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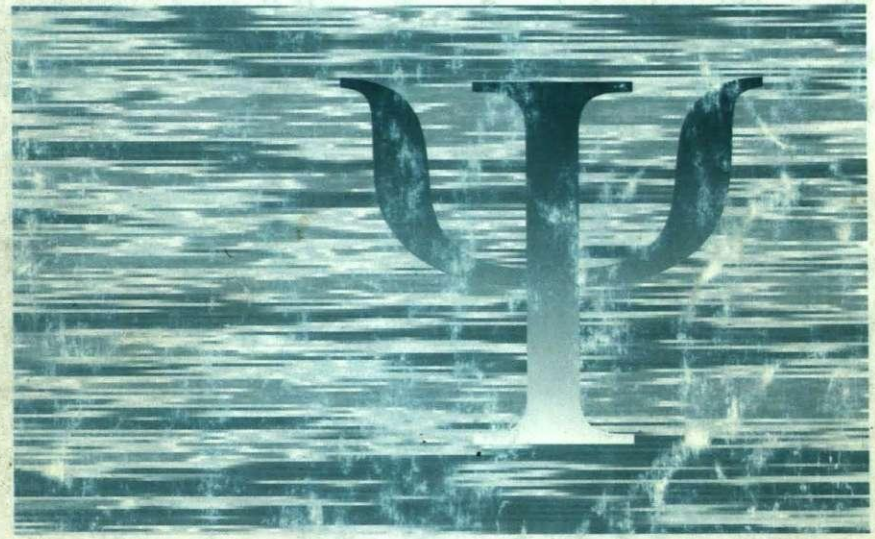

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# Saturs / Contents

Sirsnīgi pateicamies Latvijas Universitātes rektoram prof. I. Lācim, zinātnes prorektoram prof. I. Muižniekam, Universitātes avīzes redakcijai par atbalstu žurnāla izdošanā.

# Editorial

In order to facilitate the exchange of information and support the dissemination of psychological research findings among colleagues in the Baltic States, the University of Latvia has agreed to support the publication of a peer-reviewed psychology journal. The *Journal of Baltic Psychology* will be published three times a year, starting in December 2000, by the Department of Psychology of The Faculty of Education and Psychology at the University of Latvia in collaboration with the Association for the Advancement of Baltic Psychology (an affiliate of the Association for the Advancement of Baltic Studies), and the Latvian professional associations of School Psychology, Clinical Psychology, and Organisational Psychology.

The aim of this journal is to promote the development of psychological research and practice in the Baltic countries, and to facilitate co-operation among researchers and practitioners.

The following types of materials will be considered for publication:

1. Theoretical and empirical research papers.
2. Psychological reviews.
3. Reviews of applications of psychological theories into practice, as well as innovations in applied areas of practice.
4. Commentaries on previously published papers and book reviews.
5. Annual information announcement of conferences, association meetings etc.
6. Request for networking with psychologists in other countries regarding potential cooperation on projects or other matters of interest.

This will be a bilingual journal and manuscripts can be submitted in English or Latvian (with summary in English). The editorial board of the journal includes psychologists from Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, as well as specialists from other countries in different fields of psychology. The manuscripts will be evaluated anonymously by two peer reviewers designated by the member of our international editorial board in the relevant area of specialisation.

We invite you to submit your manuscripts. Please inform your students and colleagues about the Journal of Baltic Psychology.

*Solveiga Miezitis and Malgozata Rascevska,*
*Editors of the Journal of Baltic Psychology*

# Groups and Workshops in Interethnic Conflict Resolution: Their Accomplishment and Promise, With Special Reference to the Baltic Context

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In the past several decades, discussion groups have evolved as a vehicle for mitigating and resolving interethnic conflicts. These approaches developed on the basis of a merger of psychoanalytic and social psychology conceptualizations, group therapy experience, and negotiating skill. Three contributions will be highlighted: Yehuda Amir's to the identification of factors that promote or impede constructive interactions across the ethnic divide; Herbert Kelman's to the use of the group format for interethnic problem solving; and Vamik Volkan's to grounding these group approaches in psychoanalytic theory and systematically applying them at "trouble spots" around the world. In Estonia, Vamik Volkan has worked at three sites. The process of these experiences as well as their effect upon the participants and their communities will be described. Further directions for such interventions, especially in the three Baltic countries will be explored, both as a means for potentially resolving a major social conflict and also as a unique source of information about personal experience during Soviet rule, its aftermath, and the more recent past.

One of the most pressing and difficult challenges facing the Baltic countries is that of socially integrating diverse, and potentially antagonistic, ethnic groups. What can social and behavioural sciences contribute to this process? In the present paper, an attempt will be made to review the contributions by social psychologists and psychoanalysts to the prevention, management, and resolution of ethnic conflict on the planes of both research and application.

One of the key figures who first tackled this dilemma is the Israeli social psychologist, Yehuda Amir (1969, 1994) who posed the question of how potentially or actually hostile ethnocultural groups could be brought together and induced to interact. The anticipated optimal result of this endeavour would be attitude change through intergroup contact, followed or accompanied by the reduction of inimical or hostile action and increase in potential or actual constructive interaction across sociopolitical or ethnocultural lines. Amir named this expectation the contact hypothesis. Certainly, as he would be the first to admit, interethnic contact is not enough. Tragically, the history of the massacres of the past decade, in Rwanda, Bosnia, Kosovo, and elsewhere, testifies to the contrary. Neighbours killed neighbours, and lifelong contact, proximity, and even

friendship, proved an inadequate antidote to bloodshed. The question then needs to be rephrased: Under what conditions does intergroup contact mitigate conflict. Despite the tragedies just enumerated, there are countless instances of the ethnic cultural, and sociopolitical gulf being bridged, in experimental social psychology laboratory settings, planned and especially designed social contact experiences from discussion groups to summer camps, and spontaneous situations in residential neighbourhoods, workplaces, schools, and playgrounds. The task then is to identify the "positive ingredients" that promote constructive and cooperative endeavours and eventually foster integration into a supraordinate social and political structure. At the same time, the personal characteristics that facilitate or impede the attainment of such socially desirable goals need to be identified. Amir (1994) summarized several decades of his and other researchers' work by identifying the following factors. By way of situational components, acquaintance potential, equality of status, cooperative interactions, and intensity of contact promote the reduction of hostility and prejudice, break down stereotypes and hold the promise of improved intergroup relations across time and situations. To elaborate, situations in which there is opportunity for getting to know the members of the other ethnicity as individuals, to interact with them on an egalitarian plane, to cooperate on endeavours of mutual interest, and to experience personal and intimate contact are most propitious for the positive changes sought. On the individual plane, the accumulated results are somewhat less compelling. Such personality characteristics as cognitive flexibility, openness to experience and change (Amir, 1994) as well as tolerance of ambiguity and cognitive complexity (Draguns, 1996) are plausible variables to consider in sketching the portrait of the person who would benefit from, and promote, constructive intergroup contacts. However, little research has as yet been done on these traits, and the size of their effects, at best, can be expected to be small. Moreover, as Amir (1994, p. 236) pointed out, "such a personality syndrome does not change easily". On a more general plane, Amir (1994) concluded that contact situations carefully designed and implemented in accordance with the principles presented above are conducive to producing positive changes, both in the laboratory and in the real world. However, the development of such interventions is time-consuming, demanding of expertise, and costly in resources. Yet, "dealing with these problems effectively will probably prove to be less expensive as well as socially more constructive than dealing with them superficially or ignoring them completely. Thus priority should be given to an intensive effort and further developments, and the sooner the better" (Amir, 1994, p. 237).

Amir's call for action has been heeded and anticipated by a number of pioneers, with backgrounds in academic social psychology research and in clinical mental health intervention. Several decades ago, the prominent social psychologist, Leonard Doob (1970, 1973) embarked upon conflict resolution workshops in Africa and Northern Ireland. He succeeded in bringing together the contending parties, getting them to talk to each other, and creating the foundation for further contacts and discussions. Thus, a start was made. More recently, the social psychologist and ethicist, Herbert Kelman (1991) initiated a series of group discussions between antagonists, of such foci of conflict as Cyprus and

Palestine. His efforts, animated by a deep ethical commitment to nonviolent conflict resolution, coalesced with the insights and proposals by a number of experienced diplomatic negotiators, such as Burton (1991), McDonald & Diamond (1996), Montville (1987), and Saunders (1999), who had recognized the importance of addressing the human dimension in conflict resolution. Kelman was also influenced by the concept of corrective emotional experience introduced by the psychoanalysts, Alexander & French (1946) who proposed that the deliberately shaped behaviour of the psychotherapist is a powerful tool in promoting change in the client. Thus, the road was open to incorporating knowledge of small group interaction and therapy process into group contact situations involving participants in ethnic strife and their leaders. The goal of such intervention, as Kelman emphasized, in not to change the personalities of the various parties and not even to engender trust. Instead, the objective of such experiences is focused upon providing the setting in which problem solving could be initiated and promoted. The role of the facilitator is emphatically nonjudgmental; he or she explicitly eschews the functions of a leader, mediator, or negotiator. The essential consideration is to promote and maintain trust in the facilitator as a neutral and reliable third party. Kelman's work over the years has scaled a great many hurdles and facilitated interchange, and maintenance and promotion between contenders who had previously met only on the barricades and battlefield. This approach continues to be pursued and is available for adaptation and emulation at sites of ethnopolitical conflict or post-Clausewitzian warfare around the world (Väyrynen, 1999).

Against this background, the major development of the past two decades has been the development of Vamik Volkan's (1997, 1999) ethnopolitical discussion groups, sometimes described as the application of unofficial or two-track diplomacy. It arose in the context of collaboration of mental health professionals and experienced diplomats and was elaborated and refined through a series of international applications, at the Centre for the Study of Culture, Politics, and Psychoanalysis in Charlottesville, Virginia in the United States. Vamik Volkan, a psychoanalyst, crucially modified the prexisting facilitation procedures by recognizing the importance of the experiential, personal, and emotional components of interethnic conflict. Like the personal childhood experiences that are disentangled in psychoanalysis and other psychodynamic therapy, feelings, attitudes, beliefs, and actions of the protagonists are traceable to lifelong, early influences, unquestioned and unexamined tenets, and are often outside of the person's awareness. Thus, defences come into play in shaping the image of the enemy beyond the ethnic divide, and the historic past of one's own group is subject to distortions at the service of justifying the personal structure of convictions and beliefs. In particular, historic events are mentally represented and stylised in the form of "chosen traumata" in which the group experienced a catastrophic irreparable loss and humiliation. Chosen glories stand for group's part triumphs and serve to boost its self-esteem. In this region, the Soviet deportations of June 1941 and March 1949 are unquestionably the chosen trauma for the three Baltic nations. The historic memory of the Jewish individuals in our midst is scaringly marked by the Holocaust in 1941 and thereaf-

ter. Many persons of Russian ethnicity would identify both their chosen trauma and chosen glory in the unspeakable suffering and glorious triumph in World War II. For small nations like the Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians, it is somewhat more difficult to nominate chosen glories. On the basis of interviews and personal contact I believe that for many Balts the stand-off at the barricades in Vilnius, Riga, and Tallinn and the Baltic human chain qualify as such events while Jews in the Baltics and elsewhere would nominate the creation of Israel as their chosen glory. On the basis of numerous applications, Volkan (1997, 1999) formulated the Tree Model, which now serves as the basic guide for interventions. The diagnostic process of the problems that are to be addressed constitutes the metaphorical roots of the tree. Diagnosis in this case involves a thorough empathetic immersion in the factual and the recalled history of the groups in question and is accomplished through personal contacts, readings, and visits, especially of historically or symbolically significant sites. A series of interviews is conducted with a wide range of people including leaders and experts in the various walks of life as well as ordinary citizens. This information is sifted and integrated. "Initiating dialogues without a thorough diagnosis (of both conscious and unconscious shared aspects of the situation) can be like shooting in the dark" (Volkan, 1999, p. 157). The trunk of the tree is a series of political dialogues, planned to extend over a protracted period of time, with a trained and informed facilitator. Usually, these group experiences involve intensive four day meetings with 30-40 persons from each of the two opposing sides. Opening statements are made on behalf of each of the groups whereupon smaller discussion groups of 8-10 people gather with 2-3 members of the facilitating team. This experience is repeated over the period of several years. Two group processes take place: over the four days of intensive interpersonal interaction and over the entire span of two or three years. Small group discussions share many of the features of group psychotherapy. Their objective, however, is not to promote change in personal experience and social relationships but to facilitate communication and eventual resolution of issues and grievances both in their reality and experiential aspects. Chosen traumata and glories are aired and there is an alternation of closeness and empathy and of remoteness and withdrawal, sometimes repeated several times. Defences, such as externalisation, projection, and projective identification, come into play and traumatic social events are expressed and relived on the plane of biographic stories that sometimes evoke empathy across ethnic lines. Yet, at the same time, historical landmarks that took place generations and centuries ago are relived, gloriously and/or traumatically, in the group setting, sometimes reviving grievances and undoing the progress previously achieved by means of sharing of similar experiences. Thus, closeness and withdrawal alternate. Volkan (1999) likened this progression to the playing of an accordion, as it is squeezed together and then pulled apart.

A crucial point in the evolution of these dialogues – or the growth of the tree trunk, in Volkan's metaphor – is the transfer from the unofficial experiential level to that of official diplomatic policy making. This transition can be brought about by the external facilitators or the local participants. The objective is to get the decision makers involved at community or national

level. Thus, the dialogues described do not occur in a vacuum. There is instead pressure exercised from below which spawns spin-offs that are initiated from above, in the form of further group dialogues increasingly concerned with local issues and eventuating in cooperative and constructive action. Within the Tree Model, the trunk grows branches.

Ever since the collapse of the Soviet Union, Vamir Volkan has been involved in the facilitation of ethnopolitical dialogues in all three of the Baltic countries. The initial contacts in Lithuania (Volkan & Harris, 1992) and in Latvia (Volkan & Harris, 1993) concentrated on relatively short-range objectives. The concept of "vaccinating the political process" was productively employed whereby anxieties were brought to the surface, grievances aired, conflicts identified, and then resolved, to the extent that it was possible to do within the relatively short life span of these early groups. In Estonia, however, these dialogues have by now traversed all the stages of growth embodied in the Tree Model. They now continue to function under the coordination of an Estonian psychologist. Endel Talvik, at three locations in Mustamäe, outside of Tallinn, Klooga, 40 km from the Estonian capital, and Mustvee, on the shores of Lake Peipsi, not far from the Estonian-Russian border. In all three locations, there are an equal proportion of ethnic Estonian and Russian participants. The level of social integration of the two ethnic components in the three communities differs widely. In Mustamäe, the Russian inhabitants tend to be professionals working in Tallinn and many are Estonian citizens. In Klooga most of the Russians settled some time after the end of World War II and were connected with the now abandoned Soviet military base. The Russians of Mustvee are the descendants of Old Believers who came to this area in the 17th Century. The groups have been focused on community problems, which they first had to identify consensually and then tackle jointly for the general benefit of all inhabitants. In Mustamae, the project involved the development of a kindergarten for both Estonian and Russian children. It was to provide the usual educational services, but also was designed to serve as a vehicle of social integration. The implementation of this program not only created a much needed community resource, but also helped dispel a number of prominent fears and misgivings. In Klooga, where economic problems were severe and the level of social alienation high, especially among the Russians, the goal was to foster community cohesion while at the same time improving community services and enhancing quality of life. The focus of this endeavour was the creation of a community centre. In Mustvee the challenge was to revive and diversify the economy, based on fishing, and truck gardening during the Soviet era. The market for these products had disappeared, frustration had mounted, and the traditionally smooth and peaceful relationship between the Estonian and Russian inhabitants was imperilled. The discussion group settled upon the development of tourist attractions capitalizing on the unspoiled charm of the lake region and its hidden cultural, historic, and religious treasures. The implementation of the project also proved to be a workshop in democratic cooperative decision making in a setting where, under the Soviets, the decisions had been handed down from above. In all three communities, the shift was effected from talking together to working cooperatively on objec-

tives that were consensually chosen. In this respect, the recent Estonian experiences converge with the recommendations by Yehuda Amir for promoting constructive interethnic contacts in a cooperative context. One is also reminded of the classical social psychology experiment by Muzafer and Carolyn Sherif (Sherif & Sherif, 1966) in which previously competing and antagonistic groups of adolescents at a summer camp were induced to work toward a shared goal when they found themselves in "common predicament", i.e., were faced with a shared frustration and a set of obstacles that could be removed by joint action. In another ethnically diverse location in Latvia, Draguns (1996, p. 86) recognized these findings as relevant for the promotion of constructive interethnic contact: "Somewhat naively perhaps, one may envisage the restructuring of the economy, the rehabilitation of the environment, and the diverse, practical municipal problems in Daugavpils as the challenges that could be tackled and overcome by the pooled resources of all their ethnic components of the city's population." The experiences of Vamik Volkan's team demonstrate that this is indeed a realizable aspiration, which can be productively applied elsewhere. Indeed, independent of these efforts, projects and institutions have sprung up in the Baltic region that already proceed on this principle. Worthy of mention is the multiethnic Rainbow School (Varavīksnes Skola) in Krāslava which combines intensive teaching of Latvian language and culture with the cultivation of the pupils' own cultural heritage. Its director, Arkādijs Fleišmans (1994), described the orientation and expectations of this school as follows: "How do we picture the graduate of our school? As a person who is capable to conduct his or her university studies in the Latvian language, who has made the fundamental values of Latvian culture her or his own, who both knows and values his or her native language, is able to communicate with foreigners without an interpreter, is capable of interacting with fellow humans, and can both influence other people and be influenced by them. In other words, a person who is able to attain self-actualisation in the world of today." In Daugavpils, the Multinational Culture Centre promotes the tenets of cultural diversity and serves as an important meeting ground for the exchange of information and promotion of closer contact among the city's six major ethnic groups. (Priedītis, 1994, 1996) Taking a bird's eye view of the interethnic relations in Estonia, Haas (1996) noted both absence of violence and as well as the prevalence of accommodation, often achieved on an *ad hoc* basis. Studies of interethnic attitudes in the Baltic states (e.g., Dimdiņš, 1998; Hansen & Štšipletsova, 1993; Robinson & Breslav, 1996) point to a highly complex picture. Antagonism, not surprisingly, exists but it does so in conjunction with differentiated attitudes toward other ethnic groups. Blanket stereotyping is largely avoided, and a mixture of positive and negative characterizations of out-groups is typical. This impression, incidentally, is in keeping with the findings of the ethnocultural dialogues, which too have uncovered multiple layers of attitudes across ethnic lines. Thus, the fragments of the picture, which the several types of studies have contributed, point to openness for dialogue and readiness to modify attitudes. If these optimistic impressions have merit, they may provide a foundation for an even more intensive and extensive application of procedures described therein.

Apart from their potential for inoculating against strife and promoting constructive interaction, the group experiences described by Volkan and his associates provide valuable, indeed unique, glimpses of recollections of psychohistorical developments in the Baltic region during the lifetime of the participants. There have been very few other opportunities for capturing these subjective impressions so rarely are they shared or documented.

From a variety of perspectives, theoretical, research, and applied, allowing persons of culturally different outlooks first express and then transcend their cherished and crystallized views, enriches our knowledge of human coping in complex and challenging situations. More immediately and directly, these procedures have already made a substantial contribution to moulding the disparate ethnic components of the population of the Baltic countries into the civil society of their respective reconstituted nations.

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# Psychopathology of Altered States of Consciousness

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Experiences in altered states of consciousness have often been misunderstood as being pathological when, in fact, they may be healthy or exceptionally beneficial. This appears to be, in part, because those who have had such experiences have sometimes made claims that contradict the predominant materialistic assumptions of much of Western psychology. For example, those who have had out-of-body experiences, possibly in the context of near-death experiences, sometimes have claimed to have had veridical perceptions of physical events that they should not have been able to have had through their sensory faculties. However, studies are summarized indicating that remote perception without sensory involvement can occur thereby emphasizing the importance of evaluating experiences in altered states of consciousness without restrictive preconceptions. In fact, from the point of view of transcendent states of consciousness, the normal waking state appears to be the pathological state. Clearly, however, not all experiences in altered states of consciousness are free of difficulties. In striving for transcendence, there is a large class of religious and spiritual problems that includes crises associated with spiritual awakening, cult participation and relinquishment of self-determination in favour of obedience to internal guidance. There are also problems of adjustment following transcendent, near-death and alien abduction experiences. Altogether, a mental health practitioner must listen to her client, keep an open mind and develop a keen sense of discrimination when evaluating experiences in altered states of consciousness.

## Psychopathology of Altered States of Consciousness

It is difficult to determine, sometimes, which behaviours should be considered consistent with normal human functioning and which should be considered pathological. This problem becomes compounded when we open the door to the further reaches of the mind, as we do in altered states of consciousness, and the distinction bet-

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ween madness and normality becomes blurred. The purpose of this paper is to push our understanding further by considering what is pathology, normality and exceptional well-being in altered states of consciousness.

## Pathology, Normality, and Exceptional Well-Being

Perhaps the first thing to note is that Western psychology is monophasic, that is to say, its subject matter is almost exclusively derived from a single state of consciousness, namely, the normal waking state. Furthermore, the normal waking state of consciousness is considered the optimal state. The presence of these characteristics of Western psychology, in conjunction with the prevalence of pathomorphism, the tendency to label psychological phenomena using pathological categories, means that experiences in altered states of consciousness have often been considered pathological when they may, in fact, be better labelled as normal or exceptionally beneficial. For example, shamanic journeying in indigenous cultures may be undertaken by a shaman in order to resolve a problem in her community and involves her entering an altered state of consciousness, experiencing separation from her body, travelling in a world different from ordinary reality, encountering spirits, searching for information or power that can resolve the problem, reentering her body and implementing the results of the journey in the community. While such experiences have often been labelled as symptoms of schizophrenia, careful comparison of shamanic journeying to schizophrenia reveals that they are not the same. In particular, for example, while someone with schizophrenia experiences disorganization and loss of control both for the onset of schizophrenic episodes and their contents, a shaman's journey is characterized by coherent imagery, control of the onset of the journey and partial control of the contents of experience (Walsh, 1995).

However, even if experiences in altered states of consciousness were not pathologized, they may nonetheless create disruption in a person's life and thus come to the attention of mental health professionals. Such disruption often occurs after near-death experiences. These are psychological events that are sometimes reported by a person who has been close to death for some period of time. A person may report having experienced a feeling of peace, separation from her body, witnessing of events occurring within the vicinity of her body, encounters with deceased relatives or spiritual beings, the presence of a loving light, and a panoramic life review. Subsequently, a person's ideas about the nature of reality may be dramatically changed. She may come to believe that death is not the end of life, that our usual concerns about our material well-being are unimportant, and that the purpose of life is to love one another. Despite the overall positive nature of most near-death experiences, a person may experience anger and depression at having been brought back to life, career interruptions, fear of ridicule and rejection, alienation from one's relatives and acquaintances, and broken relationships including divorce from one's spouse. Many of these problems result from a person's inability to reconcile her altered sense of reality and changed values with the materialistic concerns of the people with whom she must interact (Greyson, 2000).

## Psychology of Science

Perhaps we should pause before proceeding. After all, psychology is a scientific enterprise and should psychologists entertain such manifestly absurd notions as travelling outside of one's body and encountering spiritual beings? No matter how positive such experiences may be for the individual for whom they have occurred, is there not something inherently wrong with having impressions that one has left one's body or that one has communicated with spirits? Indeed, psychologists write books such as *How to Think Straight About Psychology* (Stanovich, 2001) or, more provocatively, *Psychobabble and Biobunk* (Tavris, 2001) in which such notions are debunked in the name of scientific psychology. By all means, then, let us think straight and cut through the psychobabble of debunking itself using the methods and knowledge base of scientific psychology.

In contemporary cognitive psychology we have come to understand that human beings organize their experiences using cognitive structures called schemata. In particular, there are global schemata, called worldviews that are used for making sense of reality. Worldviews are mental constructions, ideas, beliefs, theories, and not themselves the reality for which they are interpretations. The currently dominant worldview in academia is that reality resembles a billiard table. All phenomena, including consciousness, result from the predictable interactions of tiny particles. But authentic science, of which scientific psychology is a part, is the pursuit of knowledge using whatever means one can invent to further one's understanding. The data acquired through one's investigations form the basis for one's theories. Not the other way around! Scientific theories change in response to evidence. Scientists discard and replace worldviews to reflect the results of their investigations. Thus we now know, from research in nuclear physics that matter is not made up of tiny billiard balls. Given that that is the case, there is no point in continuing to insist that all phenomena, including consciousness, result from predictable interactions of tiny particles. The billiard ball schema has become obsolete (Barušs, 1996).

What are we left with? What is the world really like? What is happening when someone says that she is outside her body? What is the nature of out-of-body perceptions? Are they purely products of the imagination or are they veridical? Is it possible for there to be visual perception without visual sensation? Is, in fact, the brain even necessary for the presence of consciousness? For a scientist, these are not matters to be decided by one's a priori beliefs, but research questions demanding empirical investigation and critical evaluation of the subsequent results. Is there any evidence at all to suppose that the world is other than it appears to be in its everyday manifestation?

## Occurrence of Anomalous Experiences

Let us consider a case studied by Sabom (1998) of a woman in the United States who had a near-death experience. In order to excise an aneurysm in her brain, a surgical procedure known as hypothermic cardiac arrest was used. During this procedure, her body temperature was lowered to 60 degrees Fahrenheit, her heartbeat and breathing were stopped, and her brain activity was reduced to the point where there were

no brain waves over the cerebral cortex and no auditory evoked potentials in response to 100-decibel clicks, indicating a suppression of both cerebral and brain stem activity. Then the blood was drained from her head. In the past, different measures have been used for the presence of life, such as breathing, heartbeat, cerebral brain activity and brain stem activity. By any of these measures, the woman was dead. However, subsequent to the operation, she gave the following account of her experiences.

As the bone saw cut through her skull, the woman had the impression of leaving her body through the top of her head and looking down on the proceedings in the operating room. Her description of events, including, for example, her description of the bone saw, turned out to be correct even though she had been anaesthetized and her eyes taped shut. As the operation progressed through the hypothermic cardiac arrest, she had the impression of being transported as though she were going up in an elevator. She heard her grandmother calling her toward a light at the end of a tunnel. As she moved toward the light, it increased in size until she was overwhelmed by its brightness. She could discern not only her grandmother, but other relatives in the light. After some time with them, her uncle brought her back through the end of the tunnel. She could see her body. It looked dead. She did not want to get back into it, but she did. And then it hurt (Sabom, 1998). This case suggests the possibility of visual perception without visual sensation and the possibility of the continuation of consciousness without brain activity.

Ring and Cooper did a retrospective study of the near-death and out-of-body experiences of 31 blind people, 14 of whom had been blind from birth. The accounts of the near-death experiences of the 21 subjects who had had them are consistent with those of the sighted, including the presence of visual impressions for 15 of the 21. For those who had had near-death or out-of-body experiences, 9 of the 14 subjects who were congenitally blind reported visual impressions. Furthermore, some of those blind from birth who did not claim to have seen anything appear to have had visual elements but were unable to identify them as such because of their lack of experience with sight. For those blind from birth, the visual impressions in near-death experiences are striking given that their brains have never been developed for visual processing. Thus, for example, there are no visual images in the dreams of those who have been blind from birth, yet they were present in the near-death experiences of the congenitally blind participants in the study. There was insufficient information from sighted witnesses to conclusively corroborate the physical reality of the out-of-body perceptions of the blind that corresponded to physical events at the time of the experiences (Ring & Cooper, 1997). Nonetheless, this study lends credence to the possibility of visual perception without the presence of visual sensations.

That remote perception, that is to say, perception without relevant sensory stimulation, is possible, has been demonstrated in a number of laboratory studies. The research sponsored by the United States government in the 1970s at Stanford Research Institute concerning remote viewing, the name given by Puthoff and Targ to anomalous perception at a distance, has become well known (Puthoff, 1996; Targ, 1996; Targ & Katra, 1998). Subsequently, there has been a spate of popular books about the purported military applications of remote viewing (e.g., Schnabel, 1997; Mo-

rehouse, 1996; Graff, 2000; Mandelbaum, 2000). A similar research program was taken up at the Princeton Engineering Anomalies Research Laboratory in the late 1970s verifying the positive results of the earlier government-sponsored studies (Jahn & Dunne, 1987; Nelson, Dunne, Dobyns & Jahn, 1996). While participants in laboratory research concerning remote perception have usually been in a normal waking state of consciousness, there is some evidence to suggest that the accuracy of remote perception is increased in altered states of consciousness such as in a state of hypnosis (Radin, 1997) and, indeed, that anomalous events are more likely to occur in altered states of consciousness (Krippner & George, 1986). I should add the caveat about hypnosis, that one has to be careful about making universal statements about its effects, given the varieties of phenomena to which the label of hypnosis has been attached and the increased propensity for confabulation induced by hypnosis (Kihlstrom, 1985; Frankel & Covino, 1997).

A metanalysis of the extent to which anomalous events correspond to reality has been given by Radin (1997) and a review of the variety of anomalous experiences as such can be found in Cardeña, Lynn and Krippner (2000). Such summaries are beyond the scope of this paper. The point here is that one must pay attention to a person's account of her experiences without pathologizing them out-of-hand because they fail to conform to one's preconceptions about reality. This caution extends to the application of diagnostic categories to individuals. For example, according to the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (Fourth Edition)* "belief in clairvoyance" that is to say, belief that remote perception is possible, has been listed as a symptom of schizotypal personality disorder (American Psychiatric Association, 1994, p. 645). We have just shown that there are contexts in which experiences of remote perception may arise for someone and indicated that there is evidence to support the veridical nature of some remote perceptions. In other words, belief in clairvoyance is not, in and of itself, an illness, and hence, should not be treated as such. However this is not the same as saying that those who believe in clairvoyance necessarily experience veridical remote perceptions. Whether or not they do is a matter of investigation in each particular case. If someone believes that her remote perceptions correspond to reality when they do not, then this diagnostic criterion becomes applicable. But not otherwise.

## Pathology of Transcendence

There is another domain in which there has been a tendency in the past toward pathomorphism, namely that of spiritual awakening, spiritual aspiration, self-transformation and the occurrence of transcendent states of consciousness. However, rather than being pathological, there is increasing evidence from research in the psychology of religion that participation in religious activities is beneficial for one's well-being, particularly during times of stress (Hood, Spilka, Hunsberger & Gorsuch, 1996). In fact, because of its beneficial value for an individual, following upon Gardner's theory of multiple intelligences (1983), spirituality has been conceptualised as a form of intelligence, namely spiritual intelligence. Spiritually intelligent individuals are those who have the capacity for "transcendence," for entering "heightened spiritual sta-

tes of consciousness," for investing everyday life with "a sense of the sacred," for using "spiritual resources to solve problems in living," and for "virtuous behavior" (Emmons, 1999, p. 164). For all its benefits, there are nonetheless difficulties that a person may encounter concerning spirituality. That spirituality is not pathological but that it can involve problems that may come to the attention of mental health practitioners is recognized by its inclusion in the section "Other Conditions That May Be a Focus of Clinical Attention" of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (Fourth Edition)* as "V62.89 Religious or Spiritual Problem" (American Psychiatric Association, 1994, p. 685). What are some of these problems?

First of all, it is useful to make the distinction between religion and spirituality as the distinction between "adherence to the beliefs and practices of an organized religious institution" and a person's relationship to a purportedly existent transcendent reality without regard for religious creeds (Lukoff, Lu & Turner, 1996, p. 234). Furthermore, for many people, the notion of spirituality includes the idea that one is on a journey of self-transformation in which specific practices such as meditation are used in order to experience transcendent states of consciousness in which existential questions are eventually to be answered (Barušs, 1996). There can be differences in the types of problems associated with religious observance and spirituality. For example, loss of one's faith in the religious doctrines that one has previously come to accept is a known religious problem (Lukoff, Lu & Turner, 1996). However, while loss of faith may be a religious problem, it can also be a spiritual opportunity in the sense that it challenges a person to seek other sources of meaning. One way to understand the possibility of such reorientation, is to consider the cognitive, motivational and behavioural patterns of religiosity that have been measured in the past. The extrinsic orientation is characterized by an attitude of expediency, so that one's religious observances are superficial, not integrated into one's daily life, and used in the service of utilitarian needs such as social advancement. The intrinsic orientation is characterized by a commitment to a lived religiosity that provides one with meaning. Quest orientation is characterized by confrontation with existential issues, refusal to reduce the complexity of life, and an ongoing search for truth wherever it may be found. For those with a quest orientation, religious doubt is perceived to be a positive characteristic (Hood, Spilka, Hunsberger & Gorsuch, 1996). In other words, one's loss of faith may result in the loss of intrinsic religiosity but open the door to quest and self-transformation. Interestingly enough, there has also been some movement in the other direction toward fundamentalism (Hood, Spilka, Hunsberger & Gorsuch, 1996) perhaps from a need to reduce the burden of self-determination in the face of complexity (cf. Schwartz, 2000).

A crisis of any sort can sometimes become an existential crisis and precipitate a spiritual awakening. In such cases, regarding any difficulties that arise for a person as traditional psychopathologies can be harmful to her. Thus it is worthwhile to distinguish between regressive pathologies, which are characterized by an inability to function normally within those spheres within which normal functioning would be expected, and progressive pathologies, which arise from spiritual awakening or aspira-

tion (Barušs, 1996). However, some spiritual events can be so overwhelming that they create disruptions in a person's ability to carry out the normal activities of her life. The term "spiritual emergence" has been used for reasonably benign manifestations of spiritual awakening, while the term "spiritual emergency" has been used for those that are more traumatic (Lukoff, Lu & Turner, 1996, p. 238). In extreme cases, the designation "spiritual emergencies with psychotic features" has been used (Lukoff, 1996, p. 271).

One of the most dramatic forms of spiritual awakening, which responds poorly to classical Western psychiatric treatment but well to treatments specifically designed for it, is that of kundalini rising. In the Hindu tradition, kundalini is an energy that purportedly rises from the base of the spine to the head at some point in a person's spiritual development. In some cases, kundalini experiences appear to occur spontaneously or as a result of experimentation with yoga and breathing exercises (Scotton, 1996). Healthy symptoms of kundalini awakening can include the following:

sensations of energy, heat, or light that rush up the spine . . . a perception of inner sound often likened to the buzzing of bees or the roar of a waterfall . . . perception of intense white light . . . a profound mystical experience which can include union with the divine, spiritual revelation, creative insight, prophetic or psychic visions, or a profound expansion of consciousness. (Kason & Degler, 1994, p. 24)

However, a mental health practitioner may also see "bradycardia . . ., tachycardia, cool skin, flushed skin, spontaneous trance states, and spontaneous assumption of yogic postures." Treatment can include reassurance by the clinician and immersion in mundane tasks so as to "refocus attention on the ordinary world" (Scotton, 1996, p. 264).

## Inauthenticity

Authenticity refers to a person being self-determining and acting on the basis of her own understanding (Barušs, 1996). In some cases, spirituality can be inauthentic. Spiritual defences are spiritual beliefs that constrain a person so that she is unable to express herself (Battista, 1996). However, one has to be careful in how one deals with spiritual defences. The natural tendencies that are constrained may themselves be destructive, such as tendencies toward drug abuse. Ideally one would like to encounter and transform one's natural tendencies in a constructive direction (Assagioli, 1988/1991; Ferrucci, 1982). Offensive spirituality refers to the imposition of oneself on others as someone who is spiritually developed, perhaps in order to coopt others for the maintenance of one's own spiritual identity (Battista, 1996). Clearly, there can also be a point at which self-righteous imposition of one's beliefs on others becomes offensive.

A more dangerous version of inauthenticity is one in which one abdicates responsibility for oneself to such an extent that there is no critical evaluation of the doctrines of the religious organization with which one has become affiliated. In fact, cults are characterized by the suppression of criticism of the fundamental beliefs of the cult's adherents (Barušs, 1996). Someone who dares to criticize a cult's dogma or its leaders risks being branded as being selfish or evil and subjected to efforts to correct her aberrant behaviour. If she persists in failing to comply with the expectations of

the cult and leaves, she may be told that she has failed the test, that she is damned and that she has lost her opportunity for enlightenment. "Feeling totally alone, the ex-cult member [may experience] a turmoil of feelings: rage at the betrayal, fear of retaliation, horror at the possibility of perpetual damnation, grief at the loss of group support and affection, and shame at having been duped" (Deikman, 1996, p. 317). The attendant anxiety, depression and loss of self-confidence can bring ex-cult members into therapy.

These psychological dynamics of inauthenticity are not confined to recognizable cults such as the "The People's Temple . . . the Moonies and the Krishna devotees" but are found throughout our society such as in "large corporations, political groups, professional organizations, government bodies, and established religions" (Deikman, 1996, p. 321). For example, in the former Soviet Union, one's allegiance was supposed to be to communism, while in the Western world one is supposed to believe in capitalism, the unbridled accumulation of wealth, and rampant consumerism. The penalties for dissent may differ but the same reliance on coercive strategies can be identified (e.g., Cialdini, 1988). Even the scientific community is not exempt from cult-like behaviour in that there is a version of science known as scientism whereby one is expected to believe that the universe is essentially a physical place, that the fixed methods used in science are the only way in which anything can be known, and that all talk of spirituality and transcendence is nonsense (Barušs, 1996). Those who fail to acquiesce are sometimes nudged out of the system by being refused research funding, by rejection of their work for publication, and by being barred from hiring and promotion.

Indeed, our whole society can be thought of as a cult. Our normal waking state of consciousness can be regarded as pathological; as a state of consciousness in which we are labouring under the delusion that the everyday world is real when, in fact, it is not. And our "culture can be viewed as a vast conspiracy against self-knowledge and awakening in which we collude together to reinforce one another's defences and insanity" (Walsh, 1984, p. 58). According to this perspective, the waking state is not only not optimal, but a state of psychosis. Or at least, the normal waking state is an imperfect state superseded by more enlightened states. Now, these are dramatic claims. Is there any evidence for them? The superiority of transcendent states relative to the normal waking state is a contention that has been made by many of those who have experienced transcendent states of consciousness (e.g., Merrell-Wolff, 1994; 1995a; 1995b; Roberts, 1993; 1991; Wren-Lewis, 1988, 1994). In that regard, let us consider the experiences and philosophy of Merrell-Wolff.

Franklin Merrell-Wolff was born in 1887. After studies in mathematics and philosophy, and a year of teaching mathematics, he left a promising academic career in order to seek "a transcendent mode of consciousness that could not be comprehended within the limits of our ordinary forms of knowledge" (Merrell-Wolff, 1994, pp. 251-252). Twenty-four years of effort were rewarded in 1936 with the occurrence of two fundamental realizations whose effects persisted until his death in 1985. For Merrell-Wolff, the structure of events in transcendent states of consciousness is different from that within the everyday mode because the subject-object duality that cha-

racterizes the manner in which we ordinarily think is superseded by consciousness without an object. There is an analogous change in the manner in which we can know something. Whereas there are only the two processes of sensory perception and rational thinking in our ordinary state of consciousness, a third mode of knowledge, characterized by identification with that which is known, becomes possible in transcendent states. There is a "shift in the base of consciousness" (Merrell-Wolff, 1994, p. 264) from oneself as implanted in the relative domain to being "forcibly removed and instantaneously transplanted into a supernal region" (Merrell-Wolff, 1994, p. 264). The everyday consciousness, which we assume to be real, turns out to be only apparently real, whereas the ground of being experienced in transcendent states of consciousness, which seems ephemeral from our everyday point of view, turns out to be actually real. Merrell-Wolff has used the analogy of a mirage in the desert to characterize this ontological inversion: "when one realizes a given condition is an illusion, it not only ceases to be, but ceases ever to have existed" (Merrell-Wolff, 1995a, p. 23).

Another pervasive manifestation of inauthenticity in the context of transcendence involves undue respect for subjective imagery that is regarded as arising from a superior level of being. Merrell-Wolff maintained that there is a mode of knowledge in addition to sensory perception and rational thought. The notion that we have superior modes of knowledge available to us is not an unpopular idea. In a 1986 survey, Barušs and Moore found that 55% of 334 academics and professionals who could potentially write about consciousness in the academic literature, agreed that "there are modes of understanding latent within a person which are superior to rational thought" (Barušs, 1990, p. 176). In a subsequent survey in 1996 at an international academic consciousness conference, 69% of 212 participants agreed with the same statement (Barušs & Moore, 1998). For Merrell-Wolff, a superior mode of knowledge was activated in the course of a radical shift in the base of consciousness to a transcendent state. Another way of conceptualising the activity of a superior mode of knowledge has been to think of the perfusion of the normal waking consciousness or slightly altered states of consciousness, such as sleep, with insights from a superconscious domain (Assagioli, 1965). In other words, one may experience intuition. In unfolding one's potential as part of a process of self-transformation, one may deliberately seek to develop one's intuition and to pay attention to the guidance that it provides. The point here is not to discourage the effort to seek to acquire knowledge that is superior to rational thought but to point out the danger of uncritically trusting the mental images that are assumed to be that knowledge. There is also a related danger in becoming dependent on guidance thereby relinquishing one's capacity for creativity and self-determination, both of which are constituent qualities of a whole human being (Barušs, 1996).

## Dissociation

There is a more explicit version of guidance that of channelling accompanied by trance. Channelling is the process by which a person believes herself to be acting as a channel for information from discarnate entities (Hanegraaff, 1996). And trance is the physiological and psychological state in

which a person finds herself in the course of channelling (cf. Lambek, 1989). Clearly the definition of trance is circular. The problem is that the physiological, cognitive, emotional and behavioural dimensions of trance are not well understood (Walsh, 1995). In some cases, behaviour during trance has been identified as possession (Pattison, Kahan & Hurd, 1986). On the other hand we could reconceptualise possession as dissociation. Someone who periodically manifests a constellation of behaviours, including her expressed self-identity, that is significantly different from her normal self, can be considered a candidate for Dissociative Identity Disorder (Kluft, 1996). Such reconceptualisation masks the real question: is the source of the channelled information external or internal (Barušs, 1996)? If we refrain from pathomorphism and set aside our preconceptions, that question has to be answered on a case by case basis. In many cases, the answer will remain unknown. And in many cases, it may be difficult to determine if the channelling is detrimental or beneficial to the person doing the channelling. However, to the extent that channelling is inauthentic, it may not be beneficial.

Some of the most enigmatic cases in altered states of consciousness are those of people claiming to have been abducted by aliens. Alien abduction experiences are characterized by "subjectively real memories of being taken secretly and/or against one's will by apparently non-human entities, usually to a location interpreted as an alien spacecraft . . . where individuals are subjected to complex physical and psychological procedures" (Appelle, Lynn & Newman, 2000, p. 254). The lifetime prevalence of alien abduction experiences has been estimated at between .04% and 2.00% of the population (Miller, 1994). In other words, the prevalence of alien abduction experiences appears to be of the same order of magnitude as the lifetime prevalence of schizophrenia. If that is true, why don't we see these cases? The answer is that no one in her right mind would admit to a mental health practitioner that she believes that she has been abducted by aliens.

Noting that those in their right mind would not report alien encounters leads to the observation that "assessment by both clinical examination and standardized tests has shown that, as a group, abduction experients are not different from the general population in terms of psychopathology prevalence" (Appelle, Lynn & Newman, 2000, p. 268). Experients do, however, often have various physical and psychological problems, such as post-traumatic stress disorder, that appear to follow upon alien abduction experiences. And they appear to have more adjustment problems, including an unusually high rate of reported suicide attempts (Appelle, Lynn & Newman, 2000). In addition to the failure to find psychopathology that could account for the abduction experience, Mack (1994) has given four additional arguments why abduction phenomena cannot be explained in psychiatric terms. First, reports from abductees in the United States who have had no contact with one another are nonetheless similar even with respect to details that have not been widely publicized. Second, there are physical signs associated with abduction experiences such as the physical absence of abductees during the time of abduction as reported by witnesses; "nosebleeds and various cuts, scoop marks, bruises and other complexly patterned skin lesions;" and implants found after abduction experiences, although none of these im-

plants has been proved to be of non-biological origin. Third, abduction accounts occur in children who are too young for the psychiatric syndromes that are assigned to abduction experients. Fourth, abduction experiences have often been associated with sightings of unidentified flying objects either by the experient or other witnesses. In spite of those arguments, are alien abduction accounts just products of an overactive imagination? Perhaps. However, abductees are not high on hypnotisability or fantasy proneness as one would expect if these narratives were fantasies that had become indistinguishable from reality Appelle, Lynn & Newman, 2000).

## Drug-Induced Phenomena

Clearly, psychotropic drugs can induce or affect altered states of consciousness. Sometimes the effects are clearly pathological. Such is the case with Substance-Induced Sleep Disorders, which can result from intoxication with drugs such as alcohol, amphetamines, caffeine, cocaine, opioids, sedatives or other substances (American Psychiatric Association, 1994). For example, fluoxetine, a bicyclic antidepressant that inhibits the reuptake of serotonin, has been found to interfere with sleep. In one study of patients with major depression being treated with fluoxetine, all 41 participants had increased eye movements relative to their premedication condition according to at least one measure of oculomotor activity, 33 had increased muscle tension, and 14 had both increased eye movements and muscle tension in all sleep stages. Other studies have shown that these effects appear not to remit with termination of drug use indicating that fluoxetine may have long-term effects on the central nervous system (Armitage, Trivedi & Rush, 1995). In the case of fluoxetine we have a treatment for psychopathology that itself produces psychopathology.

Other psychoactive drugs, notably some psychedelics, may have net beneficial effects. The purpose here is to discuss the neuropsychological effects of such drugs without regard for their legal status in different jurisdictions. In no way should what is said here be construed as endorsement for the use of illegal drugs. Not only is illegal drug use illegal, but potentially dangerous to the user, given that she is unlikely to know exactly what it is that she is ingesting. For example, the drug 4-methoxyamphetamine "has often been passed off as the love drug MDA [methylenedioxyamphetamine], though it is ten times more powerful and has killed many of its users" (Lavigne, 1999, p. 373).

An example of the beneficial effects of psychedelics was observed in what has become the most famous experiment in the psychology of religion, the Good Friday experiment. On April 20, 1962, ten divinity students were each given 30 milligrams of the psychedelic psilocybin before a Good Friday service. In evaluations done immediately after the drug experience and at six month and 24 to 27 year follow-ups, the investigators found that the experiences of the participants had had genuinely mystical features and that these experiences had been evaluated by the participants as having been important to their spiritual lives (Pahnke, 1963; Doblin, 1991). For example, Mike Young has said that he had found that "religious ideas that were interesting intellectually before . . . [were now] connected to something much deeper than belief and theory" (quoted in Malmgren, 1994, p. 1F). According to Young, direct

personal experience had allowed him to validate his religious ideas. While psychedelic experiences appear to have not had nearly the impact that some drug-free transcendent experiences can have (Smith & Tart, 1998), they have, in some situations, promoted exceptional well-being.

## Criteria for Pathology

Where does this leave us? How can we recognize psychopathology of altered states of consciousness? Shedding the problem of pathomorphism, our task becomes a difficult one. The unusual nature of a person's experiences is not proof of aberrance so that a mental health practitioner must listen with care to a client's account without restrictive preconceptions. Degree of adjustment is also not a reliable indicator of psychopathology since adjustment could be impaired even though the underlying processes are ones leading to eventual exceptional well-being as discussed, for example, with regard to religious or spiritual problems. Problems encountered in altered states of consciousness may be progressive rather than regressive so that traditional diagnostic categories and treatment strategies are inapplicable. Perhaps the concept of psychopathology is not a useful one for experiences in altered states of consciousness and, rather than trying to apply the schemata of pathology and health, a mental health practitioner can simply assist a client to develop in constructive directions irrespective of the nature of the experiences themselves. This requires a good understanding of the varieties of human experiences in altered states of consciousness and the development of a keen sense of discrimination.

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# Dissociation, Hostility, Resentment and Intolerance in Relation to Familial and Political Abuse

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To examine the sequelae of familial and political abuse as experienced within the totalitarian regime of the former Soviet Union, a sample of Latvians were asked to complete a series of questionnaires regarding experiences of abuse, psychological symptoms of dissociation, anger, hostility, and attitudes of intolerance. Results show that a large percentage report experience of abuse, and that mean scores regarding dissociation and anger are significantly elevated in comparison with studies from Hungary, the Netherlands and the United States. Correlational analysis indicates that experience of emotional, physical and/or sexual abuse is related to dissociation, anger and hostility. Further, the resentment subscale of the hostility measure correlates most directly with ethnic intolerance. Somewhat unexpected is the finding that the experience of political abuse itself (without additional familial abuse) does not correlate with any of these psychological symptoms or attitudes of intolerance.

To date there has been a relative paucity of research regarding the psychological sequelae of the extensive, totalitarian Soviet system, which reigned for a great part of the past century in the vast geographical expanse covering large areas of Asia and Europe. Among the exceptions is a study, which examined levels of psychological symptoms in Hungary in comparison to levels of symptomatology in the Netherlands (Vanderlinden et al., 1996). This particular study explored levels of dissociative symptoms reported via the Dissociation Questionnaire (DIS-Q), a self-report questionnaire developed in the Netherlands. Results of the study showed that the Hungarian subject group obtained a significantly higher total mean score than the Netherlands sample (1.7 vs. 1.5 total mean score), and a greater percentage of Hungarians had severe dissociative symptoms (10.6% vs. 2%). Of particular interest were the authors' concluding statements, indicating possible links between the higher dissociation scores in Hungary and the recent experience of Soviet rule. Authors of the study posed this question: "Were dissociative phenomena more often used in this (Hungarian) culture as a way to escape from or cope with the consequences of the former communist regime?"

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There seem to be several possible reasons to postulate potentially higher levels of dissociative symptoms in former Soviet countries. The concept of psychological dissociation concerns the lack of adequate integration of emotionally arousing experience into the memory system. Dissociation is a disruption in normal integration of thoughts, emotions, memory, identity, experience (Ross, 1996). These unintegrated aspects of experience then become split off and are inaccessible to voluntary conscious control, yet continue unconsciously to influence current perceptions, affects, states and behaviour (Van der Kolk, 1995).

In regard to the previous Soviet system, one reason to hypothesize higher levels of dissociative symptoms would be that many of the citizens of this totalitarian state experienced direct trauma as the result of political arrest, deportation, interrogation. In addition, society at large experienced indirect trauma resulting from political *threats* of potential arrest and interrogation. Furthermore, the totalitarian Soviet system encouraged the phenomena of "double-think" (Karlsson, 1998), whereby individuals typically would speak quite differently in public as in private – thereby generating an apparent splitting between two persona, which might approximate various forms of dissociative phenomenology. In this same vein, Jānis Stradiņš, President of the Latvian Academy of Science and Professor of Chemistry, recalls that the Soviet system fostered "the problem of the dividing of the personality" (Šuvajevs, 2000).

## Dissociation in Historical Context

Dissociation as a psychological concept and diagnostic possibility is being discussed and used with increasing frequency in Europe. However, in many European countries, including the Baltics, it is still a relatively new construct among psychologists and psychiatrists. In the late 1800s dissociation was initially addressed in France by psychiatrist Pierre Janet and neurologist Jean-Martin Charcot at the Salapatiere hospital in Paris within the context of clinical treatment of hysteria (with symptoms such as numbing, dissociation, and possible paralysis). Janet published case studies of patients with dissociative symptoms, their behaviours and subsequent treatment by hypnosis (1894, cited in Van der Kolk, 1995). Janet emphasized that the unintegrated aspects of traumatic experience may return as physical sensations, horrific images, nightmares, and behavioural enactments, and that hypnosis enables the patient to reexperience these frightening past events, and thereby to integrate these memories into existing "meaning schemes".

Dissociation was subsequently investigated by Sigmund Freud, who from 1885 – 1886 lived in Paris and observed the work of Charcot and Janet. In 1893 Freud wrote that in order to understand hysteria one must "assume the presence of dissociation, a splitting of the content of consciousness," and that the "hysterical attack is the recurrence of a psychical state which the patient had experienced earlier" (Freud & Breuer, 1893, cited in Van der Kolk, 1995). Freud and Breuer initially posited that the hysterical phenomena had traumatic experience origin.

Dissociation as a clinical concept was affected negatively as the conceptualizations of Freud underwent dramatic changes during the next several years. First, in 1895 Freud introduced the concept of "repression", which he considered an "active

mechanism" that serves to repress the traumatic memories. In this initial departure from Janet's conceptualization, Freud still adhered to the aetiology of a traumatic experience, but proposed that this experience is initially processed into the memory system and then "actively" repressed – in contrast to Janet's conceptualization that hysteria results because the trauma is from the start unintegrated into voluntarily accessible memory.

An even more critical turn, influencing clinical interpretations for many decades of the past century, was Freud's "about face" regarding the problem of childhood trauma. Initially, in 1895 Freud wrote that "sexuality seems to play a principal part in the pathogenesis of hysteria as a source of psychical traumas and as a motive for defense" (Freud, 1895, cited in Bernheimer & Kahane, 1985). In 1896, Freud's clinical experience as a psychoanalyst led him to specify that children are the victims of adult sexual molestations, and that among the perpetrators of the abuse are nursemaids, governesses, brothers, uncles and fathers. Then occurred a sequence of decisive events. Freud's "seduction theory" was rejected by his Viennese colleagues, and subsequent to his father's death in October of 1896, Freud began to develop his own hysterical symptoms – phobias, depression, anxiety, mood swings, obsessive ideas regarding death, as well as psychosomatic disturbances such as migraines and nasal difficulties. However, Freud was unwilling to link his own hysterical symptoms to childhood trauma – he "refused to see Jacob Freud as a child molester" (Van der Kolk, 1995).

Freud's theoretical constructs were significantly altered in light of his personal experience. Following a dream in May of 1897 where he himself displayed "over tenderly feelings" toward his eldest daughter - Freud soon abandoned the "seduction theory" and in its place posited the theory of infant sexuality. Thereby, beginning in the late 1890s Freud asserted that his patients were actively repressing memories of conflictual, forbidden, instinctual wishes. Hysterical symptoms, according to Freud, were due to the patients' repudiation of their own forbidden, sexual desires. Although Freud, later in his writings, acknowledged that there are, in fact, instances of actual childhood trauma, the emphasis upon repressed, forbidden, instinctual desires remained prominent among many clinicians in Europe and North America for decades. Also, contributing to the neglect of the dissociation concept by clinicians during the past century was Bleuleur's introduction of the term "schizophrenia" ("split mind disorder") in 1924. Consequently, in subsequent years patients suffering from dissociative symptoms were either defined as hysterics and psychoanalytically treated for sexual fantasies, or they were diagnosed as schizophrenics and provided with biomedical treatment (Ross, 1996).

A renewal of awareness of dissociation has taken place during the past several decades. A major factor contributing to the acknowledgement of dissociative symptoms has been the acknowledgement of actual childhood trauma. Beginning in 1962 in North America with the publication of *The Battered Child Syndrome* by C. Henry Kempe, there has been increasing awareness and study of child abuse - its occurrence, treatment and prevention approaches. Subsequent to the acknowledgement of the prevalence of child abuse, numerous studies have examined its sequelae – including documentation of the prevalence of

dissociative symptoms and dis-orders. Also, contributing to the awareness and acknowledgement of dissociation were clinical documentations of the symptoms seen in American soldiers returning from the Vietnam War – with particular focus upon Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), emphasizing that trauma can have long – term psychopathological consequences (Ross, 1996).

## Dissociative Continuum from Normal to Pathological

Most important in terms of the present study, is the acknowledgement that dissociative phenomenology can be conceptualized along a continuum, ranging from those experiences which are common among many individuals within the "normal population", to those experiences which are disruptive of normal functioning and pathological (Ross, 1996). Among the experiences of "normal dissociation" are daydreaming, absorption while reading a book or listening to music, and entering a semi-trance state while driving. More disturbing and dysfunctional forms of dissociation include amnesia regarding personal experiences. The most severe forms of dissociation are Dissociative Identity Disturbance (DID), which refers to the situation of multiple personality, whereby the individual experiences two or more distinct identities or personality states which recurrently take control of his or her behaviour.

The phenomenology of dissociation includes three major aspects. The first is absorption, which is the intense focusing of attention upon select aspects of one's surroundings and/or the ability to become "lost" in a particular task such as reading a book. The second aspect is amnesia, not remembering, particularly the not remembering of personal experiences and events. The third aspect is depersonalization/derealization, or the feeling that one's surrounding are unreal and/or that one's own body or self is unreal – i.e. "not experiencing aspects of one's self as real" (Ray, 1996). For example, in a depersonalized state an individual might become engaged in the process of cutting slashes in his or her arm, yet not experiencing themselves as being the agent of the cutting. In cases of actual DID there will be, in addition, internal "voices" commanding the person to cut, and probable amnesia for the specifics of the event afterwards.

These aspects of dissociative experience have become the basis for several measures of dissociation, the most widely used of which in North America is the Dissociative Experiences Scale (DES) (Bernstein and Putnam, 1986). Several epidemiological studies in North America have used this self-report measure and found that one-fourth of the 1055 respondents indicated that they experience dissociative phenomena at least 20% of the time (Ross et al., 1989). The researchers have concluded that dissociative experiences are common in the general population, but only1% of the population suffers from the most serious form, Dissociative Identity Disorder.

## Dissociation and Experience of Abuse

Numerous studies have shown a relationship between dissociative symptoms and experiences of trauma, especially childhood trauma. In one of the initial studies of 100 cases of DID surveyed by the National Institute of Mental Health, Washington, D.C., 97% reported serious childhood trauma, the

most commonly reported of which was incest (Putnam, 1989). In a subsequent study of 737 college students (Ray, 1995), it was found that there is an overall positive relationship (r = .38) between all forms of childhood abuse (sexual, physical and emotional) and dissociative tendencies. In terms of specific types of abuse, the strongest relationship was found between dissociative symptoms and childhood trauma of neglect (r = .34), for example, with alcoholic or frequently fighting parents. Results of the study also indicated significant correlations between dissociative symptoms and depression, anxiety and somatic complaints.

Ray (1996) addressed the occurrence of multiple symptomatology and proposed that "the time is ripe to return to the original question of Janet as to constitutional predispositions of certain individuals to stress and dissociative tendencies" (Ray, 1996, p. 64). In other words, he suggested that people react individually and differentially to experiences of trauma and stress, and the specifics of the reactive symptomatology depend at least partially upon constitutional predispositions. Recent studies in neurobiology have also provided indications of neurological substrates of dissociative phenomena. These studies implicate the role of stress in the activation of central noradrenergic and serotonergic systems, which then interfere with thalamic transduction of sensory information. Further, it has been found that stress modulates glutamatergic neurons, which, in turn, affect the higher cognitive functions (Boon and Draijer, 1993) and integration of memory (Krystal, et al, 1996).

Interest in the acknowledgement and study of the construct of dissociation has been increasing in Europe as well. The strongest activity originated with clinicians and researchers in the Netherlands and Belgium, beginning with a series of workshops in the early 1980s by specialists from the United States (Vanderlinden, et al., 1995). In 1989 the self-report questionnaire DES was translated to Dutch (Ensink & Van Otterloo, 1989), and the results of this study indicated that 36% of women who were sexually abused in childhood reported high levels of dissociative symptoms, as high as clinical patients diagnosed with DID. The study showed particularly high levels of dissociation in cases of multiple childhood trauma, young age at the onset of the sexual abuse, and physical aggression in addition to sexual abuse. In a subsequent study of diagnosed DID patients, 94% reported a history of physical and/or sexual abuse (Boon and Draijer, 1993). Subsequently, dissociative symptoms have also been studied in Switzerland, Italy, Spain, England, and other European countries.

## Sociocultural Context of Latvia

In regard to the present study, a major question concerns what is the relationship between the specifics of the sociocultural context of Latvia and dissociative tendencies and symptoms to be found within the Latvian population. There is no reason to doubt the existence of emotional physical and/or sexual abuse in childhood and/or adulthood in Latvia, as has been evidenced in several previous studies which were conducted within the Department of Psychology, University of Latvia by faculty members and doctoral and master's level students (Bite, 1998; Majore, 1998; Sebre, 1998; Sprugevica, 1999). These same studies which have looked at incidence of abuse, have also shown positive correlations between abuse occurring during childhood or adulthood

and various symptoms such as depression, anxiety and anger, confirming the interrelationships between abuse and symptomatology found in other countries (Briere & Runtz, 1989; Friedrich, 1990).

The present state of affairs within the psychiatric community of Latvia is such, that there is an interest and growing awareness of the concept of dissociation, especially as it is presented in the psychiatric diagnostic manual ICD –10. However, an informal survey of experienced psychiatrists and clinical psychologists in Latvia has indicated that a diagnosis of dissociative disturbance is still very rarely applied by psychiatrists, although clinical psychologists, in working with clients who have experienced serious childhood trauma, will fairly regularly note dissociative symptoms. This same informal survey indicated that among those psychiatrists and psychologists interviewed no one could recall a single case of diagnosed multiple personality disorder in Latvia. Some of the clinicians interviewed believe that there may be individuals in Latvia who suffer from this extreme form of dissociation, but that it is diagnosed and treated as schizophrenia. An alternative explanation, in light previous research indicating differences in expression of dissociation in different cultures (Kirmayer, 1994; Lewis-Fernandez, 1994), is that perhaps the sociocultural expectations in Latvia are such that patients suffering from extreme trauma will develop more "socially acceptable" symptoms such as depression, neurosis or psychosomatic illness. These patients may manifest dissociative features, but not a total splitting of the personality into clearly definable, separate identities.

What is clearly known and documented is that many individuals from Latvia *have* suffered from politically-motivated abuse: for example, those 14,000 who were deported to Siberia June 14, 1941; the 21,000 who were deported more sporadically during the period 1940 – 41; the 43,000 who were deported March 25, 1949 (Kotts, 1999). In addition, during the entire period from 1940 – 1941, and again from 1945 – 1953 (until the death of Stalin) people were often the targets of interrogation, frequently followed by arrest and interment. Although many died in Siberia, a significant percentage returned, and, as a result, there are many individuals in Latvia still living today who have experienced this political trauma directly or who have suffered because of the deportation or arrest of some close relative. Of significance is that even those individuals who did not experience such traumatic experience themselves or within their families, the *threat* of such possibility was evident to everyone, including those who were working within the Soviet security system.

## "Divided Personality" in the Soviet Context

As an indirect consequence of the physical brutality, those living within the Soviet system (especially during the Stalinist period) were constantly aware of the possibility of the physical upheaval, and thereby were living in a constant psychological state of anticipation. This awareness of the possibility of undesirable consequences subsequently led to what Professor Jānis Stradiņš (Šuvajevs, 2000) referred to as the "dividing of the personality", or what Czech psychoanalyst Michael Šebek refers to as the syndrome of the "false self" (in analogy to the "false self" described by Winnicott, 1971). Consequently, citizens within the Soviet sphere

would often think and speak quite differently in public than within the confines of their home and/or internal, private world. Of note is that this phenomenon has been rarely documented on a formal basis, but is still remembered in the form of anecdotes and folk expressions, such as reference to the radish which is "red on the outside, and white on the inside". However, occasionally one can find scattered comments in journal interviews or semi-fictional literature regarding this phenomenon. For example, Latvian author Pauls Bankovskis expressed this notion of deceiving appearances in his recent novel *Padomju sieviete*. In commenting upon the realities of the Soviet system, Bankovskis writes: "Nina's suspicion became affirmed - that nothing is *real* and no one is what they appear to be." (Bankovskis, 2000, p. 54). In a similar vein Ukrainian psychiatrist Mokhovikov has stated: "Because the totalitarian society created a climate of mistrust, people are disinclined to reveal their private feelings" (Mokhovikov, 1998, p. 15).

One must recognize, of course, that a discrepancy between the public and private self is an aspect of normal phenomenological experience in most contemporary societies (Tedeschi, 1986). Not only does one speak and behave differently in the public space, but also "one's sense of self is altered" in the public space in contrast to the private (Modell, 1993, p. 12). However, it seems most significant to differentiate those phenomena of public-private discrepancies which are motivated by relatively benign societal demands, in contrast to those public-private discrepancies which are motivated by actual physical threats. In terms of the present study it is relevant to consider the possible relationship between this public-private persona splitting, and the "double consciousness" which is recognized as an aspect of dissociation.

Specific to the experience of having lived within a totalitarian regime, psychoanalyst Šebek speaks of an internalization of the "totalitarian object". In drawing a parallel with the psychoanalytic formulation of a young child internalizing the values and mores of their paternal "objects", Šebek suggests that those living within the totalitarian Soviet sphere were apt to internalize the values and mores of the "totalitarian objects" which they encountered in the surrounding social milieu – not only parents, but also teachers, military officers, Communist Party leaders and others. Šebek draws a parallel between the "totalitarian object" and the "authoritarian personality", a construct originally conceptualized as an attempt to provide some understanding of the World War II atrocities (Adorno et al., 1950). Both "totalitarian objects" and "authoritarian personalities" are recognizable by their use of power to force one into compliance, the displacement of hostility onto less powerful others, and the intolerance of those who are different.

From a similar psychoanalytic perspective, Canadian psychiatrist John Salvendy speaks of the "history of authoritarianism" in Central Europe and the historical effects of frequent war engendering feelings of humiliation and helplessness, thereby further creating distrust and hostility (Salvendy, 1999). In addition to these historical factors, both Šebek and Salvendy note the psychological influence of parents. Šebek mentions the original research on the "authoritarian personality", which indicated that authoritarian men and women more frequently experienced punitive,

harsh, even abusive discipline from their parents (Adorno et al., 1950). Salvendy emphasizes that authoritarian inclinations and prejudiced dispositions are "rooted in a childhood deprived of positive human attachment" (Salvendy, 2000, p. 149). This lack of positive parental involvement, including possible physical abuse, leaves the child with a "shaky self confidence". This uncomfortable feeling of powerlessness or "narcissistic injury" is then defended against with reaction formation (or internalization of the "totalitarian object" as suggested by Šebek) resulting in a "pathological grandiose self". The "authoritarian personality" will subsequently project his or her own negative, unwanted feelings unto others, thereby making the targeted other (individual or group) as the "bad object" upon whom one can direct one's aggression and feelings of intolerance.

In order to examine more specifically the possible psychological sequelae of having lived within the totalitarian Soviet regime, in regard to this study it was decided to begin by looking a levels of dissociative symptomatology, using the same dissociation measure as in Hungary and the Netherlands. The dissociation scores would then be compared to the more typically studied experience of familial abuse – emotional, physical or sexual – and to less frequently studied experience of political abuse – for example, the arrest, interrogation, deportation of oneself or one's relatives. Also looked at would be symptoms of anger and attitudes of hostility and intolerance, theoretically assumed to be possible consequences of abuse.

The specific questions to be addressed in this study are as follows: 1. What is the level of dissociative symptomatology in Latvia compared to the levels found in Hungary and the Netherlands?; 2. What is the relationship between dissociative symptomatology and the experience of familial abuse (emotional, physical, sexual) and political abuse?; 3. What is the relationship between abuse, dissociation, anger, hostility and intolerance?

## Methods

*Participants*

Following a similar method of data collection as in the Hungary study, psychology students from the University of Latvia were asked to distribute and collect the questionnaires. Both bachelor's and master's program students participated in the data collection, and several master's students used this information as a part of their master's thesis (Gerharde, 2000; Kaminska, 2000; Pukina, 2000) Students were advised as to which sex and age group to collect data. In total 424 questionnaire packets were collected, and from these a representative sample of 386 respondents were chosen so as to approximate representative distribution regarding age, sex and socioeconomic status. The sample was limited to respondents of the Latvian ethnic group so as to control for ethnicity. The respondents ranged in age from 16 – 80 years (mean age = 37,8); educational level ranged from high-school student to university graduates, with 10% high-school students; 37% having a secondary diploma as their highest degree; and 52% with university diploma or unfinished university studies. The respondents live in various regions of Latvia: 54% are living in the capital city of Riga; 26% in other cities/towns; and 19% in the rural areas. Of the respondents 54% are women and 46% are men.

*Questionnaire packet*

The questionnaire packet contained the following questionnaires: DIS-Q (Vanderlinden, 1993); Trauma Symptom Inventory (Briere, 1995); an adaptation of the Conflict Tactics Scale (Strauss, 1998); The Aggression Questionnaire, Hostility Subscale (Buss & Perry, 1992); intolerance questions from the Euro-Barometer Study (Reif & Melich, 1991); and a specially developed Political Abuse Scale.

*The DIS-Q* is a dissociation questionnaire developed by Vanderlinden and colleagues (Vanderlinden, et al., 1993) in the Netherlands. It is based in part upon the DES (Bernstein & Putnam, 1986) and other questionnaires from North America, but includes additional questions so as to be more appropriate for the specifics of the sociocultural context of Europe. The DIS-Q includes 63 items, marked on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 ("not at all") to 5 ("extremely"), with four subscales: identity confusion-fragmentation; loss of control; amnesia; and absorption.

*The Trauma Symptom Inventory* (Briere, 1995) is a 100-item questionnaire designed to measure various clusters of symptoms, including the following subscales: Anger, Anxiety, Depression, Dissociation, Post Traumatic Stress (PTSD).

*Conflict Tactics Scale.* Emotional, physical and sexual abuse were measured by an adapted and expanded version of the Conflict Tactics Scale, originally developed in 1979 but recently modified by the author (Strauss, 1998), and further modified by the authors of this study. The measure consisted of 11 items concerning emotional abuse (i.e. "criticised me"; "made me feel like a bad person"); 10 items concerning physical abuse (i.e. "threw something at me"; "hit me or tried to hit me with something"); and 4 items of sexual abuse (i.e. "touched your body in a sexual manner against your wishes"; "forced you into an act of sexual intercourse (oral, anal or vaginal)"). All items were marked on a 5-point Likert scale from "never" to "always".

*Political Abuse Scale.* Political Abuse was measured with 10 specially constructed questions dealing with previous experience of politically-motivated abuse - such as deportation, imprisonment, interrogation, torture or other violations of human rights. Respondents were asked if they themselves or any close relative of theirs had suffered any of the above mentioned forms of abuse and under what circumstances.

*The Aggression Questionnaire: Hostility (Intolerance) Subscale.* The Aggression Questionnaire (Buss & Perry, 1992) is marked on a 5-point Likert scale and contains four subscales: Physical Aggression, Verbal Aggression, Anger and Hostility. In this study the Hostility Subscale was used as a measure of Hostility/Intolerance. This subscale includes items of "Resentment" ("I am sometimes eaten up with jealousy") and "Suspicion" ("I am suspicious of overly friendly strangers"), which are similar to the items of the Tolerance/ Intolerance Subscale of the California Personality Inventory.

*Ethnic Intolerance.* Questions designed to measure degrees of ethnic intolerance were derived in part from the 1988 Euro-Barometer Survey (Reif & Melich, 1991), with items taken from the blatant and subtle prejudice scales, including statements such as "It would be unpleasant for me if a close friend or relative married someone from a different ethnic group"; and "I would not object if my boss was of a diffe-

rent ethnicity". The six ethnic intolerance items were rated on a 5-point Likert scale. Ethnic pride was measured by four items consisting of statements such as "I am proud of my ethnic belonging" and "My ethnic belonging is important to me".

## Results

The first part of the data analysis included a comparison of mean scores from all four subscales and the total score of the DIS-Q between the samples from Latvia, Hungary and the Netherlands is shown in Figure 1. As seen in the figure, the results from the Latvia study indicate significantly higher mean scores on the total DIS-Q score ($p < .01$), and on most of the subscales. Of particular note are the differences in the final mean score in Latvia at 1.85, Hungary 1.7, and in the Netherlands at 1.5. Also, of particularly elevated in Latvia are the Loss of Control subscale mean scores: Latvia 2.1, Hungary 1.9, and the Netherlands, 1.7. Similar to the results from the study in Hungary, the respondent group in Latvia evidenced a significantly greater percentage of scores above the clinically significant cut- off mean score of 2,50, indicating serious dissociative disturbances. In the Latvia sample there were 7.3% such cases, in contrast to 2% in the Dutch population. However, the sample in Hungary showed an even greater percentage of scores > 2.50 - 10.6% of the total respondent group.

Substantial levels of familial and political abuse were reported by the vast majority of respondents, as shown in Figure 2, with little difference in the levels of abuse reported by males and females. Only 19% of males and 23% of females reported no experience of familial or political abuse during childhood or adulthood. Both males and females reported similarly high levels of emotional abuse. Emotional abuse from parents experienced during child-

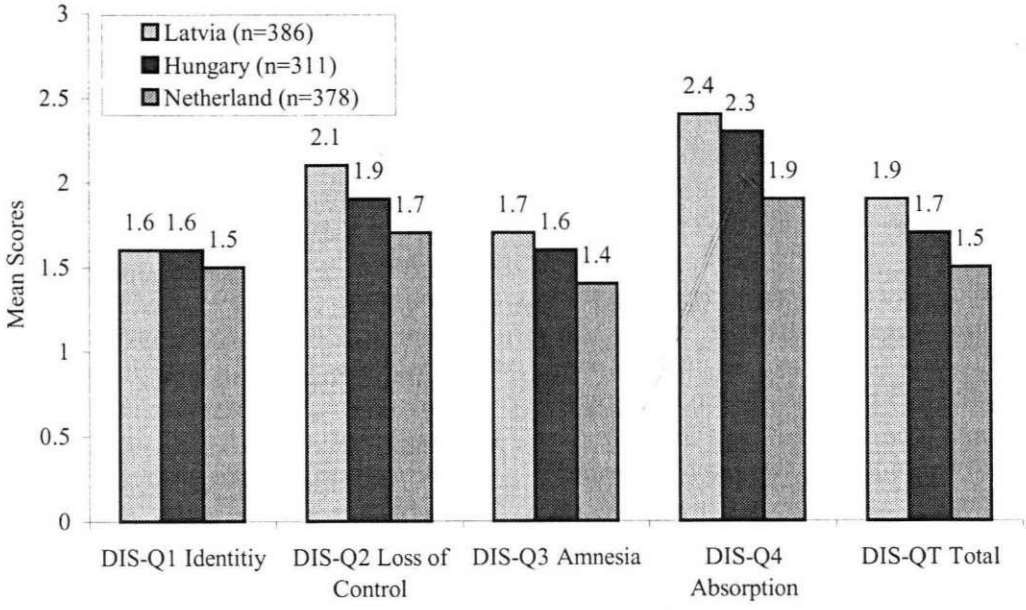


Figure 1. **Comparison of DIS-Q Latvia, Hungary and Netherlands**

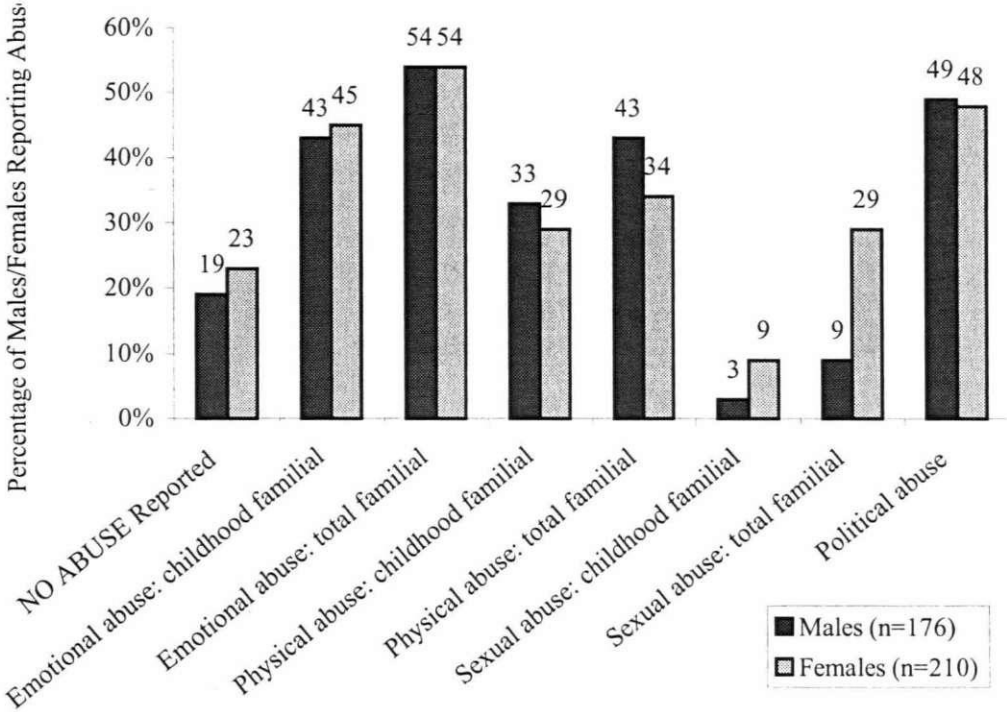


Figure 2. **Level of Experienced Familial and Political Abuse: Males/Females**

hood was reported at a rate of 43% for males and 45% for females; during either childhood or adulthood was reported by 54% of both males and females. Physical abuse from parents experienced during childhood was reported at a rate of 33% for males and 29% for females: during either childhood or adulthood was reported by 43% of males and 34% of females. Sexual abuse within the family context was reported at particularly low levels: 0 % of the males reported familial abuse during childhood, and 2 % of females reported such familial childhood sexual abuse. In regard to familial sexual abuse during either childhood or adulthood, acknowledgement of such trauma was 3% for males and 9% for females. However, when asked about sexual abuse in general, including both familial and extra-familial situation in either childhood or adulthood, 9% of males and 29% of females reported such experience.

A comparison of the Anger, Dissociation, Anxiety and Depression mean scores from the Trauma Symptom Inventory, as seen in Figure 3., indicates a substantial elevation of the psychological symptoms in the Latvia sample population as compared to standardization study results from the United States.

The next stage of the analysis involved a comparison of the relationship between different forms of abuse and the various symptomatologies, especially the relationships abuse and dissociative symptoms and anger. Initial correlational analysis (Pearson r) showed significant correlations between all three measured forms of familial abuse and the symptoms of dissociation,

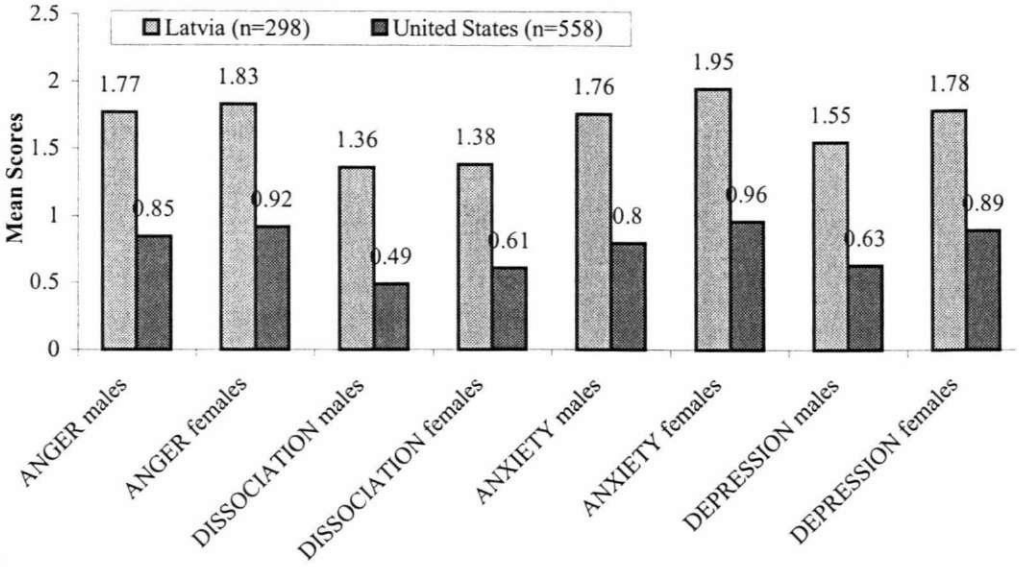


Figure 3. **Comparison of Trauma Symptom Inventory Scores: Latvia/ United States (Adults: ages 18 – 54)**

as also shown on the left-hand side of Figure 4. Emotional abuse (within the family) correlates with dissociation, DIS-Q, at r = .316, with anger at r = .374, with anxiety at r = .271 and depression at r = .399 (all correlations are significant at p <.01). Physical abuse (within the family) correlates with dissociation, DIS-Q, at r = .269, with anger at r = .272, with anxiety at r = .203 and depression at r = .259 (all correlations are significant at p <.01). Sexual abuse (familial and extra-familial) correlates with dissociation, DIS-Q, at r = .180, with anger at r = .157, and also with anxiety at r = .138 and depression at r = .214 (all correlations are significant at p <.01). However, there was no correlation found between political abuse and either dissociation, anger, anxiety or depression. A low level of correlation was found between experience of political abuse and post traumatic stress symptoms, at r = .114. Also of note is that there were no significant correlations found between political abuse and the various forms of familial abuse.

In order to examine more specifically the relationship between the different forms of abuse and dissociation, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) comparison was made between the mean DISS-Q total of all respondents reporting a specific form of abuse vs. those respondents not reporting this form of abuse (i.e., those reporting emotional abuse vs. those not reporting emotional abuse). Almost equally high were the mean scores of those reporting emotional or physical abuse, at 1.92 (SD .44) for those who reported the experience of familial childhood emotional abuse, and 1.90 (SD .43) for those who reported familial childhood physical abuse All of the emotional and physical abuse scores were significantly different (at p < .001 and p < .01) from those not reporting this form of abuse.

In terms of the aims of this study, to look

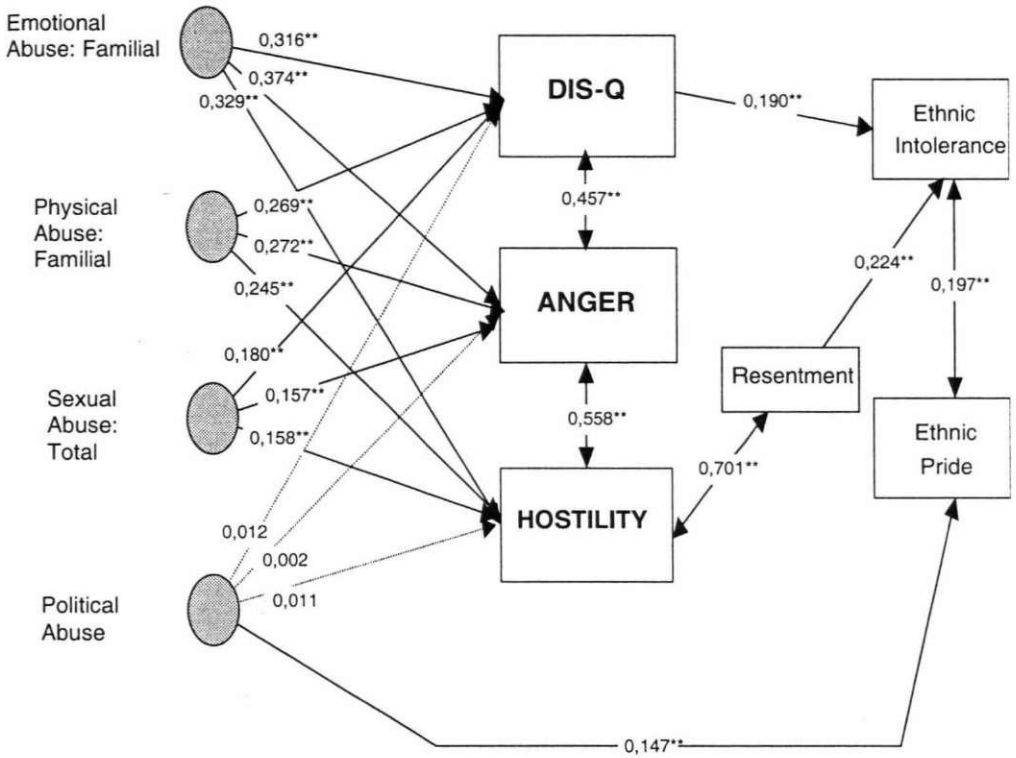


Figure 4. **Correlations between measures of abuse, dissociation, anger, hostility intolerance, ethnic intolerance and ethnic pride (**p< .01)**

at the forms of abuse in relationship to the issue of tolerance vs. intolerance, it is most meaningful to note the interrelationships regarding ethnic intolerance, as shown in Figure 4. As is seen in the figure, the direct correlations with ethnic intolerance are via the Resentment items of the Hostility Subscale ($r = .224$, $p < .01$), and via the DIS – Q ($r = .190$, $p < .01$). Neither of the emotional, physical nor sexual abuse scores correlate significantly in direct relationship with the ethnic intolerance scores, nor did the political abuse scores correlate with ethnic intolerance. A significant correlation was found between experience of political abuse and ethnic pride ($r = .147$, $p < .01$).

## Discussion

The results provide evidence that within a sample population of Latvians there is a significantly elevated level of dissociative tendencies, as measured by the DISS-Q dissociation questionnaire, in comparison with the mean scores from studies in Hungary and the Netherlands (Vanderlinden et al., 1996). The results also show that within this Latvian sample population a large percentage have suffered from emotional, sexual, physical and/or politically-motivated abuse, with only 19% of males and 23% of females indicating that they have not suffered from familial or political abuse. Results further show that not only dissociation scores are elevated, but also the mean

scores of other psychological symptoms – depression, anxiety and anger -- are significantly higher than the mean scores found in a standardization sample in the United States. Intercorrelations indicate that experience of emotional, physical and/or sexual abuse is significantly associated with the symptoms of dissociation, depression, anxiety, anger, and with hostility/intolerance. The experience of political abuse shows no direct relationships with these symptoms and attitudes. Ethnic intolerance does not correlate directly with any of the forms of abuse, but rather with the Resentment items of Hostility/Intolerance measure.

In order to attempt a more in-depth understanding of the processes underlying the relationships found within this questionnaire study, a subgroup of respondents were interviewed. Results from the qualitative analysis of the interviews will be discussed elsewhere in the future, but at the present time several illustrative aspects will be mentioned. In particular, the interview with Vizma (names have been changed for purposes of anonymity) provides some insight into the nature of the relationship between the experienced abuse and the dissociative symptomatology. In general, the most highly endorsed dissociation items were concerning "Loss of Control" - "I wish I had more control of myself"; "It happens that I get angry without wanting to be at all"; and "It happens that I do something without thinking about it". Vizma, age 30, was also among those respondents who endorsed these items highly, and also among those who reported familial experience of emotional abuse.

In response to a direct question regarding the possible effect of the Soviet system upon her experience of "loss of control" Vizma responded: "Yes, the Soviet system instilled the feeling that one is always being followed and externally controlled – but at the same time this external control has become internalized – what I am allowed to say *here*, and what I am allowed to say *there*. In school especially the feeling was instilled that one is always being controlled". This feeling of being controlled was linked to an instilled feeling of fear, of existential uncertainty – but not directly as fear of the Soviet KGB, but as a more general fear of one's existence. In particular Vizma remembers that in second grade the class was told about the atom bombs which the Americans would throw: " I was *terribly* afraid of the atom bombs – and this fear was increased by the war movies which were constantly being show on television".

Vizma also evidenced an elevated score on the "Identity Confusion – Identity Fragmentation" subscale of the DISS-Q. This subscale is concerned with issues of depersonalization and derealization – issues that are apparent in Vizma's narration of her childhood experience. Vizma speaks of how already as a schoolgirl the feelings of unreality permeated her experience: "Those articles which we had to read about the Party Congresses – it all seemed so *unreal*. And that which they taught us in school concerning 1940 and 1941 – something is *not real* – just this feeling". Simultaneously, the messages, which Vizma encountered within the family environment, felt just as unreal. Her family was among the many with virtually no discussion about previous historical times of Latvia's independence - Vizma did not even know what the Latvian flag looked like until almost the time of the "national awakening" in the late 1980s. Occasionally, Vizma would listen to her grandmother who made passing comments about the "Svarc Café" and ot-

her symbols of well-to-do during the previous period of Latvia's independence. However, her grandmother was already ageing and for Vizma these comments as well had the feeling of unreality: "My grandmother would mention something – some kind of Svarc Café – but in general it seemed unreal and I did not believe what she was saying". More experientially real for Vizma was her own fantasy life. For example, at the age of 12 or 13 Vizma drew up plans for an utopian city and designed all aspects of this independent city, including its flag and hymn. However, that which was so experientially real for Vizma also soon became totally unreal in that she literally threw away the utopian plans, fearing that someone would come into the family's apartment, find the plans and punish her. Again, the feeling of "loss of control" over one's own life and one's own actions.

In considering the narration of Vizma one must also consider her experience of emotional abuse, specifically from her mother. Not only were her parents both professionals "working all the time", but even when present there was apparently little emotional comfort -"I don't have memories of my mother being loving toward me". This experience of lack of emotional closeness from one's mother can be analyzed in relation to the general context of the Soviet system. As is reported in several studies of the woman's role within the Soviet structure (du Plessix Gray, 1989), Soviet women were constantly struggling with the ideological two-fold messages coming from above. On the one hand, women were encouraged to fit the ideal of the "strong Soviet woman" for whom no task is too difficult, especially when it comes to building a new world of Communism. On the other hand, these ideological messages fluctuated and to lesser or greater degrees the Soviet woman was also encouraged to be a "good mother" – but with the emphasis upon raising greater numbers of good Soviet citizens, rather than providing love and emotional nurturance (Atwood, 1990). As a result, women in Latvia have also stated that because they were "too busy building Communism" there was little time to provide appropriate emotional care for their children. Further, one might also look to a broader sociohistorical context, and note that the situation of Latvian women has historically been such that she has traditionally worked heavily. As evidenced from Latvian folk songs, the child's cradle was hung from a tree branch and emotional nurturance was received from the singing birds ("kam tu kāri šūpulīti, kur pogāja lakstīgala") – the child grew up to be a wonderful singer, but perhaps emotionally unfulfilled (Sebre, 1999).

In regard to the relationship between the phenomenological experience of "loss of control" and the experience of emotional childhood abuse, the theoretical perspectives of J. Bowlby (1989) and D. W. Winnicott (1971) are indicative. Both child psychoanalysts emphasize that the emotional love and care provided by the parents in early childhood are crucial in enabling the child to develop feelings of emotional security, a genuine sense of worth, and feelings of efficacy – feelings that one is "in control" of one's own body, one's own thoughts, feelings and actions. In contrast, without the consistent love and nurturance, without consistent empathy and "mirroring" from parents the young child is unable to develop an integrated sense of self – and in its place the child learns to assume a "false self" which is compliant and thereby most likely to attract at least

some minimal attention. In regard to Vizma, her experience of not receiving adequate emotional nurturance from her mother led to the feelings of emotional insecurity emphasized by Bowlby, and therefore, it appears that she became particularly vulnerable to her teacher's admonitions regarding the American atomic bombs – whereas an emotionally more secure child who probably not interpret these atomic bomb threats as directly and personally.

Results from the questionnaire study also provide support for the previously mentioned theoretical position regarding the effects of emotional abuse upon the development of "narcissitic injury" (Sebek, 1998; Salvendy, 2000) and subsequent defensive internalization of the "totalitarian object". In this theoretical schema the individual becomes subsequently submissive to greater authority, but agressively manipulative of those in less powerful positions, and intolerant of those who are different – having displaced the undesireable aspects of oneself onto the "other". The results from this study support this schema in that emotional abuse is related to the measures of anger, hostility/intolerance and ethnic intolerance. In particular, high scores on the "resentment" items were related most strongly to those aspects of emotional abuse involving indirect expression of the parents' anger – walking away from the child and/or saying things to spite the child, thereby expressing their emotions in a passive-aggressive manner. In an earlier review of Soviet parental child-rearing practices (Bronfenbrenner, 1970) precisely this method of walking away from and not speaking to a disobedient child was highlighted as a disciplinary method of choice by certain Soviet specialists.

An final issue to be addressed is regarding the lack of significant correlation between reported experience of political abuse and psychological symptoms. Some of those who suffered politically-motivated trauma do evidence psychological symptoms – but there is an equal number who do not show (or admit) symptomatology. In seeking an explanation, one must consider the specifics of the respondents who were included in this study. Specialists working at the Occupation Museum of Latvia commented that those individuals capable of completing a packet of questionnaires are by definition a relatively healthy group – and that there is another group of victims who are presently not even capable of completing such a questionnaires packet because of trauma effects and old age. A third group of victims have already died. Further, many of those political victims who did complete the questionnaires apparently have developed quite specific coping mechanisms and psychological defences which have allowed them to survive the physically and psychologically harsh conditions in Siberia, and which attests to their psychological resilience.

In conclusion, implications of this study are that it is most necessary to continue addressing the issues of parent-child relationships – abusive relationships and positive alternatives - within contemporary Latvian society, so as to minimize possible effects of intergenerational repetition of abuse, and to foster the repitition of positive attachment which increases healthy psychological resilience. As is widely recognized, an awareness of one's own past is essential in order to not replicate the negative, but to foster the positive (Egeland & Susman-Stilman, 1996).

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# Development of an Academic Base for Public Health Research and Practice in Latvia

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In this paper we describe ten years of experience with the development of public health in Latvia. We contrast public health during Soviet times with the principles and approaches used in the West. We then, describe three initiatives in public health that we have undertaken that provide Latvia with an academic base for the development of research capacity and professional training in the public health disciplines.

For all nations, the physical and mental health of the population is of great importance because a healthy population is a prerequisite for national development. As stated by the World Health Organization (WHO) the main social target of all nations should be the attainment by all people of a level of health that permits them to lead a socially and economically productive life (World Health Organization, 1986).

Countries concerned about the health of their population monitor the state of health of their population, take measures to prevent disease and promote health, and attempt to provide the best possible health care for those with health problems. For purposes of monitoring health, nations develop health information systems that include statistics on mortality, morbidity (e.g., chronic impairments, disabilities), incidence of communicable and noncommunicable diseases (e.g., AIDS, occupational diseases, cancer), or natality (e.g., infant birth weight). Health promotion and disease prevention measures may include health maintenance procedures such as immunizations, breast self-examination, or regular dental check-ups. They also include programs to influence people to adopt health promoting lifestyle habits with respect to nutrition, avoidance of injury, physical activity, and avoidance of tobacco, alcohol, and drugs. To provide the best possible health care, nations typically examine information related to the use of the health care system including the types of health problems treated and cost of service procedures. All of these issues lie within the broad field of "public health", a field that draws on medicine and other health disciplines such as epidemiology, biostatistics, health administration, occupational and environmental health, medical sociology, health psychology, health education, and health promotion.

The Soviet Union prided itself on the health care it provided to its citizens. All health planning and care and the development and implementation of health policy

were the exclusive domain of physicians who received traditional illness-oriented medical training within faculties or institutes of medicine. The very high doctor patient ratio and free medical care to all was held up as proof that the system was functioning well and that population health indicators were on par with those of other nations. Public health as a field of study with specialists trained specifically in its underlying disciplines did not exist. Little, if any, attention was paid to lifestyle issues. Even in the schools, health education about lifestyle health behaviours was not taught.

The development of public health as a field was precluded by several interrelated factors. First, the collection and analysis of health data that are central to public health was forbidden as part of the general secrecy surrounding the collection and publication of information. Second, there was no tradition of survey research that collected health information directly from the population. Thus, information about health status and personal lifestyles at a population level was unavailable. Health statistics provided by institutions were considered suspect. Third, the lack of public data bases on health, coupled secrecy and the scarcity of personal computers and user friendly statistical software, made it difficult for anyone to conduct research in public health that could have highlighted areas of concern.

Following independence in 1991, it quickly became evident that in Latvia, as in the other Soviet Republics, the health of the general population was not good in comparison to Western Europe or North America. Analyses by UNICEF showed that life expectancy at birth for men in 1991 was 63.8 years and for women was 74.8. Maternal mortality in 1991 was 24.0 per 100,000 live births (UNICEF International Child Development Centre, 1995). The main causes of death in 1990 were the same as in most European countries; that is, cardiovascular disease, cancer and external causes particularly from motor vehicle injuries. These causes of mortality are partly associated with personal lifestyle behaviour. Given this situation, the period after the declaration of independence was marked by an active reaching out to the West to assess needs and develop models for health reform. This involved the acceptance of new ideas about the meaning of health. Namely, that health is more than health care for people with health problems. As defined by the WHO Ottawa Charter, health is a resource for everyday life, not the objective of living. It is a positive concept emphasizing social and personal resources, as well as physical capacities. Health promotion is the process of enabling people to increase control over, and to improve their health. To reach a complete physical, mental and social well being, an individual or a group must be able to identify and realize aspirations, to satisfy needs, and to cope with the environment (WHO, 1986).

In addition, the WHO Ottawa Charter frames health around principles of social justice and equity, acknowledges the relationship between social inequality and health, as well as the important role that social participation and empowerment play in fostering conditions for health. Health is recognized as a fundamental human right based on prerequisites such as shelter, peace, a stable ecosystem, education, food, income and sustainable resources. Based on these principles, the WHO Ottawa Charter outlines five key action areas as guiding principles of health promotion strategies. These are: creating supportive environments, building healthy public policy, strengthening commu-

nity action, developing personal skills, and reorienting health services to include health promotion. These five action areas provide a strategic plan for addressing health at multiple levels.

The principles, of the WHO Ottawa Charter represent a sharp departure from the tradition disease and treatment orientation that prevailed in Soviet times. The ideas of public participation, intersectoral collaboration, and the sharing and discussion of health information were completely foreign to the central planning structures and the importance attached to secrecy around health statistics. Thus, the development of public health involved a considerable change in attitudes and the adoption of new practices.

In this paper we describe three initiatives that have been undertaken to develop public health in Latvia according to current definitions of health and health promotion as described above. These initiatives include building a data base for a public health approach health, training teachers to implement public health in the school setting, and most recently, developing a collaborative graduate program in public health leading to a Masters degree. Each of these initiatives has contributed substantially to the establishment of public health research and practice in Latvia.

## Building a Data Base for a Public Health Approach to Health

As already mentioned, a key element to public health approaches to promoting health is the identification of risk behaviours and the social and personal factors that support such behaviours. An opportunity to begin the development of an understanding of health behaviour in Latvia occurred in 1989 when the first author leaned about the existence of an international project that had the potential to open the door to collaboration with colleagues in Latvia. This project, known as the Health Behaviour of School-Age Children: A WHO Cross-National Study (HBSC) was an international child and adolescent health survey first initiated in 1982 as a pilot project involving researchers in England, Finland and Norway. Shortly after it was adopted by the WHO as a collaborative study (Aaro, Wold, Kannas & Rimpela, 1986). In the winter of 1983-1984 the first survey was conducted in the three original countries as well as in Austria. In 1985-1986, eleven countries participated. In 1989-1990, the number rose to 15 countries and in 1993-1994 it further increased to twenty-six. On the initiative of the first author, Latvia joined the study in 1989, the only Soviet republic to do so.

The major objectives of this international effort are first to increase understanding of the extent of, and factors associated with, health risk behaviour among children and adolescents within the social contexts of their lives including family, school, and friends. Second, to contribute to the development of public health strategies and health promotion interventions that will reduce risk behaviours. Third, to build national and international capacity to conduct leading edge research on young people's health.

Despite the general ban on collecting and disseminating health information, Latvian researchers carried out the HBSC study in Latvia in November and December of 1990 and January of 1991. Participation in the study was not sanctioned by the WHO but was quietly carried out under the activities of the official WHO Collaborating Centre within the Ministry of Health of Latvia in collaboration with the University of Toronto. The principal investigator of the project

was the second author (I. Ranks), with the first author (I. Kalnins) acting as co-investigator.

The HBSC was the first ever health survey of young people in Latvia. Because of the lack of experience with health survey research, data collection was carried out in person. Teams of researchers including both authors and colleagues from Medicine and Dentistry travelled to eighty-one randomly selected schools throughout Latvia. In all, 3600 children, in grades six, eight and ten (11-12, 13-14, and 15-16 years of age respectively) were included. It was an exciting experience for both the researchers and the children. In particular, the children were amazed because they had never before participated in a health survey. The fact that it was an international one involving children in other countries was an added incentive to take the survey seriously. Subsequent to 1989, Latvia has participated in the HBSC surveys of 1993-1994, 1997-1998, and is now preparing to participate again in 2002-2003. In 1989-90 the survey was only administered in Latvian. In subsequent rounds of the survey it has been administered in both Latvian and Russian.

The survey includes questions about health status, symptoms of poor health, lifestyle health behaviours, family and peer relationships, and school. Each survey includes a set of core questions that remain unchanged from survey to survey so that key lifestyle behaviours can be monitored over time. As well, there are questions that probe in depth special topics such as school experiences, sexuality, socio-economic status, family relationships, violence, injuries, and nutrition. The special topics are developed by groups of researchers from the member countries who take a special interest in the topic.

In Latvia the HBSC has also been used as an opportunity to assess mental health. Through collaboration with Dr. Solveiga Miezitis, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto (OISE), and the Faculty of Education and Psychology at the University of Latvia, several psychological scales have been included such as the Children's Depression Inventory developed by Kovacs (Multi Health Systems Inc., 1992), MASC - Multi-Dimensional Anxiety Scale developed by Marsh (Multi Health Systems Inc., 1997) and the OISE Stress Questionnaire developed by Miezitis and Hood (unpublished). The opportunity to include these tests has provided an invaluable opportunity to standardize them for Latvia so that they can be used in psychological assessment.

Following each round of the survey, an international report is prepared which shows the relative position of the different countries on each of the health indicators included in the survey. Latvia was not included in the report of 1989/1990 because it joined the survey and collected the data six months after the other countries. However, it has been included in the subsequent reports (Currie, Hurrelman, Settertobulte, Smith & Todd, 2000; King, Wold, Tudor-Smith & Harel, 1996), thus providing the growing field of public health in Latvia with important data for determining the risk behaviours for which health promotion interventions are urgently needed.

HBSC findings about Latvia have been disseminated through national reports (Ranka, Glazunova, Platkaja, Pukse, Stare, Damberga &Kalnins, 1993; Ranka & Kalnins, 1999), the publication of articles in *Latvijas Ārsts* the journal of the Medical Association of Latvia (Ranka, Pukse, Ribalcenka, & Kalnina, 1993; Ranka, Miezitis, Kal-

nins & Ervika, 1996; Ranka, Pukse & Kalnins, 1997), as well as through international publications (Kalnins & Ranka, 1996; Kalnins, Ranka, Glazunova, Pukse, Stare, L. & Dambergs, P. 1995; Miezitis & Kalnins, 1995).

Participation in the HBSC has opened academic doors to Latvians to pursue training in public health. Latvian physicians have been fully funded by the Norwegian government to enroll in the graduate program in Health Promotion at the University of Bergen in Norway. Three have already graduated with a research M.Sc. degree. Papers and posters have been presented at national and international conferences and Riga was the venue for the 1998 HBSC meeting. HBSC data have also been used by students as the basis for their M.Sc. and Ph.D. thesis. To date two Masters theses have been completed in the Faculty of Education and Psychology at the University of Latvia, one M.A. and one Ph.D. have been completed at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto, and six Masters theses have been competed by students at the University of Maastricht, The Netherlands. The Dutch students have done their thesis research at the University of Toronto under the supervision of the first author. In the future, as capacity to supervise graduate students in the Medical Academy of Latvia increases, it is hoped that foreign students will be able to work on their research in Latvia.

In sum, the HBSC provides the single most important and comprehensive public health data base on children's and adolescent's health in Latvia. The data from 1989 reflect Latvia under Soviet rule, in 1993 they show the period shortly after independence, while the 1997 data chart developments during periods of intense change and reform. Thus, the data provide a solid base for academic study of how the very rapid economic, social and political transitions in Latvia have affected young people's health.

## Training Teachers to Implement Public Health in the School Setting

The second important development in public health in Latvia is the Health Promoting Schools project (HPS). This project is sponsored by the World Health Organization in conjunction with the Ministry of Education of Latvia. While neither of the authors of this paper played a leading role in its development, both have supported it actively.

During Soviet rule, the promotion of youth health in schools differed sharply from that in the West. In Soviet Latvia, school-based health promotion was provided from the perspective of a medical model that emphasized screening children for health problems that could hinder their physical growth and development. Each school had a physician or a nurse. There were regular physical activities such as dancing, sports or gymnastics conducted by physical education specialists. Attention was also paid to the school environment. Students were involved in the improvement of the physical environment of the school through activities such as cleaning the classrooms and the school grounds. The school cafeteria provided a hot meal for all students at lunchtime.

In contrast, in the West, health promotion in the schools has focused primarily on health education about lifestyle health behaviours necessary for healthy development. It includes instruction about nutrition, physical activity, use of tobacco, alcohol and drugs, safety and injuries, oral and personal hygiene, sexuality, and mental health including personal well-being and relationships

with others. These behaviours are important for healthy development during childhood and adolescence and they play a key role in the prevention of cardiovascular disease and cancer, the major cause of adult morbidity and mortality. Students learn about health promoting behaviours in special health education classes or as part of their learning of other subjects.

More recently, emphasis is placed on comprehensive school health models that seek to reinforce what is taught in the curriculum through involvement of parents and the community. These models are called comprehensive school health in North America or Health Promoting Schools in Europe.

The basic principles of the comprehensive school health approach are derived from the currently accepted definition of health promotion. The core idea is that the entire school environment must support student well-being and health. Support must be evident in three complementary contexts: the classroom curriculum, student-student and student-teacher relationships, and links with family and community including health services (see books by Allensworth, 1993; Allensworth, Lawson, Nicholson & Wyche, 1997; Colquhoun, Goltz & Sheehan, 1997; Marx & Wooley with Northrop, 1998 for a summary of principles, research, and illustrative case reports of health promoting schools programs). The classroom curriculum must include a coherent curriculum encompassing nutrition, physical activity, tobacco, alcohol and drug use, injuries, personal and dental hygiene, sexuality, and mental health. The school environment must be safe and stimulating, and actively promote opportunities which develop students' self-esteem and self-confidence and enable them to take initiatives, make choices, and exercise responsibility for their own and other's health. School administrative structures and rules must support good relationships among students, teachers and school staff. The school must operate on the principle of teachers sharing decision-making power with students so that students are full participants in democratic decision making about what happens in their school. Teachers must act as role models for students by adhering to school rules in the same way as they expect students to do. With respect to links with the family and community the HPS must develop good liaisons with other schools, parents/guardians, and the community and make effective use of outside agencies and specialist services to advise, and contribute of the promotion of student health.

To implement the principles of the Health Promoting Schools in Europe, WHO has developed an extensive network, The European Network of Health Promoting Schools (ENHPS) (ENHPS, 1993). A country wishing to join ENHPS has first to express its commitment to the WHO through the Ministry of Health and/or the Ministry of Education. A National Coordinator must be appointed and a National Support Centre created whose responsibility it is to train teachers to implement HPS principles. The school principal and teachers of each individual school must formally agree to become a HPS school. In return, WHO provides support through regular training sessions and conferences.

Following its proclamation of independence in 1991, Latvia joined the WHO European Network of Health Promoting Schools (ENHPS), thus committing itself to educational reform. It became a formal member in 1993 when both the Ministry of Welfare (Health) and the Ministry of Edu-

cation endorsed the project. The latter assumed chief responsibility for the project and appointed a national coordinator (Igors Puskarevs from 1992-1997). The National Support Centre was located in the Faculty of Education and Psychology in the University of Latvia. It carries out regular teacher training that helps teachers form a HPS team within their school and develop at least one project for change in the school to promote student health and well being.

A National Advisory Board was created whose membership included representatives from the WHO office in Latvia, Ministry of Education, the Health Promotion Centre of Latvia, the Faculty of Education and Psychology at the University of Latvia, as well as a representative from the schools involved in the projects.

In Latvia, the lack of experience with health promotion and the lack of trained health education teachers meant that the development of HPS was a major undertaking. The Latvian HPS project set the following specific goals for itself (Puskarevs & Golubeva, 1999):

- To train teachers in health education and health promotion.
- To train teachers in the use of interactive teaching methods.
- To work for the implementation of health education within the school curriculum.
- To engage students in health promotion projects that increases their skills in decision-making and raise self-esteem and competence.
- To change the decision making structure of the school to include students and democratic decision-making processes.
- To involve parents and the local community in youth-driven school health promotion projects.
- To disseminate and publicize HPS activities in Latvia.

HPS has spread rapidly in Latvia. From the initial 10 schools in 1993, 17 new schools were added in 1996. The intent is for each new school to receive training from the schools that already have experience with HPS ideas. Eventually, it is hoped that all schools in Latvia will embrace the HPS idea.

HPS schools in Latvia deserve a great deal of support because of their potential to influence student behaviour. Research shows that for both health and learning it is important the students perceive that the school environment is safe, stimulating, satisfying and enjoyable. Students who dislike school and have negative school experiences are more likely to start smoking and drinking earlier and more often than the students who like school (Battische & Hom, 1997; Nutbeam & Aaro, 1991; Nutbeam, Smith, Moore & Bauman, 1993). Students who dislike school are also likely to have poor dietary and exercise habits, and report more health complaints, lower self-esteem, and various mental health problems (Perry, et al., 1990). Key components of satisfaction with the school experience are student involvement in the school and good relationships with teachers (Cabello & Terrel, 1994; Fraser, Docker & Fisher, 1988; Kottkamp & Mulhern, 1987; Millstein, Petersen & Nightingale, 1993; Voelkl, 1995). Furthermore, schools are one of the few settings that include virtually all children. Children and adolescents spend almost a third of their day in school, thus, providing ample opportunity to socialize children into positive health attitudes and behaviours.

Both authors of this paper have been actively involved in the HPS. Through funding received by the first author, the national coordinator of HPS in Latvia spent a

four-month training period at the University of Toronto to plan the HPS program in Latvia and to collect resources for it. In Latvia, both authors have regularly participated in teacher training workshops. Topics presented have focused on public health related material including the principles of health promotion, HBSC data on the state of health of young people of Latvia, health promotion program design and evaluation, and grantsmanship. This participation has built bridges between health and education, thus expanding the academic base for public health in Latvia.

## Developing a Collaborative Masters Program in Public Health in the Medical Academy of Latvia

Subsequent to the HBSC and the HPS in Latvia, the development of further initiatives in public health was rapid. A Centre for Health Promotion was established with a mandate to produce and disseminate information to the public. A School of Public Health was founded as an autonomous institute located within the Medical Academy of Latvia but directly responsible to the Ministry of Welfare (formerly Ministry of Health). Its mandate is to provide training for a postgraduate diploma in public health. Students receive training that enables them to take leadership roles in health reforms that include regionalization of health care delivery, development of health insurance plans, and incorporation of public health curriculum into programs offered by health related faculties such as nursing or psychology. A few students also pursue a research thesis. Graduates will have a major impact on the reform of the health care system. Within the Faculty of Public Health in the Medical Academy of Latvia, an undergraduate program in public health has been established that will graduate its first students in 2001.

The point has now been reached that fundamental public health principles are understood and accepted. At present, the foundations of public health rest on individuals who have received their training abroad through short term-training courses or enrollment in Masters level programs in Universities outside of Latvia. Additionally, training is provided by foreign consultants.

This pattern of training has been useful in the short term because it has provided a quick means of introducing public health ideas and approaches into Latvia. However, to support further development of capacity in public health research and practice Latvia itself must be able to train its next generation of public health professionals. Thus, there is an urgent need to establish a graduate level academic training program within Latvia leading to internationally recognized M. Sc. and Ph. D. degrees in public health. At present none of the existing institutes, centres or schools have the capacity to mount such a graduate programs. To overcome this problem, we are, in our current project, focusing on the development of human resources and curriculum for a collaborative, interdisciplinary, Masters level training program in public health in the Medical Academy of Latvia. The focus of the program will be on theoretical and research training in the public health disciplines. Through funding received from the Baltic Initiatives Program in Canada, planning for the program has begun. Partners in this effort include the Medical Academy of Latvia (School of Public Health, Institute of Occupational and Environmental Health, Faculty of Population Health, and Faculty of Paediatrics) working in conjunction with the Department of Public Health Sciences, Uni-

versity of Toronto. The program mission statement, goals, objectives, and available resources have already been mapped. The program will be submitted for approval to the Senate of the Medical Academy of Latvia in time to be operational in the fall of 2001.

## Reflections and Future Prospects

It has been exciting to participate in the development of a new academic discipline in Latvia; one that can be expected to result in public health activities that will improve Latvia's position on key mortality and morbidity indicators.

Ongoing development will greatly depend on funding and the availability of human resources.

Funding for long-term development is always a problem. It must be pieced together from many sources, over many years. The initiatives described in this paper have been funded nationally and internationally from various sources. In Canada, they were made possible by a large grant from 1993-1995 from the Bureau of Assistance for Central and Eastern Europe, Ministry of External Affairs and International Trade. This grant enabled the establishment of the Canada/ Latvia Children's Health Promotion Network, a collaborative effort involving the University of Toronto, Department of Public Health Sciences, and The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, the Medical Academy of Latvia and the Faculty of Education and Psychology, University of Latvia. Funding for the Network was augmented by the Latvian Visitor's Fund in the Faculty of Medicine, University of Toronto that was established to receive contributions from the Latvian émigré community. For the development of the Masters program funding has been received from the Baltic Initiatives Program sponsored by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). In Latvia, institutional support has been received from the Medical Academy of Latvia, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Welfare, the Science Foundation, and numerous non-governmental organizations and private businesses.

At present human resources for the further development of the academic base of public health are scarce. There is a tremendous need for individuals with expertise in research. Currently, while Latvian colleagues are exemplary about collecting data, they have relatively circumscribed knowledge of the meaning of their work in a broader context and are limited in applying sophisticated analytic techniques to their data. Thus, broad expertise must be developed in research design, analytic techniques for both quantitative and qualitative data, scientific publishing, and critical analysis of the literature. To develop this expertise quickly without having to resort to sending just a few promising students overseas, Latvia must quickly develop its own accredited graduate programs. In this context, membership in various international research projects such as the HBSC is invaluable. These projects offer, numerous opportunities to learn about research and provide resources to do so.

Overall, the decade of collaboration has been enriching for all concerned. Our success has been built on the fact that we have committed ourselves to a long-term relationship. So far, the steep learning curve has been successfully negotiated and the future looks bright.

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# An Exploratory Study of the Structure-of-Intellect and Creativity in Four and Five Year Old Children

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The purpose of this study was to investigate the structure-of-intellect of four and five-year-old children, with particular focus on the identification of a divergent production factor. The House Game task was developed to measure divergent production and yielded two measures: verbal fluency and elaboration. A factor analytic study with 54 four-year-old and 185 five-year-old children identified a divergent production factor along with a convergent verbal and a convergent figural ability factor. The divergent production measures at four years of age correlated with teacher ratings of creative classroom behaviours thus providing construct validity for the House Game as a measure of expressive creativity in young children.

Half a century ago, Guilford (1950) in his address to the American Psychological Association brought renewed attention to the study of creativity among psychologists by offering a rationale and a framework for research in what he regarded as an important, yet neglected area of inquiry. Fifty years later, Sternberg (1999) has once again focused our attention on creativity research by bringing to our attention recent theoretical advances, as well as, methodological innovations in the recently published Handbook of Creativity. A wide ranging compilation of studies illustrates a variety of methodological approaches and paradigms that have been used in creativity research. In the concluding chapter of this remarkable opus, Mayer (1999) provides a concise analysis of the contributions and limitations of the various methodological approaches and the challenges for future researchers in this complex area of inquiry.

## Definitions and Conceptualization of Creativity

Creativity is an extremely compelling, and at the same time one of the most elusive constructs in psychological research. Controversy surrounds its definition and the selection of measurement criteria. Some of the key questions addressed by psychologists have been How to study creativity? How to differentiate Creativity from Intelligence? Which cognitive processes contribute to the expression of creativity in tangible products and how can we measure creativity? Which personality and motivational characteristics contribute to creativity and what is the role nature and nurture in its development? How do different so-

cial and cultural contexts influence the expression, recognition, and fostering of creativity? Researchers have attempted to answer these difficult questions through a variety of methodological approaches to the study of creativity.

Creativity has been defined in terms of person, process and product characteristics by various researchers, thus adding to the difficulty of drawing comparisons between the findings in this area of investigation. Taylor (1959) examined over one hundred definitions of creativity and attempted to provide a classification system by postulating five levels of creativity. The first level in Taylor's scheme is *expressive creativity*. At this level the degree of skill and the quality and originality of the product are considered relatively unimportant. For example, play behaviour of very young children can be regarded as a manifestation of expressive creativity since spontaneity and freedom of expression are viewed as prerequisites to the further development of creativity. Expressive creativity subsumes behaviours that are exhibited by young children as well as adults. The next level, *productive creativity*, involves the development and use of skills for creating a product. The product is considered creative if an individual reaches a new level of personal accomplishment. Productive creativity applies to children as well as adults. The third level in this hierarchy is *inventive creativity*. It requires a display of ingenuity, which usually involves flexibility in perceiving new and unusual relationships between previously separate parts and results in new uses of known parts. The next level is *innovative creativity*. It requires the ability to foresee improvements through modifications. Innovative creativity is displayed by individuals who have sufficient grasp of basic principles to enable conceptualisation and abstraction. The fifth and highest level is *emergentive creativity*. It involves the conception of an entirely new fundamental principle, such as Einstein's theory of relativity.

The researchers whose work is reviewed in Sternberg's Handbook of Creativity apply criteria of novelty and originality as well as appropriateness, usefulness or social value in their definition of creativity in studies of persons, processes and products. While some researchers, for example Cropley (1967,1992), regard creativity as a personal phenomenon involving the production of something new and useful by the research participant, other theorists, for example Csikzentmihalyi (1999), view creativity as a social phenomenon and apply the use of the term to the production of something new and useful in the social or cultural context. Furthermore, creativity can be viewed as a common occurrence or as a rare event associated with a very small group of unique individuals. Tests of creativity, for example, are based on the assumption that creativity is domain-general and involves abilities that can be found to some degree in all people. Other researchers regard creativity as a domain-specific phenomenon, which requires highly specific abilities for unique, original contributions in the arts and sciences. Thus, creativity can be studied from a quantitative perspective as measurable variation among individuals on one or more factors or as a qualitatively unique event, or characteristic.

## Research Approaches and Paradigms Used in the Study of Creativity

Creativity is a highly complex phenomenon, which has challenged researchers to

devise various methodological approaches for its study. Mayer (1999), in a systematic review of creativity studies, has identified six major research approaches: the psychometric, experimental, biographical, biological, computational, and contextual. Each of these six approaches can be used within several research paradigms. Mayer reports three commonly found paradigms applied to the study of creativity. These include describing the nature of creativity, comparing creative with non-creative people or processes, and relating creativity and other personal or environmental factors. Each type of research methodology has specific applications, as well as, advantages and drawbacks. Although each approach has contributed to our understanding of the creative person or process, two of these approaches, the biographical and the psychometric, are of particular interest because they involve very different assumptions about the nature of creativity.

Historically, biographical methodologies, which are based on the analysis of case studies of creative people, date back to Galton. Biographical studies provide the richest and most complete documentation of the individual persons, products, and processes. However, this research approach tends to be undervalued by experimental psychologists because unique individual life history data do not meet the positivistic criteria for scientific inquiry. Furthermore, biographical studies can be very time intensive and costly. On the other hand, biographical and life history studies allow the qualitative researcher to capture the uniqueness and authenticity of the creative person and to contextualize the process of creativity in its particular social and cultural milieu. Biographical studies carried out within the qualitative research paradigm probably hold the greatest promise for increasing our understanding of creativity in all its complexity and generating hypotheses which can later be tested on data collected within experimental and psychometric research frameworks.

The psychometric approach is of interest because it has generated the greatest number of studies in the area of creativity research (Mayer, 1999). Researchers who opt for a psychometric investigation view creativity as a measurable mental characteristic or trait. Psychometric studies were spearheaded by Guilford who operationalized creativity as a set of measurable ability factors. Guilford (1967) presented a theoretical framework, the Structure-of-Intellect model of intelligence, which challenged researchers to identify and confirm various hypothetical factors of intellect and to differentiate factors associated with creative problem solving abilities from those associated with other mental activities. Guilford's model formed the theoretical basis for the psychometric measurement movement, which led to the development of various tests of creativity, including the Torrance Tests of Creative Thinking (Torrance, 1974). The Torrance tests have been extensively used to study creativity with school-age populations.

The psychometric approach has been used at all age levels by researchers in their attempts to measure and track the characteristics associated with creativity. Hundreds of studies have used tests of creativity to describe and compare various populations, to predict and to study the development of creativity in different contexts, and to relate creative abilities to personality traits and other characteristics. Critics point out, however, that the vast amount of psychometric research has provided nar-

rowly focused limited insights into the complexity of human creativity. Despite its limitations, the psychometric approach has broadened our understanding of the construct of creativity and has expended the study of creativity from the rarefied sphere of Nobel Prize winning geniuses, to the common realm of "everyday creativity".

## Research on Creativity and Intelligence: the Structure-of-Intellect Model

Guilford's (1967) Structure-of-Intellect is a three dimensional model of mental abilities which includes abilities for predicting creative potential. Within this model, each mental ability can be classified in three ways, according to the operation performed, the type of content involved, and the complexity of the product. Operations include five major groups of intellectual abilities: cognition, memory, convergent production, divergent production, and evaluation. Cognition refers to awareness, rediscovery, or recognition of information and is basic to comprehension or understanding. Memory pertains to the retention and retrieval of information. Evaluation is involved in the reaching of decisions or making judgments concerning the adequacy or appropriateness of information according to certain criteria. Convergent and divergent production refer to the generation of information from given information. Whereas in convergent production the emphasis is upon achieving conventionally correct or best solutions to a problem, the emphases in divergent production tasks require quantity, and variety of alternative solutions.

Examples of the types of abilities included in the divergent production category are ideational fluency - the ability to call up many different ideas; spontaneous flexibility - the ability to produce a diversity of ideas; expressional fluency- facility in producing organized continuous discourse; originality - the ability to produce uncommon or clever responses or remote associations; and elaboration - the ability to supply details that contribute to the development of an idea or the variations of an idea. Each of these operations can hypothetically be applied to each of the four content areas: the figural, symbolic, semantic, and behavioural and yield one of six types of products including units, classes, relations, systems, transformations, and implications. Guilford proposed that divergent production, which involves a broad search for information and the generation of many alternative answers or solutions to an open-ended question or problem is related to the process of creativity. He contrasted this type of mental processing with convergent production that requires a single correct answer and resembles more closely conventional intelligence test tasks.

Over a period of two decades, Guilford (1975) created numerous tests and identified a large number of factors involved in creative problem solving. Torrance (1974) adapted some of the Guilford tests and developed others for use with school-age children. A number of studies using the Torrance Tests of Creative Thinking indicate that divergent production tests measure abilities, which have a low correlation with traditional intelligence test scores and correlate with several other indices of creativity (Torrance, 1975).

## Research on the Differentiation of Mental Abilities in Young Children

Several factorial studies of mental abilities have been conducted with preschool age children. Two types of factorial studies have been reported in the literature. The first type involves extracting factors from existing test data on measures of "general intelligence", such as Binet sub-scores; the second type involves designing specific tests to identify hypothesized factors. Several studies have demonstrated that more than a general factor is required to describe the abilities sampled by general tests of intelligence have estab lished several types of independent ability factors. For example, a study by Meyers and Dingman (1960) lists seven factors including verbal comprehension, verbal fluency, perceptual speed, psychomotor ability, figural reasoning, and memory for verbal and figural content with five-to-six year old children. McCartin and Meyers (1966) reported a study of verbal abilities within the Structure-of-Intellect model with six-years old children. They identified two divergent production ability factors: the production of semantic units, measured by a variety of words or ideas; represented by richness of expression. Several other studies have demonstrated further differentiation in verbal abilities by identifying verbal fluency, expressive and receptive language facility and verbal reasoning ability factors.

## Early Identification of Creative Potential in Young Children

There are many compelling reasons to promote the early identification of creative abilities in children before they enter grade 1. Research studies (Torrance, 1962) indicate that there is a sharp decline in creative self-expression around five years of age as children move from the freer play-based preschool context into the more structured formal classroom context. Preschool teachers appear to be more aware and interested in the creative abilities of young children and thus could play an important role in helping to identify and foster divergent thinking in their classrooms. It is important to alert parents and teachers to the fact that creative children are vulnerable and need support to nurture and guide their unusual talent towards useful and potentially creative applications in school and out-of-school interests and activities. Thus, early identification of divergent talent could serve to prevent the risk for discouragement, underachievement, or even early school failure for children who might become resistive because their creative abilities do not fit well with school expectations for conformity and performance on routine tasks.

Early identification of creative potential requires a conceptualization of creativity that includes abilities and motivational characteristics reflected in the behaviours of young children. Rogers (1954), postulated spontaneity and freedom of expression as a basis for creativity, as well as, persistence on the task, a strong inner conviction that can result in nonconformity, and self-confidence. Starkweather (1964) identified freedom to use conforming and non-conforming behaviour, willingness to try the difficult, preference for the novel, and freedom of expression as important indicators of creativity in preschool children. Starkweather assessed children's freedom of expression in a play situation with simple toys. She classified the play responses in terms of sensory exploration and manipulation of play materials, construction with toys, combination of several toys in play, as well as, games and dramatic play. Torrance (1962) describes creativity in kin-

dergarten children in terms of exploration of one's environment by feeling, smelling, touching; experimenting and using materials in new ways; self-expression through song, dance, and dramatic play; curiosity and interest in the new; inquisitiveness and task perseverance. Lieberman (1965) has established a significant relationship between divergent production measures and teacher ratings on five aspects of playfulness in five-to-six year old children attending a private kindergarten in New York City. These studies suggest that observable classroom behaviours are useful indicators for teacher evaluation of creativity in young children and could thus be used to establish the construct validity of divergent production measures for predicting creativity.

## An Exploratory Study of Structure-of-Intellect and Divergent Production in Four and Five Year Old Children

Torrance's (1962) work suggested the possibility for identifying creative talent in kindergarten. This research was of particular interest to me because I was involved in a longitudinal study of intellectual development and school achievement in children from three to twelve years of age. Guilford's Structure-of-Intellect model provided a framework for the factor analytic studies of the differentiation of mental abilities and suggested a methodological approach for the early identification of creative abilities.

## Purpose of the study

The purpose of the present study was to investigate the differentiation of ability factors derived from Guilford's Structure-of Intellect model, with particular focus on the identification of a divergent production factor as separate from general intelligence in preschool-age children. The measurement of divergent production in young children appears to succeed best in relaxed play situations that allow for spontaneity of expression (Wallach and Kogan, 1959). Extensive experimentation with several measurement approaches for children from four to six years of age resulted in the development of the House Game. The House Game involves the building of a house from blocks, and the decoration of the house with colourful pieces of felt in different sizes and shapes that can be used to create various objects (Miezitis, 1968). This task yields measures of verbal and figural divergent production abilities for young children and has face validity as a measure of expressive creativity. The House Game was included along with traditional measures of intelligence and reading readiness in an empirical investigation of:

- the factorial structure of divergent production with children at four and five-to-six years of age;
- the relationship between divergent production measures and traditional intelligence tests at the two age levels;
- the predictive validity of divergent production for grade 1 reading achievement;
- the relationship between divergent production measures and teacher ratings of "creative behaviours".

## Method

The exploratory study of divergent production in young children involved two groups of children.

The younger group included 54 four-year old children from middle and upper middle class backgrounds who were attending a private school in Toronto. These children were participating in a school-based longitudinal study, and were all tested within a month of their fourth birthday on the following measures: the House Game, the Stanford-Binet, the Leiter International Performance Scale, the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test, and the Frostig Perceptual Development Test. Their mean IQ on the Stanford-Binet at four years of age was 123 with a standard deviation of 10.7. In the second term of the school year, two teachers filled out a 23 item Creative Behaviour check list (Miezitis, 1968) of observable classroom behaviours associated with curiosity, exploration, creativity, task persistence, and goal directedness.

The kindergarten group included 185 pupils, 93 boys and 92 girls ages five to six from two elementary schools in a middle and upper middle class area in Toronto. The average IQ on four subtests (Information, Similarities, Vocabulary, and Block Design) of the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children was 111.8 with a standard deviation of 13.9. These children were tested on the House Game, the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children, the Goodenough Draw-a-Man test, and the Harrison-Stroud Reading Profiles at the end of the kindergarten year. Follow-up tests were administered at the end of Grade 1 to assess reading achievement. These included the Gates Primary Reading Test and the Dominion Achievement Test in Silent Reading.

## Results and Discussion for the Four Year Old Group

At the four year level three factors: convergent verbal production, convergent figural production, and divergent production were hypothesized and extracted by a principal component analysis (Table 1).

Table 1. **Results of a Principal Component Analysis of Four Tests for Four-Year Old Children**

| Test | Factor Loading | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Convergent figural factor | Convergent verbal factor | Divergent production factor |
| *House Game* | | | |
| House building task | .79 | | |
| Elaboration | | | .85 |
| Fluency | | | .84 |
| *Stanford-Binet Test* | .52 | .55 | |
| *Leiter International Performance Scale* | .78 | | |
| *Frostig Perceptual Development Test* | .62 | | |
| *Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test* | | .90 | |

The intercorrelation between the divergent production measures of fluency and elaboration derived from the House Game was .51. The correlations between the divergent production scores and the convergent production measures derived from the IQ tests ranged from .04 to .42. Statistically significant correlations in the .40 range were obtained between the divergent production scores on fluency and elaboration and the overall IQ score on the Stanford-Binet. The correlation between the Peabody IQ score, based on a measure of receptive vocabulary, and the fluency score on the House Game was near zero.

## Results and Discussion for the Kindergarten Group

At the five-to-six year level it was hypothesized that the correlations between the test scores would yield three ability factors, convergent figural and verbal production, and divergent production. In addition it was hypothesized that reading readiness subtest scores would load on a separate factor. The three ability factors were identified as predicted, but the reading subtests loaded on the convergent verbal and figural factors. The following ability factors were hypothesized and extracted from the test data of the five-to-six year old kindergarten pupils by principal component analysis (Table 2).

Table 2. **Results of a Principal Component Analysis of Four Tests for Five-to-Six Year Old Children**

| Test | Factor Loading | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Convergent figural factor | Convergent verbal factor | Divergent production factor |
| *WISC:* | | | |
| Block Design | .51 | | |
| Vocabulary | | .79 | |
| Information | | .72 | |
| Similarities | | .66 | |
| *House Game:* | | | |
| House building task | .43 | | |
| Elaboration | | | .76 |
| Fluency | | | .77 |
| *Harrison-Stroud:* | | | |
| Test 1 | .67 | | |
| Test 2a | .83 | | |
| Test 2b | .80 | | |
| Test 3 | | .41 | |
| Test 5 | | .60 | |
| *Goodenough Draw-a-Person Test* | .31 | .39 | |

The correlation coefficients between divergent production subtest scores and the WISC, the Goodenough, and the Harrison-Stroud ranged from .01 to .09. Thus one can conclude that at the five-to-six year level, the House Game test measures divergent production abilities that are independent of the convergent production abilities. This, however, is not the case for the four-year olds. Although it was possible to extract a divergent production factor at this age level, moderately high, statistically significant correlations were obtained between the divergent production measures and the Stanford-Binet IQ score. The Stanford-Binet includes a wide variety of verbal and non-verbal tasks including divergent production tasks, which may account for its loading on the convergent verbal and figural factor, as well as, the statistically significant correlations with divergent production measures in the four-year-old group. The subtests on the WISC, on the other hand, sample a narrower range of mental abilities restricted to the cognitive and convergent domains. One would, therefore, expect a lower correlation between divergent production measures with the WISC, than with the Stanford-Binet. It is also possible that divergent production abilities are not as clearly differentiated from convergent abilities measured by traditional IQ tests at four years of age.

The hypothesis that divergent production measures would increase the prediction of school achievement in Grade 1 pupils was not supported by this study. The hypothesis was derived from some of the earlier findings reported by Torrance (1962) which indicated that a more complete assessment of mental abilities, which includes divergent production measures, improves the prediction of reading achie-

vement in grades four to six. In this study, the Harison-Stroud Reading Readiness tests of visual and auditory discrimination were by far the best predictors of grade 1 reading achievement on the Gates Primary Reading Test and the Dominion Silent Reading Test. These results are not surprising in view of the fact that Grade 1 children are at the initial stages of mastering the mechanics of reading, whereas older children focus on comprehension and meaning making, tasks that are more likely to be enhanced by divergent thinking abilities.

Statistically significant correlations ranging between .32 and .36 were obtained between the divergent production measures of fluency, and elaboration and the teacher ratings of creative behaviours. These results provide evidence for the construct validity of divergent production measures and support the assumption that performance on divergent production tests is related to observable creative classroom behaviours in young children.

## Conclusion

This empirical factor analytic study of mental abilities with preschool age children demonstrates that a divergent production factor can be identified as separate from convergent verbal and figural ability factors early as four years of age. While divergent production appears to be unrelated to intelligence measures in five-to-six year olds, it has a statistically significant correlation with the Stanford-Binet in four-year-old children. Divergent production abilities were not found to predict Grade 1 reading, however, significant correlations between divergent production measures and Teacher ratings of Creative Classroom Behaviours provide construct validity for the House Test as a potential measure of creativity in young children.

## Implications for Education

Although the debate among researchers has not been resolved about the predictive validity of divergent production as a measure of creativity, and the relationship between the constructs of creativity and intelligence, Sternberg and O'Hara (1999) conclude from a recent review of creativity and intelligence that "the relation between creativity and intelligence is worth considering. The question is theoretically important, and its answer probably affects the lives of countless children and adults". I would venture to add that not only is the relation between creativity and intelligence of theoretical interest to cognitive and developmental psychologists, but that knowledge about the differentiation of mental abilities has important implications for educators. Better understanding of divergent and convergent learning styles could lead to better educational practices by helping teachers to recognize and acknowledge children's strengths and weaknesses and provide opportunities for the expression and further development of different abilities within the school curriculum.

From the point of view of prevention, psychologists can help to increase teacher awareness of the impact of different ability profiles on children's learning styles, school achievement and adjustment. For example, Torrance (1962) and Getzels and Jackson (1959) have reported that high performance on divergent production tasks, is associated with personality characteristics and attitudes reflecting greater openness to experience, risk taking, ability to toy with ideas, playfulness, humour, tendency to-

wards non-conformity, independence, idealism, strong commitment to personal values, intense dedication and perseverance in particular areas of interest, as well as, resistance to authority, dislike for routine tasks, and a general tendency to march to their own drum. Thus personality and behavioural correlates of high performance on divergent production tasks can be risk factors with potentially far reaching negative consequences for the lives of pupils whose divergent abilities do not find room for expression and recognition within the school system and who may, as a result, become alienated from school and seek alternative, and possibly even anti-social arenas for creative self-expression. The current proliferation of highly disruptive computer hacking is a dramatic example of socially undesirable and harmful application of creative abilities by young people seeking self-affirmation.

Even though there is widespread knowledge about differences in learning styles and the potential implications of such constructs as multiple intelligence for school learning popularised through the work of Gardner (1983,1993) and others, there is still considerable resistance on the part of educators to foster divergent thinking in school children. Research studies indicate that teachers tend to reward compliance and conformity, characteristics that are not generally compatible with the typical personality profile of highly creative children, and tend to restrict the choices of learning activities, sometimes as a disciplinary measure for non compliance or the display of unusual ideas and abilities. Creative children, for their part, value teachers who understand and support them, are open and inquisitive, inclined to experimentation, and versatile in their approaches to teaching and learning.

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# International Guidelines to Assist in Adapting Tests

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Professionals involved in adapting tests for use in other countries may benefit from knowledge of two professionally-approved documents: the International Test Commission's Technical Guidelines for Adapting Tests as well as the Standards for Educational and Psychological Testing. Information from these two documents is summarized. References are provided to assist those needing additional information.

The use of assessment methods and techniques is common to all profession, including psychology. Professionals are expected to objectively describe physical or personal qualities using measures that have well established reliability and validity. Within psychology, one or more courses in assessment typically are required for those who obtain an undergraduate degree. Additional courses and supervised practice typically are required for those who obtain advanced professional preparation in psychology. Psychologists who choose to become scholars also are expected to be knowledgeable of test development and use, given the importance of tests and other data collection methods to their scholarship activities.

Although growth within the discipline of psychology within Latvia and other Baltic nations generally paralleled that of many European and North American countries until the early 1940s, the period of Soviet domination severely curtailed its development both as a discipline and profession. The importance of individual differences and notions of meritocracy, qualities important to the use and thus the development of tests, diminished in importance to other values throughout all Soviet-dominated countries. Many of these countries now are devoting more effort to the development and use of standardized tests. In addition, many other countries that did not experience Soviet domination also lag in their test development and use.

## International Assessment Practices with Children and Youth

Many countries lack proper test resources. For example, a survey of test resources and practices available for children and youth in 44 countries identified 455 separate test titles used (Oakland & Hu, 1991, 1992; Oakland, 1995). Among them, 290 tests were developed domestically (i.e., in the country in which they were used) and 165

tests were imported. The 165 imported tests tended to be very popular, being cited 450 times within the survey. Among these tests, 39% measure intelligence, 24% measure personality, and 10% measure achievement. Approximately equal numbers of group and individually administered tests are available. Foreign developed tests typically are used more often than locally developed tests. The trend to use foreign-developed tests is especially evident in the Middle East and least developed nations. Respondents from the least developed nations, in contrast to those from industrialized nations, reported fewer available tests (e.g., some nations have no locally produced tests) and fewer normative and psychometric studies on those tests that are imported.

Information on the test's psychometric qualities often is lacking. For example, among the 268 measures of intelligence, studies of concurrent validity reportedly are available on 63%, predictive validity on 56%, and construct validity on 54%. The availability of information on reliability is similar. Among intelligence tests, studies of internal consistency are available on 59% and stability on 53% (Oakland & Hu, 1993).

The unavailability of national norms constitutes another common problem. For example, national norms reportedly are available on 36% of perceptual-motor tests, 58% of personality tests, 65% of intelligence tests, and 80% of achievement tests (Oakland & Hu, 1993).

Respondents to the survey reported the need for additional tests of achievement, intelligence and school readiness, vocational interest and aptitudes, personality, as well as social, perceptual, and motor development. The need for improved methods for assessing children who are learning disabled, slow learners, mentally retarded, gifted, emotionally or socially disturbed, physically impaired, blind, and deaf also was high.

## The Need For Guidance On How To Adapt Tests

As noted above, psychologists in countries that lack needed test resources often acquired copies of popular tests used in other (source) countries and translated them to the (target) country's language. Psychologists may or may not acquire a representative set of norms or conduct studies that examine the test's reliability and validity for various uses. These conditions, while expedient, deprived the recipients of information from receiving quality information. Decisions often were made on the basis of tests purported to be scientifically-grounded when in fact the tests were highly inadequate.

Recognizing these unsuitable conditions prevailed in various countries and that professional associations hold some responsibility for the provision of high quality service, the International Test Commission, under Ronald Hambleton's leadership, initiated a program that lead to the development of guidelines for adapting tests for use in other countries (Hambleton, 1994; Hambleton, Merenda, & Spielberger, 2001; Muniz & Hambleton, 1997; van de Vijver & Hambleton, 1996). An understanding and use of test adaptation guidelines may be facilitated by first discussing some important principles from the Standards for Educational and Psychological Testing as they provide a foundation for the understanding and use of the test adaptation guidelines. Moreover, as seen later, conside-

rable overlap exists between these two documents.

## Standards for Educational and Psychological Testing: Some Standards Relevant to Test Adaptations

*(hereafter referred to as the Standards)*

Two general standards underscored by the Standards have implications for test adaptations. Each is reviewed below.

*If a test is used in a way that has not been validated, it is incumbent on the user to justify the new use, and collect new evidence if necessary.* Those who use a test with persons who differ from those on whom it was validated are required to justify its use. Professionals who use tests have an obligation both to use logic and to gather data when addressing this issue. The justification should be based, in part, on evidence that the tests are comparable, especially in regard to the constructs they measure.

Can one justify a test French-developed in Latvia? While one may be inclined to say, "no", conditions exist that warrant a test developed in one country to be used elsewhere following a suitable linguistic translation. For example, the cross-cultural use of measures of height and weight and other physical qualities may be justified. Tests of infant and early childhood development, normed in the United States, were used successfully with young Palestinian children living in Gaza. In generally, tests that assess qualities more closely aligned to physical and neuropsychological qualities may be more transportable across countries than tests that assess more cultural-specific qualities (e.g., social expectations).

If the use of a test cannot be justified, two options remain: consider developing a new test, an option that often is less preferred to the option to adapt the test. Methods recommended for adapting tests are discussed below.

*Norms, if used, should refer to clearly described populations. These populations should include individuals or groups to whom test users will ordinarily wish to compare their own examinees.* As noted above, many tests are translated from one language to another. Further changes may not be made. The lack of proper norms may not be critical when test is interpreted on the basis of theory (e.g., the Rorschach Test), provided the test's theory is applicable to the population.

However, the lack of proper norms is more critical on tests that transform raw scores into standard scores based on the test's mean and standard deviation. The means and standard deviations should be derived from scores acquired from a controlgroup to be compared to test-takers. The comparison group typically is representative of the population. The norm group often is stratified to represent possible differences associated with one's gender, age, educational background (or other indices of socioeconomic status), and geographic regions in large countries.

## Two General Issues from the Standards: Bias and Fairness

Bias arises when deficiencies in a test itself or the manner in which a test is used result in different meanings for scores earned by members of different identifiable subgroups. For example, assume girls and boys exhibit mean score differences on a test. The differences may be due to construct irrelevance, response-related sources

of bias, or real differences.

Construct-irrelevance may be introduced by inappropriate sampling of test content, lack of clarity in test administration, and scoring criteria that fail to credit fully some correct answers. Problems associated with construct-irrelevance may be detected by judgmental methods in which experts who know the domain review the test's content, instructions, and other features. Problems also may be detected by statistical procedures, including item bias or differential item functioning (DIF). DIF exists when examinees of equal ability differ on average, according to their group membership, in their responses to a particular item. Investigations of possible predictive bias and confirmatory factor analysis also may be useful.

Response-related sources of bias occur when groups select responses for reasons other than those that are intended. Examples include selecting the longest option or the response they believe their supervisor prefers. Attempts to identify problems related to response-related sources generally rely on the same methods as those described in the above paragraph.

Group outcome differences may be due to qualities the test is designed to predict. For example, success in all real-world activities requires multiple qualities together with their interactions. Tests typically address only a few of the critical variables. Thus, bias arises when the data being considered when making decisions do not represent the breadth of qualities a test is attempting to predict.

Fairness is a broader principle and is defined by four principles in the Standards. First, fairness as a lack of bias. To be fair, a test should show no significant level of bias (see above).

Fairness is found when there is equitable treatment during the testing process. For example, all examinees should be given a comparable opportunity to demonstrate their standing on the constructs the test measures. Appropriate testing conditions are favoured when people have equal opportunity to become familiar with the test and are similarly familiarity with the test format, response systems, and practice materials.

Fairness is demonstrated when there is equality in outcomes of testing. That is, when used for selection, persons who all would perform equally well on the criterion measure (e.g., the job) if selected should have an equal chance of being chosen regardless of group membership. Fairness does not require mean scores or passing rates to be comparable across groups.

Fairness is found in comparable opportunities to learn. For example, when using tests of cognitive abilities (i.e., intelligence and achievement), persons should have been exposed to comparable opportunities to learn information being assessed.

The Standards devote considerable discussion to issues important to testing individuals with diverse languages and cultures. Languages and cultures issues are especially critical when a person's primary language differs from the language on which the test was developed or when the examiner's language abilities or cultural experiences differ considerably from those on which the test was standardized. Language and other culturally-related issues are becoming increasingly important and the problems are more common as national borders are erased and large numbers move to new lands. Language and cultural issues also are addressed by the ITC Guidelines.

## Test Adaptations: International Test Commission Guidelines for Adapting Tests

*(hereafter referred to the Guidelines)*

The Guidelines are intended to provide assistance to persons attempting to transform a test from one originally intended to be used with one population (the source) to one suitable for use with a different population (the target). Two examples include the transformation of a test originally developed in the United States to one revised for use in Latvia or transforming a test from one developed in Latvia to be used with native-born Latvians to one revised in Latvia to be used in Latvia with non-native-born Latvians. The Guidelines discuss cultural and language differences, identify five technical issues and methods, and describe three conditions that possibly impact test interpretations. Each of these is reviewed below.

Three broad sources of error or invalidity may occur when adapting tests or using them: cultural and language differences, technical issues and methods, and conditions that impact test performance.

### Cultural and Language Differences

The potential for error increases as differences increase between persons who comprise the source (i.e., first) and target (i.e., the one used in the adapted test) languages when they also differ in culture (e.g., values, dress, food, money, forms of measurement), social class, urban-rural residence, gender, and age. Four methods to address these potential problems include establishing the equivalence of the constructs for the various groups, promote proper test administrative practices, utilizing suitable norms, and minimizing tests that rely heavily on speed.

First, establish a test's construct equivalence. Knowledge of a test's construct provides the single most important evidence of a test's validity. Construct validity is likely to be promoted when a test displays other suitable psychometric qualities (e.g., reliability, adequacy of norms) and to be adversely impacted by unsuitable psychometric qualities. Investigations of construct equivalence consider the following questions. Does the target culture have and adhere to this construct? Does the construct have similar meaning within the two cultures? Is the construct displayed in a similar fashion?

Methods to investigate construct equivalence initially involve and often rely heavily on judgmental strategies (e.g., interviewing and observing persons, literature reviews, as well as consulting with cultural anthropologists and others who specialize in a region and know the culture well). Judgmental strategies are subjective and thus will benefit from in put from multiple sources

Second, promote proper test administration. For example, test directions should be understood clearly, verbal communication should be minimal, and information should be communicated consistently for source and target groups. Test administrators should be properly selected. They should be drawn from the target community(ies), familiar with the culture, languages (dialects), have experience administering tests, and recognize the importance of maintaining standardized methods. Their training and preparation may be needed to obtain these qualities together with ongoing supervision to insure their presence.

Third, utilize suitable test formats. Cul-

tures differ in their use of different test formats (e.g., multiple choice, short answer, essay). While one typically should emphasize the use of those formats with which people are familiar, the limited use of various formats may be warranted. When using tests to make cross-cultural comparisons, consider using a multiple choice format as it can be scored more objectively (scoring rubrics for essay exams may introduce considerable error)

Fourth, reduce reliance on speed and emphasize power. Cultures differ in reference to the importance placed on completing work, including tests, quickly or well.

Power (i.e., untimed) tests may provide the more accurate assessment of most qualities than those that emphasize quickness.

## Five Technical Issues and Methods

Various issues and methods suggested by the Guidelines to use when adapting a test are summarized below.

Focus on the test revision process. When developing a test that is likely to be used in two or more cultures, outline a test development strategy that reflects this goal. Address issues that pertain to the choice of item formats, stimulus materials, vocabulary (e.g., unless the test assesses vocabulary, keep vocabulary simple), sentence structure (again, keep it simple), and cultural differences (e.g., seasons, time, money, weights, foods, dress, gender roles, knowledge content, writing and reading from either the right or left, temperament and personality differences).

Select and prepare translators. A test target is only as good as its linguistic equivalent of the source test. Translators should include two or more persons familiar with both cultures and languages (i.e., more than a literal translation is needed), the subject matter, and who have skills in test construction.

Use data analysis methods to establish equivalence and detecting bias. Ultimately data need to be collected and analysed. The data should examine qualities at the item level (e.g., difficulty, distractibility, and discrimination), construct level (e.g., confirmatory factor analysis), together with means and standard deviations. Note that groups may differ legitimately in their means and standard deviations. Moreover, such differences may be less important when cross-cultural comparisons are not being made.

Decentre the test. The term "decentring" refers to a process of revising a test's source language so that equivalent materials can be used in both the source and target language versions. Two typical decentring methods are used when translating tests: a forward translation or a backward translation process.

Using a forward translation, a single translator or group of translators first adapts the test from the source language to the target language. Then other translators compare the equivalence of the two versions. This comparison may lead to changes in the target language version. The advantages of the forward translation are that judgments are made directly between the two versions and the process is less costly and quicker. The disadvantages of this process are that considerable inferences are required by the translators, they may be more proficient in one of the two languages, and ratings by those who are bilingual may not reflect the language abilities of those who are monolingual.

Using a backward translation, a single translator or group of translators first adapts

the test from the source language to the target language. Then another group of translators adapts the test from the target language back to the source language. Then other translators compare the equivalence of the two versions. The principal advantage of this process is that it provides a more thorough review of possible language problems. Its disadvantages are that comparisons are specific to only the source language test, the target test will contain shortcomings of the original test (e.g., problems with grammar, content), and this process is more costly in terms of time and personnel.

Both decentring methods are far from perfect. Both methods fail to provide empirical data on the performance of actual people for whom the test is designed as well as the test's psychometric characteristics. Furthermore, the tests were not administered under test-like conditions, and limitations inherent in the scope and concept of the source test are retained by the second target test.

The Guidelines propose three empirical designs to help overcome some of these limitations. Bilingual examiners can take the source and target versions. This method helps control for ability levels, is low in costs, and can be completed quickly. However, one cannot assume those who are bilingual are similar to the target group in reference to important qualities (e.g., language)

A second method employs source language monolinguals that take the original and back-translated versions. This method allows for a comparison of item characteristics. However, source language monolinguals are likely to differ from non-source language monolinguals; furthermore, the taking of the first test may influence performance on the second test.

A third method employs source language monolinguals that take the source language test and target language monolinguals take the target language test. This provides data on both tests. However, the two groups may differ by ability.

## Conditions That Possibly Impact Test Performance and Interpretations

Three conditions may impact test performance and thus test interpretations: assumed similarity of cultural experiences, suitable levels of motivation, and socio-political qualities.

One may incorrectly assume cultural experiences between the source and target groups are similar. Differences may exist in access to information, school curricula, values and attitudes, and if one reads a book from the front to the back or the back to the front.

Test results are assumed to be valid if those who took a test displayed suitable levels of motivation. For example, cognitive measures assume those being tested are highly motivated and strive to do as well as they possibly can. However, some examinees may not strive to achieve high scores. Three test-taking qualities can adversely influence test performance: avoidance, uncooperative mood, inattentiveness (Oakland & Glutting, 1998). The display of these qualities generally contributes to error as well as estimated true score considerably above one's obtained score. One should be alert to the presence of these and other qualities that attenuate performance. Such observations are more difficult on group than individually administered tests.

Socio-political qualities also may in-

fluence test performance. Tests typically require an individual to perform some activity. Some persons function well when asked to perform individually. However, others seemingly do better when involved in a group. For example, those who are extroverts generally prefer group activities that involve talking while those who are introverted generally prefer individual activities that rely more heavily on writing. Orientations to life also may be influenced by one's religion, a country or a country region, and gender.

Ethical considerations associated with adapting tests and using them, while critical, have received little attention. Oakland (2001) identified more than thirty ethical standards from the American Psychological Association's Ethics Code (APA, 1992) that apply to ethics associated with test adaptations and use. Test plagiarism, the taking of someone's work product for personal benefit without compensating the author, must be the most common and serious. Persons involved in test adaptations should be aware of the potential violation of ethical principles through their work and strive to establish and maintain high standards for themselves and the profession.

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# Motivation for Learning a Foreign Language: What Recent Research Has to Tell Us

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Educational psychology theory and research have always had a considerable amount to offer those seeking to teach and to learn foreign languages (Williams and Burden, 1998). In the area of motivation, however, a body of research and theory has grown up specifically related to language learning and divorced in many respects from mainstream psychology. Particularly influential has been Gardner's 'socio-educational' model (Gardner, 1985), which incorporates the importance of learners' cultural beliefs, their attitudes towards the learning situation, their integrativeness and their motivation. Gardner defines motivation to learn a foreign language in terms of the desire to learn the language, motivational intensity, and attitudes towards the learning situation. These are measured by means of the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB), which consists of a selection of self-report items measuring 19 different subscales.

Although the AMTB has been used as the basis for a considerable number of research studies over the past fifteen years, these have tended to be somewhat narrowly orientated and to focus on such issues as whether language learning motivation is of a more 'integrative' or a more 'instrumental' nature. Such research has tended to neglect, on the other hand, the enormous changes that have taken place in mainstream psychological perspectives on motivation.

An extremely useful overview of the main theoretical and research literature has been provided by Dornyei (1998) who concluded that no available theory has yet managed to represent it in its total complexity. He highlights four sub-areas or particular significance:

1. The directive influence of *attitudes* on behaviour has been the main theme of social psychology. An important emphasis here has been upon *intention* (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980) in relation to subjective norms or pressures and incorporating the notion of 'perceived behavioural control';
2. Within cognitive psychology, work in the area of achievement motivation has given rise to what are generally termed *expectancy-value* theories. Here motivation has tended to be conceptualised in terms of the interaction between an individual's expectancy of success on any given task and the value that is attached to such success. The greater the

likelihood of goal attainment coupled with a high incentive value of the goal, the greater will be the individual's motivation to succeed (Wigfield, 1994). Each of these aspects will be influenced in turn by other factors such as attributions (Weiner, 1979), feelings of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1993) and of self-worth (Covington, 1992) in the expectancy dimension, and intrinsic and extrinsic aspects of the values dimension (Eccles and Wigfield, 1995).

A further subgrouping of theories in this area relate to the replacement of the traditional concept of 'need' with that of 'goal'. Here a further distinction has been drawn between *goal setting* and *goal orientation* (Pintricht & Schunk, 1996), where concepts of *mastery* and *performance* orientations play a predominant part. Students who are performance orientated seek to perform better than others while those who are mastery orientated aim to master the subject.

Finally, the area of *self-determination* (Deci & Ryan, 1985) has generated a vast body of research into the relative influences of intrinsically and extrinsically motivating factors.

## Recent Developments

Recently a number of writers have called for a broadening of Gardener's original theoretical perspective to incorporate into foreign language motivation research the cognitive aspects of motivation prominent in the psychological literature (Dornyei, 1994; Oxford 1994, Williams and Burden, 1997).

In response to this demand, the present authors conducted a survey of key psychological texts and articles devoted to motivation over the period 1980-2000. As a result of this, a conceptual matrix relating to language learning was constructed which was first divided into *external* and *internal* factors affecting motivation. The internal factors were further subdivided into three sub-areas, namely, *attitudes* towards the person, task or subject area; *sense of personal identity*; and *feelings of agency.*

Key external factors identified were:
- interest and support of significant others (e.g. parents, teachers);
- quantity and quality of teaching (mediation);
- nature and amount of feedback (informational vs. controlling);
- organisation of learning groups;
- nature of the learning environment (e.g. classroom climate);
- attitude and behaviour of peers.

Important aspects of attitude were felt to be thoughts and feelings about:
- the language;
- the speakers (cultural group);
- learning languages in general;
- specific aspects of language learning.

Together with aspects of intrinsic motivation such as:
- appropriate level of challenge (flow);
- enjoyment;
- intrinsic interest;
- instrumental value.

The sense of personal identity is linked to learners' views of themselves as:
- learners in a general sense;
- learners of specific languages;
- the need to protect feelings of self-worth;
- level of achievement motivation.

Finally, and in some ways most significantly, feelings of agency are identified in response to the following issues:
- feelings of competence;
- degree of effort expended;
- ability to predict future success from past

experience (self-efficacy);
- the reasons given for perceived successes and failures (attributions);
- sense of inner control over learning outcomes (internal locus of control);
- mastery vs. performance motivational style;
- ability to set realistically challenging personal goals;
- range of personal learning strategies;
- metacognitive ability.

This matrix was subsequently drawn upon to construct the Language Learning Motivation Questionnaire (LLMQ), consisting of 16 constructs with four items related to each construct i.e. 64 items. Participants are required to respond to each item according to a four-part Likest scale ranging from *definitely true* to *definitely not true*. The factors and sample items are shown below.

Following an initial pilot study on 100 students at a comprehensive school, all subsections of this questionnaire were found to show strong internal consistency (Alpha r > .70) and to meet acceptable criteria of construct validity.

## Applications of the LLMQ

The LLMQ has now been used in two fairly large scale studies in two different cultural environments. Ozek (2000) found that female Turkish secondary students had a higher language self-concept than Turkish males, showed a greater interest in learning languages and in the target culture, and also perceived a higher degree of parental encouragement and interest. Her results also showed motivation decreasing steadily throughout the first three years of learning a foreign language.

| FACTOR | EXAMPLE |
|---|---|
| Liking, enjoyment, interest | I enjoy English lessons. |
| Desire | I want to learn to speak English well. |
| Need, importance | It is important for me to know English. |
| Integrative orientation | I'd like to meet English people. |
| Teacher | My English teacher is helpful to me. |
| | My parents encourage me to learn English. |
| Peer group | The students in our class work well together. |
| Perceived success/competence | I usually do well in English lessons. |
| Self-efficacy | I think I'm good at English. |
| Effort | I work hard at learning English. |
| Results of effort | However hard I try, I'll never do well in English. |
| Metacognitive awareness | When I get good marks in English lessons, I usually know why. |
| Awareness of strategies | If I do badly in English, I usually know how to do better next time. |
| Internal locus | Doing well at English is up to me. |
| Metacognitive strategies | I try to set myself goals when learning English. |
| Intrinsic motivation | I'd like to learn English even if I didn't have to. |

In a parallel study Williams and Burden (in press) obtained similar results with regard to differences between English male and female students learning foreign languages in their early years at secondary school. The latter authors also discovered significant differences in motivation relating to the proficiency level of students as rated by their teachers, and according to the language studied. In their sample of 228 students attending three secondary schools in the south-west of England, Williams and Burden found a marked preference for learning French amongst girls and for learning German amongst boys. As one boy remarked, "French is the language of love and stuff ..."

## Discussion

There are still relatively few studies of motivation to learn a foreign language that take into account recent developments in theory and research on motivation from an educational psychology perspective. The construction of the questionnaire described in this paper is one attempt to marry the two areas which shows promise of opening up new research and teaching possibilities. School psychologists, for example, have a potentially valuable role to play within mainstream education in helping schools to understand the value of psychological theory and research in such areas as education to the ways in which they approach instruction in language learning and other areas of the curriculum.

Within the Baltic states the learning of foreign languages is vitally important for cultural and economic reasons. It is the contention of this paper that the attitudes of students in various countries to learning the language of other countries will vary considerably. How do Latvian students perceive the importance of learning Russian, English or German? Do they differ in this respect from Estonian or Lithuanian students? Are some languages considered more difficult than others by students in different Baltic countries? Are female students more motivated to learn languages and other school subjects in the Balkans, as appears to be the case in other countries.

These and other related questions could be explored by means of the LLMQ described here. Prospective researchers are encouraged to contact the first author for information about the questionnaire and instructions for how to use, serve and interpret it.

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