

POST-STRUCTURALISM AND PSYCHOLOGICAL RESEARCH ON/ THROUGH THE INTERNET

PÓS-ESTRUTURALISMO E INVESTIGAÇÃO PSICOLÓGICA NA/ ATRAVÉS DA INTERNET

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ABSTRACT

The present study has as aim to describe some procedures used for research in or through social networks, especially in Psychology. In order to do so, different ways of using the Internet as a tool or an object of investigation were analyzed, considering ethical and technical parameters in resolution 196 of the National Health Council, and in the Psychologist Code of Professional Ethics. Finally, there is a discussion on the adequacy of such procedures with post-structuralism theory, based on classic authors of this philosophical and theoretical perspective, such as Michel Foucault, Judith Butler and Tomaz Tadeu da Silva.

Keywords: methods; internet; ethics, research.

RESUMO

O presente estudo tem como objetivo descrever alguns procedimentos que visam à realização de pesquisas nas/através das redes sociais virtuais, particularmente no campo da psicologia. Para tanto, diferentes maneiras de utilização da Internet como ferramenta ou objeto de investigação foram analisadas, considerando-se os parâmetros éticos e técnicos previstos tanto na resolução 196 do Conselho Nacional de Saúde como no Código de Ética Profissional do Psicólogo. Por fim, discorre-se sobre a adequação desses procedimentos com relação à perspectiva teórica pós-estruturalista, com base em autores clássicos desta linha de pensamento filosófico, como Michel Foucault, Judith Butler e Tomaz Tadeu da Silva.

Palavras-chave: metodologia; internet; ética em pesquisa.

The *Internet* has a prominent position in contemporary social relations, and Brazil is world leader in the use of social networks, with the participation of 86% of internet users (Dias, 2010). This information is relevant to understand how people communicate, make linkages and search for identification and group support nowadays. One important feature of this kind of interaction is the possibility to remain anonymous when browsing and talking in virtual environments.

Peruzzo, Jung, Soares and Scarparo (2007) comment that the internet user experiences relations, which are not necessarily defined by the presence of others, enables idealizations and fantasies regarding other users. As there is no direct contact, a relative detachment tends to encourage freedom of speech, diminish self-criticism and provide less resistance to the discussion of taboo or delicate themes. The authors comment on social networks saying that:

there is great richness and diversity of feelings exposed through them, as well as an evident transformation of boundaries, which allows users to discuss very

intimate matters. This shows that such networks constitute an important research field, especially in psychology. (p. 6)

Populations that would have rarely been found and gathered in offline environment are gathering in the Internet and can be studied through this tool. This applies to themes such as eating disorders, sexual behaviors, suicide, self-harm and many others.

Camozzato (2007) resorted to blogs (virtual diaries) and Internet communities to try and understand how the construction of oneself and of others happens in a culture marked by discourses related to the body, specifically trying to highlight the tension between “thin bodies” and “fat bodies”, that appeared on online communication. She chose such corpus exactly because of the cyberspace particularity that allows people to openly express things about themselves and about others.

In a similar way, only using a psychoanalytical perspective, Ribeiro (2008) searched for blogs of

people with anorexic disorder that gathered to talk about it and claimed it as a life style condition, identifying themselves as “Anas”.

L. A. V. Silva (2010, p. 513) discussed “the possibilities of the Internet as a research field, considering social and cultural aspects brought on by new information technologies”, searching in the Orkut social network for communities about intentional unprotected sex between men, the so called bare backing. The author reminds that the Internet user still is/has a body, even though this body is virtually constructed in a different manner, quoting the man-machine hybrid described as a cyborg by Haraway (2000).

Furthermore, Withlock, Powers and Eckenrode (2006) investigated virtual forums with the intent to understand their roles in the spreading of information about self-harm and its influence on the search for help among internet users. In their conclusions, they highlight that online interaction clearly has a social support role to teenagers that, otherwise, would be isolated. On the other hand, the authors say that such interactions may also add new methods to the repertoire of self-harming teenagers, legitimizing the behavior.

Thus, research in psychology faces a challenge: to develop trustworthy studies, in an ethical and methodological point of view, using the Internet as a tool and/or a field for analysis. As in any other research, it is necessary to know the consequences of the chosen methodological paths, to clarify possible limitations of the study design and to propose solutions that can minimize biases. In this way, procedures aiming at carrying out researches using/through social networks are discussed, followed by an analysis of its adequacy regarding the post-structuralism theoretical perspective, with basis on authors such as Michel Foucault, Judith Butler and Tomaz Tadeu da Silva.

Recruitment of participants to online instruments' answering without the researcher's mediation

This type of procedure applies to researches using questionnaires, scales or other instruments that can be answered online without the researcher's mediation, for afterwards data codification and categorization, using descriptive statistics or content analysis. Wacheke and Andrade (2009) comment that a usual way to recruit subjects is through invitations, published or addressed to groups in online forums or chats under specific themes. Those interested must click a link (virtual address) which is included

in the invitation that leads to the virtual place where the instrument can be answered, usually a test, scale, or multiple choice questionnaire. Right after its completion, information can be passed to a database programmed to automatically analyze them as they are sent. All of this saves the researcher a great amount of time, however, a few precaution measures must be taken in this path.

One of them regards obtaining free and informed consent when it is necessary to recruit people for studies. Their aims, the authors, the procedures and risks to the participants must be clarified, as well as their necessarily voluntary collaboration and the possibility they have of quitting or refusing to participate without any onus. These demands are on Resolution 196 of the National Health Council (Ministério Nacional da Saúde, 1996) and must be explicit on the informed consent form sent to every participant, who must click on a specific field to inform its agreement.

Another caution that must be taken in consideration regards data transmission and storage, once it is unlikely but possible that online information is intercepted by others. Cryptography technology may be a solution, since it randomizes what is in transit between a user's computer and a server, making it incomprehensible. This guarantees higher data protection and users' anonymity (Nosek, Banaji, & Greenwald, 2002).

Another precaution regards avoiding fraud due to online instruments re-answering. One thing that can be done is registering time, day and Internet Protocol (IP). The IP is a number that identifies each computer connected to the network. However, Nosek et al. (2002) warn that this solution is not ideal, since that there are situations in which data sent from the same IP do not necessarily correspond to the same user: a proxy server may identify several machines with the same number; a floating IP number (that changes when a new session is open in a browser) may be connected to different computers in different occasions; or more than one individual may use the same computer, as it happens in lan houses (stores that rent machines connected to the Internet and charge by hour). Besides that, participants could answer to same instrument using several machines or the same machine using a floating IP number.

So, the same authors indicate alternative strategies to prevent repeated responses from one user. One of them would be to restrict access to the instrument only for those to whom an invitation was sent with a personal access code. Each individual would have only one code and, therefore, it would be easier to identify multiple responses for they would be

associated with the code provided by the researcher. In this case, the instrument link would not be presented in online forums, but sent individually to its members, and they could remain anonymous in responding to such instrument, since they would not have to enter their names or email addresses, only the provided code.

Recruitment of participants to online instruments' answering with the researcher's mediation

Online participant recruitment may also be used to apply interviews, whether by email or through instant communication channels, with or without audiovisual resources. Concerning ethical issues, the same procedures regarding informed consent, security in data transmission and avoiding multiple responses must be considered. In addition to that, the researcher that chooses to use written interview by email or chat must be aware of language peculiarities when using the Internet. Usually, a written text does not allow the perception of tone, pauses and movements that go with spoken speech, which can generate limitations for the analysis of ironies and emotions. However, the hypertext (text on the Internet) has some helpful resources to indicate these elements, such as emoticons, which are symbols that can be put together using average computer's keyboard items to show expressive faces of anger, sadness, happiness and other feelings. Graphic signs such as comma, parentheses, bars and others are frequently used online for this purpose.

Other issues may appear when interviewing live online with audiovisual resources. As the investigator and the participant are interacting from different physical spaces, some interventions that could be carried out in a face-to-face interaction are not possible. The questions in the interview may provoke intense emotional reactions that need to be sheltered by the psychologists, but spatial distance prevents simple acts that could bring comfort, such as offering a tissue or gently touching the participant.

Luna (2010, p.23) reports an even more unusual situation that happened during an online chat interview with a young woman who self-harmed. Here is what the author says:

she said she would go to the kitchen and would be back soon. I waited for about ten minutes, when she came back, opened the webcam without my consent and began cutting herself in the forearm with a kitchen knife, while writing she would kill herself in that very moment. At first, I was paralyzed by the awkwardness of D.'s actions. However, in a split second, I recovered

myself and said categorically that we could not proceed with the interview if she continued with that behavior. She started to cry and closed the webcam. I knew my next words would be decisive both to calm her down and for the course of the research. I resumed the conversation in a cozy tone, without judgments, and little by little we have regained the focus on the questions.

In such example, the researcher did not criticize the participant, but embraced her suffering and established, at the same time, a boundary to continue with the interaction. Such attitude not only allowed the interview to be carried out but also, and most important, provided a therapeutic response for the interviewee.

Therefore, when studied population includes socially marginalized groups, it becomes necessary to be aware of possible threats to oneself, to others and even to the researcher. Article 16 of the Psychologist Code of Professional Ethics (Conselho Federal de Psicologia, 2005) warns that psychologists involved in studies, researches or other activities aimed at producing knowledge must assess the risks of their procedures, aiming to protect people, groups, organizations and communities that take part in such activities.

Luna's (2010) research includes the interview as one of her data collection tools in a wider context of virtual ethnography or netnography, as this kind of investigation has been called. Netnography occurs with the researcher's explicit presence, as an observer in a field. Thereby, the scholar has also used blogs' and virtual communities' written statements observation. This procedure is described in the next topic.

Researches using messages publicly exposed on virtual forums

Another online research modality consists in observing messages posted by users on virtual forums, which makes the sample composed of the corpus of messages, and not of the people who wrote them. Even in this case, the anonymity of the authors, as well as of their associated communities or blogs, must be respected according to the ethical premise that guarantees protection to people, groups, organizations and communities in studies lead by psychologists (CFP, 2005).

Public online forums can be found in social networks with thematic communities, where people get together to discuss topics related to a main subject. One of these networks, the most popular in Brazil that allows this kind of content arrangement, is the Orkut.

According to information provided on the network's own Internet site (www.orkut.com), all that the users need to have access is to register an email account and to create a profile with the information they wish, such as age, city of origin, nationality, preferences and pictures, which can all be fake.

Once a profile is created, one can add other profiles to a friends' list, trade messages directly with those friends, associate to communities, read its topics and respond to them or even create new communities.

To find existing communities, there is a search mechanism in the Orkut that allows identifying those by using keywords. Each community has a description on the theme it intends to be about, a list of members and a list of topics. A topic is a title that nominates the intent of content to be addressed under it, forming a subtheme. For example, a community on a football theme may have topics such as: "best players"; "defensive tactics" or "This player is harmed so he will not be able to play next Sunday". Any topics can be answered by any member, including its creator, with unlimited responses. In the list of topic, it is possible to identify the authors, date of creation and date of last message in response to it. The messages also identify the author, its comment and publication date.

The organization of communities and their contents' disposal enable the research to delimitate its field for analysis, using criteria such as the number of members in a community, year of creation of topics and messages or policy regarding content access. At the same time, topics or messages not related to the investigation can be excluded from the corpus.

Some communities are more open, accept anyone as a member and can even make their content available for anyone registered in Orkut, even non members. Others are more restricted, which means new members access is controlled by one or more users, called the moderators. In this case, it is likely that content is only made available for those who have achieved to be associated members.

When it comes to ethics, it is understood that the researcher who wishes to collect data from restricted virtual environments must identify him/herself and ask the moderator and the members for authorization in order to carry out the investigation, informing them previously of its purposes. This is necessary once people have chosen to enter a closed community, which intends to keep its content protected until further notice. As it happens in non-virtual world, the researcher must gain consent from the space where his/her work will take place. It should be clear that the moderator consent to access the community is

not enough to start data collection, once there may be members who do not wish to have their messages used in a study. Thus, community members consent must also be provided and only those who agree and virtually sign the informed consent term may have their messages used in the study's corpus. In such cases, the project must be submitted to a Research Ethics Committee. Now, this study design can lead to limitations when the conversation among people in the forums stops making sense once messages from members who did not give their consent are left outside the corpus. Therefore, an alternative is to collect data from open communities. One inconvenience could be that members might feel less sheltered and so the conversation would be shyer, since they would know that the messages could be seen by anyone. But still, anonymity remains a resource for those who wish for discretion, whether by the use of fake profiles or by posting anonymously when the community allows such procedure. Either way, researchers must keep in mind that all types of studies have their limitations and what is important is to acknowledge them, pondering possible biases in the results.

When it comes to open communities, the investigator can assume at least two different ways of acting, identifying him/herself or remaining anonymous. In the first option, it is possible to interact with a group from an existing community or also to create a new one, inviting those who would like to participate to join in, if they wish to contribute.

That was the option made by L. A. V. Silva (2010) when studying bare backing. He says he has chosen to follow the Orkut's logic, creating a researcher profile where one could identify his work's intents and aims, as well as his professional and institutional linkages. Using this profile, he has accessed communities on men's sexual practices involving intentional sex without condom use. Once a member, he created topics not only to publicize the research, but also to talk with other community members and report his own doubts regarding the bare backing practice. Thus, these procedures constituted a process of active ethnographic participation.

Another alternative is to remain anonymous and collect data only from communities that allow unrestricted access to its content, as their members know from the beginning that whatever they write will be public to anyone in the network, which means anyone with an email account. Still, ethical care is advised, as members' anonymity must be guaranteed by changing their names in the research reports, even if there is a possibility that users themselves have fake identification profiles in the Orkut.

Peruzzo et al. (2007) have carried out a study under these conditions (remaining anonymous to collect data from open communities) about the mourning expression and elaboration through the Internet. They have analyzed adolescents' and young adults' statements exposed in Orkut communities dedicated to honor someone who has died. The authors concluded that the expression of mourning feelings on the Internet is associated to a moment of growth of the use of virtual social networks, which interferes in interpersonal relations and has a "marking influence on the individual's way to perceive the world and to relate to it. ... Maybe this can explain why something so private and subjective is treated openly, without the restraints commonly seen in a non-virtual context" (p. 5).

These scholars' observations are valid not only for their object of study, the mourning, but can be extended to other subjects that are considered taboo but appear frequently in virtual environments. In their concluding remarks, they suggest that other projects could lead to interesting reflections on such subjects. Taking the leave, the present paper utilizes this kind of study design to approach on self-harm. This methodological choice is discussed hereafter.

Post-structuralism and psychological research on/through the Internet

In addition to the ethical and methodological previously debated aspects, which can apply to online investigations under any theoretical perspective, a specific discussion on the post-structuralism approach is now proposed, since its peculiarities question the very concept of community, scientific knowledge and the researcher's position.

On that matter, Braga (2006) challenges the concept of community, questioning its alleged homogeneous feature and its supposed shared discourses among all members. For her, this represents a utopian view that tends to keep differences invisible by expelling or not even letting in those who diverge from the group. In her words:

The concept of community stands on a nostalgic notion of an ideal, a natural and homogeneous type of social aggregation towards a space ... How can the conception of shelter for an individual and its peers be conjugated with the conception of a space for the experience of diversity? This nostalgic notion on pre-industrial communities has been criticized under the argument that homogeneous groups' 'destructive power' tends to expel the unknown, the 'different', in an attempt to vanish chaos. (Braga, 2006, p. 2)

On virtual communities that control the access of people, the user is often asked to say why does he/she wishes to become a member, and his/her response is submitted to the moderator or someone delegated to evaluate the answer. This has the intent to avoid the entrance of strangers who might not really belong to the group. Braga's criticism makes the point that even though a community is restricted, and so, only people who are allegedly equal gain access, differences are present.

For Tomaz Tadeu da Silva (2009), an important poststructuralist theoretician, this is a feature of identity formations. Identity is only possible through difference, as it is in relation to what a person is not, that he/she can define who he/she is. The statement "I am this" brings with it a set of denials like "I am not that, nor that, nor that other thing".

The idea of identity is, therefore, questioned in post-structuralism premises: there is not a permanent, coherent and stable "self". Given the difficulty to find a better word, the term identity is still used, but its definition differs from the idea of an essential and changeless core that would form individual's subjectivity. Under this perspective, the practices and not the substances, the appearances and not the essences, are privileged: "the subject is not a substance, a transcending element, an origin point. Such as in other metaphysical categories, the subject is just a fiction" (T. T. Silva, 2002, p. 40).

For Butler (2001), another exponent of this line of thought, subjectivity emerges from the matrix of relations that allow naming ways of being a subject. Therefore, the different ways in which subjectivities are constructed are the effect of contingencies that name what is "thinkable" in a given time. We are, then, thought before we think. And we are thought in relation to what we are not: human is produced through exclusions of what is produced as not human, inhuman, less human, and humanly unthinkable.

Thereby, a post-structuralism approach study can be considered to investigate virtual network spaces, for they are configured as a device for the circulation of discourses and ways of subjectivities that allows the emergence of identities made possible due to the world's wide web globalization in contemporary history. Rodrigues (2003) reminds that history, to Foucault, differs from what is usually known as the successive chronological progression of periods that could be unveiled to an original moment (or, when it comes to personal history, to an unconscious truth that would explain everything about the subject). The history that matters to him is a description on

conditions of the possibilities that allow the emergence and functioning of a certain phenomenon.

For instance, Adler and Adler (2007) say that the emergence of a group of people that calls themselves “self-harmers” or “cutters” was only made possible with the circulation of discourses about self-harm on the media (especially on the Internet, but also in other media devices). A quick search on Google’s searching engine using the word “self-harm” leads to over 100,000 results, amongst texts, forums, videos, blogs, news, pictures and chat rooms.

Before the exponential growth of online social networks, this behavior was practiced privately in urban western societies and seen by scientific knowledge as part of a psychopathological problem, not as a central aspect of definition for a “self” different from “others”. Hence the Internet is an important historical contingency that crosses the “self-harmers” or “cutters” categories.

Here lies the productive dimension of power in the virtual space through the creation of a new identity group as, for Foucault (1969/2010), the invention of categories is an expression of the will for knowledge/power. A consequence of such creation is that, by trying to universalize the category of “self-harmer”, automatically the exclusion of several other “self-harmers” is created, as they do not fit perfectly in the category description due to practices or discourses that escape the norm.

Indicating a theme and a general description and/or subthemes in the topics in order to guide the discussion in a community does not prevent the posting of messages and/or the creation of topics that dodge such guidelines. For instance, under the general theme “Football club”, one can still find topics such as “mother’s day – ideas for a gift”. However, in controlled communities, moderators can exclude topics and messages they judge to be outside the rules that are usually posted on the front page, or in topics especially created by the moderators, with the purpose to explicit what is allowed and what is not. This can be seen as a prohibitive feature of power present in the interdiction that censures online interaction.

Besides that, there are communities in which the posting of anonymous messages are allowed and others where this is not possible. But actually, this is not an infallible prohibition, since anyone can publish messages using a fake profile and then anonymity is guaranteed. In short, the deliberate publication of contents outside the communities’ main themes (even under the risk of exclusion) or the entrance in

a restricted community through a fake profile can be thought as possibilities to escape prohibitive standards, in other words, as a resistance to the moderation’s power of censure.

In this way, the investigator must keep in mind that messages and topics may be excluded at all times by a number of reasons. Hence the importance of immediately saving collected data and storing them as non-modifiable files like .pdf or .xls, so that information is not lost and can be analyzed at any given time, even if they are deleted online. It would be certainly interesting to see a study that could follow controlled communities along time, to verify which contents would have been actually censored by moderators and what would that imply in terms of the existent relations of power in these spaces.

Finally, it is worth reflecting on the technique of observation used on the Internet. As online interactions allow seeing without being seen, since there are communities with open content, the presence of the investigator can remain not explicit. To Braga (2006, p. 5) it is “a very peculiar participation, as it is possible for the researcher to become invisible, to see without being seen, which at first does not interfere in the dynamics of the observed interaction”. Still, she says that the presence of lurkers (whether they are researchers or not) can be inferred by others, so there is a “possibility that the lurker is already present in the participant’s enunciation”.

A similar form of observation is mentioned by Foucault (1977/2008) when he describes the panoptic architectural device of surveillance, projected to observe prisoners in a way they could not see the observer. The one who could see, therefore, was in a privileged condition that guaranteed the control of the prison population even if there was nobody watching, because people would always be alert, inferring that someone could be lurking.

Concluding remarks

Considering the privileged position of online social networks in contemporary time, their repercussions on users’ interactions and their potential to produce and reproduce discourses and modes of subjectivity, the Internet presents itself as a very interesting phenomenon for psychology studies.

Its importance was demonstrated in this course through the literature on its use as a research source, for such space is an additional mean to obtain information on several themes, especially those considered taboos.

However, the same ethical attention must be given to this kind of investigation, as it is in face-to-face studies with humans. From participants' recruitment to instrumental and methodological resources, it all requires the scholar to act with caution.

A main point of concerns is the possibility of fraud. However, it should be taken into account that the participant that deliberately frauds an online research could also come to defraud a face-to-face research. So, the risk associated to people's lack of suitability is practically the same. Even so, there are manners to prevent its occurrence, as it was discussed.

Another methodological peculiarity is the researcher's chance to become invisible when chosen strategy is data collection through messages from public online forums, which constitutes a non-participant observation only made possible thanks to the Internet. To remain unidentified, however, does not free the researcher from the ethical commitment to maintain secrecy and anonymity regarding those involved in the study. All names or nicknames must be changed, as a matter of protection, even though users can carry fake names in their online interactions. This procedure maintains internal confidentiality, so other members from the virtual community cannot recognize who wrote what.

The adequacy of those methodological proceedings to the execution of studies under a poststructuralist perspective demands further reflection. One can think that a certain group of people have its "identity" produced in the very constitution of virtual communities. For instance, maybe there has always been a group of people who self-harmed, but that was not configured as an identity group, which came to exist as such from the moment the resources were made available for them on online social networks.

In summary, when the Internet is an element of research, whether as a tool for data collection or as a field for analysis, all caution must be redoubled. An ethical position includes not to access moderate virtual communities without identifying oneself, as the effort to control access is precisely to prevent the group from feeling invaded. In order to use information from restricted communities, their owners and members must be warned and asked for authorization, by presenting their informed consent, as in a face-to-face study. Thus, non-participant observation must be restricted to open communities with public content, since their members already know their messages can be visualized by any other user.

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