EDUCATION IN SOCIAL SKILLS AND EMOTIONAL TRAINING
Consequences for participation and for social exclusion

"- Is it easy for you to share toys with others?
- *Is it easy for you to tell how you feel (sad, happy, angry frustrated)?*
- *Is it easy for you to find out whether someone else is happy, sad or afraid from what he/she says?*
- *Are you able to control yourself when you are angry?"*

Excerpts from a scheme for interviews with pre-school children used in Norway (adapted from McGinnis & Goldstein (1990) *Skillstreaming in Early Childhood*, Norwegian version by Glenne Autismesenter). The scheme has a total of 40 questions, and children are invited to choose between a smiling, a neutral and a sad smiley in order to express the answer that represents them best.

"More young people with social handicaps – Exclusion: High demands in school and at work give rise to new handicaps. One out of four young people affected." Headline in a Danish newspaper(*Nordjyske* 11/11 2007).

"When I grew up at Jæren [South-West of Norway], modesty was a virtue, now it has become a diagnosis." Per Fugelli, Norwegian Professor in social medicine.

In this research project some new tendencies related to normative regulation of social interaction will be examined, and in particular educational efforts aimed at developing social skills and preventing or stopping behaviour that is considered anti-social. The excerpts above highlight the contemporary focus on social skills – or rather on the lack of them – in Scandinavia today. The project will investigate how judgments as to whether people possess adequate social skills are made in kindergartens and in schools, in prisons and in institutions for maladjusted teenagers, at workplaces and at agencies preparing the unemployed for work. In addition, the content of courses in cognitive, communicative and social skills and in anger management and related issues offered in these same institutions will be studied. The project is divided into four subprojects and will draw on document analysis, interviews and ethnographic field work.

Background, status of knowledge and novelty
The educational efforts mentioned above address behaviour, interaction and handling of emotions, and they thus have to do with individuals' inclusion and participation in society, through integration in the labour market, in civil society, in political life and in family life. While the goal of these educational efforts is a positive inclusion of citizens who treat each others respectfully (Kymlicka 1999), they may contribute to the social exclusion of those who do not conform to contemporary normative standards for behaviour, as reinforcement of a social norm always directs attention towards norm-breakers. The research project is therefore motivated by concern about processes of social exclusion produced by normative regulation of interaction in kindergartens, schools, institutions and work places.

Forms of behaviour that were seen in the past as acceptable, or perhaps as undesirable but quite ordinary, may today, due to changes in outlook and categorization schemes, qualify for pedagogical/ psychological intervention or medical diagnosis. To provide an illustration, it is estimated that as many as 7 to 12 % of all pupils aged 10-17 in Norwegian and Danish schools have behavioural problems, with 2 % considered to display severe antisocial behaviour (Nordahl et al. 2005). In addition there are all those considered to have lesser degrees of undesirable behaviour, with the result that as many as 1/3 of pupils are not considered to meet the schools' normative standards for behaviour. Impulsivity, restlessness and aggressiveness are examples of types of behaviour that at one time were considered as rather ordinary and not necessarily noteworthy (people said "boys will be boys"). In some social contexts aggressiveness is valued (e.g. war and some sports), and in some contexts impulsivity is valued (e.g. art and music). But such contexts seem to be exceptions. The ideal human being appears to be one who is disciplined and self-controlled, but still self-assertive.

It is our claim that normative regulation has changed in character, with both positive and negative consequences. An example of positive effects is the reduction in bullying among children in Norway (cf. www.uis.no/nyheter/article12437-12.html, www.fhi.no/dokumenter/1b2e13863a.pdf), possibly a result of stronger surveillance, normative changes and/or explicit teaching of social skills. It is of course also a

positive result If anger management courses for violent offenders work. But how should the increase in diagnoses of ADHD and of Asperger's syndrome (e.g. Nielsen & Jørgensen 2010, Hem & Husum 2008, Conrad & Potter 2000) be judged? The increase follows increased attention to children's interaction and communication, making deviance visible. Because of a diagnosis diagnosed persons may receive help, but may also be socially excluded. Learning social skills may help unemployed people out of unemployment, but instructions in how to talk, what to wear etc. may be experienced as intrusive and humiliating.

Most of the training programmes we will study have been imported from Canada or the US. A starting point for this project will be the exploration of the travelling of ideas and the Scandinavian specificities compared to other European countries. It may be, for instance, that the French tradition of teaching *éducation civique* in schools has implications for the reception and framing of these questions, but still a quick googling of *compétences sociales* gives 1.5 million hits, the ones turning up first having to do with work related issues. A googling of "social skills UK" immediately brought us the information that 109 colleges in the UK provide courses in social skills, typically specified as "life skills" or "practical skills". So the topic of this study is not specifically Scandinavian, but we believe the focus on social skills has reached a higher level in the Scandinavian countries. This is, however, a point to be explored (subproject A below).

Children have probably always been told how to behave, but **the understanding of various educational and social problems as being caused by a lack of social skills is of quite recent origin**, as the notion of social skills itself is, too, (so far traced to the 70'ies). Its origins and success as an explanation for quite different educational and social problems will be explored in subproject A. It is also quite new that there should be specific programmes to teach social skills; that such programmes have become commodities traded in a market, and that such educational efforts also address adults considered to have specific problems (such as violent behaviour or unemployment) or work-related needs for social and communicative skills (such as leaders or police officers). Furthermore, the notable growth in medical diagnoses of behavioural problems (especially ADHD and autism) is of recent origin. **The novelty lies thus in a specific outlook, in a new attitude to behaviour, interaction and handling of emotions, accompanied by an invitation to self-surveillance and by new technologies for surveillance.**

It is not easy to provide a state of the art that points to the challenges in the frontiers of the field, as **the research field has not yet been constructed**. This research project seeks to link phenomena that have not been linked before. There are several studies about the particular training programmes etc., also some valuable review studies (Rao et al. 2007, Beelmann & Lösel 2006, Matson & Wilkins 2006, Kvaale & Mostert 2004), but while their focus is usually on *effects,* ours will be on *content*. Very little sociologically oriented research exists on the notion of social skills and on the content of education in social skills and emotional training. We will here refer to some of the literature that comes closest to what we will do in our project. One inspiration comes from a British (psychological) study (Sutton et al. 2001) that challenges common sense ideas about social skills - just as we want to do in the ESSET project – as it questions the idea that bullying is caused by lack of skills, as bullies may draw on quite sophisticated skills when manipulating and organising others. Other sources of inspiration are three sociologically oriented American studies, the first of these being about historical changes in behavioural instructions to prison inmates, effectively uncovering the gendered norms and the new norms for self-governance (Bosworth 2007). The second (Fox 2001) is about the content of social skills training in a prison and its reception, and shows that the aim of this training is that offenders should analyse and describe situations "objectively", relate rationally (not emotionally) to them, and assume responsibility for their acts, thereby disregarding all kind of contextualising that might serve to provide excuses. A third deals with the "medicalisation of shyness" in the US: Scott (2006) claims the focus on the shy stems from contemporary demands for self affirmation and eloquence. The process has, however, also been supported by agents who claim to have help to offer: the medical industry, psychotherapists etc. The demands for performance of the self appear stronger in the US than in Scandinavian countries, but the questioning of shyness has also arrived here (cf. the headline quoted from *Nordjyske* at p. 1 of this project description).

The other studies we will mention in this section are Scandinavian, a clear reflection of the somewhat more considerable attention given to citizens' social skills by the Scandinavian welfare states. Dahlstedt et al. (2011) dissect the content of two programmes used in Swedish schools (SET and ART) as Foucauldian technologies of confession aimed at shaping governable citizens. Several other studies, e.g. Österlind (1998) and Knudsen (2010), have analysed other forms of surveillance of behaviour in schools (not, however, with a focus on social skills). Hjörne and Säljö (2004) have analysed judgments of pupils' behaviour in a Swedish school, and pointed out very pertinently when and how in the discussions of a

child's behaviour the diagnosis of ADHD pops up as a category for understanding. They demonstrate that the diagnosis is invoked to account for a wide range of problems, which sometimes are even described in contradictory terms, and that invoking the diagnosis puts the focus on the child itself, thereby diverting attention from circumstances, relations, teachers etc.. Ogden (2011) currently is analysing the role of social competences and behavioural problems for Norwegian preschool children in their transition to school and later inclusion or exclusion, but from a psycho-pedagogical perspective where the judgments of social competences are not questioned. Several studies from different countries have, however, evaluated the effects of diverse training programmes. Although this is a different question, the literature is relevant for us (and will be referred to in the description of the subprojects). There are also many relevant studies about diagnostic practices (cf. Brinkmann 2010), and some of them will be referred to below. When it comes to work life, several studies (e.g. Andersen 2011) have analysed contemporary emotional demands, among others Mik-Meyer (2004) has analysed how marginalized groups in the labour market may be exposed to such demands. This brief overview demonstrates that there is a body of literature to rely on, with different studies exploring different training programmes, observational practices etc. **Our study is, however, the first that seeks to draw the line between different kinds of educational efforts and observational practices – from schools and observations of children to work life and prisons.**

Objectives and Research Questions

Our concern as regards the contemporary normative regulation of social interaction may be specified as the following six research questions, which will be answered through theoretically informed and ethnographically sensitive research. The project is of an exploratory character – the aim being to obtain a deeper understanding of some important social processes – "deeper" both thanks to empirical documentation and to theoretically founded analysis.

1. **How has the idea of the importance of social skills (and the related notions of cognitive and communicative skills) emerged and gained importance?** The notion "social skills" cannot at this stage be defined, as part of the research is to trace the content given to it.
2. **What kinds of behaviour are found appropriate and inappropriate today, and for whom are they appropriate or not (depending on age, gender, class, ethnicity etc.)?** The project will describe judgments of behaviour and guidelines for behaviour provided by different training programmes.
3. **What is demanded of the self in the literature about social skills and in training programmes?** What is the balance between care for oneself and care for others? What is the balance between emotional control and expression of individuality?
4. **How can the social demands be related to gender, class and ethnicity?** Are ideas about social skills biased towards the feminine (e.g. in the understanding of emotions), towards middle class standards (e.g. in emphasis on verbalization), or towards the ethnic majority (e.g. in individualistic ideals)? Are social skills a new form of cultural capital?
5. **Does training in social skills lead to inclusion or to exclusion of the socially vulnerable?** Our aim is not to evaluate the effects of different training programmes, but to examine closely and in detail processes of inclusion and of exclusion, when observations of behaviour are followed by categorizations and diagnoses. We will assess whether the persons concerned have received help, and whether a diagnosis has led to a redefinition of the persons that either supports or limits their possibilities for social participation.
6. **What are the connections between the contemporary focus on social skills and more general social tendencies, such as individualism and neo-liberalism?** The programmes have to a large degree been imported from the US, where there is a different welfare tradition. They are now implemented in Scandinavian welfare states just as these states are changing emphasis from communal solidarity to individual responsibilities.

The three former questions are of a descriptive nature, and as such rather straight forward to answer, as long as appropriate literature and cases are found. The three latter are analytical questions about relationships, and as such more complex. Our aim is to answer them through theoretically informed and ethnographically sensitive research.

Theoretical Framework

The novelty of our topics implies that there is no pre-existing tradition for how it should be analysed. **We will construct a theoretical platform by merging three sociological traditions**: An understanding of

contemporary forms for social control and self control; a constructivist approach to medical and psychological categorizations, and the sociology of social differentiation.

Social control and self control: At the core of Goffman's (1959) classic studies of social interaction are observations of the small and frequently unnoticed details in human interaction, which serve to constitute the social selves of the interacting persons. People strive to cooperate in mutual face-saving and will as far as possible act as if they don't notice rule breaking. Thus Goffman pinpoints forms of social skills most often learned implicitly. Elias (1978) analyses the social history of self discipline and emotional control. The increased differentiation of society and the construction of a modern state have been accompanied by a civilization of manners through increased self control. The number of rules and codes has increased, and at the same time these have become more implicit. From the perspective of Foucault (1978, 1995) there has been a historical change in emphasis from external discipline to self governance. "Techniques of the self" are today related to a normalising and omnipresent "micro-power". According to Rose (1998, 2000, 2004) the "psy-sciences" (psychology, psychiatry, psychotherapy) have a deep influence on how people now understand themselves and their relations to others, but they are accompanied by neoliberal political discourses emphasizing personal responsibility, choice and autonomy, which match today's labour market demands. Competent citizens govern their own lives (possibly with help from normalising measures such as structures of incitements, plans for action, self medication, self surveillance etc.) while those who do not succeed in this are subjected to external governance.

But is it correct, as Foucault and Rose claim, that scientific and political discourses actually govern ordinary people's minds, or do people resist? Skeggs (2004, 2011) is sceptical. She has studied the attribution of value to different performances of the self, in particular the heavily stigmatizing discourse over working class women's selves. People, however, resist negative categorizations, and attribute value to their life forms in spite of negative discourses. Skeggs does not believe that the discursive governance identified by Foucault and Rose really works. As this is an empirical rather than a theoretical question, one of our aims will be to generate data that can be used for clarification. In some Nordic studies the approach from Foucault has been applied to the relation between discourses and formation of subjectivities or identities, as in studies of social work (Järvinen et al. 2002, Järvinen & Mik-Meyer 2003, Mik-Meyer 2004, Mik-Meyer & Johansen 2009). These studies have been criticised for a negative vision of the social workers' influence on subjectivities (Henriksen & Prieur 2004), overlooking the possibility that clients feel helped. Foucault and Rose provide us with tools for analysis of the effects of the discourses on social skills, but we will scrutinize whether the effects actually occur, and, if they do, see how to judge them normatively.

Hochschild (1983) has analysed how emotions used in work life become commercialized goods, and coined the term "emotional labour" for the effort to have the appropriate feelings in certain work situations or to induce these feelings in others. Illouz (2007) has traced the entry of intimate emotions into work life discourses and practices, arguing that this cannot simply be a new form of control, as the tendency goes along with increased democracy in firms. But in conjunction with "communication" becoming a moral impetus and cultural model both for public and private life, emotions are objectified and rationalized. Andersen (2011) has analysed how the handling of emotions in firms parallels the handling of emotions in couples. These perspectives on emotions will be of particular relevance for the subprojects that deal with contemporary emotional training in or for work life (the police; the unemployed).

Medical and psychological categorizations: The project will apply a constructivist approach (Hacking 1998, 1999), which has a strong position within medical sociology. Different historical periods have different visions of illnesses. The hysterical woman was first replaced by the neurotic woman, and she is now replaced by the depressed woman. The evil child was replaced by the bad mannered child, who has now become the child with ADHD. In this respect, medical *categorization* is historical, even when the symptoms may have objective, physiological causes. Foucault (1978) has shown how the description of "normal" sexual behaviour was accompanied by descriptions of the "abnormal" and categorizations of a series of sexual "deviants". The highlighting of "normal" social behaviour draws attention to "deviant" behaviour. Emphasizing skills and competences draws attention to lack of skills and competences. An example: Shy people have probably always existed, but the label "social phobia" is new. In her analysis of the "medicalisation of shyness" in the US Scott (2006) claims the attention towards the shy stems from contemporary demands for self affirmation and eloquence. The process has, however, also been supported by agents who claim to have a help to offer: the medical industry, psychotherapists etc. The demands on self performance appear stronger in the US than in Scandinavian countries, but the questioning of shyness has arrived also here (as illustrated by the headline quoted in the introduction).

Social differentiation: Perceptions of appropriate and inappropriate behaviour are linked to class and gender. While male and working class inappropriate behaviour has typically been seen as belonging to the domain of the penal law, female and higher class inappropriate behaviour has more frequently been seen as belonging to the domain of medicine and, later, psychology. It cannot be taken for granted that this is still the case. The gap between norms for girls' behaviour and that of boys in school is much smaller than it was. Are, however, contemporary norms for appropriate behaviour easier to live up to for girls than for boys? The virtues of self control and eloquence are seen by some as signs of a feminisation of the school (cf. Jensen 2006). Yet if the school's norms just correspond to the new norms that also mark work life and other social arenas, the feminisation hypothesis is too simple. Maybe these tendencies have more to do with a class bias than with a gender bias: Middle class ways of presenting the self, being assertive and eloquent may have become the norm applied to all. Such differentiation according to class and gender should be analysed, together with ethnicity, as these principles of difference intersect in complex ways.

The perspective on differentiation draws on Bourdieu's (1984) analysis of how inequalities in access to economic and cultural capital and other resources lead to differences in chances for success, as all have to perform in social universes where the competences of the culturally and/or economically privileged are rewarded. In French schools in the sixties children with cultural capital (Bourdieu & Passeron 1996) - in the form of particular competences, forms of knowledge and ways of being that were learnt at home, including knowledge of fine arts and classical music etc. - were rewarded for their "cultivated naturalness". Examinations not only measured the pupils' knowledge, but also personal traits, like "maturity" or "autonomy". Boys used to have an advantage over girls in school, but in Scandinavia this difference seems to have vanished. Yet the advantages of children from homes with cultural capital continue, and ethnic differences have gained in importance. It is not necessarily the case, however, that it is the same features of cultural capital that provide children of educated parents with advantages today. Knowledge of fine arts is probably not so important, while evaluations of maturity, co-operation skills and social skills may have gained importance, and perhaps even serve as a new form of cultural capital (cf. Prieur & Savage 2011). Illouz (2007) claims *emotional capital* - a term coined for the most embodied part of cultural capital - actually helps gain economic and social benefits. She warns against the Foucauldian view of "emotional intelligence" and related concepts as mere disciplining social constructions, as such competences are *real resources* in our society, and provide advantages both in working life and private life. The ESSET project will keep an eye on how different judgments of behaviour - in schools, workplaces, prisons etc. - carry implicit biases of class, gender or ethnicity, whereby forms of behaviour that not everyone has the same ability to adopt are established as normative standards for all.

Research Design and Methodologies
The project is composed of four subprojects to be carried out by a team of two senior researchers, one post doctoral fellow and one Ph.D.-student.

Subproject A: Judgments of social skills (led by PI, Professor Annick Prieur)
This subproject has three parts:

(i) *A genealogy of the notion of social skills* and of its history and establishment in official discourses, in curricula at training colleges for the pedagogical professions, in schools' and kindergartens' learning plans, in training programmes, in self-help literature etc. So far, the earliest research works we have studied are from the eighties (Gleeson 1986, Henderson & Hollin 1983), but they point to works in the seventies, to which we will turn next to see whether they refer to older works. But so far it is our impression that the first training programmes were developed in the seventies. An Austrian study has shown a gendering of the notion of social skills in the seventies that is different to that of today (Kupfer & Ranftl 2006), and such changes will be particularly interesting to analyse. The emphasis will be on the evolution in Denmark, where the history is shorter, but the roots in international (primarily American) discourses will be traced. The reception of the idea of the lack of social skills as a problem in work life, schools etc. in Europe will be explored, with the accent put on the Scandinavian countries, particularly Denmark, but the reception in key European countries such as France and the UK will also be analysed, though more briefly. Research questions 1 and 6 will be covered, and to a certain degree also questions 2-4. The study will rely on analysis of literature and documents that are easy to access. A genealogical, analytical method will be followed (Foucault 1991, see also Villadsen 2003, Knudsen 2010 for applications),

uncovering the understandings that today are taken for granted. We will seek to understand how they have gained this status, with sensitivity to discontinuities and to the repression of alternative understandings.

(ii) *A study of teachers', youth workers', school psychologists', psychiatrists' and other professionals' judgments of children's and young people's social skills*. Of these judgments, some will set off a process that ends with a diagnosis (typically ADHD or Asperger's syndrome), but most will not. Two big schools from heterogeneous social environments will be selected in Aalborg. The research questions covered will be 2-5. The study will rely partly on analysis of written documents, partly on interviews. Among the written documents to be analysed are the "individual action plans", made for all pupils in Danish schools twice a year. Further, the project will seek access to psychologists' and psychiatrists' reports and evaluations (all documents will be anonymised before the researcher's investigation). Admission to the meetings between teachers and youth workers where the children are discussed will be sought (a method that was very successfully used in Hjörne and Säljö's study). Earlier studies of related topics have shown that it is possible to obtain the necessary permissions (Knudsen 2010, Moos 2007, Hjörne & Säljö 2004). A minimum of 15 professionals (teachers, youth workers, psychologists, psychiatrists) will be interviewed about their evaluations, and invited to describe very concretely the kind of behaviour they judge to be problematic. Some interviews may be organised as focus group interviews, as the subject is one where the respondents will not necessarily be prepared for the questions, and a dialogue may therefore trigger more reflection. Finally, parents (minimum 5), who have had their children evaluated (with or without a diagnosis as the result), will be interviewed about how they regard the process their children have been through. Due to concerns for confidentiality the latter will not necessarily be recruited through the same schools or psychological/psychiatric services, but may also be recruited through parent organisations, private snowballing etc.

(iii) *A study of the judgments of social skills that are made in the entrance test for the police college and during the evaluations of the police students' trainee service period.* The reason for choosing the police as a case is that it is a profession where the demands for personal skills have gained importance over recent years and where judgments about social skills are made very explicitly (actually, we cannot think of a profession where we know that such judgments are made more explicitly than in the police.) The emphasis on social skills reflects how the paradigm "policing by consent" has replaced the paradigm "policing by force" (cf. Reiner 2010); a change that accompanies a professionalization of the police education, where the first students following the new study programme started in 2011 in Denmark. When interviewing applicants, the assessment board may use criteria such as maturity, responsibility, empathy, self control, and politeness. Similar assessments of suitability are made throughout the trainee service year. The project will investigate these evaluations, and use them as information about the kinds of behaviour that are found appropriate or inappropriate in police work. The research questions covered will be 2-4. The study will be based on ethnographic fieldwork including observations of recruitment sessions (one series) and interviews with recruiters and with police officers in charge of evaluating the students' training service (in all 10 interviews). Focus group interviews may be used when this is practically possible. In addition, historical changes in assessment of suitability for police work will be traced through document research.

It is a deliberate choice that the three parts of subproject A are quite different, as this composition permits the PI to work closely with all the other team members: The first part lays a foundation for all subprojects, the second with its focus on diagnostical practices links to subprojects B and C, while the third with its orientation towards work life links to subproject D. The first of these studies is scheduled to 3 months full work, the second to 12 months and the third to 6 months. Prieur will use 3 more months for linking findings from the different projects (research question 6).

Subproject B: Improving social skills for work life (associate professor Sune Qvotrup Jensen)
Post-industrial societies increasingly direct labour market demands towards personal characteristics including social skills (Mik-Meyer 2004) and "emotional intelligence" (Goleman 1998, Illouz 2007). Job applicants will frequently be called on to have their social/emotional performances assessed, and there is therefore awareness in Danish job centres/employment agencies that at least some categories of unemployed people may need training in order to perform better. Unemployed people and welfare recipients will typically be subjected to an evaluation of their "resource profile" and be categorized into so-called "match-groups", with judgments of their social skills as part of this evaluation. In some places (e.g. http://www.ams.dk/Udbud-og-puljer/Puljer/Information%20til%20ansoegere/Puljer-med-

ansogningsrunde/kanten-af-arbejdsmarkedet.aspx and Arbejdsmarkedsstyrelsen/Rambøll Management 2008) they will be offered specific training in social skills. This subproject will carry out a broad screening of the usage of standardized programmes for the training of the unemployed in social skills through data from periodicals, internet sources (including homepages of national and local welfare actors) and possibly also from a limited number of interviews with high ranking public servants. This screening will allow an assessment of whether lack of social skills is considered a concern for all "match groups" or only some specific categories of unemployed people, and whether different programmes are offered to different categories of clients. This subproject will also examine how assessments of (lack of) social skills are made, how the training is experienced, and what the content of the training is. Attention will be paid to whether ethnicity and gender make a difference to the assessment of the clients' social skills, whether the content of training programmes is different for different categories, and whether it is informed by considerations about relevant labour market niches. The activities at two Danish jobcentres will be examined. Extensive field work will be carried out, including minimum 30 rounds of observations in each site. The content of the training will be observed closely. Interviews with a minimum of 20 participants will be carried out, concentrating on their experience of the training, whether they find it useful, painful, enjoyable etc. The interviews may be individual or in focus groups. The professionals involved in the projects will also be interviewed in order to obtain data about their rationales with regard to the training, including how they evaluate the social skills of the clients. Relevant documents about the projects will be collected. We have no reason to expect access to be a problem. The project will demand 15 months' full work. The research questions covered will be 2-5.

Subproject C: Training programmes for children and teenagers, postdoctoral fellowship in charge of Oline Pedersen
This subproject has two parts:

(i*) A study of the implementation of the training programme "Second Step"* (imported from US, Danish version "Trin for trin"), which is widely used in Danish kindergartens and schools, and possibly of other social skills training programmes. "Second Step" is for children from 4 to 15 and aims at teaching them social skills and emotional control. It has been subject to several evaluation studies (cf. Gregersen 2002), but our aim is to investigate its content: What is actually taught to the children? The implementation of the programme in two kindergartens and two schools will be studied thoroughly.

(ii) The second part will concern *training programmes for young people considered to be maladjusted*. The programmes of interest aim at improving social skills and anger management and moral reasoning (see description Gundersen 2010). The focus will initially be on mapping the use of different programmes in Denmark. As a comparison: A mapping of programs for violent or aggressive people in Norway back in 2005 identified 64 programs for adults and 47 for children and young people, enrolling in all 1529 adults and 775 children and young people (Jonassen & Paulsen 2007), and the sector has expanded since then, particularly for the young. The ART program was also imported from the US, and is now widely used for teenagers with a wide range of problems in Norway (and also for ordinary teenagers). A college (Diakonhjemmet Høgskole) provides courses for trainers, and there are already about 3000 of these in Norway. The training of ART trainers is just about to start in Denmark (at Ungliv.dk). On the basis of the Danish mapping two of the most relevant programmes will be selected for further investigation. A possible choice may be MultifunC, which is about to start up in Denmark (originally a Norwegian adaptation of American programmes), combining Aggression Replacement Training, Motivational Interviewing and the so-called No Power – No Lose method. The other programme could be PALS (Positive Behaviour - Learning and Interaction). The selected programmes will be examined through analysis of documents, observations and interviews at two treatment facilities.

In both parts of this project the research questions covered will be 2-5, and they will be based on document analysis (of manuals and other materials about the programmes) combined with ethnographic fieldwork including observation and interviews (minimum 15). We are aware there may be some problems of obtaining permission for observation, both due to the participants' right to confidentiality and because the different training programmes are managed with strong copyright protection. As quite a few evaluations of these programmes have been carried out in Scandinavia (e.g. Clausen 2008, Dahlstedt et al.2011), the necessary permissions are, however, possible to obtain. A particular methodological challenge is to get the respondents to reflect over own practice. From earlier experience we know that this is best achieved when observation and interviews are connected. Interviews may take as starting points examples

from observations of instructions given to children or teenagers or from observed conflict handling. Some interviews may be organized as focus group interviews. Each part of this subproject will demand 12 months full work.

Subproject D: Anger management/ cognitive skills courses for (violent) offenders, PhD-project, Julie Laursen

In Denmark such courses are offered by the prison and probation services in all facilities, sometimes as a condition for a conditional sentence, for parole or for expiation in an open facility. The most used courses are in cognitive skills, anger management and "Booster" (a follow up course). So far only about 240 people per year go through the Cognitive Skills course (while there are over 4000 people in prisons and about 8000 on probation/under surveillance), a fact that draws attention to the selection procedures. Violent offenders in particular are encouraged to follow these courses, but this is not the only selection principle in play. The Cognitive Skills course was developed by Fabiano and Ross (1986). These courses too are imported from the US or Canada and have been subjected to several evaluations (see e.g. Lipsey et al. 2007, Wilson et al. 2005, Brauner & Berger 2009 for a Danish evaluation), and also a small scale Danish study of the participants' identity work (Bird 2008). Our objective is not an evaluation, but an examination of the content of the training. Two courses will be studied through observations and interviews, possibly one in anger management, typically with 8 meetings, and one in cognitive skills, typically with 35 meetings. One should be selected from an open and one from a closed facilitiy, as this has implications for the content of the courses, for instance whether the participants discuss imagined situations or real life events. Ideally, the selection should make it possible to cover possible differences in the training offered arising from the participants' gender and ethnic background, but we are aware it can be difficult to include sufficiently variation in one single study, and we may end up opting for examining only gendered differences, or only differences based on ethnicity. The observation will be followed up by interviews with a minimum of 15 persons; some of these being trainers who will be interviewed about the messages they send, while others are participants who will be interviewed about the messages they receive. The selection of interviewees cannot cater for all relevant dimensions of diversity, but the topic of diversity will be included in the interviews. The interviews will focus on judgments of behaviour, described as concretely as possible. Some of the interviews may be focus group interviews, in order to help reflection. The research questions covered will be 2-5. Obtaining the necessary permissions for access may take some time, but ought not to be a problem, as several researchers have been admitted to prisons before us. The project will run over three years.

Ethical issues and gender issues

The most important ethical considerations are already presented above, and concern confidentiality. We may here add that all observations and interviews will be based on informed consent, involving both trainers/professionals and participants (or their parents when these are minors). Data will be gathered with sensitivity for the participants' signs of embarrassment and respect for their limits. Our role as researchers in the field is to observe and to listen, and it is our experience that when this is done with respect and empathy, the research process may be a positive experience for the participants. The PI will take the responsibility for a close supervision of the junior researchers during their field work. All data will be handled with a maximum of confidentiality concerns. Names will not be registered and, when publishing, also the identities of the schools and institutions involved in the research will be veiled.

Project management and plan

The project team will consist of two senior researchers, one postdoc-fellow and one Ph.D.-student. The PI will be in charge of coordination and management. She will have the main responsibility for supervision of the Ph.D.-student. The senior researchers are experienced, and have all done successful field work in challenging research environments before. All subprojects are methodologically feasible. If access is denied in the institutions we first opt for, these can in all cases be replaced by other institutions, which will be just as relevant as the first chosen. The PI is an experienced project leader, who in previous projects has always been able to achieve the aims, deliver according to schedule and publish according to agreements. The senior researchers will oversee the junior researchers closely, providing not only close supervision but also transmission of the *craft of sociology* both during fieldwork and during analysis.

   All projects will start with a few months for preparation and planning of the field work. The fieldwork will run for about a year, but organised with field-breaks that allow for assessment and evaluation before returning to the field. The assessment and evaluation will be handled partly through supervision and partly through joint meetings of the team. The project will run over three years.

Social Impact and Dissemination

The project aims at contributing to an increased awareness among professionals dealing with vulnerable people's social skills and emotional management as regards the normativity and possible biases in their work, as well as the risks linked to social exclusion. We will communicate our results to professional groups through mass media, professional journals and open meetings. Depending on the findings, our project may contribute to improved social inclusion, but this cannot be stated at this stage of the research process. In any case, the most important effects of sociological knowledge on society reside in its influence on how people understand the social world they live in, and how they word their understanding. In the social discourse on the relationship between the individual and society the sociological voice will typically contribute with an understanding of how social conditions and given frames may provide or not provide possibilities for individuals to act with responsibility and with concern for both themselves and others. The sociological voice will typically also point to heterogeneity, and thereby possibly advance both tolerance for different ways of being and behaving and an understanding of the inequalities that may lie behind the differences. We imagine that this will also end up being our role when we disseminate our findings.

   Our aims for academic dissemination will be a Ph.D. thesis and at least one international journal article for each Ph.D.-project and at least two international journal articles from each of the four other subprojects. Relevant journals could be *Childhood, Social Problems, British Journal of Criminology, Police Quarterly, Journal of Social Psychology, Journal of Education Policy, Journal of Health and Social Behaviour, Sociology of Health and Illness* and *Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology and Crime Prevention*. In addition, articles in Scandinavian languages will be published (in *Tidsskrift for samfunnsforskning*, *Sosiologisk tidsskrift*, *Dansk Sociologi, Dansk Pædagogisk Tidsskrift* etc.) and a book summing up the project will also be published. The project will have a web page from the start, uploading reports about the findings.

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