods! (See below.)
3. See also Miller (2013).

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Using Multiple Methods to Conduct Qualitative Research

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As qualitative research in psychology moves from the margins to the mainstream in psychology (Willig & Stainton-Rogers, 2008) qualitative methods for inquiring into human behavior, development and experience have proliferated. This allows for different assumptions about the nature of reality to be brought to qualitative research, and for varying types of knowledge to be sought. This flexibility in turn influences the research questions that can be asked and informs the interrogation of the data. Research approaches can be employed on a continuum that ranges from experiential to discursive and from empiricist to constructionist. Inquiry into language used, patterns of themes, chains of connection between cognitive, linguistic and affective processes, observed behavior, change as a result of intervention, and so on, can be conducted by selecting the appropriate qualitative method(s). Each method is underpinned by an understanding of what knowledge about the world is and how it can be obtained.

Additionally, in traditional mixed methods approaches, qualitative methods are employed with quantitative methods (Todd, Nerlich, McKeown and Clarke, 2004). The depth and richness of insight they offer sees qualitative methods used with quantitative research methods to contextualize, populate, triangulate and validate research studies (Todd et al., 2004). There has been a steady rise in calls for qualitatively driven mixed methods research (e.g. Mason, 2006; Hesse-Biber, 2011), to bring nuance, identify the multiplicity of meanings of lived experience and to generate new ways of understanding complexities of social interaction. This approach contrasts with the traditional role of qualitative methods in mixed methods research, where they are often secondary or adjunct to the dominant quantitative method.

Less common is the mixing of qualitative methods with each other. It is this approach, termed 'pluralism in qualitative research' (Frost, 2008), that will be discussed in this paper. Pluralism in qualitative research can be understood to be the mixing of data and/or paradigms to offer ways of researching human experience that minimize reductionism of perspectives and offer more holistic insight. Pluralism is particularly useful when researching topics that may have no ontological consensus such as 'sense of presence' (Steffen & Coyle, 2010), where there is contested meaning such as evaluation of youth involvement projects (Nolas, 2011), where there is insider status (Frost, 2009) or where flexible, user-based research can enhance service development (e.g. Warner & Spandler, 2012).

In this paper I shall provide details of two studies and their findings in which I have employed a pluralistic approach. I will illustrate the benefits that a pluralistic approach can bring to the understanding gained and to the quality and credibility of the research outcomes.

The studies

Both studies aimed to gain in-depth understanding of women's expectations and the realities of becoming a mother for the second time, particularly in light of inherent assumptions in much of the psychological literature of one mother-one child dyads informing the experience of both mother and child(ren).

Study 1: Within-method pluralistic analysis

I conducted the first study alone, and employed a range of narrative analysis methods to analyze accounts provided by seven women in a series of individual semi-structured interviews (Frost, 2006). Each woman was interviewed by me at intervals of three months. The first interview was held when each woman was six months pregnant with her second child. Each woman was in a relationship with the father of both children, worked outside the home and had a first child between the ages of 4 years and 7 years. The interviews aimed to encourage the women to speak freely about their preparations and experiences of becoming a mother to a second child. I asked very few questions, seeking instead to enable each woman to tell me about what was significant to her as she transitioned through this key life event.

I employed a narrative analysis approach to the study in order to enhance the inclusion of context and nuance in the women's accounts. The analysis of the data using the Labov (1972) model quickly highlighted the possibilities of layers of meaning within each identified narrative and I decided to employ additional models of narrative analysis to gain further insight to these. Models I employed included Gee's (1991) linguistic model and Riessman's (1993) affective model. I brought a reflexive approach to the pluralistic analysis by listening, reading, rereading and revisiting the accounts and my analysis of them several times, each time looking for changing, evolving and contradictory meanings (Becker, 1999). The use of this pluralistic approach demanded that I rationalize the inclusion of each method as the analysis progressed and select its inclusion on the basis of questions and findings emerging from the data, and from my reading of it.

The following example shows how an interview section about being a mother who also worked was identified as a story using Labov's model:

Analysis using Labov's (1972) model

Abstract: *'You know with work that's quite hard as well*
 Orientation: *I phone up work and I speak to my MALE boss*
 Complicating
 Action: *and say I'm not coming in today because . . .*
 Resolution: *and you feel like they're listening and hearing*
"She's not coming in today because the child's got
nappy rash"

The interview was with 'Anna' and describes the experience of managing both roles. It demonstrates how Anna's identity as a mother affects her role as an employee and her beliefs about how she is perceived by others.

Further analysis of the story using Gee's (1991) analysis shows Anna's perceived lack of choice as a mother, and her own gendered beliefs about this. By breaking the text into groupings of lines by topic Anna's belief that because her husband is a man he is not able to care for the baby as well as she is, and that therefore she has to be the one to get up for the child in the night.

Analysis using Gee's (1991) model

Stanza34.

But part of it is I know that Michael Mike's got a job you know he
has to go to the next day
And he's more highly paid than I am
So I sort of think I need to be the one to get up.

Stanza35.

But equally I'm sort of I don't feel happy with him getting up and
changing the nappy
Because I know that he's not you know
That as a man he's not that gentle with her

Stanza36.

And that it's me
That I will do it better than him
That's what I believe anyway
And so I get up and do it

Stanza37.

And that was all my choice
But it didn't feel like a choice
Because you know I couldn't
It just broke my heart anyway

Finally, by looking specifically for the role I played in the interview, I was able to see that I had inquired precisely into this during the interview with my question:

N: *It felt like nobody else would make those decisions?*

This enabled Anna to explain emphatically to me, as another mother, that she feels she is emotionally involved with her baby in a way that other mothers can understand, through her use of both 'you' and 'I', and of the phrase 'you know', in describing her emotional involvement with her child:

A: *No NO because nobody else is you know is as emotionally involved as I am, sorry, as you are [Anna starts crying].*

This example shows how this approach enabled me to identify how the women describe and make sense of the transition to second-time motherhood. Sense-making was understood in terms of how the women spoke and what they said about their daily life activities, their bodily changes, and the emotional impact on them of developing and maintaining relationships with each child individually, and with both children together. A complex insight to the constraints they perceived on their roles as mothers, to the emotional availability these mothers experienced, and to the challenges and negotiations they constructed in combining motherhood with employment was gained. The in-depth analysis also identified the importance and meaning of psychic and physical space to these women, how this evolved with their maternal careers (Miller, 2004), and the ages of their children (Frost 2009; Frost 2011).

The narrative analysis approach remained consistent throughout the data analysis and the plurality of data analysis methods it offered allowed me to ask a range of questions of the data. Such a broad scope was not possible with the employment of only one narrative analysis method. For example, the Labov model enabled me to ask 'What stories do these women choose to tell?', the Gee (1991) model enabled me to ask 'How are these stories told?', and the Riessman (1993) model enable me to ask 'What function is being served by the telling of these stories in this way?'. Working with the data using this pluralistic approach provided me with access to the spoken and unspoken 'sense-making' that the women brought to their experience. Combining these layers provided a multi-perspective view that enabled insight into the conflicts and constraints of multiple roles and identities managed by these women as they prepared for, and entered, second-time motherhood.

In this approach no method was prioritized over another. Instead, the text was used to guide the analyst from one perspective to the next. The approach draws on several narrative analysis techniques and combines the findings reached by using each approach.

Study 2: Across-method pluralistic analysis

The second study was conducted with five other researchers (the Pluralism in Qualitative Research team) and arose from questions I had about whether other methods or other researchers would see the same meanings in the data that I had found. Each researcher specializing in either Grounded Theory, Foucauldian Discourse Analysis, Narrative Analysis or Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis was sent a transcript of the same interview and asked to analyze it using their chosen method. The researchers were free to be as flexible in their approach as they chose to be, as long as their analysis remained epistemologically and theoretically anchored to that approach. Researchers were asked to keep a reflective diary and were interviewed retrospectively about their experience of conducting the analysis. The participant interview was selected from the larger study (Frost, 2006) and was chosen because of the eloquence of the narrator, whom I call Karen, and the transcript's rich inclusion of evolving stories, metaphors and other linguistic features, and thoughtful self-analysis. This diversity of styles and content made this transcript particularly accessible to different data analysis techniques and



therefore appropriate for use in our plan to explore the pluralistic data analysis process. On completion, the analyses were cross-analyzed.

The data analyses showed that most of the analysts had separately drawn on the same sections of text to reach several collective findings (Frost et al., 2011). As would be expected, interpretations of each finding differed across the techniques and analysts. An example is the four interpretations of the 'Visceral Nature of the Mother-Child Bond' in which Grounded Theory described the anxiety provoked by Karen's bond with her child, Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis highlighted the intensity of the bond suggested by the narrator's use of vivid imagery, Foucauldian Discourse Analysis showed the way in which the nature of the bond enabled the woman to construct herself as a mother, and Narrative Analysis revealed the contradictions evoked by this bond for the mother who also worked outside the home. All the analysts drew on the following section of the interview to reach their findings individually:

"Well just the initial separation, it's just weird because you've been carrying this child inside you for nine months and then feeding it with your own bodily fluids you know every three or four hours or so, four hours for the last five months. And it's just like they're a part of you isn't it? When you have to try and leave them behind you feel like your arms have been cut off or you've got a limb missing"

Taken alone each finding provides insight to Karen's experience of being a mother. Taken together they allow for a more holistic view of the emotional landscape provoked by the strength of her bond with her children, its nature, the choices and constraints it offers her, and the purpose it serves for her.

There were questions that we as a team had to address, both at the outset of the study and as it developed. For example, we had to decide what weight we were going to place on the value of each method and how we would ensure that this was maintained. We had to think about researcher accountability and transparency in the employment of each method and how we were going to regard the findings made by each form of analysis. We addressed these questions through the analysis of the reflexive diaries kept by each analyst, the cross analyzing of these diaries with the interviews, group discussions, and the cross analysis of the data analyses that the analysts had carried out (Frost, et al., 2010).

The transparency that the pluralistic approach requires brings an enhanced awareness of the researcher role, choice of method, decision making and approach to analysis. The reflexive practice that it creates brings an added trustworthiness to the research process, because researchers have to provide a rationale for how and why they use their method, to themselves and to the other team members. There is not space here to discuss this aspect of the work in depth but it is perhaps important to point out that working pluralistically often necessitates team working in order to ensure appropriate expertise. In so doing an inherent and explicit need to make transparent the research and analysis processes is foregrounded, perhaps more so than when working as a solo researcher. This transparency can enhance the trustworthiness and credibility of the research.

The findings that were reached about Karen's account through this process construct her, and the ways in which she makes sense of the changes in herself, as perhaps more salient and loyal to her lived identity, as a mother, lover, wife and professional, than a construction of her derived by using one analytical approach. In tapping into the various dimensions of Karen's anticipation of second-time motherhood, Karen is not limited to being a phenomenological, realist or post-modern subject alone. Instead the possibility of Karen as a phenomenological *and* realist *and* post-modern agent depending on her context and situation is constructed.

Conclusion

Mason (2006) has argued that the multi-dimensionality of human experience cannot be fully explained by studying it from one perspective, that a limitation is imposed by bringing only one theoretical orientation to its exploration. Employing a pluralistic approach to understand social interaction and human experience in qualitative research allows for flexibility and plurality of perspective in the search for meaning in data. The choice of perspectives brought to the data is informed by the questions asked of it, by the theoretical underpinnings of each method brought to the interrogations, and by the ways in which the methods and their findings are employed and combined. Layers of meaning can be taken together to give a more holistic insight to the complexity of the phenomenon and its description.

It is important in this approach that the selection and employment of methods is considered in relation to the research question so that each has a rationale for its inclusion. Multi-ontological and multi-epistemological readings of data are gained and the transparency of method, process and researcher offers high quality research. The possibilities for the employment of pluralistic qualitative research into the meanings that are brought to human behavior and development seem manifold to qualitative researchers in psychology.

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Narrative Inquiry for Human Development

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Central to theories of human development is the idea that language is a tool developed across civilizations and life spans to mediate individuals' interactions with their environments (Nelson, 2007; Tomasello, 2005; Vygotsky, 1978). As a cultural tool, narrating is, thus, a psychosocial mediator or "conductor of human influence on the object of activity...externally oriented...aimed at mastering and triumphing over nature...and...as a means of internal activity aimed at mastering one's self" (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 55). Since the 1980s, developmental psychologists, psycholinguists, and sociolinguists have extended this theoretical insight to study the nature of narrative discourse (among other symbolic systems) and the development of narrative abilities primarily in childhood and, recently, through adolescence and emerging adulthood. Building on such research, dynamic narrative inquiry applies a theory of use to design research on human development, in particular in relation to child and adolescent narrating in rapidly changing environments dealing with 21st century globalization. Rather than being a window into people's minds and hearts, storytelling is, on this view, a means for managing self-society relationships. What this means practically is that people across the lifespan use narrating to do things—to connect with other people, to deal with social structures defining their lives, to make sense of what is going on around them, to craft a way of fitting in with various contexts, and eventually, sometimes, to change them (Daiute, 2014). In this essay, I explain foundations of this view and implications for narrative inquiry in developmental science with a strategy that is systematic, qualitative, and developmental.

From narrative development to developmental uses of narrative

Almost from birth and across cultures, people use narrative to interact in the world. Using narrative as a means for participating in the world integrates human biology, such as the ability to speak, and cultural inventions, such as the capacity to create literature (Donald, 1993). Children learn language, culture, and values in the context of cultural routines like having meals, bathing, and celebrating family milestones (Nelson, 1998). From toddlerhood through childhood, young people develop vocabulary, syntax, a sense of how others perceive them, and who they are to become, as others tell stories around them (Miller, Hoogstra, Mintz, Fung, & Williams, 1993; Nelson, 1998). As they mature, children focus increasingly on social contexts beyond the family, such as peer groups and school, where

different expectations—such as those for proper classroom behavior—organize activity, meaning, and goals (Cazden, 2001). Children narrating experience in mainstream American schools, for example, are expected to share facts, while the home cultures of many American children value stories that entertain, depict role models, or serve developmental functions other than reporting facts (Cazden, 2001; Heath, 1983).

Once they have mastered the basics of narrative genre by around age 11 (Berman & Slobin, 1994), emerging adolescents take increasing control over social-relational processes linking persons and contexts—that is, they manage the impact of their stories on others (Daiute & Nelson, 1997). Because storytelling is, moreover, a means of presenting oneself to others and to one's self, children, like adults, use it to perform identities and reflect on them (Bamberg, 2004; Reyes, 2005), which involves understanding expectations of the diverse milieu where they narrate. Relevant to narrating as means of social relations, yet under-explored in developmental psychology, is the fact that those with influence and resources in society at large, such as institutions (government, education, social services) and affiliation groups (ethnic, religious, family, interest groups) use narrative (and other discourse forms) to enact their values and practices, in part to integrate children, newcomers, and marginalized groups to their ways (Amsterdam & Bruner, 2000; Fairclough, 2010). On this view, storytelling in daily life activities embeds institutional values, motivations, and material factors as routine narrations or scripts. Children tend to take up the cultural and political scripts around them, but, beginning by middle childhood, sometimes also resist or transform institutional narratives (Bamberg, 2010; Daiute, Buteau, & Rawlins, 2001; Daiute & Nelson, 1997). Researchers have observed, for example, that children use narrating to balance conformity and contention in relation to expectations and other circumstances in their environments (Bamberg, 2010; Daiute, 2010; Daiute, Buteau, & Rawlins, 2001). Narrating then becomes a means for advancing individual and societal development in part, with the use of narrating for innovative sense making in social life. Inquiry into such developmental narrating is especially important in these rapidly and often violently changing times, where a child's sensitivity to the context revolves around fitting in or has implications for life and death. Research on narrating in mundane as well as dangerous situations, likewise requires sensitivity to social relations, in part, with methods open to innovation and complexity – i.e. qualitative – and rigor – i.e. systematic – to offer robust findings.

The appeal of narrative inquiry in developmental research

This rationale for dynamic narrative inquiry extends rationales in other areas of the human sciences. Many researchers

emphasize the individual's experience, authentic expression of that experience, identity, and identity processes (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Cresswell, 2013). An emphasis on individual authenticity is based, albeit often implicitly, on assumptions that people have access to past events in memory, that recalled accounts are or must be accurate, and that narratives provide insights about a person, his or her group, and deeply personal understandings about an issue (Georgakopoulou, 2006). Narrative inquiry seeking individuality and coherence typically involves case studies and extended interviews to identify individual profiles, while developmental research must address conflicts involved in the process of change (Piaget, 1967/1971).

Another common goal of narrative inquiry is to empower experiences and understandings of people who have been silenced or excluded by the mainstream public (Harding, 1988). On this view, narrative research serves to enter previously excluded voices into a broader forum. Narrative expression can be or can feel personally life affirming, yet any developmental power, likely comes from the social nature of narrating for connecting with others, distinguishing one's self in the fray, and reflecting on the interactions (Bamberg, 2010). This constructive nature of narrating is appealing because it involves self-development (Polkinghorne, 1991). When examining narratives in the context of everyday activities, it becomes clear that people use narrating not only to report or to construct personal experiences but also to interact with diverse others, including researchers. Research inspired by the constructive nature of narrating mines tensions in settings (Bamberg, 2004; Korobov, 2009; Mishler, 1986) and with one's own narratives (McLean & Pratt, 2006) – important in the study of human development.

Dynamic narrating extends prior approaches emphasizing the individuality of each person's voice, focusing instead on the networking people do to connect with their social and physical environments purposefully, albeit often implicitly. Toward this end, people use oral, written, and visual narratives (Parker, 2005), not only to express symbolic thinking but also to employ features of those media – which are after all also cultural products – to develop knowledge and experience. Narrators use myriad elements, including characters, settings, and plots to focus on dilemmas, and experiment with resolving them. An initiating action or "trouble" that sets a story in motion may be a problem someone has been pondering (Bruner, 1986; Daiute, 2010). A sequence of complicating actions may enact steps in the problematic process, such as an argument with a friend, and build to a climax where the point or issue becomes clear (Labov & Waletzky, 1967/1997), leading to resolution attempts with moral implications. These elements that children begin learning early in life become building blocks for sharing experience, feelings, and intentions. This communicative nature of narrating—*how* people express themselves—is also central to *what* people are saying in research projects.

A theory-based systematic approach

A theory of dynamic narrating provides an explanation and analytic approach for understanding narrating as an activity people use for critical and creative sense making about their environments and how they fit. Research can occur

in actual settings or can simulate relevant dimensions, such as involving the perspectives of diverse individuals and groups with varied influence, experience, knowledge, and goals related to an issue of research interest. If you are, for example, studying the effects of recent immigration policies in the United States, you could interview people involved for different reasons, such as people seeking work, refugees from war zones, young people joining family members, immigrants already in the country, or public officials, including social service professionals, employers, and educators working with immigrants. In addition to interviewing some of these actors in the immigration process, you could examine official documents or media stories to gain insights about immigration policies, perceptions, and impacts. That research design would provide material for analysis of shared and divergent meanings about immigration.

Because meaning occurs in how the story is told, implicit meanings, the words between the words that members of the culture understand as expectations, possibilities, and taboos are also active in narrative content and process. For example, the brief narrative "There was a war here and everyone feels bad about it" conveys literal and implicit meanings in Bosnia, where a young person wrote it as part of a postwar youth history project in a community center (Daiute, 2010). The passive construction, "There was a war here," for example, implies that the war was imposed on the Bosnians when their capital city was under siege for several years, and "everyone feels bad about it" applies to the local people, the commonly accepted major victims of the 1990s wars in the Balkans. In contrast is the superficially similar narrative written by a youth in Serbia (for the same project): "...the news is that we are again under an embargo. They all got scared and mad and started... fights about our responsibility in all this mess..." Although these narratives are both about war and express painful emotions, one enacts the passivity of a declared victim, whereas the other takes an active stance and addresses the issue of responsibility. These two brief but rich stories reveals responsibility in the one case ("fights about our responsibility in all this mess...") and lack of control in the other ("There was a war here"). Such nuances of narrative expression are ripe for application in narrative inquiry, across cultures and languages in terms of local practices.

Research sensitive to the relational nature of narrating

The use theory requires foregrounding relationships, with the relation principle stating that narrators interact with present and implied others, objects, and ideas in environments, so we should design research with narrating in terms of different narrator-audience-issue relations. According to discourse theory, knowledge and identity are created in the context of culturally meaningful activities in verbal and nonverbal practices, as each linguistic utterance is a response in "the chain of communication" where "no utterance is the first to break the silence of the universe" (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 69). Interaction occurs "when the listener perceives and understands the meaning (language meaning) of speech, [and] he simultaneously takes an active, responsive attitude toward it. He either agrees or disagrees



with it (completely or partially)" (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 68). The interactive process of person-in-world has been identified in the narrative quality of "addressivity" (Bakhtin, 1986).

Narrating is a relationally complex process, because for each telling and listening arrangement, the narrator must consider which details to select, how to arrange them to highlight the most interesting points to maintain the listeners' attention, how to present him- or herself in the telling, how to avoid certain taboos, and how to suggest a better life with the story. Recounting the same event at another time, in another place, or in another social arrangement would provoke some change in the meaning, because narratives embed audience, time, and place, implicitly as well as explicitly. For this reason, research designs should observe, elicit, and analyze the narratives participants share in relation to diverse circumstances. Whether participants mention issues like race, gender, or political persuasion is likely to be determined by the present and presumed listeners and readers of the narrative.

Research sensitive to material elements of narrating for analysis

Because narrating is an activity firmly rooted in actual life, narrative inquiry is also embedded in life. Elements of an interview setting – office or classroom, playground or protest march, in addition to physical features of discourse (such as exclamations (!) or repetitions) and structural features (such as openings) contribute to meaning, so we pay attention to those features in narrative analysis. Elements of plots, like openings, indicate speaker/writer stance on narrated events. "Once upon a time," for example, indicates that the narrator wants us to judge her story as a comment on life from a distance rather than exactly as *her* life. When designing research, we should, therefore, consider the concreteness of meaning in discursive acts and elements, such as whether the genre is autobiography or fiction and the specific features that go along with each, such as whether the referent of the "I" character is the author or an imagined other. Important messages may or may not be stated (often the most contentious ones are *not* explicit). Narrators use the features of their discourse cleverly to express or to hide meanings in appeals to their audiences at specific times and in specific places.

Narrative research is sensitive to within- and across-person diversity

Allowing for differences within and across research participants is important in narrative research design, so narrators' purposes, feelings, and thoughts emerge in relation to their audiences at the time of telling. Researchers often design their studies based on diversities between groups distinguished by categories like gender, ethnicity, and citizenship. Such factors play a role in narrator experiences, but they do not completely define individual or group experiences or their narratives. Categories like gender and ethnicity, which are presumed to be within individuals, are disassembled and complicated when narrators have the opportunity to imagine various situations from the perspectives of diverse others as well as from their own perspectives, including adversaries in a conflict, unfamiliar

groups, or those of another age group. Given the complexity of contemporary life and human relations, assuming unitary experience based on predetermined factors may not offer the kinds of personal nuance researchers often want from narrative inquiry. Narrating diversity does not mean giving up one's point of view or giving in to another point of view; rather, it involves acknowledging one's complexity and sensitivity to others and to multiple environments.

Highlights of a study employing dynamic narrative inquiry

A study analyzing narratives by a variety of participants offered insights into how school-aged children used narrating to mediate personal social experience with educational expectations (Daiute, 2004; Daiute et al., 2001). The study design involved sampling statements about violence in urban schools, a review of violence prevention and related curricula, and a series of narratives by teachers and children in nine classrooms across two urban elementary schools (among other activities). Seven-to-ten-year-old children's narratives of personal experiences of conflicts with peers and fictional scenarios of potential peer conflicts were elicited at the beginning and the end of the program implementation to determine whether and how the children used narratives to establish values about peer relations in culturally-heterogeneous urban settings. The study also sampled narratives by those in different positions of power, including for example, a national policy about violence prevention, a violence prevention curriculum implementation in nine third and fifth grades, teachers' personal stories, and children's writing in different narrative activities over the course of a school year.

A violence prevention curriculum in urban schools:

Use words not fists when you have a conflict with someone.

A narrative by 7-year-old Sylvia in the fall of third grade in a school using the violence prevention curriculum:

I got with my cousin George because of my bike; we hit each other.

A story from Sylvia's teacher, Mrs. Morales (excerpt):

They didn't like us in Puerto Rico because we were different . . . we got some help to talk it through.

Sylvia's narrative in the spring of third grade:

My cousin George needed my bike, but me too. So we fought with words and compromise.

These few narrative excerpts below illustrate how diverse perspectives around the issue of youth conflict differ in terms of the narrator's position of influence (Daiute, 2006; Daiute et al., 2003). In the context of reports of increasing school-based violence in the 1980s and 1990s, many schools implemented violence prevention programs (Elliott et al., 1998). Numerous curricula provided contexts and guidelines to help young people identify conflicts and learn strategies, like "Use words not fists when in a conflict," for reducing the chance that conflicts would become violent. The next excerpt is from a much longer narrative by a third grade teacher, Mrs. Morales, an immigrant from Puerto Rico, who emphasized the values of talking about conflicts

(“talk it through”), recognizing discrimination (“they didn’t like us because we were different”), and the need sometimes for intervention (“we got some help to talk it through”). Over time, Sylvia, a child in the program, learned to conform her narratives about personal experiences of conflict to the values of the curriculum.

The research team analyzed some 500 narratives (Daiute et al., 2001), as well as zooming in to consider case studies of changes over time by specific children (Daiute, 2004) and teachers (Daiute, 2006). A plot analysis was conducted for each narrative by each child and each teacher. Elements were identified (with reliability checks) by sentence (or independent-dependent clause) units, since the students as beginning writers were not in complete control of punctuation), initiating actions, complicating actions, high points, steps toward resolution, and ending statements, any codas or concluding reflections. The evaluation of descriptive statistics, narrative genre, age, time, gender, ethnicity, and so on, yielded patterns of use by narrative genre, student age, ethnicity, and so on.

A subsequent values analysis indicated whether and how the plot elements enacted the values promoted across the nine classrooms (Daiute, Stern, Lelutiu-Weinberger, 2003). Values analysis examines principles organizing discursive activities by individuals within and across institutions (such as community organizations, health care institutions, educational settings, informal interactions) as expressed in documents such as mission statements, curriculum guides, transcripts of interviews, and YouTube videos (Daiute, 2014).

The compilation of excerpts above offers insights for opening up a discussion about narrative processes, as well as about the implementation of educational curricula. The excerpts above are presented to indicate that Sylvia, like all of us, does not narrate in a vacuum. Although a beginning writer, as illustrated by her phonetic spelling, young Sylvia was able to read values systems and switch values enacted in her narratives from the fall to the spring of her third-grade year. For example, Sylvia changed from including hitting in her fall story to replacing physical conflict with verbal disagreement after she had participated all year in reading, discussing, and creating narratives about the preferred ways of dealing with peer conflicts. For that reason, considering Sylvia’s narratives requires examining them in relation to the curriculum and other relevant contexts.

Researchers employing such relational narrative designs gain insights about the complexity of children’s narratives as means for addressing specific research questions. In our study that focused on the impact of the curriculum as well as on processes of narrative development in terms of children’s abilities to use narrating to engage with social values promoted in the curriculum, we did a values analysis to identify what they adopted (performed), did not adopt (contested), or introduced in a novel way (centered) (Daiute, 2004). This approach connects development and learning by involving different narrative genres – autobiographical and fictional – to decenter the definition of “learning” in the research beyond a focus on children’s adopting curriculum value to “development” via the children’s uses of different narrative genres to engage with dilemmas, such as the idea that fist fights may occur but that those are not events to tell about in school. A well-designed study shows development as involving abilities to use symbolic tools to

engage with the various others in the environment and, eventually, to reflect on the issues when confronting other dilemmas and other choices. Further inquiry on how children across age groups and contexts use narrating (and other symbolic media) to engage with broader explicit and implicit societal messages (as in a curriculum) is well worth investigating via ongoing research across a range of contexts and in relation to the development of executive function (Benson, Sabbagh, Carlson, & Zelazo, 2013; Blakemore, 2008).

Some questions and a summary

Because researchers only recently applied knowledge about dynamic narrating in life to methods of inquiry across the life span, myths about narrative research have arisen. For example, I recently attended a workshop on qualitative research methods where a group of mostly young scholars studying human development, cultural change, and related social science issues expressed the following concerns about doing qualitative research:

“It’s difficult – maybe impossible – to get qualitative research published. Journals don’t like it because it’s not scientific.”

“Processes we study are not always those people typically talk about, so how do we get at issues in qualitative interviews and narratives?” “How can you interview children?” How can you get people to tell about discrimination or emotions?”

“If my reason to do qualitative research is to gain perspectives on inequality, injustice, or other life problems affecting human development, how can I be sure to get authentic voices, away from power relations? Is qualitative research an effective and ethical way to do that?”

“Can qualitative research, narrative inquiry in particular, be systematic? And how?”

I hope this article has offered a way to think about narrative inquiry that can temper these myths.

The principles guiding narrative inquiry design and analysis are *qualitative* in that the method samples natural language, employing methods of analysis generated from narrative processes (context-sensitive) and elements (plots, characters, values, and so on) to address issues of process, relationship, diversity, change over time, and complexity across and within persons of interest. At the same time, the method of narrative inquiry highlighted here is *systematic* in that design involves engaging participants in multiple diverse interactional relations to account for within as well as across person and group complexities indicated by diverse speaker/author stances. Researchers must remain sensitive to power relations, purposes, and activities, keep the units of analysis definable, and ensure that methods such as values analysis and plot analysis are amenable to reliability checks. Rather than calling this “mixed methods,” I prefer the term “integrated methods,” as the process is not based on quality or quantity but a holistic albeit definable method. Such inquiry based in social practices where meaning emerges in the narrating process is, moreover, particularly relevant to developmental research which acknowledges that individuals evolve and thrive, or not, inextricably with their contexts (Vygotsky, 1978). This method allows for the complexity of individual children, adolescents, and adults in relation to specific others,



situations, and purposes, rather than positing a pre-determined trajectory considered valid only if abstracted away from the context.

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The Qualitative Interview: A Privileged Way to Knowledge?

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No other method has been as successful as the individual interview. Looking at empirical qualitative research publications, it is beyond doubt the most frequently used research method (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002). However, if we claim that knowledge production is the main goal of research, we would assume that this means that the interview method simply is the best way to describe and understand social reality. This, however, is contested. The interview then becomes not only a success, but also a problematic puzzle into which we will take a closer look.

This article has four main sections: A start, a tail and two mid-sections (one on the success and one on the criticism of interviews). After the introduction, I will focus on the classic interview and its history to better understand the contemporary success of this method. In section three, I will look into the academic turbulence in recent decades which generated criticism as well as a wider spectrum of methods for doing interviews and analyzing interview data. The responses to the criticism then become the target of new criticism. This does not mean that we agree on one best interview method, but that we now rather have different and competing interview methods. These debates should not lead us to reject the qualitative interview, but rather to use it in a reflective and informative manner. I will use data extracts from my own research to illustrate issues in interview research.

The interview, the self and the modern temper

Formerly in Western societies, researchers expected some people to be better informed than others independent of topic. Howard Becker's classic term "hierarchy of credibility" (1967, p. 241) describes this well and means that "In any systems of ranked groups, participants take it as given that members of the highest group have the right to define the ways things really are." Though he applies this analysis to organizations, it works well also to describe in more general terms how rank tends to intervene into interview research. Doctors, priests and teachers were simply seen as more informed and reliable than poor people. This view may have been more prevalent in the nineteenth century with a few exceptions such as Norwegian sociologist Eilert Sundt. In his classic works from the period 1850-60 the majority of his data was observational and interview data from visiting and talking with local poor people in one of Europe's poorest countries (Christoffersen, 1962; Stenseth, 2000).

People have always been asking and answering questions. The interview method, however, refers to a more systematic way to get data about people's experiences. Let me point to two matters. First, with reference to Benny and Hughes, Gubrium and Holstein (2002) describe interviewing as a rather new activity not more than a few decades old, because anthropologists who had long been both observing and interviewing, used the term "fieldwork." The interview thus refers to formalized information-gathering roles that have made it legitimate to approach strangers to ask questions otherwise seen as inappropriate. Second, this method opened up a democratization of opinion (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002) in the sense that each of us now was accepted as the best qualified person to answer questions about our own life. Historically this was possible because we now were seen as having an individual self that each of us controls and which makes it possible to participate in a dialogue on our own individual experiences. Riesman and Hughes (1956) refer to this understanding as "the modern temper". In his discussion of the impact of institutional practices on how we came to see human beings as subjects, Foucault coined the term "the technology of the self." His explorations into the technologies of surveillance display a process of individuation in society crucial for the individual interview (Foucault, 1977). This individuation also made the interview an important work tool for the professions and their work with clients and patients (Ryen, 2011a).

History and the interview method are thus closely interwoven. Interviewing has been promoted as a universal method of investigation across contexts and cultures, though inspired by the old positivist ideals of objectivity and neutrality. This view is often reflected in the textbook guidelines offered students to avoid bias and to secure non-contaminated data (Ryen, 2011a). In this model data are seen as stored in the individual interviewee and the interviewer's job is to get access to them "as they are" in their "original" or "true" version; best practice includes tricks such as politeness, being neutrally dressed, avoiding taking sides, and compliments, and portrays the interview as a scientific method. Inevitably, this method invited criticism to which we now turn.

The business of talk: What about knowledge?

In their Introduction to their *Handbook of Interview Research*, Gubrium and Holstein (2002: 3) remind us that "At first glance, the interview seems simple and self-evident." The history of qualitative research has shown us that this was not the case.

As Wallerstein (2006) reminds us, Western methodology is a cultural product and a result of European history. The legacy of the Enlightenment period ordains a focus on logic, rationality and neutrality as we know it from



medicine and other classic scientific disciplines. As we shall see, critics argued that this model was more problematic in the social sciences as well as in non-western contexts. This debate became more prominent in the 70s and 80s especially when social scientists claimed that the study of social reality is too complex to be reduced to a question about correct (interview) techniques (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Gubrium & Holstein, 1997; Ryen, 2002). Reality is more complex in the social sciences. A human being can reflect and change his or her mind; human behavior thus differs from the natural sciences where yeast cells or gravity appear to be more quantifiable. Recognizing this complexity in the social sciences opened up investigators for criticism, but also inspired the development of alternatives to the classic interview model in order to explore this complex social reality. Discussions came to deal with issues in the theory of science such as ontology and epistemology, or how to see the world and how to seek knowledge about the world, resulting in both new methods and new ways of using old methods.

Recent innovations have amended our view and practice of the qualitative interview both theoretically and in practice. The most prominent critics have been new social constructivists who argued that there is no objective world out there even if that is how we see it. Our job then is to explore how is it that we come to see the social world or "truth" in the way we do. In this view researchers are more concerned with different aspects of interactional issues as in ethnomethodology and feminism (for illustrations see Drew, Raymond, & Weinberg, 2006; Silverman, 1998 on Harvey Sacks; and Hesse-Biber & Yaiser, 2004). As Darin Weinberg puts it (2006:3), practitioners of "the Scientific Method" did not see language as having any influence on shaping social reality. Conversely, qualitative researchers were concerned with research methods in action as part of turning the gaze upon the social sciences themselves. The interest in linguistic and interactional details of social scientific knowledge production came to offer alternative approaches. Social scientists now brought context into the analyses not as a risk to pure data or the cluttering up of epistemological transcendent truth from "a view from nowhere" (Thomas Nagel cited in Weinberg 2006: 6). Rather, researchers got interested in how social context in different ways would influence how people talk, ranging from the wider cultural setting to the local interview context seeing talk as recipient designed and collaborative. Ethnomethodologists preferred naturally occurring data taped in situ or in real situations such as doctor/patient meetings, rather than interviewing about them, although their analytic strategies work well also with interview data.

Feminists however, have opposed what they described as the masculinity of the classic interview (see Oakley, 1981 regarding the classic reference). In particular, they argued against what they saw as the asymmetrical relationship in the classic interview with the interviewer in control of when, where, what, etc. Their criticism was based on experiences from interviewing women where they promoted a more flexible interview interaction with room for closer relations based on friendship, in which a researcher left his or her previous hierarchical, "masculine" position. Some investigators also promoted women as co-researchers including co-writing the report. This represents a focus on

the social relationship within the interview, as seen now in the new interest in indigenous research. The main concerns of such researchers are social relations, advocacy and social justice rather than knowledge production or the framing of such production (Ryen, 2011a). In a globalized world, we cannot uncritically assume that methods invented in the West to be universal (Wallerstein, 2006; Mukherji & Sengupta, 2004; ISSC, 2010). This view addresses the western privileged position in deciding the definition of new knowledge as well as what counts as relevant knowledge. These debates, which are many, complex and constantly developing, have generated new ways of doing interviewing. Let me mention some (based also on Fontana and Fry, 1998).

We have already referred to "gendered interviewing" which somewhat resembles Jack Douglas' "Creative interviewing" (1985) in which he promoted a more relaxed, unstructured format, abandoning "how-to" guidelines. "Postmodern interviewing," partly inspired by the work of Marcus and Fischer on ethnography (see Gubrium & Holstein, 2002), includes "polyphonic interviewing" with room for multiple voices without being interrupted by the interviewer in the interview itself as well as in the text. "Mobile interviewing" implies being with participants wherever they go or moving rather than sitting still in an undisturbed "neutral" room. Some of my own interviews have taken place while we have been driving in the car, walking around downtown or sitting comfortably with a coffee at a busy street café with cars passing and waiters offering more coffee. "Oral interviewing" refers to interviews whose aim it is to get historical data of past days; along with "journalistic interviewing," it is exempt from the harsh research ethics regime in the USA (Ryen 2011b). "Narrative interviewing" sees life as storied and the researcher's interest is in the narrator's own narratives. Though narrative interviewing may be conceived as capturing external descriptions, there is a wide acceptance for constructionist narrative analysis which in many ways shares an interest in linguistic matters by seeing narratives as a device for making sense of social action (Czarniawska 2004).

Let me present the interview method with a couple of data extracts to illustrate some of the issues mentioned above. Here is an extract from Mahid, my main informant, who sits with me, talking by the dinner table one evening in the field.

Extract 1. *Is what we hear they say what they say?* (Ryen 2011b)

M: "... She [the Icelandic woman] could have prepared dinner back home with candles and I said "I can't, you come with me." She would not complain. She was nice, also she would talk to people, but be silent when we discussed business. Now she is getting married ..."

(Uganda, Nov. 2003)

If we see language as transparent or referential, we focus on what the speaker says. But, what is this extract about? One could easily jump to the conclusion that this is a story about an Icelandic woman in particular if it originated in a region with a low contextual Germanic language where the meaning is in the words. Alternatively, we may hear it as

a metaphor wherein Mahid indirectly asks me to leave the ethnographer role behind for some time (he is asking for a break). This way I as interviewer refrain from further inquiries into the story. To address me directly would be seen as impolite so he elegantly reframes his request by non-referential language.

In places where the self we referred to above is collective, the individual interview may not be as familiar as in the West. Here is a story from a long interview. We finished up in the late afternoon, so I invited Eke for dinner across the street. During the interview I had asked if he could come closer because of the distance to the tape recorder. Eke later told me this made him reflect.

Extract 2. *The interview: what kind of activity is it?* (Ryen 2008a; 2008c).

A: You remember I asked you to come closer during the interview because of the tape recorder. You later told me that you were thinking "what will she do if I touch her hand."

E: You're quite right (4.0) . . . I could read the signs, but as you say the cultural barriers eh (2.0) . . . You see, but with you it was difficult for me to really (4.0) understand what does this (1.0) this signal mean.

A: Like what? What signal?

E: Like saying eh "move closer" because I am not audible, that I can't hear properly, because she want me close for the sake of closeness eh was it because it was something else (laughing) ja, so there was lot of questions I was asking myself.

A: About what was going on?

E: Like I am saying you are being interviewed, you are responding, but you are reading a lot. I mean you are learning a lot of things from the interviewer (2.0) yeah and you develop either some sort of interest or disinterest . . .

(The above is an interview which ended up as talk about the interview itself.)

First, all talk has been transcribed and we notice how Eke in his last response talks about interactional issues and relates to our meeting as a long social talk where the boundaries around a research interview get blurred (this increases my research ethical responsibility). This change is partly facilitated by a change in context from a formal board room to a café. Second, the transcript invites us to see how we both participate in constructing this "reality"; this differs from classic content analysis wherein the focus is on the answers only.

Conclusion

The qualitative interview offers a range of possibilities; this manifold also comes with dilemmas, including the question as to what counts as high-quality research. This demands that we be prepared to defend the expansion of the interview armamentarium. In a globalized world, however, we cannot uncritically export standardized methods (Ryen, 2011c) and privilege one method over others. Whichever methods we choose, they should reflect the different formal

properties of culture and social action, as was argued by Atkinson, Delamont, & Hously (2008). The debates may yield insight into the many quandaries we encounter when using qualitative interview data as well as optimal ways to use such data.

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Reports from the Lab

Negotiating Academic Landscapes: Experiences of Students from Diverse Backgrounds at an Indian University

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The University Grants Commission of India, a statutory body of the Indian government established to coordinate, determine and maintain standards of university education in India, has identified “access and expansion, equity and inclusion, and quality and excellence” (UGC, 2011; p. 2) as the triple objectives for Indian higher education in the coming years. Thus, while Indian institutes of higher education are expected to focus on issues such as high-quality research and internationalization of knowledge (UGC, 2011; p. 88-89), they are also expected to lay special emphasis on equity, plurality and demographic diversity of students, and on reducing existing disparities by attracting and facilitating the retention of students from rural and developing areas as well as differently-abled and marginalized social groups (UGC, 2011; p. 82).

A number of studies have documented the unique academic, social, cultural, linguistic and other types of challenges faced by first-generation university students (see, for instance, Canagarajah, 2002a; Fox, Cheng, Berman, Song, & Myles, 2006; Reay, Crozier, & Clayton, 2009). Other studies have focused on the daunting task faced by instructors of ensuring that the quality of research and pedagogy is high, while the academic discourses remain accessible to a diverse set of students (see, for example, Northedge, 2003). As Jonasson (2009) notes, though the needs and advantages of multicultural diversity within higher-studies institutions are well recognized, “seeking to accommodate the needs of a diverse body of students presents formidable challenges, not only for the institution, but also for the individual teachers and students inhabiting the institution. Teachers debate how to provide culturally appropriate pedagogies, while ensuring rigorous, yet equitable and meaningful, assessment methods for an increasingly diverse student body” (p. 7).

Issues of culture in multilingual contexts like those of India are often interwoven with issues of language. Less than 10% of Indian students are taught in English at the primary level of education (DISE data, 2008); yet English is today arguably the single most used language in higher education in India—most of the high-ranked universities use English as the *sole* medium of instruction and examination; technical courses, similarly, are taught almost exclusively in English; and even at the graduate level, courses

in local languages or Hindi are out-numbered by those in English (Graddol, 2010; Jayaram, 1993). The relationships among language, knowledge and culture are complex. Since knowledge is transacted through language, it is not possible to separate out language from knowledge construction and acquisition, especially in academic settings. Further, a language is not simply a medium of instruction, but encodes the history, goals, sensibilities and expectations of particular cultures and groups (Bordieu, 1999). Groups that have historically participated in higher education use a variety of academic discourses to achieve their ends, each of which has its own set of rules and expectations. These usages of language may not be accessible or transparent to new entrants into the higher educational space. Languages can thus serve to include, marginalize or exclude members of a given community, and can lead to the acquisition or the assignment of particular identities, roles and trajectories within the higher educational space (Lave & Wenger, 1991, Wenger, 1998).

If the objectives of access and expansion, equity and inclusion, and quality and excellence are to be met, it is crucial that Indian institutions of higher learning develop a nuanced understanding of the experiences of their students who come from remarkably diverse backgrounds, in negotiating academic discourses that they encounter at the university. However, most existing research in this area focuses on the experiences of students from non-English backgrounds in English-speaking countries such as the UK, Australia and the US (e.g., Fox et al., 2006); while there is a dearth of such studies in Indian academic settings.

In this larger context, this research seeks to investigate the subjective experiences of students from diverse socio-economic backgrounds, as they negotiate academic discourses in an Indian university that provides solely English language instruction. We use a hermeneutic phenomenological framework that permits a study of the subjective experiences and meaning-making of the students. Husserl (1952/1980) criticized psychology for treating living subjects as though they were responding to external stimuli, rather than to their own perceptions of what these stimuli meant, thus giving prominence and legitimacy to the lived experiences of individuals (Laverty, 2003). Since then, this latter approach has been applied extensively and successfully to understanding subjective meaning making in educational contexts (e.g., Grumet, 1992; Sharma-Brymer & Fox, 2008). Hermeneutic phenomenology can be applied idiographically (i.e., to understand the experiences of a single person), or—more normatively—to understand the essence of the phenomenon under study (Finlay, 2012); we have the latter objective for our study.

Method

The study was conducted at an Indian university in a large metropolitan city in Southern India. The university



Table 1. Summary of Sample Characteristics.

Participant #	Gender	Age	First Language	Medium of Instruction Prior to Joining University	Home-Town*
1	F	30	Hindi	Hindi/English	Tier 3
2	M	26	Regional language	Hindi	Tier 2
3	F	28	Hindi	English	Tier 2
4	F	26	Hindi	Hindi	Tier 2
5	F	39	Regional language	Regional language	NA
6	M	33	Regional language	Hindi	Tier 3
7	M	32	Hindi	Hindi	Tier 2
8	M	25	Regional language	Hindi	Tier 2
9	M	23	Regional language	Regional language	Tier 3
10	M	36	Regional language	Regional language	Tier 3
11	M	27	Regional language	Hindi	Tier 2
12	M	24	Hindi	Hindi / English	Tier 2

Note: * Tier 1 cities in India are the largest metropolitan cities with a population of more than 5 million people. Tier 2 cities have a population of 1-5 million; and Tier 3 cities have a population of less than 1 million.

is English-medium with progressive and liberal learning objectives and pedagogical and assessment methods. It has a stated commitment to equity, diversity and social justice, and consciously recruits students from diverse backgrounds. However, given that it is in its initial years of functioning, the experiences of students from diverse backgrounds attending it are not well understood.

The study itself was conducted in two phases. Only a portion of the first phase is reported in this paper. In this phase, 21 first-semester participants from the 2012-14 batch of students pursuing a Master's degree in Education and Development at the University were interviewed. The participants were selected using a mix of non-random sampling methods including purposive and snowball sampling. Additionally, an email invitation was sent out to all students from the 2012-14 group explaining the study and its purpose, and asking for volunteers to participate. The final group of participants represented different (self-reported) levels of proficiency in academic English.

The participants were interviewed using a semi-structured format that attempted to capture the experiences, challenges and stories related to their first semester at the university. Interviews were conducted during the last two weeks of the first semester, meaning that students had to go back approximately four months in their recollections to get to the start of the semester. All interviews were conducted in English due to limitations in the language proficiencies of the researchers. In addition, the first author spent approximately 15 hours observing participants in classes and tutorials, and while completing assignments, followed by informal conversations about these experiences. The data from the observations and informal conversations were not formally analyzed, but were used for triangulating important themes that emerged from the interviews.

The interviews were transcribed during the first stage of analysis and keywords were assigned to the transcripts (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007); these were further coded into categories (Saldana, 2012). At this stage, some themes began to emerge from the data, based on which set of hypotheses was used. After a number of reiterations, an over-arching, second-order narrative seemed to emerge from the data—a series of seven stages that appeared to

characterize the essence of the experiences of these students during their first semester at the university. To illustrate the seven stages, a set of quotes was selected from the interviews that were poignant and/or most representative of the research findings (Anderson, 2010). The quotes are presented verbatim, without any corrections made to the English used by the respondents. However, clarifications are inserted in parentheses where necessary to make the meaning clear.

Given the phenomenological framework used in this study, we permitted the students to self-identify as more or less proficient in academic English. The students who self-identified as less proficient were predominantly from smaller towns and institutions where the medium of instruction was the local language. We report only the experiences of this group of students in this paper ($N = 12$), though we have also analyzed the experiences of the group that identified as more proficient in academic English. Table 1 provides a summary description of the sample of students who self-identified as less proficient.

The Seven Stages

Although we present results in terms of seven "stages" of experience, we do so cautiously. Often, these stages overlap, and in certain cases, one stage is indistinguishable from the other. Our analyses also revealed subtle variations in the subjective experiences, coping strategies, and trajectories of students across time. It is beyond the scope of this paper to present these variations. We use the stages as a communicative device to represent the essence of the experiences of the respondents in a clear and comprehensible manner; and to affirm that there were certain broad, discernible shifts in the self-reported experiences and feelings of students as the semester progressed. Given the retrospective nature of the data collection method, it is difficult for us to ascertain whether the shifts from one stage to the next were associated with certain points of the semester, or whether they varied from individual to individual. However, it appears that Stages 3-6 form the bulk of these students' subjective experiences of their first semester at this university.

Stage One: Excitement Mixed With Apprehension

The first stage begins when the respondent is offered admission and decides to join the university, but before she arrives on campus. It can be broadly characterized as excitement mixed with apprehension. The apprehension appears to be rooted in the high investment—financial, social and emotional—that these students make when deciding to join the university, and often, the impenetrability of this decision to their family members. For example, one of the students stated:

[A]s far as I am concerned, my family does not know that I am studying in a University where we have to pay 2 lakh rupees... If I inform them, they will not allow me sometime. They are very traditional, poor family. Till this age, before coming to [this university], every household expenditure is meeting through agriculture. Father is doing something... if this... 1 lakh and 2 lakh loan... hesitating... getting loan for education. They will... they cannot (?) understand... what is this or something... So I have not shared this. [Male, 23 years]

Stage Two: Shock: Social/Cultural and Academic

The second stage of the experience occurs shortly after the respondents arrive on campus, and is marked by a sense of acute differences between the self and the new context. We have referred to this phase as “shock”, although that term, by itself, does not point fully to the perceived inferiorities experienced related to the self during this stage. While a certain sense of shock seems to be experienced by almost all students, irrespective of the backgrounds they come from, what distinguishes the students from culturally/linguistically diverse backgrounds is the intensity of the shock that they feel. We could identify both sociocultural and academic shock in the narratives shared by the respondents, although these are not discrete categories and often overlap. Language runs as a deep theme throughout this stage, in both its sociocultural and academic aspects.

Many respondents reported a sense of shock associated with not having experienced life in a big city and a university of this nature previously. Social issues, like the easy mixing of males and females at the university, appeared to be barriers to the early integration of this group of students. The sense of isolation experienced by respondents is exemplified in this quote:

Initially I felt... very intensely... that I am in a totally different culture. Because I am from a small town... I mean even if I went to some big city... it was just for a day or two. So, to live like this... and to meet so many people... and to (attend) class with them. I felt like... they cannot be my friends. Initially I did feel very intensely... I felt separate... I felt very lonely... [Female, 30 years]

Differences in languages, or slang and usages even in known languages amongst peers enhanced this sense of

difference and inferiority, making them hesitant to interact with others.

So language was a great problem to interact with the students especially students who come from North... Because there slangs are very different - entirely different... That was the main problem... so I hesitated to interact with people. [Male, 36 years]

In addition to feeling acutely socially isolated, respondents also tended to compare themselves academically with other people in their cohort and judge themselves to be different/deficient. They invariably attribute these differences to their backgrounds. For example, one respondent said:

There are only few graduates (in own cohort) having two years' experience. And many are post graduates and have HUGE experience. And many are from Delhi University... In order to compete with them (i.e. be at par with them)... Because... something... some negative sense (inferiority complex)... Because they are emm... (gestures, suggesting they are something 'more advanced or different from me')... or something else. [Male, 23 years]

They also commented at length on the alienating effect of academic language and terminology in their classes.

I have written in my diary... some of the words... epistemology... I will come to you and share with you... all those words... I am a reader of Frontline (a news magazine) and all, but here, these terminologies... and ALL these classes are based on these terminologies. If you don't know... epistemology... and some words may have different meanings... in particular areas. The word we use in Sociology... may not have the same meaning in you know Philosophy... [Male, 36 years]

Problems with academic terminology go hand-in-hand with problems with the novelty and complexity of the content encountered in the courses. The university recruits students from a variety of fields (not just from the social sciences), rendering the content novel for many of the students. Again what distinguished students from the less socioculturally privileged backgrounds from others, was the intensity of their experienced disconnect and the link between this disconnect and their academic language proficiency.

Readings... I could not understand anything. That is one problem... a great problem. I can't learning. You have to understand the concept. All readings are much tough. It's not simple readings. Only one or two readings are simple readings, other are very tough. So it will take a lot of time to understand the concepts. Especially now... XXX... is MUCH complicated. You cannot understand what they are saying. I am just attending class here, sometime I am not understanding what they are saying (in the class). [Male, 23 years]



This experience of feeling unable to comprehend readings, to understand concepts in class, extended to a feeling of helplessness related to successfully completing assignments for courses. Plagiarism came up as a concept that highlights the sense of sociocultural and academic alienation and shock experienced by the respondents, one that we take up for further consideration in the discussion section.

Even in XX college . . . they would not give us so much (academic work) . . . They did not say things like . . . You cannot copy from anyone . . . that you have to quote . . . plagiarism is SUCH a crime here . . . I did not know that earlier. So, these things I found difficult here . . . [Female, 30 years]

Stage Three: Individual Attempts to Cope

The third stage is marked by attempts by the students to cope with the shock described in the earlier section. This is done to various degrees (some try much harder than others) and takes various forms (such as attempts to find 'simple' books in the library or bookstores, translations in local languages, simplified versions of content from the internet; or attempts to seek help from faculty members).

What appears to be common at this stage is that almost all of the initial attempts to cope are "individual." Although many people are facing the same situation, there is very little sharing of common problems or solutions at this stage. This isolation seems to stem partly from the assumption on the part of the students that the challenges they face are due to personal shortcomings that others do not share; and partly from the fear of "appearing like a fool" in front of others. This gets exacerbated due to the tendency to see some of the more proficient students as representing "most others."

But the thing is I was not able to say anything because I thought that majority of the people are getting everything that is being taught . . . [Female, 28 years]

The experience of English-medium/urban background students (not reported in this paper) becomes markedly different at this stage as compared to that of the non-urban students. While the urban students are able to form peer relationships and study groups more easily—as a result of their common academic and non-academic culture (and are thus able to cope more effectively), the non-urban students remain isolated for much longer and are more hesitant to seek help openly from others.

Stage Four: Failure in Penetrating the Academic Discourse

This stage overlaps considerably with Stages three and five, and marks a sense of failure and frustration at not being able to penetrate the academic discourse, despite individual attempts to cope. Our interviews revealed the effort put in by these students behind the scenes (Stage Three) that go largely unnoticed and unacknowledged in the academic context of their courses.

I cannot understand from the class. I am searching in the internet - what is it. How to write it. Go through the internet, than only—what it is. Because it is all very new to me . . . [Male, 23 years]

You know how it feels (sitting in the class) . . . like a frog . . . you know . . . in a dark ditch (using imagery of a frog leaping up to catch a few known words here and there in a class that was largely not understandable). [Female, 39 years]

Stage Five: Self-Doubt

Failure to comprehend and participate in the discourse despite putting in effort appears to lead to self-doubt and depression in some of the students; while some others appear to 'rationalize' and scale down expectations of themselves and the program. This is also approximately the point of the first semester when grades and feedback on the first few assignments are given by the faculty members. These often increase the sense of failure that is being experienced. Our interviews indicate that even at this point of the semester, respondents tend to see their inability to cope as a personal shortcoming, not shared by others in their cohort. The constant underlying comparison with "others" and a deep sense of inferiority and inadequacy come through clearly in many of their statements.

I did not understand a single thing! Then . . . I started thinking . . . why did they take me!? (i.e. why did they offer me admission here) . . . [Female, 30 years]

Seriously . . . I was not understanding ANYTHING . . . I was under so much depression . . . that I will not be able to handle this. I WILL fail! . . . That . . . it's there no? . . . At least some expectation from yourself? But when you are unable to do it . . . "Man . . . WHY am I unable to do it? Even this much I am incapable of doing? And then you see that others . . . even others are in the same situation, right? And if THEY are able to do it . . . if they can score well . . . then why don't you? [Female, 28 years]

I did not speak with anyone for six weeks. Even my close friends . . . I went into a depression . . . I cannot do even this much . . . people younger . . . whatever . . . are doing it. [Female, 28 years]

Stage Six: Disenchantment / Alienation

The self-doubt, stress and/or depression, in turn, often lead to feelings of disenchantment or alienation with the academic program, with students questioning the purpose of pursuing the program at this university. It is at this stage that some students seriously start reconsidering their future course of action, including the possibility of their dropping out of the program.

Right now it is appearing as if . . . you know distance education, right? . . . you have to do this assignment by this time . . . write. So, you read only for those assignments. (X) was joking . . . you tell me what all you want from me . . . and I am going home . . . and

will send it to you. There is no sense in the classes!"
[Male, 33 years]

Stage Seven: Realization of Shared Nature of Problems

The final stage captured in the interviews (conducted a few weeks before the end of the first semester) was the realization among the students that many of the problems that they had faced throughout the semester, were, in fact, problems common to others. This should be seen in context of Stage Three (Individual attempt to cope), where problems and failures were seen as one's own. This realization is captured in this quote:

[We] think that this is my problem... I will try to solve it in some other way. Everyone else is getting it right? So... let it be. I am not getting something... I will look up the word... or okay, I will ask people outside the class... I should not disturb the class. So, many important things get left behind because of that. [Female, 28 years]

Discussion

The cause of improving access, equity and quality in higher education would be helped if larger number of institutions were to take proactive measures to assist students from different social groups to effectively negotiate academic discourses. Doing so, however, would necessarily involve a better understanding of the experiences and challenges of students from diverse sociocultural and academic backgrounds as they negotiate the academic landscape of Indian higher education.

In this study we used a phenomenological approach to capture the lived experiences of students from diverse backgrounds attending an English-language medium-sized university in a large metropolitan Indian city. We adopted a theoretical frame located in sociocultural and critical theories that view language, knowledge and culture as intertwined and as privileging those with access to discourses of power and privilege (Bourdieu, 1999; Heath, 1996/1983; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Purcell-Gates, 1997; Willis, 1981). Students who come from smaller cities and have previously studied in vernacular-medium institutions seem to go through a seven-stage experience during their first semester. In brief, they seem to initially experience a shock due to sociocultural as well as academic factors; may find it relatively difficult to penetrate the academic discourse; and thus feel disenchanting or disengaged to varying degrees. Significantly, we found that most respondents see their challenges as personal failings that are not shared by others, for a significant part of the first semester.

Based on our work, we make a few preliminary recommendations to educators and policymakers working at similar institutions. One key take-away from this study would be to find ways to lessen the initial sense of shock and alienation, and to help students ease more gradually into academic discourses. We found that there appears to be quite a mismatch between the expectations that students have

of themselves and the reality that they face in the first few months at university. As a result, many tend to go into a shell-doubting their capabilities or blaming self/others. Instead of leaving them to 'discover' it by themselves, it would be advisable to help students realize that many others go through an initial period of shock and adjustment of expectations. They should be alerted to the different types of support available to them during this time period, and should be exposed to narratives of the experiences of similar others.

During the first few weeks of the semester, it may be advisable to employ methods of teaching and assessments that depend more on speaking and hearing, and students' active participation as opposed to relying solely on classroom lectures and reading and writing. It may also be useful to provide regular academic reading and writing support *embedded in* course content, as opposed to occasional, voluntary opportunities to seek assistance from decontextualized language support resources, for example, English language classes or writing centers. Academic discourses vary widely (e.g., philosophy versus psychology), making it unadvisable to teach language in a decontextualized manner in higher educational settings. Making commonly used books and readings available in local languages may be beneficial to a number of students.

Sociocritical theory would also require that we ask deeper questions about the manner in which certain ideologies and norms that characterize powerful groups are normalized within institutional contexts, while others are silenced or marginalized. Our study reveals that quite a few of the assumptions and values of progressive, liberal institutions of higher education (e.g., related to pedagogy, assessments, conduct, etc.) are novel to students from culturally different backgrounds. Concepts like academic plagiarism, for example, assume moralistic, universalistic and legalistic tones within the university setting that may run counter to student cultural experiences that view certain practices as legitimate, correct and proper. Critical theorists such as Canagarajah (2007b) and Bennett (2011) have pointed out that plagiarism is not a universal evil, but the instantiation of a particular ethical system that can be located historically and socially. Students can be made more aware of and skilled with mainstream discourses and practices, even as they're sensitized to the social and historical location of these practices. Raising the critical consciousness of students as they encounter and engage with normalizing discourses at the university is imperative if equity and diversity are to be seriously applied. Canagarajah (2002 a) provides descriptions of several ways in which multilingual students in his classroom engaged in academic practices that positioned them as critical participants in, rather than as passive consumers of, academic discourses.

From a normative, scientific viewpoint, our study employed relatively few participants, making the generalizability of our findings tentative. However, from the viewpoint of hermeneutic phenomenology, even the narratives of a single individual are worthy of understanding. According to Giorgi (2008), including the experiences of a minimum of three respondents permits the researcher to clarify the nature of the phenomenon being studied by discerning individual variations in experiences from the more general nature (or the essence) of the phenomenon under study. By those standards, our results are reliable and may



offer useful insights to a wide array of stakeholders—including the students, faculty and the university; as well as researchers and scholars working in the areas of curriculum development, faculty professional development, language education, and inclusive practices. While this study paints a broad picture of students' subjective experiences at the university, further, more nuanced work is needed to understand the specifics of their experiences with different aspects of curriculum, pedagogy and assessment practices.

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In Search of Feminine Identity: Recollections from the Childhood Experiences of Hijras in Bangalore, India

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"I kept my feminine character in my heart without revealing it to anyone . . . that kind of self-fighting for my identity within, from 8 to 16 years I have struggled a lot . . . no friends who supported, no family members who supported . . . so where do I go? So guilt feelings started coming in my mind . . . I thought I was the only person behaving like this . . . I thought I should not be alive . . . so once I tried to attempt suicide . . ."

(Akshaya, 30 years, Transsexual woman, Personal communication, October 24, 2012)

(The names of hijras have changed to maintain anonymity)

Gender identity does not usually invite discussion until the topic of sexual minorities has been broached. A male

child is expected to adopt masculine identity and a female child a feminine identity in our common perceptions as well as in medical/ academic understanding. According to developmental psychology, the formation of gender identity starts at the moment of a child's birth. The way a child is socialized with respect to biological sex is mediated by one's family, parenting, school, neighbors, peers, media, religion and culture. Gender can be defined as "the behavioral, cultural or psychological traits typically associated with one sex" (Teich, 2012) whereas sex is defined as "either of the two forms of individuals that occur in many species and that are distinguished respectively as male or female especially on the basis of their reproductive organs and structure" (Merriam-Webster.com, 2013). Sex and gender are normatively categorized as binaries or as male and female. In essence, sex is biologically endowed and gender is culturally constructed. At the same time sex and gender in a person are often interrelated and congruent to one another in varying degrees. When this congruence is very low or absent, a different category of gender arises – the transgender. Transgender is defined by Deangelo (2011) as "the state of one's gender identity not matching one's assigned sex." As Stryker (2008) puts it, "transgender refers to any and all kinds of variation from gender norms and expectations." The definition varies with culture, place, time and people just as these norms and expectations vary.

The present article deals with a group of transgender individuals traditionally known as *hijras* in India. *Hijras* have often been confused with other non-normative gender identities such as transvestites, eunuchs, hermaphrodites, intersexed individuals, or homosexuals. *Hijras* define themselves as "neither men nor women" (Nanda, 1999) and thus form their own gender category. Thus the *hijras* occupy a unique space in the binary gender continuum of male-female and are also fall under the umbrella term of transgender. The word *hijra* is considered to be an Arabic word which means 'leaving a place'. References to *hijras* in the spiritual and mythical texts of India, and their presence in the royal Mughal palaces are considered to be unique phenomena as far as Indian *hijras* are concerned. According to history, Prophet Mohammed left for Medina in 622 with his followers including *hijras*, and *hijras* are also mentioned in the *Ramayana*, *Mahabharatha* and Bible (Public hearing, 2010). It is difficult to get an estimate of the actual population of *hijras* because they live on the periphery of the legal and administrative system. Known by different localized names and different cultural affiliations, transgenders in India vary diversely. The terms *hijra*, *chakka*, *koti*, *panti*, *jogappa*, *jogin*, *jogta*, *shiv shakti*, *napumsak*, *aravani* or *aruvani*, *khoja*, *khusra*, etc. describe persons in the transgender category in India. Estimates of the number of *hijras* in India is not reliable as they are either not included in the census or counted as females. Nanda (1999) cites Mitra (1983) who says the most common unofficial count of *hijras* is 50,000 nationwide. According to the Targeted Intervention HIV Prevention Program in 2013 initiated by Sangama (2013), Bangalore, approximately 1,200 transgenders are identified in the city. They live in closed communities in particular places in the city which are meant for marginalized people generally.

It has been noticed from the limited literature on transgenders in India that western concepts of gender and

transgender do not explain the *Hijra* phenomenon in India. Cultural variations and differences in worldviews and values make it difficult to have a universal unified theory in social scientific research. However, the existing theories and techniques can be adapted to fit various sociocultural contexts. The West holds a heteronormative binary view of gender as similar to sex, i.e. there is only male and female. All others who could not be fit into these categories belonged to "the other" or "the third gender", (Deangelo, 2011) as opposed to the inclusive eastern outlook. The worldview in the East, especially India, derives its acceptance of the third gender from languages such as Sanskrit that speak of more than two genders. Another flaw in western conceptualization is that the binary classification ends up equating or linking sex with gender and in turn with sexuality or sexual orientation (Deangelo, 2011). Roscoe (1996) and Towle and Morgan (2002) have influenced western concepts and theories, "pathologizing" the indigenous gender variant groups (cited in Deangelo, 2011). The religious and spiritual roots of acceptance, tolerance and institutionalization of these eastern gender deviance groups contrast with the Christian principles of taboo. Consequently, research studies on the cultural life of *hijras* assume a particular localized nature in India.

The *hijras* are an ancient community in the Indian sub-continent, including members in Pakistan and Bangladesh. While the word "*hijra*" is used to describe transgenders in general, a lot of research and theorizing have explored the question of what makes a person a "real" *hijra*. The *hijra* community has members who have either been emasculated or chosen to hide their genitals under their clothing. There are also members who have embraced total femininity by choosing to undergo Sexual Reassignment Surgery (SRS) and there are also members who are householding men. The popular notion is that *hijras* are born "this way" (i.e. intersex) and they themselves claim this with pride (Sharma, 2009). It is believed that all "true" *hijras* are required to undergo a ceremonious emasculation operation called *Nirvan*. *Nirvan* means rebirth and most *hijras* see this operation as their rebirth into the *hijra* form from the male. Emasculation distinguishes real *hijras* from the fakes (Nanda, 1999).

The limited literature available reveals an interdisciplinary interest in exploring the transgender community which requires contextualizing their social, personal and cultural lives with respect to their locality. Being a migrant community, this type of transgender community has undergone cultural adoption relevant to their identity and status within and outside *gharanas*, their clan culture. With the emergence of non-governmental organizations for *hijras* in the country, their status has been significantly changed compared to previous years. Over the years, the coherence of the community has been transformed from secluded events of protests to working toward legal liberation and changing things for the members giving them the right to be viewed as humans in the society. *Hijra* meetings and parades have been supported by many activists and mainstream society members as well as celebrities. Instances of being "punished" by the society and by law enforcers only criminalize their sexual choice that is considered deviant and defiant in the society's eyes. The question still lingers if simply changing laws is enough or if changing attitudes can ever be achieved.



Gender Identity Formation and Identity Confusion

For the purpose of the present paper, the development of a feminine identity of *hijras* in childhood has been studied through their recollections. There are a number of stage theories in psychology and a few other socio-cultural theories on gender identity formation. For instance, psychoanalysts look at gender identity formation as unconscious behaviors emerging from early bodily and emotional experiences in the infancy and childhood of a person. Freud posited that for boys to become masculine, they must experience anxiety towards women and should identify with their fathers to overcome this trauma, thereby breaking their dependence on their mother (Brannon, 2005). In transgenders, the conflict is either believed to be unresolved or may be resolved using an alternate mechanism. According to Lacan (1998, cited in Brannon, 2005) too, the unconscious is accessible only through language and hence communication molds our gender to a very large extent. The identities exist only in our language as symbols of our unconscious impulses and desires. Following on from Lacan's psychoanalysis, feminist theorists argue that through the use of language, positive feminine qualities have been silenced and distorted so that men and masculinity can assume a status of power and domination in the social structure. Hence alternate sexualities get discriminated against in order to uphold the masculine as the "superior" one or the "normal" one. The impact of his theory is wide-ranging and can be seen in leading gender theorist Judith Butler's work (2004).

The much-acclaimed view of 'gender as performance' suggests that individuals participate in the construction of their gender identities through its daily enactment. Butler defines performativity as "daily, non-conscious doing of gender". By doing gender, an individual socially constructs the meaning of his/her gender in the context of cultural systems of racism, classism, patriarchy, etc. Judith Butler's (2004) approach encompasses the classical theory of psychoanalysis, as well as those of Rubin (2003), Lacan and Foucault in understanding the development of gender identity of *hijras* in a social constructivist perspective (cited in Butler, 2004).

Identity diffusion is a sense of self that is not fully developed or well defined. It is best viewed from a developmental perspective. Identity diffusion is identity with or without crisis that is disorganized and lacking cohesiveness or incorporates no exploration of, or commitment to, roles and values (Jackson, 2010). Different theories try to explain this phenomenon. Erik Erikson's theory of psychosocial development, building on Freud's work, suggested eight stages of psychosocial development. Erikson's fifth stage of 'identity versus role diffusion' is relevant to adolescence and the ability to establish a sense of identity. James Marcia's (1966) theory on personal identity development was built on Erik Erikson's personal identity theory and described four kinds of identity development in adolescence: identity achievement, identity foreclosure, moratorium, identity diffusion (cited in Jackson, 2010). The theory of identity diffusion by Salman Akhtar (2012) explains that adolescents with diffusion are very isolated from others. These individuals display contradictory character traits such as suspiciousness, greed, self-denial, arrogance and

timidity, temporal discontinuity in the self. The past, present and future are not absorbed in a manner suggesting continuity but are fragmented. They display a lack of authenticity by easily adopting characteristics of others and altering their personality to fit the situation, and have feelings of emptiness and loneliness, a deadening of inner emotions, gender dysphoria (lacking a sense of gender and overall gender appropriate behavior). (Jackson, 2010).

Apart from the above-mentioned theories, a few perspectives have been developed recently to explain the identity formation of sexual/gender minorities. Cass's homosexual identity model (1979, cited in Bilodeau & Renn, 2005) lists six stages through which one forms a homosexual identity. Ebaugh's (1988, cited in Bilodeau & Renn, 2005) role exit model includes disillusion with a particular identity, searching for alternative roles, turning points that trigger a final decision to exit and the creation of an identity as an ex. Devor's (2004) model of transsexual identity formation builds on Cass and Ebaugh. Devor's 14-stage model looks at the varying levels of progress till full transition. One can stay at any of the fourteen stages: 1) abiding anxiety, 2) identity confusion about originally assigned gender and sex, 3) identity comparison about originally assigned gender and sex, 4) discovery of transsexualism, 5) identity confusion about transsexualism, 6) identity comparisons about transsexualism, 7) tolerance of transsexual identity, 8) delay before acceptance of transsexual identity, 9) acceptance of transsexual identity, 10) delay before transition, 11) transition, 12) acceptance of post-transition gender and sex identities, 13) integration and 14) pride.

Bilodeau & Renn (2005) recount D'Augelli's (1994) lifespan model of LGB identity development based on his social constructivist view of sexual orientation and Reicherzer & Anderson's (2006) model which includes seven age spans of transgender identity development. Reicherzer & Anderson's stages include 1) pre-school (ages 3-6), 2) school age (ages 6-11), 3) early adolescence (ages 12-15), 4) late adolescence (ages 15-18), 5) early adulthood (ages 18-35), 6) middle adulthood (ages 35-60) and 7) advanced adulthood (ages 60 and beyond). They also acknowledge that masculine females are tolerated more often by the society than feminine males. The experience of gender incongruence heightens with pubertal changes. Additionally, sexual feelings may also be confusing as transyouth develop an attraction to same, opposite, both, or no sexes.

The childhood stage is marked by the discovery of one's existence and development as an individual for anyone, not only for *hijras*. Gender socialization appropriate to one's biological sex confuses and redefines the question of "who am I?" for a child who starts recognizing his orientation towards femininity. The early identification with the female figures in the biological family plays a determining role for *hijras* in the formation of identity from childhood at the age of approximately three years. Theories on transgender identity development do not focus on the social constraints *hijras* face (especially if the culture does not support gender diversity) in order to stay in the feminine identity they subscribe to and their constant struggle to negotiate pitfalls. In almost all cases, the transgenders who are rejected by their families get incorporated into communities or houses that work to help them join the transgender community itself. Thus the clans or the *gharanas* become their families

and support, beyond a mere refuge. They also become a source of defense against the societies' discrimination and oppression. In addition to India, other Asian societies such as Bangladesh and Thailand, along with African American, Latino American and Asian American cultures have the concept of a "house" or a *gharana* for transgenders (Nanda, 1999).

Method

Attaining effeminacy for *hijras* at the stages of childhood determines their very initial periods of the development of a feminine identity. These stages do happen in the constrained spaces of families and access for information about the same is limited due to the taboos on any overt expression of one's sexuality or sexual orientation in Indian culture. In the current study, a qualitative exploratory research method is used wherein a social constructivist/interpretivist research paradigm is chosen. Therefore, ten adult *hijras* (who call themselves transsexual women or transgender women) gave in-depth interviews on their childhood to permit an analysis of their retrospective recollections from 3 to 18 years of age. Collection of data is done mainly from different districts of Bangalore such as Malleswaram, S.P. Road, Yashwantpur, Majestic, Satellite Bus station, J.P. Nagar, Sanjay Nagar, Mekhri Circle, Dairy Circle and S. G. Palya. Most of them realized their feminine identity at the age of four to five years and faced varied forms of societal restraints while expressing their 'confused' identity as a male biologically and a female psychologically.

The interviews were analyzed using the thematic analysis network of Glaser and Strauss (1967) wherein data are segregated, grouped, regrouped and relinked in order to consolidate meaning and explanation prior to display. The lines of inquiry followed in the interview guide have been used to develop the analysis. As the sample size was small, the lines of inquiry were very specific. Tags are formed from the lines of analysis which are further converted to subthemes supported by the field data. It is necessary to meet each *hijra* many times to complete the interview and also to establish credibility of the data for iteration and communicative validity once the dialogs are transcribed.

Results and Discussion

The interviews conducted on the *hijras* have been analyzed through thematic network analysis on their experiences in early childhood which promoted feminine identity formation. The *hijras* whose recollections are used for the study hail from Bangalore and belong to the working/middle class, with an age range of 20- 35 years. A majority of the participants in the study were male to female transgenders who had undergone castration or were soon to undergo the surgery, having registered themselves at hospitals and started the counseling process for SRS. Among them, one female to male transgender was also a participant of the study. Each participant was interviewed individually; they unanimously identified their childhood experiences as being crucial precursors to their later identity development.

Childhood Experiences Initiating the Search for (Feminine) Identity

Hijras follow a similar pattern of socialization in childhood after sensing a kind of 'mismatch' in their identity as a boy at around four years of age. In the collectivist culture of India, the child's growing effeminacy draws a response from the family members, near and far relatives, neighbors, school authorities and teachers, peers and the public at large. Figure 1 shows the results of our analysis based on the childhood experiences of *hijras* which initiated their search for a feminine identity.

Early Identification with Opposite Gender and Growing Effeminacy

Most male-to-female transgender participants reported an early identification with the opposite gender, specifically with their mothers or their sisters. This identification was not restricted to merely feeling more comfortable in the presence of family members of the opposite gender, but included a sense of comfort experienced in female attire and a natural tendency to behave in a feminine manner. Participant Nirmala said, "... when I was young I used to wear my sisters' dresses unknowingly" (Nirmala, personal communication, June 29, 2012). This reveals that cross-dressing was a 'natural' occurrence which she was not consciously aware of, yet felt distinctly comfortable engaging in. While participant Nirmala ascertains her cross-dressing to have been an act of innocence, participant Renuka hesitantly reported "... when my mother wasn't at home, I used to wear girls' clothes, stand in front of the mirror, and watch myself. I didn't know much, still I used to do it ... mother used to shout at me" (Renuka, personal communication, July 26, 2012). Participant Renuka's views suggest that although her cross-dressing began as an act of innocence, she soon learned that it was not socially acceptable and was reprimanded for the same. But she continued to indulge in it in private. Participant Sumitha emphasized her early identification with her mother, saying "My two brothers were the rough type; they used to play very violently ... but I never wanted to do all that, I used to stay home with my mother and I loved to watch her cook and clean and used to wear her clothes and carry a broom around the house" (Sumitha, personal communication, June 12, 2012). The above comment by the participant indicates her identification with the opposite gender and reveals the sense of comfort she experienced in the company of her mother at an early age, rather than with her brothers.

The participants' interviews reveal that cross-dressing was a crucial aspect of their childhood which served as a precursor to their emerging identity. While some believe that the cross-dressing was an innocent and impulsive act which brought comfort, others reported realizing that it was socially unacceptable but continued to engage in it for the sense of calm that it brought to them. The act of cross-dressing could not be separated from the female-figures at home that they observed and modeled in a crucial step toward identifying with the opposite gender. The interviews with the participants revealed that their identification with the opposite gender was not limited to cross-dressing and being comfortable in the presence of the

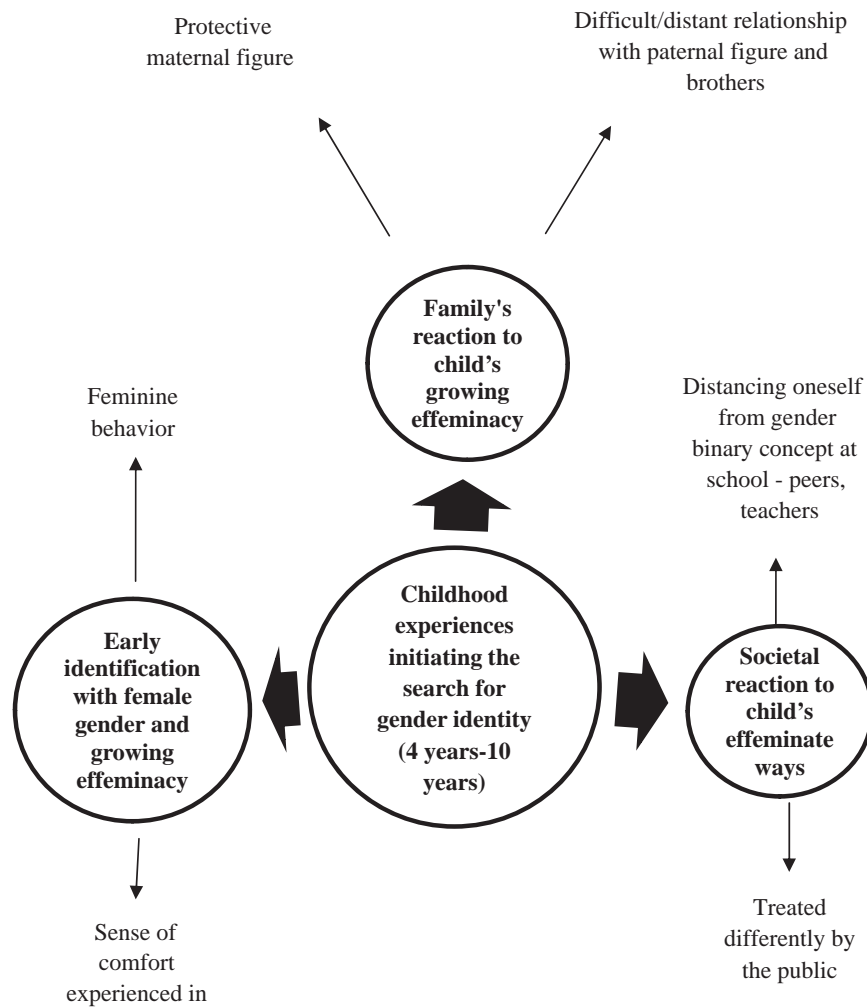


Figure 1. Childhood experiences initiating the search for gender identity.

opposite gender alone, but at a deeper level also involved effeminate behavior from an early age, which they believe occurred naturally to them. Participant Seema expressed with a smile *"I was the happiest when my sister was born, I finally had someone to play with . . . and in school, I always liked to play with girls rather than boys"* (Seema, personal communication, September 13, 2012). The above statement reveals her deep sense of identification with the opposite gender which she believed stemmed at a very early age from the sustained interaction with family members of the opposite gender. Similarly, participant Raji recalled *"It started even before 5th standard – I would never join with boys, I was only with girls. Whatever girls played I also played"* (Personal communication, July 18, 2012). The other participants of the study similarly recalled with fondness instances of their childhood which later made them reflect upon and question their gender and identity; they considered instances such as these crucial to their identity development. The female family members and classmates played an important role in the process of the transgenders' identity development, sparking off a search for identity, often even unknowingly. As participant Sumitha expressed *" . . . I used to wear frocks and dance in the annual day celebrations in my*

school. My mother herself used to dress me like a female because she did not know at that time, I was only a child." (Sumitha, personal communication, June 12, 2012).

While the above recollections by the participants suggest an overt identification by the transgender with people of the opposite sex with most participants of the study modeling their mothers/sisters/friends as children, the identification also occurred at a covert and deeper level. Participant Sheela expressed *"to tell you about my childhood, from a young age itself I felt myself as feminine, so while I was born as a male, my mind as well as my feelings were of completely a female"* (Sheela, personal communication, September 20, 2012). The above revelation by the participant suggests that she felt herself to be a woman deep within, right from her childhood. Her childhood hence served as a sure precursor to the larger search for her identity that was likely to occur soon in her life. Participant Sumitha said, *" I started feeling completely like a female. When other boys touched me in class, I used to tell them not to touch me and push their hands away . . ."* (Sumitha, personal communication, June 12, 2012). For many participants in the study such as participant Sumitha, while cross-dressing was an initial and overt attempt at searching for their identity, the overt display

reflected the deep-seated feelings of womanliness that they experienced within. Other participants sought to conceal their true identity for fear of disapproval, despite an early identification with the opposite gender. An exploration of the narratives of the participants reveals that their effeminate behavior began in their childhood from covert, deep-seated feelings of effeminacy and evolved into an overt attempt at cross-dressing to display their deeper feelings.

Revathi (2010) in her book comments that "I did not know that I behaved like a girl, it felt natural for me to do so. I did not know how to behave like a boy. It was like eating for me—just as I would not stop eating because someone asked me not to eat; I felt I could not stop being a girl, because others told me I ought not to do so". Revathi's words highlight the search for the causes of why and how a child experiences a transgender identity.

Family Reaction to Child's Growing Effeminacy

The participants' struggle to establish their identity was oftentimes not a solitary affair and included the influences by and impact on their families and the larger society. While the participants in the study discussed their families as being largely opposed to their growing effeminacy, the reactions differed amongst family members, with some families dismissing the feminine behavior as a mere act of innocence.

For many of the transgenders, discussing childhood and the relationship with their family members, particularly their father, proved to be a difficult experience that they reluctantly recalled, having experienced pressure from the family members to behave like their own gender throughout their childhood and adolescence. Participant Parvathi recalled "My father never liked me, he thought I was weak...well, he tried to straighten me out...he didn't think twice about picking up the stick, so I was an unhappy child" (Parvathi, personal communication, September 28, 2012). Participant Parvathi's recollections reveal the pain that she went through in her childhood while seeking to express her identity. It further reveals the opposition she faced at home and the expectations her father had of a male child that she could not be. On a similar note, Participant Nirmala said, "my father used to mock me and say 'you are like a girl, you have to act like a boy', and I used to feel very bad at that time" (Nirmala, personal communication, June 29, 2012). Her comment reflects the difficult childhood and lack of understanding she experienced, leading to a distant relationship with her father.

Others, such as participant Sumitha, who lost her father at an early age, recalled sharing a difficult bond with her elder brothers who were in charge of the household. Her comment was, "my brother used to beat me and scold me saying that his friends made fun of me, calling me a girl, which was insulting to him" (Sumitha, personal communication, June 12, 2012). This shows that the participant's exploration of her identity was not limited to herself but had a wide-ranging impact, causing her brother to restrain her and further disrupting the bond that they shared. Participant Seema recalled a similarly painful childhood, saying "My brothers bullied me so badly, they used to call me a girl and never let me do anything with them...my father was disappointed in

me; even when I was a child he never showed me any love." (Seema, personal communication, September 13, 2012). Participant Sheela also regretfully described never being understood at home through her comment, "My parents... they didn't understand this is natural life, they always think and feel that I am doing something unnatural... My dad has cried to me saying don't be like this, I am not able to go out because of you behaving like this...it's a prestige problem in my friends' circle..." (Sheela, personal communication, September 20, 2012). Sheela's reflection reminds one of the far-reaching impact an individual's search for identity can have. Several participants like participant Sheela expressed with regret that their search for identity was not a simple one, unfortunately leading them to make compromises with relatives such as their fathers. *Hijra* informants' words further support the age spans of transgender identity development model by Reicherzer & Anderson (2006) showing that feminine males are seldom tolerated in society.

However, there were other participants who reported a relatively happy childhood and recalled their parents dismissing their early effeminate behavior as being a mere act of innocence. Participant Raji was one such individual who reported, "... during childhood if any boys wear mehendi or nail polish, the mother and father don't think about it too much; as the child doesn't know this, the parents also leaves the matter or don't pay attention" (Raji, personal communication, July 18, 2012).

Hence while most participants recall sharing a distant relationship with their fathers starting right from early childhood, participants also expressed regret that they had to compromise on their relationship with their fathers/brothers in their search for identity as it was inevitable. A lone participant also expressed her feminine behavior not being taken seriously by family members in early childhood and hence she reported experiencing a happy childhood.

While the male-to-female transgender participants often spoke about sharing a distant and uncomfortable bond with the paternal figure, they simultaneously recalled sharing a deep sense of identification with the mother and sister right from early childhood. Participant Parvathi recalled "I think my mother and sister always knew, they were supportive of me and tried to protect me from my father whenever they could", highlighting the deep sense of comfort she experienced in the company of her mother and sister. (Parvathi, personal communication, 28th September 2012). The close bond that the participant Seema shared with her mother is evident in the statement "... only my mother would protect me from all those taunts; she was very fond of me, so I was very close to her and my sister..." (Seema, personal communication, September 13, 2012).

The mothers and sisters of the participants were perhaps seen as a source of knowledge to help them in the course of their identity formation and in the face of gender role discrimination. Most importantly, they were viewed as a source of comfort during difficult times when the rest of the family and society pressured them. The above observation is reflected in Participant Vani's recollection, "I was very close to my mother, I was very dependent on her even as a child; I used to want to do all the things that she used to do..." (Vani, personal communication, August 22, 2012).

The rich narratives of the male-to-female transgenders reveal mixed responses from the family to their early identification with the opposite gender. While most participants



recollect a painful childhood, often being ridiculed for their feminine behavior and forced by their fathers to comply with their gender roles, some participants recalled their early feminine behavior as being dismissed by their parents as a mere act of innocence. Intolerance from the male members in the family towards *hijras* was typical whereas female members were consistently reported in the narrations to perform a protective role. *Hijras* in their adulthood shared an intimate bond with their mothers and sisters which may have its roots in their childhood experiences and at the same time they retained a stance of helplessness and hostility towards their fathers and brothers even after many years. An inquiry into why female members in the family supported the attempts to be a transgender and protected *hijras* from the society's ridicule and why male members reacted with consistent aggression may further reveal the different gender standards held in the same family and culture.

Societal Reaction to Child's Effeminate Ways

The participants' recollection of their childhood revealed that their emerging effeminate behavior did not go unnoticed by the larger society. Several participants recalled that their feminine behavior dated back even to early school days when they would prefer the company of girls to boys and were chastised for the same. Some of them even vividly remembered being ridiculed by their relatives and extended family for their behavior.

The schooling experiences of the participants reveal that similar to behavior at home, they preferred the company of girls in school to that of boys from an early age. Participant Sheela said, "...when studying from 1st to 7th standard, two girl friends were there with me... they were very close to me... like they wouldn't part from me and I wouldn't part from them... In my house they would beat me asking why I go with them and in their house they were beaten and parents would ask why they go with that boy..." (Sheela, personal communication, September 20, 2012). Her recollection of the events suggests that it was natural for her to seek out the company of girls with whom she felt more comfortable, rather than the boys in her class. However what seemed to occur naturally to her was not ignored by her family and the larger society and she was reprimanded for her behavior, like several other transgenders who described similar schooling experiences. But it is interesting to note that irrespective of their belonging to different gender and culturally 'opposite' gender norms the girls were ready to share a close friendship bond with the boy who seeks their company. There are instances where *hijras* in their adulthood remember their girl friends with immense happiness because they could always turn to them for psychological shelter and comfort.

There are instances where some transgenders were even forced to give up their education due to difficult schooling experiences that surpassed mere ridicule. Participant Nirmala recalled a painful childhood experience living in a hostel, saying "they started the homosexual kind of thing which is very common in hostels. I can't explain what happens in those hostels, but all I can say is it was disturbing... which is why I could not complete the course..." (Nirmala, personal communication, June 29, 2012). Her comment reveals the

deep-seated regret she felt for not being able to complete her education. Participant Swathi who had a difficult schooling experience reported, "...when I used to play with them, they used to make fun of me, this was also one of the reasons for me to lose interest in my studies. I used to question why God made me like this..." (Swathi, personal communication, October 10, 2012). While the ridicule she faced in school caused her severe distress, forcing her to drop out of school, the experience also made her question her sense of identity at an early age and her comment reveals a state of moratorium suggested by Salman Akhtar (2012) that she went through.

However, many transgenders also spoke about their schooling experiences as aiding them in their search for identity. Hence while on one hand they had difficult experiences, these experiences also served the purpose of helping them understand themselves better. Participant Parvathi expressed "...I was a bright child but I couldn't study when I was so conflicted" (Parvathi, personal communication, September 28, 2012). Her search for identity was a difficult process which affected not only her personal life but also her relationship with her father and her performance in school. Participant Sheela recalled an event from school saying "one girl in school... scolded me saying something like 'nine'... At that time I thought to myself what is the reason for her saying so... at that time I didn't know anything about 'nine'. I didn't even know there were transgenders..." (Sheela, personal communication, September 20, 2012). This experience at school facilitated introspection in the participant, making her question her own identity. *Hijras'* identity confusion, as suggested by Devor (2004), shows that originally assigned gender and sex made them anxious when they compared themselves with other boys of their same age.

Some participants recalled that as they grew older, the gender role disparity increasingly attracted the attention of the society. Often noticed were the frequent attempts at cross dressing. As participant Renuka said, "...when I was 11 years old I used to wear my aunty's daughter's chudidhar... I used to feel very nice... my father, aunt and uncle used to scold me when I would dress up as a girl" (Renuka, personal communication, July 26, 2012). In relating her experiences participant Sumitha recalled "...but in class eight people in my neighbourhood started scolding me, asking why I always dance like a girl" (Sumitha, personal communication, June 12, 2012).

For some participants, being a cause of embarrassment to the family led to deep feelings of isolation and feeling unwanted from a young age. Participant Sheela recounted often feeling isolated thus: "...when I used to go out with my mom, they would ask 'is that your daughter?' 'No, boy only', my parents would say, but they wouldn't believe. For my parents it was embarrassing, so they would not take me to any functions... I wouldn't even go to my relatives' houses" (Sheela, personal communication, September 20, 2012).

For others such as participant Nirmala, the search for identity even caused her to leave her hometown to evade the constant and unnecessary attention she received. Participant Nirmala recalled the painful experience: "...I was thrown out of my house... my hometown still didn't accept me as warmly as they should have when I went back, even though I was in my male dress" (Nirmala, personal communication, June 29, 2012). Participant Renuka also described lack of societal acceptance, saying "...yes, I consider community

very important. Community people are good in front of me but they spread bad things about me behind my back . . ." (Renuka, personal communication, July 26, 2012). The above excerpts suggest the impact of a *hijras*'s search for identity on the larger society and reveals that the process is not restricted to oneself or even one's family, but in collective societies such as in India, often involves the entire neighbourhood or the town. The comments further reveal the participants' deep need for acceptance and the compromises they had to make in their search for identity.

From Childhood to Adolescence: Grappling with an Emerging Gender Identity

The period of adolescence is a difficult period for many, with biological as well as emotional changes consequently affecting many areas of one's life. The narratives of the *hijras* reveal similar experiences during adolescence which had a great impact on their gender identity development. Several participants recalled a troubled adolescence where they felt misunderstood and experienced a lack of acceptance and support from the family, causing them to look for external sources for support and understanding. For most participants, it was during this phase of life when they had their initial encounters with the *hijra* community, *gharanas*, an experience which most participants considered to be one of the most crucial in their journey to identity formation. This is the phase Devor (2004) mentions as discovery of transexualism by entering a community of their own. This identity progression is mediated by the presence of other *hijra* members in *gharanas* who guide them in this interactive phase. This could be a turning point in the life of a *hijra* that triggers a final decision to exit from one biological gender identity (Ebaugh, 1988, cited in Bilodeau & Renn, 2005).

While childhood experiences served as a precursor to gender identity development for most of the participants of the study, it was during adolescence that most of them began to actively question and explore their identity and to seek out answers, leading them to develop a stable gender identity as *hijras*. While cross dressing seemed to be the initial step into the *hijras* identity, the period of adolescence saw many of the participants feeling an immense discomfort with their own selves, causing a growing dissonance between their ideal self and the real self, leading to intense introspection and eventual cross-gender identification and at times even sex change. Participant Raji recalled "Boys asked me some questions, "why are you playing with girls?" That time I got a shock, I questioned myself am I a girl or boy? I questioned myself and I only had questions . . . I started feeling that right from birth I had feminine characteristics" (Raji, personal communication, July 18, 2012). Participant Raji's recollection of the event reveals her deep sense of identification with the opposite gender which she had taken for granted till she was questioned about it. This was perhaps one of the most crucial experiences which caused her to seek out answers to her questions about her gender identity. Participant Nirmala also reveals the deep underlying desire she always had to be a woman and once she realized that there were other people who felt like her, she felt that her identity was sanctioned and justified.

Hence while most participants expressed their childhood behaviors of cross-dressing and modeling the women in the household as precursors to their imminent transgender identity, identity achievement only took place following their initial encounters with the transgender community (known as *gharanas*) which justified their need for undergoing castration, a step that ensured the emergence of a complete woman.

As a person is growing up, he or she may try to make of the physical, psychological, emotional and sociocultural pubertal changes in adolescence. Goldner's (2011) critique brings about an important question of whether the dissonance in the mind and body of a transgender is a "psychological distress" that requires treatment or is a natural way of dealing with their chosen sexuality and gender that becomes a "suffering" for the homophobic or transphobic world around them.

Conclusion

A *hijra* is first 'born' in the embrace of their own family where their initial realization of 'being feminine at heart' becomes visible. The family unit, the miniature and basic extension of societal authorities, possesses very strict and rigid control mechanisms to restrain a gender identity which contradicts one's biological sex. *Hijras* reported a feminine 'inclination' and manifested feminine behavior after identifying with the female figures in their family early in their development. Family and societal restrictions make their feminine self-expression impossible and constant discrimination and harassments finally lead them to leave their biological families and join the community of fellow *hijras* (*gharanas* become their non-biological family later) whom they may meet in their search for identity. The journey of *hijras* to establish their gender identity as women takes an essential place in the studies on identity in general and transgender studies in particular, challenging us to recognize and comprehend a unique group grappling for their identity and facing only social constraints in achieving it, possibly throughout a human lifespan.

Hijras have been consistently ostracized and never understood by the mainstream society, a process which began with the people who engendered them once upon a time. The interaction with my *hijra* informants illustrates their immense desire to go back to their biological family and their wish to be accepted by them in their *hijra* identity as 'mere human beings'. Discussions with the service delivery activists who work for the welfare of transgender community members brought out the fact that their attempts to reunite adult *hijras* with their parents have been positively reciprocated by their family members. Such an intervention would definitely help *hijras* to overcome the psychological anxiety and confusion due to their identity crisis and facilitate a smooth progression and acceptance of a transgender identity.

"I was confident that . . . my love for my family would triumph over its demands. If it seemed that a family was in crisis, then I suffered too. I wanted the affection of my parents, brother and sister. I didn't want them to isolate and ostracize me".

Revathi (2010, p. 258)



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Ethnotheories on Sub-Optimal Child Development at the Kenyan Coast: Maternal and Paternal Perspectives

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An estimated 200 million children in Low and Middle Income Countries (LMICs) such as those in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) fail to achieve their developmental and cognitive potential (Walker et al., 2007). As a consequence, a huge burden is placed on individuals, families and communities contributing to the vicious cycle of poverty and inequity. Given the high costs associated with loss of potential among children in LMICs, there has been a proliferation of research to investigate factors that put these children at risk for poor developmental outcomes. Already-identified risk factors include infectious diseases (Boivin, 2002; Carter et al., 2005; Lowick, Sawry & Meyers 2012), malnutrition (Abubakar et al., 2008; Nyaradi, Li, Hickling, Foster, & Oddy, 2013; Sigman, McDonald, Neumann, & Bwibo, 1991), and sub-optimal parenting behavior (Ritcher & Grieve, 1991), among others.

Despite on-going efforts to understand the factors hindering adequate growth and development, significant knowledge gaps remain. First is the lack of information by parents on what they perceive as risk factors. Most studies investigating risk factors for poor developmental outcomes have been based on hypothesized risks identified by researchers and measured using quantitative approaches. Secondly, the few studies examining subjective risk factors as perceived by caregivers have focused on mothers, with limited contribution and participation of fathers. The omission of fathers from the research process is a significant threat to the validity of research findings, given fathers' traditional roles as the bread-winner and decision-maker in families. There is a dearth of studies on child development in the African context in which fathers have participated. Consequently, paternal views, concerns and beliefs regarding child development have hardly been documented.

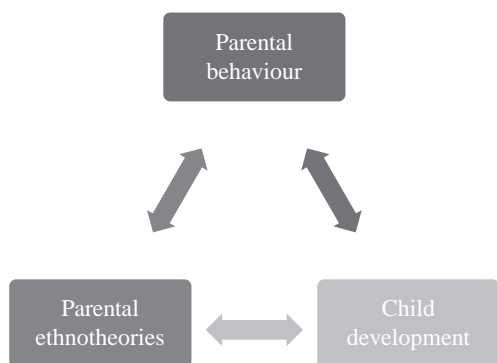


Figure 1. Parental ethnotheories and their relationship to childhood outcomes.

Parental ethnotheories refer to implicit widely held views of how parents should behave or act, or how things should be (Harkness & Super, 2002). In the case of the current study, parental ethnotheories relate to beliefs on the causes of poor child development and what parents can do to enhance this development. Parental ethnotheories influence parenting practices which in turn influence child development. See Figure 1 for this relationship (the model presented here is a very simplified version of the potential relationship; for a more detailed review of this relationship see the work of, e.g., Murphey, 1992). An example comes from a study by de Vries among the Digos in Kenya (de Vries & de Vries, 1977). In this study, they observed that the Digos believed that infants are ready to learn at birth. Consequently, children were trained from birth, with a focus on motor and bowel movement training (de Vries & de Vries, 1977). As a result of this early training, Digo children were, on average, fully toilet trained by the time they were six months of age, which is on average almost 18 months earlier compared to infants from a setting that did not have an early and active toilet training approach (de Vries, 1999). Given this relationship between ethnotheories and childhood outcomes it is important to examine parental ethnotheories. We therefore focus on parental ethnotheories of

poor child development in developing countries, a research area that has largely been neglected, and present the first such study from SSA.

Using a sample of randomly selected mothers and fathers, the current study set out to answer the following research questions:

- a) What are the parental beliefs on factors that contribute to poor child development at the Kenyan Coast? Which strategies do parents believe they can use to optimize child development?
- b) What are the barriers and challenges faced by parents at the Kenyan Coast?
- c) How similar or different are parental ethnotheories compared to published literature?
- d) How similar or different are maternal and paternal perspectives on what?

Method

Study Site and Sample

The study was undertaken in 2010 and 2011 at two rural sites at the Kenyan Coast: Kilifi and Msambweni. This study was nested within a larger study at the Kenyan coast looking at developmental outcomes and parenting behavior among more than 200 mothers with children aged less than 18 months. A randomly selected sub-sample of 56 parents and/or caregivers was involved in the current study.

Data Collection

Data were collected using individual in-depth interviews. Following informed consent procedures, parents were interviewed at the clinic in a quiet corner away from the presence of other people. All interviews were audio taped. The interviews were guided by a standard set of questions. Clarifications were sought using probes as deemed necessary. Parents were asked to express themselves in the language in which they were the most comfortable. Interview sessions were therefore conducted in Kiswahili and Kigiriana or Kidigo interchangeably.

Table 1. Sample Characteristics.

	Males (n = 25)		Females (n = 31)	
Age				
Min-Max	20-70		17-75	
Median (range)	35	(50)	28	(58)
Educational Status (n)				
Unschoolled	4	(16.0%)	4	(12.9%)
Primary incomplete	6	(24.0%)	12	(38.7%)
Primary complete	5	(20.0%)	9	(29.0%)
Secondary incomplete	3	(12.0%)	4	(12.9%)
Secondary complete	3	(12.0%)	1	(3.2%)
Higher educational vocational	1	(4.0%)	–	
Higher educational university	3	(12.0%)	1	(3.2%)
Number of children				
Min-Max	1-9		1-7	
Median (range)	3	(8)	2	(6)



Table 2. Interview questions.

- What are the factors that contribute to poor child growth and development?
- What can parents do to ensure adequate growth and development?
- What factors hinder parents from providing quality care to their children?
- What are the challenges faced by parents in this community?

Interview Tool

A checklist of questions was developed and refined by the research team through discussion and consensus. Table 2 presents the key questions related to the current study. The questions presented are core to the interviews; however, probes were introduced to clarify and enhance the quality of the interviews.

Data Management and Analysis

The final transcripts used for analysis were generated from the audio-taped materials. Data were analyzed using the NVIVO 10 software program according to the framework analysis (Silverman, 2010; Strauss, & Corbin, 1998). This process was completed based on prior defined themes of interest per the defined questions. The first author (AA) developed coding schemes and identified themes. After coding the transcripts, AA and JG discussed the coding item by item with a view to ensuring consistency in coding. Direct quotes from the transcripts are presented to support the identified themes. Three of the authors—AA, JG and GB—checked for the accuracy of the translations and interpretation of the quotes presented.

Ethics

The Kenya Medical Research Institute National Scientific and Ethics Committees approved the study. Written informed consent was obtained from all study participants prior to participation.

Results

1. Causes of Sub-optimal Developmental Outcomes

An overwhelming majority of participating parents pointed out that ill health was the main contributing factor. According to them, children who were unwell could not grow up well. This point was raised by both fathers and mothers, and was seen to be the most salient factor among both groups.

When she is unwell, and you do not follow it up or care for her (i.e. inadequate health care) [Father, 55 years].

It is when they are unwell, or the food being difficult to get or lack of good health [Mother, 18 years].

Table 3. What can parents do to optimize child development?

	Fathers	Mothers
Nutrition	×	×
Protect against ill-health		×
Play time	×	×
Good hygiene		×
Adequate health care	×	
Socialization	×	×
Quality accommodation	×	
Clean play environment	×	×
Affection for the child	×	
Work hard and provide basic needs	×	
Rest	×	

Inadequate food intake or eating an unbalanced diet was also seen as a prominent cause of poor growth and development.

Food, meaning if they do not eat good food or may be when sick [Mother, 24 years].

Poor hygiene - whether personal or environmental- was cited as contributing to poor child development.

Not being cleaned properly [Mother, 23 years].

A good education and adequate socialization of their children were also seen as important requirements in ensuring that children grow and develop optimally.

Not caring for them, not teaching them religious beliefs nor formal education, then you have neglected them [Grandfather, 70 years].

It is the parents not educating them or teaching them good behavior [Father, 31 years].

Moreover fathers emphasized negligence and related aspects i.e. maltreatment, as important contributors to poor growth and development. Surprisingly, this was not mentioned by any of the mothers we interviewed.

2. Active Provision of Various Needs Could Optimize Child Development

Table 3 presents four categories of important factors, according to fathers or mothers. These concern provision of basic needs such as nutrition (*it is through taking care of them properly and feeding them properly, Father 39 years*), provision of play time (*provide them with play time, Father, 34 years*) education (*Teach them several things, Father, 38 years*) and a clean environment (*let them live in a proper (clean) place, Father, 20 years*).

3. Poverty and Poor Marital Relationships as Barriers to Quality Child Rearing

Two issues came out strongly as salient barriers in the quality of child rearing: financial constraints and poor marital relationships. Both mothers and fathers reported that poverty, which was seen as a major hindrance to effective

child rearing, limited the ability of parents in their community to provide their children with basic needs such as foods.

Mostly it is lack of money and separation of parents, [Female, 34 years].

Money for purchasing food and clothes is usually difficult to get [Male, 20 years].

It is caused by economic reasons, economically we are not doing well . . . [Male, 25 years].

In addition to poverty, poor marital relationships including, divorce, separation, and infidelity, were equally emphasized as a hindrance to providing quality caregiving.

It is the lack of good relationships in the home (between parents) that can lead to parents being unable to take proper care of their children [Male 39 years].

When parents do not get along well, [male 34 year].

. . . suffering of the child depends on how parents interact, if you have love between you, the child will be happy, however where there is no peace the children will not be happy [Female, 20 years].

Other issues raised were alcohol abuse and poor family planning.

4. Poverty as the Key Challenge Faced by Parents in These Settings

More than half of the fathers (13/21) and almost half of the mothers (15/31) noted that poverty was the main challenge faced in their efforts to bring up their children. Apart from poverty, ill-health was mentioned by 5 mothers and 3 fathers, parental negligence (by mothers), and lack of social support (by fathers).

Discussion

We set out to investigate parental beliefs on causes of poor developmental outcomes and their perceptions of their role in dealing with these problems. We observed that two of the most salient risk factors for poor outcome discussed in the literature i.e. malnutrition and ill health, were also identified by the parents in the current study. Some key risk factors that have been identified in earlier studies (not using qualitative methods) were only alluded to, but did not strongly feature in the ethnotheories of parents. An example is the lack of cognitively stimulating materials in the home. An extensive review of the literature identified the lack of stimulating materials as one of the key sources of loss of potential in LMICs including those in SSA (Walker et al., 2007). However, parents in our study did not seem to recognize this as an important risk factor. Raising awareness on the value of cognitive stimulation among parents may be an important point of intervention. In view of the results of the current study, fathers should be involved in such efforts, and this should be presented as important for children's education.

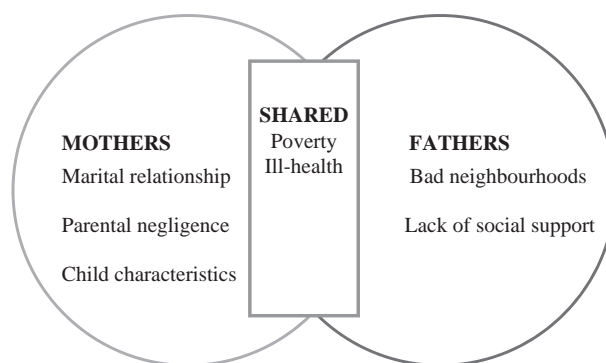


Figure 2 Challenges faced by parents.

As noted earlier, there is a high correspondence between the published literature and what has been reported by parents as barriers to quality child rearing and challenges faced by parents. Earlier studies have identified factors such as poor marital relationships, alcohol abuse, and poverty as compromising adequate parenting behavior (Abidin, 1992; Coln, Jordan, & Mercer, 2013; Ulbricht et al., 2013). Yet, significant differences were also observed. Among all parents interviewed only a single mother raised child characteristics with examples of crying as likely to lead to poor outcomes since such children were perceived as more difficult to bring up. Psychology literature indicates the salience of child temperament in shaping child outcomes. Two potential reasons may explain why parents do not perceive child characteristics to be salient to childhood outcomes. One is that within this socioeconomic circumstance, child temperament is not viewed as an important factor. Secondly, within any context where there are an overwhelming number of risk factors (especially poverty) psychological characteristics may be overshadowed and overlooked. We favor the second explanation based on earlier research in Msambweni. Using a mixed methods approach, de Vries worked among the Digos in the late 70's and early 80's and observed that child characteristics (such as fussiness and the ease with which the children could be soothed) were associated with both child morbidity and mortality. More intensive work to investigate the role of psychological variables in shaping outcomes in this SSA community is warranted.

We focused on parental gender as a potentially important antecedent of ethnotheories, and observed both similarities and differences which indicate that it is an important variable to consider. However, it may be interesting to examine the influence of other demographic characteristics such as educational levels. Rural vs. urban differences may also provide important differentiation, but need to be studied in larger samples.

The in-depth interviews clearly captured parental opinions, which allows a bottom-up approach in developing scales and measures that need to include both universal and context-specific concerns. However the use of multiple data collection procedures and the inclusion of some standardized questionnaires would have provided a richer understanding of the issues at hand.



Conclusion

Using qualitative approaches we have been able to gain insight into parental beliefs about child development at the Kenyan coast and we have identified some potentially salient points of intervention. More importantly, we have included paternal voices in a significant debate that has practical implications for stakeholders interested in enhancing early childhood outcomes.

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Country Focus

Parenting Strategies and Children's Development: A Decade of Research in Nigeria (2003-2013)

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Introduction

Nigeria is a collectivistic and multi-ethnic nation whose norms and values are transmitted to its offspring by the family and the community. Those values, which include communal living, maintaining a good name and character, industry, and respect for elders and authority figures (Akinsola, 2006; Bammeke, 2006), are transmitted through traditional education where the teachers are the parents and the community. Communal living and training, cooperation, participation, and role modeling are some of the teaching strategies employed in the traditional education of Nigerian children (Akinsola, 2011b).

Research on the psychological development of children and adolescents in Nigeria is scanty and scattered, primarily due to the paucity of research funding for both basic and applied research that could generate contextual theories on human development and validate existing ones. The few studies that exist, many of which are reviewed below, are individual efforts and self-funded; they focus on parenting and its impact on the development of children and adolescents.

Scope of Nigerian Research on Parenting

In the last decade, developmental research in Nigeria has focused on the nature of parenting strategies and their impact on the educational attainment and personality development of children and adolescents. These studies have addressed two aspects of parenting, namely parental involvement and parenting styles.

Parental Involvement Theory

Epstein (1987) postulated a theory of overlapping spheres of influence which emphasized the importance of families, schools and community collaboration. According to this theory, students succeed at high levels when the internal and external models of influence intersect and work to promote success in school.

The external model postulates that students learn more and achieve more success when the internal contexts in which they live (e.g. home, school, and community) work together to support and enhance academic

success. The internal model describes the interactions, interpersonal relations and patterns of influence that occur between individuals at home, at school and in the community.

Epstein (1995) defined parental involvement as families and communities taking an active role in creating a caring educational environment, resulting in enhanced academic success in school. He identified the six (6) typologies of parental involvement as parenting, communication (school-home, home-school), volunteering, learning at home, decision-making, and collaborating with community.

Studies on Parental Involvement

Studies carried out on parental involvement address the relationship between parental involvement, parental education and academic success. Ibrahim, Jamil & Abdullah (2012), compared the nature of parental involvement in two primary schools in northern Nigeria, and found that parental involvement contributed to children's academic success. They found that children in the school in which more parents were involved with the schooling process had a higher level of achievement and performed better than children in the second school where parents were less involved. Other studies reported similar findings for both primary and secondary school students (Adeyemo, 2005; Agbatogun, 2009; Olatoye & Agbatogun, 2009; Olatoye, & Ogunkola, 2008; Oludipe, 2009; & Tella, & Tella, 2003)). Nicholas-Omoregbe (2010) found parental educational attainment and parental income to significantly affect children's academic performance; Adetayo & Kiadese (2011) found parents' emotional intelligence and parental involvement to predict students' achievement in a financial accounting course, with parental involvement contributing 54% of the variance. Akinsanya, Ajayi, & Salomi, (2011), found parental education and qualification to predict students' achievement in mathematics. Omoteso (2010) found that teachers have opposing preferences about whether parents should or should not be involved in their children's schooling but agreed that parental involvement has positive effects on academic performance, school attendance and attitude to school.

These findings confirmed the importance of parental involvement in academic achievement and agreed with past findings (Dixon, 1992; Loucks, 1992; Spera, 2005; Dervarics & O'Brien, 2011).

Parenting Style Theory

Baumrind (1971), distinguished between three parenting styles, namely authoritarian, authoritative, and permissive. Authoritarian parenting is characterized by harsh disciplinary attitudes and rigid boundaries. Authoritarian parents demand obedience, discourage open communication and exert a high level of restrictive psychological control that



Adebusola Ojo (left) and Esther Akinsola (right) at the 22nd biennial conference of the International Society for the Study of Behavioural Development, July 8-12, 2012, Edmonton, Canada. In the middle is Prof. Robert Serpell one of the poster presentation assessors at the conference.

is more adult centered than child centered (Maccoby & Martin, 1983). The authoritarian parenting style is associated with childrens' social incompetence and poor communication skills. Authoritative parenting also puts limits and controls on childrens' actions but it allows extensive verbal dialogue, which promotes parental responsiveness and encourages childrens' independence, social and cognitive competence, self-reliance and social responsibility. Authoritative parents use behavioral and monitoring controls over their children by being aware of where they are, whom they are with, and what they are doing. They encourage reciprocal communication and are open to modifying their rules upon argumentation (Baumrind, 1967). Permissive parents place few or no rules, and exert little or no control over their children. The children are given almost complete freedom to make their own life decisions and behave autonomously and independently (Baumrind, 1991).

Studies on Parenting Styles

Nigeria as a patriarchal nation emphasizes respect for and obedience to authority figures, especially parents, and compliance to parental instructions.

Studies on types of parenting styles adopted by Nigerian parents (Akinsola, 2010; Akinsola, 2011a; Akinsola, & Ojo, 2012; Akinsola, & Udoka, 2013) confirmed that Nigerian parents adopt an authoritarian parenting style, an authoritative parenting style, or a hybrid authoritarian/authoritative parenting style. The hybrid parenting style was identified through the adoption of Likert-type responses to the scale items which varied from strongly agree to strongly disagree, thereby allowing student respondents to indicate when their parents' actions are authoritarian and when their actions are authoritative (see Akinsola, 2010, 2011).

Studies on the relationship between parenting styles, and childrens' behavior include Adejuwon (2005a); Akinsola (2010, 2011); and Olowodunoye & Ajibola (2011). Adejuwon (2005) found identity formation to be high with low parental demandingness, and high parental responsiveness. Akinsola (2010) found authoritative parenting to correlate positively with a restrained sexual attitude and negatively with a liberal attitude while authoritarian parenting correlated positively with liberal and promiscuous attitudes. Akinsola (2011) also found that participants brought up under authoritative parenting reported higher levels of self-esteem and attained higher academic achievement. Olowodunoye & Ajibola (2011) found parenting style to correlate positively with religiosity and negatively with examination misconduct. These findings agreed with some past findings (e.g. Baumrind 1967, 1989).

Conclusion

Research outputs in the field of human development in Nigeria have been generally low and only seem to have gained momentum in the last five years, especially regarding parenting practices. If individuals and groups can tap into the Nation's Millennium Development Goals programs being funded by donor agencies in partnership with the Government, we may be able to witness a boost in developmental research focused on children in the near future in Nigeria.

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Notes from The President

As I write these notes, Biao Sang and his team at Shanghai Normal University, together with the International Program Committee are working hard to make final selections for keynote speakers, invited speakers, and invited symposium organizers regarding the 2014 ISSBD meeting in Shanghai, China. As you may already know, this meeting will take place July 8-12, 2014. I learned from Biao that most developmental scientists invited to present their work at the biennial meeting accepted the invitation. Thus there is no doubt for me that our ISSBD 2014 meeting in Shanghai will become a very attractive event. By the time these notes are published, the deadline for abstract submissions will already have ended. I hope that many of you submitted an abstract and plan to attend the meeting. Please note that the deadline for comparatively cheap "early bird" registrations is the end of February, 2014. I encourage you to contact the ISSBD 2014 website to get more information on formal aspects of the meeting. The plan of the organizers is to notify participants about the acceptance of their abstracts by the end of November, 2013. This should give sufficient time for booking flights and hotel rooms for the ISSBD meeting in Shanghai.

We are grateful to Jacobs Foundation for its promise to provide financial support (in the form of travel grants) for early career scholars planning to attend the preconference workshops at the upcoming ISSBD meeting in Shanghai. Thus the Early Career Scholar Travel Grant Committee chaired by Suman Verma, which already worked very effectively two years ago when dealing with applications for the 2012 ISSBD meeting, will continue its work later this year. The committee will invite applications after decisions about abstracts have been made, that is, in early December 2013 and the selection process will keep the committee busy until mid-February, 2014. All early career scholars and developmental scientists from currency-restricted countries whose abstracts were accepted are encouraged to apply for travel grants at ISSBD and send proposals. Although we know from previous rounds that not all applications will be successful, we hope to be able to support many of you.

As I already indicated in my last notes, there were three ISSBD regional workshop events in 2013. I was able to attend the ISSBD Regional Workshop in Moscow on "Executive functioning and Metacognition" that was planned and organized by our EC member Elena Grigorenko from Yale University, USA, together with a group of dedicated young scientists, namely Natalya Ulanova from Moscow State University and Sergey Kornilov as well as Natalia Raklin from Yale University. About 60 early career scholars (mostly from Russia) participated in the event that took place June 18-22, 2013. Several renowned researchers, including Rebecca Bull, Stephanie Carlson, Elena Grigorenko, Akira Miyake, and Phil Zelazo, gave lectures on different aspects of the general theme and attracted a lot of attention in the audience of young scientists. Overall, their feedback was very positive. I was impressed by the efforts of the organizers and want to thank them for their thorough and successful job.

I also participated in (and just returned yesterday from) the ISSBD Regional Workshop in Budapest, Hungary, organized by the conference chair Márta Fülöp and her vice-chair Ilkiko Kiralyi, in cooperation with the members of the local Scientific Committee as well as the members of the local Organizing Committee. The Budapest Regional Workshop was special in that funding came not only from ISSBD but also from Jacobs Foundation in Zurich, Switzerland. The latter was mainly due to the fact that 8 out of 10 recipients of the Jacobs-ISSBD Mentored Fellowship Award attended the workshop and presented their doctoral dissertation projects, which I found impressive. In total, almost 90 early career scholars from 18 different countries (including

the keynote speakers) attended the Budapest workshop from September 12 to 14, 2013, which focused on "Interpersonal dynamics over the life span." Although most of the participants came from Hungary, other Eastern and Central European countries such as Romania, Poland, Croatia, Ukraine, Slovakia, and Bulgaria were also well represented. The workshop focused on recent theories of social development in children, adolescents, and young adults, with an emphasis on the dynamics of different kinds of personal relationships. Keynote speakers included Malinda Carpenter, Patricia Hawley, Heidi Keller, Barry Schneider, József Topal, and Marcel van Aken. In my view, the workshop was well organized and very positively received by the participants. I was particularly impressed by the initial "ice-breaking" procedure developed by Márta Fülöp. I suggest that all those of you who want to organize a workshop in the future and to create a pleasant social atmosphere among participants from the very beginning on contact Márta for details. My thanks go to Márta, Ildiko, and their team for their dedication and their great efforts to organize this workshop and make it successful in the end.

Unfortunately, I was unable to attend the 10th ISSBD Africa Regional International Workshop in Pretoria, South Africa, which was held at the Department of Inclusive Education, University of South Africa in Pretoria, September 25-27, 2013. Nareadi Phasha from the University of South Africa served as host and main organizer of this workshop, which focused on the following topic: "Sustaining research excellence amongst early career scholars." About 60 African early career scholars were invited to participate in this event. Major goals of the workshop concerned the strengthening of the confidence of African early career scholars in carrying out independent research, as well as the strengthening of the relationship between mentors and mentees. It also aimed at providing a platform for early career scholars to engage in critical discussions about their own work. As I write these notes, the Pretoria workshop has not yet taken place, so I cannot inform you about its outcome. Our EC members Bame Nsamenang and Robert Serpell will attend the workshop, and I hope to hear from them soon.

It was a pleasure for me to cooperate with the local chairs of the three ISSBD workshops, and to discuss various theoretical and practical issues related to the preparation of these events. I am grateful to the members of the ISSBD Steering Committee for their support in this matter. In particular, Ingrid Schoon and Rick Burdick were effective in solving various financial problems. Last but not least, I want to thank Gelgia Fetz and Simon Sommer from Jacobs Foundation for their continuous interest in our international workshops and their valuable support and advice. Without the financial support provided by Jacobs Foundation, it would be very hard for us to achieve our ambitious goal to organize attractive ISSBD regional workshops in different parts of the world, helping early career scholars from different countries to improve their scientific knowledge and to broaden their perspective significantly.

The membership situation was again discussed at our last ISSBD Executive Committee meeting that took place at the biennial SRCD meeting in Seattle, April 2013. Our ISSBD membership committee chaired by Ann Sanson has been working intensively on this problem for quite a while. We believe that the measure of offering one-year free membership packages at our biennial meetings has been effective to some degree, but we also know that more has to be done to be successful in this respect.

As to the maintenance of membership, Kerry Barner and her colleagues at SAGE have been taking care of most of the necessary tasks for renewal and retention of members. Our

membership secretary and president-elect Xinyin Chen has largely dealt with specific issues such as handling qualifications for a particular status (e.g., member in a reduced fee category, emeritus status) and making decisions in specific cases such as waiving the membership fee for an applicant or member in a particular region where transferring funds is impossible or difficult. Xinyin Chen has been working with regional coordinators on membership retention and recruitment. Membership typically declines during the years when there are no meetings, but normally bounces back during the meeting years. Membership was up significantly in 2012 (one of the highest in recent years) because the conference was held in Canada. According to the most recent statistics presented by Kerry Barner, membership declined again this year to a level comparable to that obtained in other no-meeting years. The countries with the highest membership (30 and more members) are the US, China, Russia, India, Brazil, Nigeria, Zambia, Canada, and Germany. ISSBD lost 10 or more members in Cameroon, Canada, India, and the US during the last year. Due to the efforts of the membership committee, we managed to increase the number of regional offices to a total number of 17. Among the regional coordinators, Elder Cerqueira-Santos (Brazil), Luz Stella (Colombia/Latin America), Matthias Kliegel and Anik de Ribaupierre, Rachel Seginer and Avi Sagi (Israel), and Madelene Sta. Maria (Philippines and Southeast Asia) were recruited recently. Please have a look at our website to check the location of our regional offices. We definitely need more activities in regions that have been underrepresented in ISSBD for a rather long time. For instance, the total number of members from Scandinavian countries currently adds up to 9, and we still lack members from Denmark.

Regarding the membership fee structure, Kerry Barner, Xinyin Chen and I have discussed a more attractive model for our members, offering lower fees for long-term memberships (between 2 and 4 years). The Executive Committee has approved this new plan, which will be valid from 2014 on and will be published on our revised website soon. As you can see, we try hard to make membership more attractive, and very much hope that more developmental scientists will join the Society within the next few years. My deepest thanks go to Ann Sanson, Kerry Barner, Xinyin Chen and the membership committee teams who invested a lot of time and effort in this issue.

The term of our IJBD editor Marcel von Aken will end by the end of 2013. At our Executive Committee meeting in Seattle, we already thanked Marcel and his team of associate editors as well as the managing editor of IJBD for their great work and accomplishments. There is no doubt for the EC that Marcel and his team managed to further improve the reputation of IJBD which already has been very high due to the successful work of his predecessors.

The work of the Publication committee chaired by Andy Collins since the last EC meeting has been concerned primarily with recruiting a new editor of IJBD. Andy asked Bill Bukowski to chair a search committee that eventually came up with a recommendation. The ISSBD Executive Committee discussed this recommendation at its meeting in Seattle and decided to appoint our EC member Brett Laursen (Florida Atlantic University, USA) as the new editor of IJBD. I am very glad that our negotiations with Brett were successful, and that he accepted the new position. His term will start in 2014 and end by the end of 2019. Right now, Brett is in the process of recruiting a new editorial team. Given Brett's long-term experiences with editorial affairs, I am very confident that the positive trend observed for the development of IJBD in recent years will continue under his leadership. My thanks go to Bill Bukowski and the search committee for this excellent suggestion.

I am also very pleased with the development of the ISSBD Bulletin. Due to the joint efforts of the editor-in-chief Karina

Weichold and the co-editor Deepali Sharma, numerous highly interesting topics have been dealt with in recent issues of the ISSBD Bulletin. For instance, the topic chosen for the May 2013 issue related to parenting, namely attachment research. In addition, three labs present their current approaches to studying issues of attachment and attachment-related interventions. The latest issue published in November 2013 focused on qualitative research methods. During the past years, the editors of the ISSBD Bulletin have always been interested in having a combination of authors for the Bulletin: those who are well-known and outstanding experts in the field along with early career scientists involved in innovative research ideas or conducting their studies in unusual research settings. They have also followed the strategy to get contributions from authors located in different parts of the world. Thus they have successfully managed to reach their goal to foster scientific exchange in an international context, reflecting the wide range of society membership. I am very grateful to Karina and Deepali for investing so much effort in this demanding task.

In addition, I want to thank our Social Media Editor Josafa Cunha for his great efforts. He has managed to develop a number of social media activities, which include the ISSBD E-Newsletter, pages on Facebook and Twitter and also a video channel on YouTube. Following a decision by the Executive Committee in July 2012, the management of such activities was added to his responsibilities. These channels continue to provide ISSBD members with updates on activities and events, especially for time-sensitive information. Although a bi-monthly schedule had been proposed following the ISSBD Biennial Meeting in Lusaka (2010), with six issues during the calendar year, it continued to be sent monthly after January 2011 in response to requests to provide members with timely updates. Josafa Cunha managed to cope with these additional demands, supported by several members of the Executive Committee, and also by SAGE through Kerry Barner and Ed Mottram, who review each issue of the E-Newsletter, and have also worked closely on the implementation of topics such as the ISSBD Video Channel and also the ISSBD Membership Survey. As Josafa told us at the last EC meeting, a total of nine E-Newsletters were sent between June 2012 and April 2013. On average, about 650 members read each E-newsletter, and specific issues were accessed by as many as 1,447 readers. In November 2012, ISSBD launched a video channel on YouTube (<http://www.youtube.com/user/ISSBD>). The first video, entitled "How to get published in IJBD," features an interview with the Editor of the International Journal of Behavioral Development, and has already been accessed by more than 260 viewers. More videos will be produced, featuring activities such as the Developing Country Fellowships and ISSBD Awards. Needless to say, Josafa Cunha is doing a superb job as our Social Media Editor.

As you may remember, our new Jacobs-ISSBD Fellowship program started at the beginning of last year supporting the first cohort of 10 awarded early career scholars from all over the world. This program also secures funding for several of ISSBD's young scientist activities, including travel grants for ISSBD conference workshops and attendance at International Regional Workshops. Given that further financial support from Jacobs Foundation for the second cohort of early career scholars (to be recruited in 2014) will depend on the fulfillment of specific success criteria for the first cohort, the Early Career Development Committee chaired by Toni Antonucci will have to deal with the evaluation procedure rather soon. My deepest thanks go to Toni and the other committee members (Silvia Koller, Anne Petersen, Julie Robinson, Ingrid Schoon, Jaap Denissen and Robert Serpell) who already have put a lot of effort into this project. We also owe many thanks to Gelgia Fetz and Simon Sommer of Jacobs Foundation who



have given valuable feedback regarding our early career scholar program, and who carefully monitor the progress of this important enterprise.

Although several of my predecessors tried hard to establish a closer relationship between ISSBD and the International Association of Cross-Cultural Psychology (IACC), not much progress has been made over the past years. Prof. Yoshi Kashima, the current president of IACCP, and I reactivated this idea recently. There will be a joint ISSBD-IACCP symposium on cross-cultural issues in human development at the 22nd International IACCP Congress in Reims, France, which will take place July 15-19, 2014. Our EC members Toni Antonucci and Robert Serpell agreed to participate in this event. There will be another joint ISSBD-IACCP symposium at the next International Congress of Psychology in Yokohama, Japan, in 2016.

As you can see from my report, the past few months have been very eventful for the Society, and we have made good progress regarding many of our goals, in particular our early career scientist support programs. One exception to this rule concerns

our plans to reactivate and reorganize the ISSBD archives located in the North Holland Archief at Haarlem, The Netherlands. Marcel van Aken and I have tried hard to hire a person (paid by ISSBD) at the Archives to go through the files, categorize the materials, and also identify core documents. Mainly due to a long illness of our contact person at the archives, this plan has been considerably delayed. However, there is now hope that we can employ an expert rather soon, and that this task can be successfully tackled. I very much hope that I can provide a positive progress report on this issue in my next notes.

ISSBD's success is mainly due to its active members and its hard-working committee members. To them I offer my sincere gratitude. I am fully convinced that we have a terrific organization. Thanks a lot to all of you for your enormous efforts!

Wolfgang Schneider, Ph.D.
President of ISSBD



SOCIETY: Minutes of the ISSBD 2013 Executive Committee Meeting in Seattle, USA

**April 17th 2013, 8.00 am-5.30 pm.
Site: Washington State Convention Center,
800 Convention Place, Room 308**

Present in the meeting from Executive Committee:

Toni Antonucci, Early Career Development Committee,
Chair
Kerry Barner, Senior Publishing Editor
Julia Bowker, Early Career Scholar Representative
Xinyin Chen, Membership Secretary and President elect
Andy Collins (1.30-2.30 pm)
Josafa Cunha, Social Media Editor
Nancy Galambos
Silvia Koller (until 12.30 pm)
Brett Laursen (until 1.30 pm)
Anne Petersen (2.00-2.30 pm)
Katariina Salmela-Aro, Secretary General
Biao Sang
Wolfgang Schneider, President
Ingrid Schoon
Robert Serpell
Marcel van Aken, IJBD
Suman Verma (12.30-2 pm)

1. Opening by the President Wolfgang Schneider

2. Approval of the Minutes ISSBD 2012

Action: Minutes from the ISSBD 2012 Edmonton EC meetings were approved.

3. Report of the President Wolfgang Schneider

The President was grateful for the help from the EC and in particular President-elect Xinyin Chen, and Past President Anne Petersen. The President has been very busy with several issues. He hopes that the situation regarding the international membership will improve by recruiting new regional coordinators in countries/areas where the loss of members is considerable. ISSBD has enjoyed long-term co-operation with regional coordinators in Brazil, Cameroon,

China, Ghana, India, Kenya, Nigeria, Russia, South Africa, Uganda, and Zambia. More recently, regional coordinators were also recruited in Colombia, Hungary, Israel, and The Philippines. The President is grateful to Ann Sanson, Chair of the Membership Committee, and Kerry Barner and her team from SAGE for their support in this matter.

Biennial Meetings. The meeting in Edmonton in 2012 was a great success in several regards. Nancy Galambos, Lisa Strohschein, Jeff Bisanz, and their team had not only worked extremely hard to prepare an excellent meeting but also managed to achieve their ambitious goals, including a financial surplus. Congratulations! Shanghai 2014: There is also good news regarding the ISSBD meeting to be held in Shanghai, China, in 2014. Prof. Biao Sang and his team provided a report on their planning activities which seems very promising. The President is confident that the 2014 ISSBD meeting in Shanghai, China, July 8-12, 2014 will also become a very attractive event. Vilnius 2016: The 2016 Biennial ISSBD Meetings will take place in Vilnius, Lithuania; Rita Zukauskienė will serve as the Chair of the LOC, and the President is convinced that the organization of the 2016 ISSBD meeting is in good hands.

Regional workshops: There will be three ISSBD regional workshops in 2013. Elena Grigorenko from Yale University, USA supported a group of Russian scientists: Tatiana Yermolova (Moscow City University), Natalya Ulanova and Sergey Kornilov (Moscow State University), and Natalia Raklin (Yale University) who will organize the ISSBD Regional Workshop in Moscow, Russia, to be held June 18-21, 2013. The main theme of the workshop is "Executive functioning and metacognition." A second ISSBD Regional Workshop will take place in Budapest, Hungary, organized by Márta Fülöp. This event will focus on "Interpersonal dynamics over the life span" and take place September 12-14, 2013. The Budapest workshop will be also attended by the ISSBD JF fellows supported by the Jacobs Foundation.

Finally, the 10th ISSBD Africa Regional International Workshop will take place in Pretoria, South Africa, to be held at the Department of Inclusive Education, University of South Africa in Pretoria, September 25-27, 2013. Nareadi Phasha from the University of South Africa serves as host and main organizer of this workshop, which will focus on the following topic: "Sustaining research excellence amongst early career scholars." About 60 African early career scholars will be invited to participate in this event.



The President wants to thank Gelgia Fetz and Simon Sommer from Jacobs Foundation for their continuous interest in the ISSBD international workshops and their valuable support and advice. Without the financial support provided by Jacobs Foundation, it would be very hard for the ISSBD to achieve the ambitious goal to organize attractive ISSBD regional workshops in different parts of the world, and thus help early career scholars from different countries to improve their scientific knowledge and to broaden their perspective significantly.

Early Career Scholar Activities: Jacobs-ISSBD Fellowship Program. The new Jacobs-ISSBD Fellowship program started at the beginning of 2012, supporting the first cohort of 10 early career scholars from all over the world. All JF-ISSBD-Fellows will be able to attend the LIFE Academy meeting at Castle Marbach in October, 2013. We are grateful to Jacobs Foundation for providing additional financial support for this meeting, which ensures that all ISSBD-JF fellows can participate in the event. The President wants to thank Toni Antonucci, who has put a lot of effort into this project.

Early Career Scholar Travel Grant Committee. Jacobs Foundation also promised to provide financial support (in terms of travel grants) for early career scholars planning to attend the preconference workshops at the upcoming ISSBD meeting in Shanghai. The Early Career Scholar Travel Grant Committee chaired by Suman Verma will continue its work later this year. The committee will invite applications after decisions about abstracts have been made, that is, in early December 2013 and the selection process will keep the committee busy until mid-February, 2014.

Action: Suman Verma was confirmed as chair of the Early Career Scholar Travel Grant Committee.

ISSBD Developing Country Fellowship Program: A second round of applications was started in 2011, and the committee decided to select four new fellows for 2012. Academic mentors were chosen for the new fellows, and they all attended the ISSBD meeting in Edmonton, participating in an Invited Poster Workshop, together with the three fellows from the first round.

Archiving ISSBD documents: Unfortunately, there is not much new to report regarding the reactivation and reorganization of the ISSBD archives located in the North Holland Archief at Haarlem, The Netherlands. One reason to archive major ISSBD documents electronically is that we quickly forget about EC motions and actions and thus are at risk to re-invent the wheel all too quickly. The President refers to the report that Marcel van Aken will present later in the EC meeting.

Related to the archiving issue, the President thought that we badly needed a listing of major EC meeting actions ideally stored at our website and immediately accessible during our EC meetings. Katariina Salmela-Aro and the President collected the motions and actions documented in the EC minutes between 1992 and 2012. This document was made available to all EC members.

Consortium of Developmental Science Organizations: This initiative was stimulated by SRCO's Governing Council and pursues several goals, including the facilitation of multinational research and collaboration, the expansion of collaborative training and research opportunities for early career scholars, and global research issues such as ethics and measurement issues across cultures. A first meeting

of target members of such a consortium organized by Jacobs Foundation took place at Schloss Marbach, Germany, in December of 2012. The meeting was very productive, and a vision statement was formulated, indicating that the Consortium sees its mission in combining the efforts of several developmental science organizations in order to advance knowledge about developmental processes and outcomes, to improve standards of education and training of developmental scientists, and to communicate relevant developmental research findings and their value for public policy. Several Consortium working groups were established that deal with issues such as membership criteria, governance and funding, research priorities, website/press, ethics and best practice, as well as the involvement of emerging scholars.

A final issue the President discussed was Open Access Publishing: The President discussed briefly the issue of open access publishing and possible consequences for the ISSBD journal. According to Kerry Barner, it is likely that the trend towards online publication will not dramatically change the situation.

At the end of his report, the President came back to several actions that were discussed by the EC members between the Edmonton and the Seattle EC meetings, and that had to be formally confirmed by the EC members in the current meeting. For instance, one previous action says that EC members coming from countries not in the World Bank top category should be supported, when attending EC meetings, but did not specify the amount of support. This action was changed (see below).

Revised Action: ISSBD will provide travel support for all EC members from countries not belonging to the World Bank top category. The amount of support will be 50% of the travel costs if the total amount is lower than or equal to \$2,400. If travel costs exceed this amount, the maximum amount provided will be \$1,200. In either case, hotel costs for the additional night will also be reimbursed.

Other actions concerned an increase in stipends for our editors and ISSBD officers:

Action 1: It was decided to increase the stipends for the IJBD editor and the co-editors, the ISSBD Bulletin editor and the co-editors, the Social Media editor, and the ISSBD officers. All stipends will be increased by \$500.

Action 2: In addition to a stipend of \$3,000, the President will have access to an annual travel budget up to \$3,000 from 2014 onward.

A final action concerned a proposal by Bill Bukowski who had asked ISSBD to support a video conference in November, 2013.

Action: \$2,000 for video conference for Bill Bukowski was approved, with the expectation that ISSBD will be mentioned as a major sponsor at the conference. It was also agreed as a general principle to support up to 2-3 annual video conferences in different research areas.

4. Report from the Secretary General Katariina Salmela-Aro, operations 2012-2013

Kerry Barner and her group, Wolfgang Schneider and Hely Innanen have provided continuous support for various activities related to the ISSBD. The Secretary greatly appreciates

the support from this group. Most of the activities have been going smoothly during this period. The Secretary's office has been very busy and involved in many activities in running the Society. Main activities have been the Nominations for the EC, collecting the Actions of the EC meetings, writing the Minutes of the EC 2012 meeting, preparing the Executive Committee Meeting 2013, preparing the agenda for the meeting and organizing the 2013 EC meeting, assembling the reports from the Executive Committee members using the new Drop box method, and further assembling the Book of Reports. Second, the Secretary's office has been answering a variety of questions from the members of the Society such as possible proposals for the next Biennial Meetings and also regarding the membership of the Society, disseminating information about the Society to other societies and international volumes, providing the organizers of the Biennial Meetings with information about the Society, and furnishing the President and other officers with information concerning the Society's by-laws, previous decisions and actions and other organizational matters. The Secretary has arranged the following nominations:

EC Secretary General Candidates 2014-2020, EC Membership Secretary Candidates, EC Treasurer Candidates 2014-2020, EC member Candidates (three) 2014-2020, and Early Career Candidate Nominations will be carried out in mid-May to mid-July. The results are now with the Nominations Committee. Elections will take place in the second half of 2013.

5. Report of the ISSBD Membership Secretary, Xinyin Chen

Kerry Barner and her group, Wolfgang Schneider, Ann Sanson and the Membership Committee, as well as other EC members have provided continuous support for various activities related to membership issues, especially concerning the recruitment of regional coordinators, the maintenance of members, communication with members, and other issues related to membership. The regional coordinators have been working hard on recruiting and maintaining members in developing countries and coordinating other activities.

Maintenance of Membership and Related Issues.

SAGE has been taking care of most ordinary tasks for renewal and retention of members. Xinyin Chen has been largely dealing with specific issues such as qualifications for a particular status (e.g., member in a reduced fee category, emeritus status) and making decisions in specific cases such as waiving the membership fee for an applicant or member in a particular region where transferring funds is impossible or difficult. Xinyin Chen has been working with regional coordinators on membership retention and recruitment. Membership typically declines during the years when there are no meetings, but normally bounces back during the meeting years. Membership was up significantly in 2012 (one of the highest in recent years) because the conference was held in Canada. Although the final information is not available at this time, it seems that membership will decline again this year, although there is no reason to believe that it is different from the level in other

no-meeting years. The countries with the highest membership are the US, China, Nigeria, and Zambia.

Regional Offices:

Elder Cerqueira-Santos (Brazil)
Therese Tchombe (Cameroon)
Zhu Liqi (China)
Luz Stella (Colombia/Latin America)
Patricia Mawusi Amos (Ghana)
Márta Fülöp (Hungary)
Shagufa Kapadia (India)
Matthias Kliegel and Anik de Ribaupierre (Switzerland)
Rachel Seginer and Avi Sagi (Israel)
Paul Oburu (Kenya)
Rita Zukauskienė (Lithuania)
Esther Foluke Akinsola (Nigeria)
Madelene Sta. Maria (Philippines and South East Asia)
Tatiana Ryabova (Russia)
Mambwe Kasese-Hara (South Africa)
Peter Baguma (Uganda)
Jacqueline Jere-Folotiya (Zambia).

Elder Cerqueira-Santos (Brazil), Luz Stella (Colombia/Latin America), Matthias Kliegel and Anik de Ribaupierre, Rachel Seginer and Avi Sagi (Israel), and Madelene Sta. Maria (Philippines and South East Asia) were recruited recently.

6. Report of the ISSBD Treasurer, Ingrid Schoon

Thanks are due to the Institute of Education at the University of London for providing space, infrastructure, and staff support for the work of the acting Treasurer. Furthermore, many thanks go to Rick Burdick for his wonderful help and support in preparing this report, and for providing regular updates on our financial activities. The main duty of the Treasurer is to manage all the Society's financial assets in close liaison with the financial office and the President of the Society. ISSBD has considerable financial assets in investment accounts and maintains a cash account to fund the operations and activities of the Society and its officers. The Treasurer prepares an annual report detailing the performance of all financial assets. In addition, the Treasurer records the Society's income and is responsible for all disbursements from Society accounts, both regular and extraordinary, as directed by the Executive Committee. The Treasurer also maintains all current and historical financial records of the Society, provides data for the preparation of tax documents, and arranges for the completion of tax returns by a properly qualified accountant. Since 2010 the treasurer is supported by the ISSBD financial office which is managed by Rick Burdick (2950 S. State Street, Suite 401; Ann Arbor MI 48104, telephone 734-926-0620). Rick collects monthly statements of all accounts, provides quarterly and annual updates of the accounts, and initiates payments following approval by the Treasurer and the President. Rick is also supporting the organizing of travel arrangements and reimbursements for ISSBD executive members, ISSBD fellows and awardees attending workshops and conferences.



At the time of this report (June 2013), ISSBD had the following accounts:

Current US Accounts

Keybank, Ann Arbor, MI (Account: 229681004029)	Checking
Keybank, Ann Arbor, MI (Account: 229681004037)	Savings
T.Rowe-Price Mutual Fund Account	Mutual Fund Portfolio (118289732) Investor Number 520471050

Merryll Lynch Wealth Management (WCMA Account nr: 7K5-02029). Previously, until October 2009, this was our Bank of America Investment Services Account (W19-160687).

Current UK Accounts

HSBC Community Account, London (GB43MIDL40060721609564)	Checking
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In 2012 we had an audit of our 2011 accounts by John Park & Company. The cost of the audit was \$7,000. We furthermore had to endure a U.S. Internal Revenue audit for our financial activities in 2008. Ingrid wants to thank Anne Petersen for her patience and stamina in dealing with their demands and for bringing the audit to a successful closure. Our accounts and activities were approved, although the IRS report stated that we should keep a complete set of corporate records in the U.S., regardless of where the treasurer is located. This is now done by our central office, confirming again its importance. In addition to keeping proper records and following the proper reporting standards, we have to monitor our investment strategies regularly, to make sure we continue to have good returns. The priority of our investments should be to provide support for key activities of the society (especially to promote developmental science and to support young scholars in the field) and to maintain a secure financial base for the future.

Despite a global banking turmoil, the Society's finances are in good shape. We have to keep proper records, keep them in a central place, and involve the central office in preparing financial statements in accordance with proper accounting standards. Member dues are expected to slightly reduce next year (no conference year) and we might encounter the consequences of a changing world of publishing which might impact on our royalty income. We have to monitor our investment strategy regularly to avoid losses in income.

Action: The issue whether ISSBD should have annual audits or have audits every five years was discussed. It was decided to have an audit every 5 years.

7. Publications

7.1. SAGE, Kerry Barner

Kerry was very pleased working with Wolfgang Schneider, Xinyin Chen and all the other hardworking EC members, regional coordinators and committee members to develop ISSBD as a great Society. Kerry would like to thank Marcel and his editorial team for a superb term in office. The

journal has really flourished under Marcel's leadership with the introduction of a Methods and Measures section, regular special issues and sections and more review articles in the pipeline. As a result, the impact factor is the highest it has ever been! A huge thank you to everyone for their sterling efforts in raising the quality and profile of this excellent publication. The ISSBD website redesign is currently in process. Kerry Barner has been working with the Membership Secretary, the Membership Committee and the Regional/National Coordinators on strategies to grow and retain members. These are as follows: Updated the membership benefits, the renewal letter and the website with a separate page for Regional/National Coordinators. Appointed new members to the Membership Committee and more Regional/National Coordinators (Israel, Colombia/Latin America, Philippines/South East Asia). SAGE conducted a member survey sent out to all ISSBD members. Josafá da Cunha was appointed Social Media Editor in 2012 and he recorded the very first videocast on how to get published, with Marcel van Aken. The Facebook group now has over 270 followers, a 63% increase on the previous year. Thanks to Josafa, ISSBD now has a Flickr account to host photos from the Biennial Meetings and the Regional Workshops.

International Journal of Behavioral Development usage: articles were downloaded a total of 120,556 times in 2012. This is very similar to downloads in 2011 (120,679 downloads). There were 112,447 paid downloads across 2012 (93% of total downloads). This was a 1% increase in paid downloads on 2011, and this is the fourth year in a row that paid downloads have increased. The most-downloaded article in 2012 was Jeong Shin An, Psychological well-being in mid to late life: The role of generativity development and parent-child relationships across the lifespan, with 1,704 downloads. This was also the top downloaded article in 2011. Two articles published in 2012 already feature in the top downloaded table. In 2012 there were a total of 6,250 registrants to International Journal of Behavioral Development e-alerts, an increase of 6% on the previous year. Circulation: In 2012, there were 223 traditional institutional subscriptions to the journal, compared to 221 in 2011, a 101% renewal rate. 2,588 institutions were able to access the journal via consortia in 2012; this was an increase of 15% on the previous year (when there were 2,250 institutions with access). Impact Factor: The 2011 Impact Factor for International Journal of Behavioral Development was 1.579. International Journal of Behavioral Development was ranked 36 out of 68 titles in the Psychology, Development JCR. Citations: The top cited article published 2010 or 2011, cited in 2012, is Miia Sainio et al.'s Victims and their defenders: A dyadic approach. The most highly-cited papers published in International Journal of Behavioral Development since 2002 remains T. D. Little et al., Disentangling the whys from the whats of aggressive behaviour. Only 4% of International Journal of Behavioral Development articles published in 2002 remain uncited and 2% of those published in 2003.

Editorial: 21 authors have now completed the global author survey. 100% of authors would choose to publish in the journal again. Marcel's 'How to get published' videocast has been viewed over 250 times to date; it is available to view on the SAGE journal website.

In 2012 there were over 4,104 mobile visits to the journal's website. The top three countries visiting International

Journal of Behavioral Development via mobile devices were the United States (60%), United Kingdom (11%) and Canada (6%).

Production: Articles are being submitted in good shape and proof corrections are sent promptly by the editorial office. **Financial Performance:** 2012 was a particularly strong year in terms of financial performance. This is due in part to the fact that the January 2013 issue was published in December 2012. Subscription royalties on the journal are calculated on sales net receipts. This means that royalties are paid on sales achieved during the royalty period. Sales achieved include all releases of new issues during the period as well as sales of back issues.

ISSBD Bulletin: The bulletin continues to flourish under Karina Weichold and Deepali Sharma's editorship. All issues have published on time. The latest special section was on Contexts of Parenting and the May 2013 issue will cover New Directions in Early Attachment Research.

Membership and renewal campaign: Growth occurred in the following countries: Australia, Belgium, Cameroon, Canada, Nigeria and United States. We have seen a drop of 10+ members in the following countries: Kenya, Russia and Zambia. Regional Coordinators and Biennial Meeting coordinators should be congratulated on their work to retain and grow membership. The renewal campaign is still underway with letters and email reminders sent to non-renewals.

Finally, **Editorship:** A new Editor will be appointed from January 2014 and we look forward to working with him/her.

7.2. Report of the editor of IJBD, Marcel van Aken

IJBD STATISTICS 2012:

Original Submissions 218. Most submissions come from US, Canada, Netherlands, UK, France, and Germany. First Decisions: 27.1% immediate reject.

Average Days to First Decision: 55.94. Special Issues/ Sections Guest Editors: Nathan A. Fox, Charles H. Zeanah and Charles A. Nelson.

Methods and Measures Section. Three issues contained a Methods and Measures section, edited by Brett Laursen, including 6 method papers in total.

Editorial Board: The editorial board consists of 50 members (11 countries).

7.3. Editors of Bulletin: Karina Weichold and Deepali Sharma

Since May 2012, the editorial team of the ISSBD Bulletin has published two new issues. The November 2012 issue focused on "Contexts of Parenting," introducing new concepts and research on the effects of different qualities of parenting and their interaction with psychosocial adjustment across the life span. The editors chose for the May 2013 issue a topic that relates to parenting, namely attachment research. In addition, three labs present their current approaches to studying issues of attachment and attachment-related interventions. The upcoming ISSBD Bulletin in November 2013 will focus on qualitative research methods. During the past years, the editors have

always been interested in having a combination of authors for the Bulletin: those who are well-known and outstanding experts in the field along with early career scientists involved in innovative research ideas or conducting their studies in unusual research settings. Editors have also been very keen to get contributions from authors in different parts of the world. Thereby, they aim at scientific exchange in an international context, mirroring the broad sweep of society membership. An analysis of the country of origin of the authoring research teams revealed that the Bulletin represents, in each issue, more continents and countries around the globe. Finally, Karina Weichold would like to take the opportunity to thank her co-editor, Deepali Sharma, and Lucy Hahn, copy editor, who are both great colleagues to work with. In addition, she would like to thank Josafa Cunha and SAGE for their cooperation and support. Finally, Karina Weichold is very thankful to ISSBD, and in particular to Wolfgang Schneider, for his enduring support. Such excellent collaborations are important to maintain the high quality of the Bulletin in the future.

7.4. Social Media Editor: Josafa Cunha

For a number of years, ISSBD has developed a number of social media activities, which include the ISSBD E-Newsletter, pages on Facebook and Twitter and also a video channel on YouTube. Following a decision by the Executive Committee in July 2012, the management of such activities was added to the responsibilities of the Social Media Editor. These channels continue to provide ISSBD members with updates on activities and events, especially for time-sensitive information. Although a bi-monthly schedule had been proposed following the ISSBD Biennial Meeting in Lusaka (2010), with six issues during the calendar year, it continued to be sent monthly after January 2011 in response to requests to provide members with timely updates. Josafa Cunha is very thankful for the encouragement and support received from many members of the Executive Committee, who share news and advice regarding the social media initiatives. It is important to note that these activities have received tremendous support from SAGE through Kerry Barner and Ed Mottram, who review each issue of the E-Newsletter and have also worked closely in the implementation of the ISSBD Video Channel and also the ISSBD Membership survey. A total of nine E-Newsletters were sent since June 2012, with 30.6% of subscribers open rate. On average, 652 members read each E-newsletter and, when considering the messages forwarded by members to their contacts, unique issues were accessed by as many as 1,447 readers. In November 2012, ISSBD launched a video channel on YouTube (<http://www.youtube.com/user/ISSBD>). The first video, entitled "How to get published in IJBD" features an interview with the Editor of the International Journal of Behavioral Development, and has already been accessed by more than 260 viewers. More videos are being produced, featuring activities such as the Developing Country Fellowships and ISSBD Awards.

Following a request from the Membership Committee, an online questionnaire was developed, and data from more than 200 current and past members of ISSBD were collected. The E-Newsletter is integrated with the ISSBD's



Twitter account (www.twitter.com/issbd), and a summary of each new issue is posted on ISSBD Facebook page. Moreover, updates from the IJBD are posted automatically to these channels. The initial appointment of the current Social Media Editor began in 2010, with the term ending in 2016.

8. Early Career Scholar Representative: Julie Bowker

After the ISSBD 2012 meeting, all ECS members on ISSBD committees were contacted to ascertain whether they: (1) continued to be ECS members (e.g., students or scholars who obtained their PhD within the past 7 years) and (2) wished to remain on their respective ISSBD committees. ISSBD rules now require that all ISSBD committees include at least 1 early career scholar – to be appointed by the early career scholar representative. Based on the inquiries, the following early career scholars were added to ISSBD committees: Deepali Sharma (India, finance committee), Guilherme Wendt (Brazil, membership committee), and Abi Brooker (Australia, early career development committee). Julie Bowker (USA) replaced Jaap Denissen (The Netherlands) on the Awards, International Fellowship, and Early Career Development committees. Bin-Bin Chen (China, regional workshop committee), Astrid Poorthuis (The Netherlands, membership committee), Jonathan Santo (Canada, publications committee), and Martina Zinkeng (Cameroon, international fellowship committee) all agreed to continue in their committee assignments.

The changes are reflected on the ISSBD website. During the summer 2013, Julie Bowker will be forming a new committee of ISSBD early career scholars to assist with the planning of early career activities for the ISSBD 2014 meeting.

New email list-serve of ISSBD early career scholars and first e-newsletter for ISSBD early career scholars: Kerry Barner and Ed Mottram were able to assemble the first email list of ISSBD early career scholars by extracting information from membership applications and contacting regional/national coordinators. Not all regional/national coordinators responded, but the final list includes over 370 ISSBD early career scholars. Thus far, this email list has been used by Julie Bowker to solicit feedback from ISSBD early career scholars regarding the new International Science Consortium. Their ideas focused on networking (e.g., new opportunities to connect with senior scholars), resources (e.g., possible new discounts on research resources, such as statistical packages), and funding (e.g., interest in possible new funding opportunities for collaborative research conducted in different countries). The email list was also used to send the first e-newsletter tailored for ISSBD early career scholars (sent March 4th, 2013). Based on feedback from ISSBD early career scholars at the ISSBD 2012 meeting, the first e-newsletter included information about free statistical resources (in this instance, free SPSS and SAS macros for testing mediation and moderation made available by Dr. Andrew Hayes), recent publications by ISSBD early career scholars, and the new ISSBD YouTube Channel, developed by Josafá M. da Cunha, in collaboration with SAGE. Future e-newsletters will also be used to communicate information to ISSBD early career scholars regarding the Biennial Meeting (e.g., submission deadlines, information about

visas, funding, registration, and housing), fellowship and funding opportunities, teaching resources, networking, and professional career development, areas that early career scholars have emphasized are important to them. Additional ideas and suggestions for the ISSBD early career scholar e-newsletters from the EC would be welcomed!

9. Biennial meetings

9.1. 2012 Edmonton: Nancy Galambos

Nancy Galambos gave the Final Report to the ISSBD Executive on ISSBD 2012 in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada which took place July 8-12, 2012. The EC was very grateful to Nancy and her team. A total of 970 delegates from 53 countries on 6 continents attended. The largest number was from Canada, followed by the United States, Japan, Australia, The Netherlands, Germany, China, and Brazil. A total of 449 delegates were early career scholars (studying for or within 7 years of having a PhD) or were undergraduate students at the University of Alberta.

The invited scientific program was shaped by the LOC, with valued input from the National Advisory Committee and the International Program Committee. It featured 5 keynote addresses, 10 invited addresses, 9 invited symposia, and 1 invited poster workshop. The invited program was selected to highlight research representing development in all segments of the lifespan, and to capture the diversity of domains and topics of interest to the membership of ISSBD. The Early Career Scholars had four in-conference professional development workshops: (1) Professional Development, offered by Toni Antonucci and Anne Petersen; (2) A Brief Introduction to R, offered by Oliver Schweickart; (3) Grant Proposals: How to Write and Argue Effectively (Roger Graves), and (4) Publishing, by Marcel van Aken.

The final budget shows an ISSBD 2012 surplus. By prior agreement between ISSBD and the LOC, the surplus is split 50/50.

The results of post-conference evaluation: In addition to the highly positive numerical results, the LOC has received comments such as “it was a smash hit,” “set a new standard,” and “best ever conference for representation across the lifespan.” Judging by this response, ISSBD 2012 was a great success. The goal of ISSBD 2012 was to reinforce and foster scholarly exchange on a range of developmental topics across the lifespan, and to promote the development of international contacts and collaborations. Furthermore, the LOC worked hard to gain new ISSBD members and to attract and foster development of early career scholars. These goals were realized.

9.2. ISSBD 2014, July 8-12 Shanghai: Biao Sang

The ISSBD 2014 Local Organizing Committee members have had discussions with the International Program Committee several times in order to determine the list of names for keynote presentations, invited presentations, and invited symposia. Based on the invited program at the ISSBD 2012 meeting and the suggestions from the International Program

Committee for the 2014 meeting and regional coordinators, decisions were made about the tentative subject areas and potential candidates for the topics. There were 30 scholars recommended from all over the world. LOC then sent the list of recommended scholars to the ISSBD EC members and Program Committee members and discussed them several times by email. Finally, LOC generated the list of scholars for keynote presentations, invited presentations, and invited symposia, with the suggestions from Wolfgang Schneider and Xinyin Chen.

LOC will use the same abstract submission system as used for ISSBD 2012. However, LOC needs to make some changes to the system in order to make it more fluent and accessible. LOC received valuable advice from Nancy Galambos with regard to the change of the system. The new submission system will be open on April 1st on the conference website: www.issbd2014.com.

The pre-conference workshop will be conducted July 6-7th at Shanghai Normal University. Prof. Dan Li and Prof. Junsheng Liu, who are members of the local organizing committee, will be responsible for this program. Now they have submitted a proposal to the principal of Shanghai Normal University and the Dean of Education College to get support from the university. They have reserved the conference center at Shanghai Normal University for the workshop. The conference center is located on campus, equipped with excellent conference facilities. They have also reserved the foreign guest house on campus for accommodation, which can hold more than 100 delegates. Now they are recruiting potential volunteer support to help with registration and other activities. Meanwhile, they are trying to find a travel agency to organize tours to the city or some places close to Shanghai.

10. Committees

10.1. Conference Meeting Task Force: Past President Anne C. Petersen

Recommendations by the task force: Conference organizers must provide to ISSBD good data on key conference statistics so that effects of policy changes (e.g. in registration fees) can be tracked. At this point the only reliable indicators are total expenses vs. total income. Within expenses it would be important to have good data on PCO (and any other staff costs), invited speaker and other scientific program costs, itemized infrastructure (e.g. audiovisual equipment, hall rental, catering), entertainment, plus other categories totaling more than 10% of total expenses. Within income categories, registration fees by categories (with increased simplicity of categories), external grants and sponsorships, loans (to also be reflected in expenses), plus other categories totaling more than 10% of total income should also be tracked.

Among the key indicators are number of delegates by types (early bird vs. standard vs. late, member vs. not, student/emeritus vs. regular, country reduced fee, full meeting vs. day rate). Conference organizers have had the latitude to set other special registration fees (e.g. volunteers) which seems reasonable if the special rates do not reduce meeting participation. ISSBD could provide

organizers with a template on which all these data could be reported in cross-tabular fashion. Then we would have a uniform data set. It is also worth tracking the effects on membership, and especially continuation of membership, to encourage conference registrants to become members. Members have always received a reduced conference registration fee.

10.2. Nominations: Xinyin Chen

Nominations were discussed and Xinyin presented the candidates for the Elections. Candidates are: Secretary General: Karina Weichold, University of Jena, Germany and David Nelson, Brigham Young University, US. Treasurer: Nancy Galambos, University of Alberta, Canada and Rita Zukauskiene, Mykolas Romeris University, Lithuania. Membership Secretary: Mark Stemmler, University of Erlangen-Nuremberg, Germany and Tina Malti, University of Toronto, Canada. EC members: Charissa Cheah, University of Maryland, US; Elena Grigorenko, Yale University, US; Nancy Eisenberg, Arizona State University, US; Sabine Walper, Ludwig-Maximilians University Munchen, Germany; Peter Baguna, Makerere University, Uganda; Biao Sang, East China Normal University, China; Robert Kail, Purdue University, US; Marcel van Aken, University of Utrecht, Netherlands; Nathan Fox, University of Maryland, US; Avi Sagi, University of Haifa, Israel.

10.3. Finance: Liz Susman

There have not been any activities of the Finance Committee. Liz Susman decided to step down as chair because of many other obligations. Ingrid Schoon will chair the committee until 2014. Members: Brett Laursen; Deepali Sharma; Ingrid Schoon and Wolfgang Schneider, ex officio.

10.4. Membership: Ann Sanson

Committee Membership: Ann Sanson, Chair; Margarita Azmitia; Charissa Cheah; Paul Oburu; Astrid Poorthuis; Olga Solomontos-Kountouri; Guilherme Wendt. Ex officio: Kerry Barner, Xinyin Chen, Anne Petersen, Wolfgang Schneider.

Carolina Lisboa completed her term as a member of this committee and was thanked for her contribution. Guilherme Wendt has joined the committee as an early career representative.

Since the face-to-face meeting of the Committee in July 2012, there has been action and discussion by email on a number of matters. The committee worked with Kerry Barner to improve the Membership page of the website – articulating the benefits of membership more clearly and prominently, clarifying the fee structure, adding the early career membership category, adding an opportunity to pay for up to 4 years, and clarifying the emeritus category. The roles of committee on the ‘Other Committees’ page were also amended.

National/regional coordinators: The roles of coordinators are to assist members in regions with currency restrictions to pay their dues, and also to increase membership and retain and support members. Since these roles are closely aligned to those of the Membership Committee, coordinators are now included in all email correspondence



of the committee and they are invited to face-to-face meetings. The Membership page of the website now has a link to a separate page with 'Guidelines for ISSBD Regional/National Coordinators', which includes a list of current coordinators. Visitors to the website now do not see the list of current coordinators unless they click on this link.

Recommendation: A link to the list of current coordinators is given under the heading of 'Reduced Regional Membership' on the Membership page, with the text: "Members in many countries and regions are supported by Regional/National Coordinators, who can help with matters including the payment of fees."

Membership renewal letter and renewal and new member forms: The committee worked with SAGE on redesign of these documents, to increase clarity and to highlight the benefits of membership. **Member Survey:** The committee has discussed the results of the member survey by email. It was agreed that an article should be written for the ISSBD Bulletin on the recent achievements of ISSBD. Charissa Cheah is taking the lead on this.

10.5. International Fellowship Awards

ISSBD Developing Country Fellowships Committee: Chair: Peter Smith, other Committee members: Catherine Cooper; Jaap Denissen; Silvia Koller; Suman Verma.

Following the previous report made in July 2012, a major poster session was held at the Edmonton meeting of ISSBD, organized by Peter Smith as the DCF coordinator.

The three Fellows from first tranche – Bestern Kaani, Noel Malanda, Lauren Wild – all presented posters summarizing the work done in their two fellowship years.

In addition, the four new Fellows in second tranche – Joseph La-Oh, Maureen Mweru, Guangheng Wang, Guilherme Wendt – presented posters of their planned work. Anne Petersen acted as discussant. The event was well attended, and all the posters were adjudged to be of high quality. For the first tranche, these were deemed to be acceptable as proof of the work done successfully. For the second tranche, these were deemed acceptable for approving the DCF to go ahead. Following this, each new DCF made arrangements for a dedicated account, and funds were transferred.

The current four DCFs are

Maureen Mweru, Kenyatta University, Kenya. Research topic: "Bullying in Kenyan Schools: Causes, Impact and Possible Intervention Strategies." Mentor: Peter Smith.

Guilherme Wendt, Universidade do Vale do Rio dos Sinos, Brazil. Research topic: "Do parental practices predict cyber bullying outcomes on adolescent behaviour? An analysis of mediator and moderator effects related to peer victimization in the internet." Mentor: Peter Smith.

Guangheng Wang, Shanghai Changning District Institute of Education, China. Research topic: "The active ingredient of effective classrooms for children from kindergarten to elementary school in urban areas in China." Mentor: Suman Verma.

Joseph Lo-Oh, University of Buea, Cameroon. Research topic: "Generation X in Cameroon: "No Where to Go ... But Everywhere to Go ..." in "The Twenty Somethings ... A Study of Emerging Adults in Cameroon." Mentor: Catherine Cooper.

Peter Smith asked for interim reports from each DCF, and so far has received satisfactory reports from Mweru, Wang and Wendt. Peter Smith will forward the report from La-Oh once received. Guilherme Wendt is moving to a scholar institution, that is, to the Catholic University of Rio Grande do Sul, with his local supervisor, Professor Carolina Lisboa. Ordinarily, transfer of DCFs between institutions is not allowed in the DCF Regulations; however, in this case the planned work has national rather than regional significance, and a good case was made. The Chair Peter Smith recommended approval to the ISSBD President, Wolfgang Schneider, and the latter approved this exception to the Regulations.

Action: Update from Peter Smith about the proposal duration of the DCF program is needed to make plans for the future.

10.6. Publication Committee: Andy Collins

Members of the Publication Committee are William M. Bukowski, Jesus Palacios, Jacqueline Goodnow, Joan Grusec, Loreto Martinez, Jonathan Santo, and W. Andrew Collins (chair).

The work of the committee since the last EC meeting has been concerned primarily with recruiting a new editor of IJBD. Bill Bukowski is chairing the search committee. Other members are Anne Inger Helman Borge, Toni Antonucci, Silvia Koller, and Jonathan Santo. The search committee had met by the time of the EC meeting. The chair is grateful to the search committee (Anne Inger Helman Borge, Toni Antonucci, Silvia Koller, Jonathan Santo, and Bill Bukowski) for its service. EC discussed the candidates. The two candidates are Brett Laursen, US and Jaap Denissen, The Netherlands.

10.7. Early Career Development Committee: Toni Antonucci

Committee members: Julie Bowker, Abi Brooker, Silvia Koller, Julie Robinson, Katariina Salmela-Aro, Ingrid Schoon, and Robert Serpell.

JF-ISSBD Mentored Fellowship for Early Career Scholars. Beginning January 2012, ten Jacobs Fellows were named, five from developing and five from developed countries. Each fellow was required to have two mentors: one from their local university and an approved, usually international, ISSBD mentor. After being named to the Jacobs Foundation Advisors Board, Ulman Lindenberger resigned as Chair of the Committee and Toni Antonucci was asked to take his place. Richard Burdick was engaged to manage the finances of the program.

The ISSBD-Jacobs Mentored Fellowship Program is designed to promote the careers of pre-doctoral students and foster graduate education and research on human development worldwide. The ten fellows are from diverse countries and circumstances:

1. Lavinia Elena DAMIAN, Babes-Bolyai University, Romania
2. Given HAPUNDA, Tilburg University, The Netherlands / The University of Zambia, Lusaka

3. Jennifer MORACK, The Pennsylvania State University, USA
4. Jenny ORTIZ MUNOZ, Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil / National University of Colombia, Bogota
5. Rukmen SEHMI, University of London, UK
6. Marit Inger SLAGT, Utrecht University, The Netherlands
7. Jessica Elizabeth TEARNE, The University of Western Australia
8. Sara Amalie THOMMESSEN O'TOOLE, City University London, UK / Denmark
9. Rafael VERA CRUZ DE CARVALHO, Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
10. Yang YANG, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, USA / China

Eight of the Fellows attended the ISSBD meeting in Edmonton, Alberta Canada. They attended the pre-conference workshops, the ISSBD meeting itself, and numerous special meetings/workshops during the conference geared directly for emerging scholars, and also met with Toni Antonucci. All report the experiences to be extremely valuable.

Evaluations. Fellows were asked to complete evaluation forms of their experiences at the ISSBD preconference workshop and meeting, and progress reports on their activities during the year. Each ISSBD mentor was also asked to complete an evaluation form and progress report. Fellows are universally positive about the effect of the program on their education, research careers, and success in achieving their goals. Some have spent time with their international mentors at other locations; most have attended meetings in various locations in addition to the ISSBD meeting in Edmonton. They have an impressive record of presentations and posters, some publications and numerous papers in progress which are moving into the publication pipeline. They have faced some challenges, but have been remarkably resourceful in addressing them. Challenges vary depending upon circumstances. Examples include obtaining IRB approval, access to the desired study populations, translation of appropriate tools, resource limitations. The fellows report considerable success in meeting these challenges, often with the help of their mentors. In general, evaluations from both the fellows and their mentors suggest that they have been productive, been provided mentorship and have an enriched program of study that will facilitate international careers.

Mentorship. Toni Antonucci has received replies from about half of international ISSBD mentors. They have been unanimous in their positive comments. All report that their advisee is doing well, and that they are proceeding as would be expected at this stage in their career, often considerably better. All report that their advisees are clearly advantaged in their research objects through their JF Fellowships. Toni will consult with other committee members and see if we might provide guidelines to aid the mentors and the mentees.

Enrichment program/special events. All ISSBD-JF Fellows have been invited to the ISSBD Regional Workshop in Budapest, September, 2013 and the LIFE academy in Marbach in October, 2013. It is expected that most students will attend both, although a few students have chosen to just attend one of the two, the time and distance being too great for them because of their own location with respect

to the distance to these events. All students are expected to at least present posters on their research at these meetings. They will also have the opportunity to arrange individual meetings with senior scholars with related research expertise. Several students have already completed research exchanges, others are currently in progress, and still a number of other activities are being considered. This is a critical part of the program and clearly something to be encouraged. Rick Burdick has been especially helpful in this regard. And finally at least one fellow received an award that required a three-month hiatus from the JF. We arranged this expeditiously, allowing the fellow to benefit from the award and then re-join the program.

10.8. Preconference Workshop Committee

Action: Marcel van Aken will be the chair. Additional members: Suman Verma, Dan Li, Julia Bowker, Junsheng Liu. It was suggested that the members of the committee get into touch with the Shanghai Local Organizing Committee very soon, helping with the planning of the 2014 preconference program.

10.9. Early Career Travel Grant Committee

Chair: Suman Verma. Committee members: Toni Antonucci, Robert Serpell, Nancy Galambos, Anne Petersen, Dan Li, Julie Bowker. This committee will begin working on the travel grant proposals as soon as ISSBD program decisions are completed in the Fall of 2013.

10.10. Awards Committee

Action: Toni Antonucci will continue as the chair. Additional members: Avi Sagi-Schwartz, Julie Bowker, Jeanette Lawrence.

11. Workshops

11.1. Budapest, Hungary, September 12-14, 2013: Márta Fülöp

The theme of the Budapest workshop will be "Interpersonal Dynamics in Childhood and Adolescence." The workshop provides an excellent opportunity for doctoral students and early career researchers from Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, and Slovenia to listen to plenary talks given by leading scholars in the field, to present papers to an audience of fellow young scholars, and get peer feedback to discuss their ongoing work with experienced senior researchers. They will also have an opportunity to learn about publication from the chief editor of the International Journal of Behavioral Development, to help develop a network of contacts to learn about and participate in different ISSBD social events. Participation is FREE and accommodation will be provided! The workshop aims at promoting communication and discussions between leading experts in the field and young scholars from different countries of East and Central Europe. The workshop will focus on recent theories and research findings about children's, adolescents' and



young adults' social development, with particular attention to the dynamics of different kinds of interpersonal relationships (parent-child, siblings, friends, peers, social dynamics of peer groups etc.). Chair of the Workshop and organizer is Prof. Márta Fülöp, Institute of Cognitive Neuroscience and Psychology, Budapest.

11.2 Moscow, Russia: Tatiana Yermolova, Natalya Ulanova, Sergey Kornilov

ISSBD Moscow Workshop on Executive Functions – June 18-21, 2013.

The EC member Elena Grigorenko from Yale University, USA, supported a group of Russian scientists, Tatiana Yermolova (Moscow City University), Natalya Ulanova and Sergey Kornilov (Moscow State University), and Natalia Raklin (Yale University) in their efforts to organize an ISSBD Regional Workshop in Moscow, Russia, to be held June 18-21, 2013. The main theme of the workshop concerned "Executive functioning and metacognition," and several renowned researchers provided lectures on different aspects of the general theme.

11.3. 10th African Regional Workshop, Pretoria, September 25-27, 2013: Nareadi Phasha

Contributions from Robert Serpell during the EC meeting:

Robert Serpell presented a proposal that should enable a certain number of ECS from the Pretoria workshop to

attend the 2014 ISSBD meetings in Shanghai, which he labeled "Bridging between ISSBD regional workshops and biennial international meetings: a competitive and nurturing cross-national scaffolding approach to capacity-building of developmental scholarship at African universities." An opportunity will arise at the ISSBD's 10th African regional workshop to be held in Tshwane (Pretoria), South Africa from 25th to 27th September to identify exceptionally promising early career scholars in the region for sponsorship to attend the 22nd ISSBD International Congress to be held in Shanghai, China, in July 2014. Building on the experience of the ISSBD Maseno-Lusaka bridging scheme funded by the Johann Jacobs Foundation in 2009-2010, this proposal recommends that funding plans for the Shanghai 2014 congress include a modest ring-fenced budget line to cover air-fares from the African region to Shanghai for a set of 10-20 Early Career Scholars identified at the Tshwane workshop as exceptionally promising.

This proposal was discussed at some length at the EC meeting. The EC members did not make a recommendation but encouraged Robert Serpell to contact Suman Verma, chair of the Early Career Travel Grant committee. This committee should deal with the proposal.

12. Date of next EC meeting: July 8, 2014, from 9 am to 5 pm in Shanghai, China

Secretary General, Katariina Salmela-Aro



News

ISSBD Elections

The 2013 ISSBD elections are upon us. There are five elections this year.

- 3 Executive Committee Members (2014-2020)
- Secretary General (2014-2020)
- Membership Secretary (2014-2020)
- Treasurer (2014-2020)
- Early Career Scholar Representative (2014-2018)

Biographies and photos of each of the candidates can be found on the website: <http://www.issbd.org>

Please note that elections are now conducted online only and you must be a member of ISSBD in order to vote. Follow these simple steps to place your votes:

1. Go to the ISSBD webpage: <http://www.issbd.org>
2. Click on the Members Login link.
3. Click on the Voting link
4. Place your votes

Elections must take place between **5th September 2013 – 5th December 2013**.

If you have any questions regarding the voting process, do not hesitate to contact me at: issbd@psyka.jyu.fi

Thank you for your time and we look forward to receiving your votes!

Katariina Salmela-Aro
Secretary General

News from the Early Career Representative

Julie Bowker

University at Buffalo, The State University of New York

Greetings! I would like to draw your attention to two important issues for ISSBD early career scholars.

First, at the time of this newsletter, details are being finalized for the ISSBD 2014 Biennial Meeting early career scholar preconference workshops. The workshops will be held at Shanghai Normal University July 7-8, 2014. There will be workshops on the following four topics: (1) parenting and culture; (2) peer relationships and culture; (3) publishing; and (4) methods.

Early career scholars who have abstracts accepted for the Biennial Meeting *and* who apply to attend one of the preconference workshops are eligible for a travel grant. Early career scholars who wish to apply for preconference workshops and travel grants should first submit abstracts to the Biennial Meeting and then apply for the preconference workshop/travel grant upon acceptance for the Biennial Meeting.

Application forms for preconference workshops and travel grants will be available to download from the Biennial Meeting conference website (<http://www.issbd2014.com/>). Decisions about the preconference workshops and travel grants will be made after decisions about the program for the Biennial Meeting (in December/January).

Second, the third e-newsletter written specifically for ISSBD early career scholars was sent out in August 2013. In response to ISSBD early career scholars' requests, the e-newsletters have included Question-and-Answer sessions with ISSBD senior scholars, information about free resources related to teaching and statistical methods, a listing of recent publications by ISSBD early career scholars, and information about the upcoming ISSBD Biennial Meeting.

If you have any questions, comments, or suggestions for future e-newsletters, please feel free to contact me at jcbowker@buffalo.edu.



MAJOR CONFERENCES OF INTEREST

November 16–18, 2013

30th Annual Conference of the International Society for the Study of Trauma and Dissociation
 Location: Baltimore, Maryland, USA
 Website: www.isst-d.org/default.asp?contentID=57

December 6–8, 2013

International Conference on Cognition, Emotion and Action
 Location: Gujarat, India
 Website: <http://www.iitgn.ac.in/cea2013/index.php>

December 30–31, 2013

International Conference on Applied Psychology and Behavioural Sciences
 Location: Paris, France
 Website: <http://www.waset.org/conferences/2013/paris/icapbs/>

February 24–25, 2014

3rd Annual International Conference on Cognitive and Behavioral Psychology
 Location: Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
 Website: www.cognitive-behavior.org

March 5–8, 2014

XXII World Family Therapy Congress
 Location: Izmir, Turkey
 Website: www.ifta-congress.org

April 14–16, 2014

11th Conference of the European Academy of Occupational and Health Psychology
 Location: London, England, UK
 Website: www.eaohp.org/conference.html

April 28–30, 2014

7th Biennial Congress of the International Society of Affective Disorders
 Location: Berlin, Germany
 Website: www.isadconference.com

May 22–25, 2014

Association for Psychological Science (APS): 26th Annual Convention
 Location: San Francisco, CA, USA
 Website: <http://www.psychologicalscience.org/index.php/convention/travel>