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The Psychoanalytic Interview as Qualitative Research

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The psychoanalytical interview is one innovative form of knowledge production that has remained outside the discussions of scientific method in psychology. Major parts of the knowledge presented in current textbooks of psychology stem from psychoanalytical interviews, a method that does not exist in textbooks of psychological methods. Some postulates and paradoxes about psychoanalytical knowledge production are posited and aspects of the psychoanalytical interview as a research method are outlined on the basis of Freud's writings on therapy and technique. Drawing on postmodern conceptions of knowledge, the relational and constructive aspects of therapeutic knowledge production are emphasized. Characteristics of psychoanalytical knowledge production are then discussed, and it is concluded that therapeutic researchers may learn from current developments in social science interview research, and that social scientists may learn from the knowledge production in therapeutic interviews, a knowledge source that remains to be taken seriously by therapeutic researchers themselves.

INTRODUCTION

In what follows, I will discuss the potentials of the psychoanalytical interview in providing knowledge of the human situation. I will, on the basis of philosophical analyses of knowledge and qualitative social science research, point to possibilities of a conceptual and methodical refinement of the therapeutic interview as a method of research. I shall further argue that the psychoanalytical interview is relevant for enriching and deepening the use of qualitative interviews in the social sciences today.

I have not myself worked with therapeutic research; I have just written a book about qualitative interview research, where I draw on therapeutic interviews as well as postmodern reconceptualizations of knowledge (Kvale, 1996).

THERAPEUTIC RESEARCH BETWEEN SCYLLA AND CHARYBDIS

A therapeutic research project may be a dangerous voyage, cruising between anecdotal case stories with little method and quantified physiologi-



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cal and behavioral measures with little psychological content. Clinical research has produced a long history of rejected articles and shipwrecked dissertations. A therapeutic research voyage may be compared to Odysseus sailing the narrow strait between Charybdis and Scylla on his return from Troy, a passage that he declared as the most dangerous part of his long research voyage.

On one side of the perilous strait waits the monster Charybdis, swallowing whole ships with their crew. The therapeutic researcher here gets carried away by entertaining and exciting case histories, often with the therapist as the hero. There is seldom any methodical reflection on how the evidence for the story is obtained, nor analyses of the narrative structures involved, nor of the validity of the knowledge presented. After a century of psychoanalytical therapy and knowledge production, the main evidence of the psychoanalytic theory still rests on knowledge accumulated through psychoanalytical interviews, a research method that has hardly been given systematical thought in the social sciences.

Odysseus attempted so hard to avoid Charybdis that he came too close to the other side of the narrow strait, where the six-headed monster Scylla devoured six of his crew. Contemporary therapeutic researchers may try so hard to avoid therapeutic anecdotes that they get caught on the other side in a positivist straightjacket, losing the lived therapeutic relations in a web of statistical correlations and significances that rarely yield knowledge relevant to the therapeutic situation. In this form of imitative scientism, the clinical researcher may become more Catholic than the Pope, or—in psychoanalytical terminology—identifies with the aggressor.

The classical psychoanalysts and the statistical experimentalists may remain secure and comfortable behind fortifications on each their coast, hardly taking notice of each other. It is the therapists who venture into research who are in trouble, caught in the dangerous waters between the opposing sides.

Vessels sailing the current qualitative research wave in the social sciences may also be caught in the narrow strait, interview researchers blowing back and forth between a *no-method* Charybdis and an *all-method* Scylla, and not seldom falling prey to both monsters. On one side there is hardly any methodical account of, nor reflection on the production of knowledge in the original conversations, nor on the transformations from living conversations to written texts, nor on the validity of the interpretations of meanings of the text. On the other hand there is a qualitative hyperempiricism of quantified categorizations and endless quotes from interview transcripts. Such interview reports lose the lived reality of the conversations as well as the human situation portrayed in the subjects' stories.

One way out of this method dilemma is to turn to Freud's (1963) writings on the psychoanalytical interview, for which he claimed, "It is indeed one of the distinctions of psychoanalysis that research and treatment proceed hand in hand" (p. 120).

TABLE 1: Four Postulates About Psychoanalytical Knowledge Production**Postulate 1.** *The significance of psychoanalytical knowledge production:*

Major parts of the knowledge presented in current textbooks of scientific psychology originally stem from psychoanalytical therapeutic interviews.

Postulate 2. *The neglect of the psychoanalytical research method:*

The psychoanalytical interview does not exist as a method in textbooks on scientific psychological methods.

The therapeutic research paradox:

Major parts of current psychological knowledge are derived from a psychoanalytical interview that does not exist as a research method in scientific psychology, nor in current therapeutic research.

Postulate 3. *The noncompatibility of psychoanalytical research and positivist science:*

The psychoanalytical interview breaks systematically with positivist demands for a scientific psychological method.

Postulate 4. *The compatibility of psychoanalytical research and alternative conceptions of science:*

The psychoanalytical interview comes in important aspects close to the conceptions of knowledge production within existential, hermeneutic, dialectical, and postmodern philosophical positions.

The therapeutic philosophy paradox:

Therapeutic researchers still adhere to philosophically outdated positivist conceptions of scientific research and do not recognize the coherence of the therapeutic conversation with current developments in philosophy.

POSTULATES ABOUT PSYCHOANALYTICAL KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION

In what follows, I will investigate possibilities of developing conceptual maps for researchers today navigating in the dangerous waters between a no-method Charybdis and an all-method Scylla. I will then go back to Freud's writings on therapy in the light of later philosophical analysis of knowledge. First, though, I shall put forward some general postulates about psychoanalytical knowledge and research and point out some paradoxes in the field (see Table 1). Thereafter, I provide documentation for the postulates, and suggest some ways out of the paradoxes.

PSYCHOANALYTICAL KNOWLEDGE AND RESEARCH

If the postulates put forth about psychoanalytical knowledge and research should not hold, the paradoxes evaporate and the following analysis would collapse like a house of cards. So, before looking closer at the construction of knowledge in the psychoanalytical interview, I shall provide some documentation for the first two postulates concerning the significance of psychoanalytically produced knowledge and the neglect of the psychoanalytic research method.

Postulate 1: The Importance of Psychoanalytically Produced Knowledge

Psychoanalysis is the one branch of psychology that, a century after its inception, still has a strong professional impact on psychotherapy, which continues to be of interest to the general public, to other sciences, and to present a challenge to philosophers today. Psychoanalytical theory has been a major generator of research in psychology. Psychoanalytical concepts have been assimilated into the mainstream of contemporary psychology with central areas of current textbooks of psychology based on knowledge originally obtained through the psychoanalytic interview, for example, regarding dreams and neurosis, sexuality, childhood development and personality, anxiety and motivation, defense mechanisms and unconscious forces. To give one quantitative indication of the pervasive influence of psychoanalytically produced knowledge today, in the *Encyclopedia of Psychology* (Corsini, 1994) there are more than twice as many references to Freud than to any of the other pioneers in producing psychological knowledge, such as Wundt, Pavlov, Watson, Piaget, or Skinner.

It should be noted that significant knowledge construction in the psychoanalytical interview is not confined to Freud's contributions. Other psychoanalysts, such as Jung and Adler, continued to produce important knowledge of the human situation through their therapeutic interviews. Neither should it be overlooked that a significant social psychological study of racial prejudice and personality—"The authoritarian personality" (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950)—was based on insights originally developed through psychoanalytical interviews by Fromm and others in connection with the Frankfurt Institute of Social Research in the 1930s. Also, the current focus on *narcissistic personality disorders*, a term coined by Freud, originated with clinical descriptions from the therapeutic interviews of analysts such as Kohut, Kernberg, and Mitscherlich in the 1960s.

Not all knowledge produced from the therapeutic situation generates significant understandings of human relationships. Much current therapeutic knowledge tends to be of a popularized technical kind, designed for the bookstores' "self help" sections. On the other hand, the fact that the therapeutic conversation has been the production site for penetrating insights into the human situation by therapists such as Freud, Jung, and May should remain a challenge for current therapeutic researchers.

Postulate 2: The Neglect of the Psychoanalytical Interview as a Method of Knowledge Production

One looks in vain in textbooks of psychological methods for the major source of psychoanalytic knowledge—the therapeutic interview. This pertains not only to the traditional natural science oriented textbooks featuring experimental and quantitative methods. Also, in recent, more open approaches, (which also draw on methods from the humanities such as discursive and narrative analysis), Freud's psychoanalytical interview does not appear as a research method; for example, *Research Methods in Psychology* (Breakwell, Hammond, & Fife-Schaw, 1995) with separate chapters on about 20 research methods, and *Rethinking Methods in Psychology* (Smith, Harré, & Langenhove, 1995). The sociological *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods* by Taylor and Bogdan (1998), which contains a sensitive chapter on the interpersonal relations of "in-depth interviewing," has no references to the contributions hereto by psychoanalytical research interviews.

More paradoxical than the external academic disregard of the innovative psychoanalytical research method is that the neglect is also mirrored internally in the psychoanalytical tradition. In a systematic analysis of the status of psychoanalytical theory in 1959, Rapaport (1959) stated that "the major body of positive evidence for the theory lies in the field of accumulated clinical observations" and went on to state that "the lack of clarification as to what constitutes a valid clinical research method leaves undetermined the positive evidential weight of the confirming clinical material" (pp. 140-141), concluding that "the techniques of psychoanalysis have been studied, but its methods have hardly been given systematic thought" (Rapaport, 1959, p. 151). Rapaport's (1959) challenge does not appear to have been taken up by later therapeutic researchers.

It remained for philosophers such as Apel (1965) and Habermas (1971), inspired by the work of the psychoanalyst Alfred Lorenzer, to reconsider the research potentials of the therapeutic interview and to follow up Freud's assertion that in psychoanalysis research and treatment follow hand in hand. Through an analysis of Freud's (1963) writings on therapy and technique, Habermas found a model for an emancipatory social science of self-reflection, resting on an oscillation between naturalist quasi-casual explanations and

hermeneutical interpretations of meaning. Habermas' analysis of the methodological blind spot of psychoanalysis and his arguments for psychoanalysis as a model for a critical social science has, to my knowledge, hardly been taken up by current therapeutic researchers.

Recent books on therapeutic research in the Anglo-Saxon tradition scarcely contain references to Freud and the psychoanalytical research interview (see, e.g., *Psychotherapy Process Research—Paradigmatic and Narrative Approaches* by Toukmanian & Rennie, 1992; and *Clinical Reasoning—Forms of Inquiry in a Therapeutic Practice* by Mattingly & Fleming, 1994). Within the German tradition, the potentials of the psychoanalytical interview for therapy research have been more seriously considered. For example, in *Qualitative Psychotherapieforschung—Grundlagen und Methoden* by Faller & Frommer (1994), a chapter by Wilke addresses parallels of the psychoanalytical interview and current methods of the social sciences. An innovative approach by Stern (1985) should also be mentioned. Working both as a psychoanalyst and a developmental psychologist, he has investigated the infant's subjective experiences by relating the findings about the *clinical child*, as reconstructed through psychoanalytical interviews with adult patients, and the *observed child* of empirical developmental psychological studies. Such examples provide exceptions to the general neglect in psychology of the psychoanalytical interview as a research method.

The therapeutic research paradox. Major parts of psychological knowledge are produced by a method that does not exist in a scientific psychology. General textbooks of scientific psychology today survive parasitically on knowledge produced by a therapeutic method that is denied a scientific status. Two solutions to this paradox appear. One solution would be to censor psychoanalytically produced knowledge, insist that it lies outside the premises of a scientific psychology, and ban it from textbooks of psychological science. An alternative solution would be to regard the psychoanalytical interview as one among many psychological research methods, reflect on its nature, and critically develop its research potentials. This second alternative is pursued in the following section.

Perspective on Psychoanalytical Research

Some qualifications about the present perspective need to be pointed out before turning to the nature of the psychoanalytical interview and its place in a philosophical context. First, I will treat the concrete descriptive and interpretative knowledge of human relations produced in the psychoanalytical interview, and do not put forth a global endorsement of psychoanalytical theory. The focus is on what Klein (1973) terms Freud's *clinical theory*, in contrast to Freud's speculative metapsychology of the human mind as a mechanical system of energy transformations, which Habermas characterized as the sci-

entific self-misunderstanding of psychoanalysis. Second, I shall confine the discussion to the classical psychoanalytical view as developed by Freud, and not draw on further developments by Lacan and others, nor address the many critical discussions of psychoanalysis by French poststructuralists and by feminists.

Third, the present focus is on the contributions of psychoanalytical interviews to the production of psychological knowledge and does not address the common therapy efficiency studies. Fourth, there are many problems with the use of the psychoanalytical interview as a research method, in particular overinterpretation and overgeneralization from selected clinical cases. The flagrant misuse of therapeutic situations, not necessarily psychoanalytic, has come to the attention of the public and the courts regarding the current therapeutic productions of false memories of seduction and the multipersonal disorders (e.g., Acocella, 1998). The empirical validity of the psychoanalytical observations and the coherence of the theoretical interpretations has been critically discussed for several decades (see, e.g., Fisher & Greenberg, 1977). A critical review of research on the psychoanalytic process by Wallerstein and Sampson (1971) stated that we need to develop the clinical case study, with its compelling power and obvious scientific limitations, into a disciplined research instrument. Although recognizing the serious problems of overinterpretation and overgeneralization from therapeutic sessions, I shall not address them here, but focus on the neglected research potentials of psychoanalytical therapy in bringing forth new phenomena and new interconnections.

Fifth, due to its historical priority and theoretical significance, I will focus on the psychoanalytic interview. I am aware that today a majority of psychotherapy is carried out within other traditions, such as Roger's client-centered therapy, Gestalt therapy, and family therapy. The therapeutical research paradox for psychoanalysis presented above may also pertain to these traditions. Thus, for family therapy, Chenail (1992) makes a case for clinical qualitative research conducted from the therapist's way of acting and knowing, and points to the paradoxical status of this research.

On the one hand, this style of research has produced a number of significant and clinically relevant studies for practitioners, but on the other hand, this work of researching clinicians has not been widely recognized and accepted by many clinical researchers as "true research." (p. 5; see also Atkinson, Heath, & Chenail, 1991; and Wertz, 1993)

THE PSYCHOANALYTICAL RESEARCH INTERVIEW

A brief depiction of the psychoanalytical situation shall be given here and taken up in the following discussion of philosophical interpretations of psy-

TABLE 2: Seven Aspects of the Psychoanalytical Research Interview

The individual case study. Psychoanalytical therapy is an intensive case study of individual patients over several years. The extensive knowledge obtained of the patients' present world and of their past provides the therapist with a uniquely rich context for interpreting their dreams and neurotic symptoms.

The open mode of interviewing. The psychoanalytical interview takes place in the structured setting of the therapeutic hour, it is based on psychoanalytical theory, yet the content is free and nondirective and it proceeds in an open manner. The patient's free associations correspond to the therapist's "evenly-hovering attention." Freud (1963) warned against formulating a case scientifically during treatment, because it would interfere with the open therapeutic attitude in which one proceeds "aimlessly, and allows oneself to be overtaken by any surprises, always presenting to them an open mind, free from any expectations" (p. 120).

The interpretation of meaning. An essential aspect of psychoanalytical technique is the interpretation of the meaning of the patient's statements and actions. The psychoanalytical interpretations are open to ambiguity and contradictions; they address multiple layers of meanings in a dream or a symptom. They require an extensive temporal context, with the possibility of continual reinterpretations. "The full interpretation of such a dream will coincide with the completion of the whole analysis: if a note is made of it at the beginning, it may be possible to understand it at the end, after many months" (Freud, 1963, p. 100).

The temporal dimension. Psychoanalytic therapy unfolds over several years in a historical dimension with a unique intertwining of the past, present, and future. Freud's innovation here was to see human phenomena in a meaningful historical perspective: the remembrance of the past as an active force of therapeutic change, and the therapy as a means for overcoming the repressions of the past and present resistance toward making the unconscious conscious.

The human interaction. Psychoanalytical therapy takes place through an emotional human interaction, with a reciprocal personal involvement. Freud noticed that if the analyst allowed the patient time, devoted serious interest to him, and acts with tact, a deep personal attachment of the patient to the therapist can develop. The strong emotions, ranging from love to rage, were interpreted theoretically as a "transference" of childhood feelings for the parents to the therapist. This transference is deliberately employed by the therapist as a means to overcome the patient's emotional resistance toward a deeper self-knowledge and change. Different

TABLE 2 Continued

depths of layers of the patient's personality are disclosed depending on the intensity of the emotional ties to the therapist. Therapists do not seek to eliminate their own feelings toward their patients, termed *countertransference*, but employ them in the therapeutic process as a reflected subjectivity.

Pathology as a topic of investigation. The subject matter of psychoanalytical therapy is the abnormal and irrational behavior of patients in crisis, their apparently meaningless and bizarre symptoms and dreams. The pathological behavior provides a magnifying glass for the less visible conflicts of average individuals; the neuroses and psychoses are extreme versions of normal behavior. They are the characteristic expressions of what has gone wrong in a given culture.

The instigation of change. The mutual interest of patient and therapist is to overcome the patient's suffering due to their neurotic symptoms. Despite the patients having sought treatment voluntarily, they exhibit a deeply seated resistance to a change of self-understanding and action. "The whole theory of psychoanalysis is . . . in fact built up on the perception of the resistance offered to us by the patient when we attempt to make his unconscious conscious to him" (Freud, 1963, p. 68). Although understanding may lead to change, the implicit theory of knowledge in psychoanalysis is that a fundamental understanding of a phenomenon can first be obtained by attempting to change the phenomenon.

choanalytical research. Seven aspects of the psychoanalytical interview relevant to understanding its potential as a research situation are presented in Table 2. They are based on Freud's (1963) writings on therapy and technique, they have been further treated in an earlier context (Kvale, 1986).

The seven aspects of the psychoanalytical interview outlined here have commonly been regarded as merely practical aspects of the therapeutic technique, or as sources of error for a scientific research method. From the present perspective it is these very aspects of the psychoanalytical interview that have led to its rejection as a scientific method, which contribute to the significant psychoanalytical knowledge production about the human situation.

Other explanations may be suggested for the significant knowledge production of psychoanalysis. These include the innovative psychoanalytical theory; the inclusion of the knowledge provided by culture, art, and literature for understanding human action and pathology; and the emphasis on the therapist's self-analysis as a precondition for undertaking therapy. Important as these factors may be, the present discussion will focus on the knowledge potentials of the psychoanalytical interview situation.

TABLE 3: Psychoanalytical Research in a Positivist Context

The intensive studies of selected <i>cases</i> differ from the requirement of large samples of representative subjects.
The flexible <i>open mode of interviewing</i> contrasts with the demand for formalized observation and systematic design.
The primacy of <i>interpretation of meaning</i> does not lead to exact quantifiable facts.
The meaning of observations may change through the <i>temporal dimension</i> of a psychoanalysis, in contrast with a demand for immutable facts.
The <i>human emotional interaction</i> of the therapeutic interview, with its transference and countertransference relations, violate requirements for neutral observation.
The focus on <i>pathological behavior</i> of neurotic patients contrasts with the study of the normal behavior of average persons.
The <i>changes</i> produced throughout therapy makes control through repeated independent observations difficult.

PSYCHOANALYTICAL RESEARCH IN DIFFERING PHILOSOPHICAL CONTEXTS

After seven main aspects of the psychoanalytical interview have been outlined, we may return to the postulates about the incompatibility of the psychoanalytic interview with positivist conceptions of knowledge and its compatibility with alternative continental European philosophies.

Postulate 3: Positivist Dismissal of Psychoanalytical Knowledge

The third postulate put forth earlier stated that the psychoanalytical interview breaks systematically with conventional positivist demands for a scientific psychology. A positivist conception of psychology as a natural science was long paradigmatic for most of psychological research, fostering a technological approach to method with a selective disattention to the human relationships involved in producing psychological knowledge (Kvale, 1976a).

In Table 3, the seven aspects of the psychoanalytic interview outlined earlier are compared with criteria of scientific method developed from a posi-

tivist philosophy. It follows rather markedly how, point for point, the important aspects of the psychoanalytical interview as a research method violate key criteria of scientific research in a positivist-oriented psychology. The incompatibility of psychoanalytical research practice and positivist criteria of method makes the relegation of the psychoanalytical interview from the scientific discourse of academic psychology logical. For a psychological science based on eliminating the human factor from methods of investigating human interrelations, the psychoanalytical interview, which is based on this very human interaction, must be dismissed as unscientific. Today the influence of a positivist philosophy in the social sciences has been declining. Much therapeutic research, however, remains confined to a strict quantifying statistical approach, now adapting to the demands of insurance companies and health management for exact quantitative documentation of therapeutic effects.

The present argument does not take issue with the serious critiques of the therapeutic overinterpretations and overgeneralizations mentioned earlier. In a later section I shall address some issues of generalization of therapeutic findings and validation of therapeutic interpretations. The present argument concerns the principal rejection of the personal human relation in scientific research on human relations. This conception is not confined to the older positivist philosophy of science. The aspects of the psychoanalytical interview outlined above also fall outside conceptions of method by more recent analytical philosophers. For example, Elster (1980) states that "a method is a set of rules which can be used in a mechanical way to realize a given aim. The mechanical element is important: a method shall not presuppose judgment, artistic or other creative abilities" (p. 295).

By going beyond the modern cult of rules and facts, and recognizing the social construction of psychological knowledge, therapeutic research could be freed from an obligation to either remain silent about its methods, or to imitate the technical data-reifying methods of the experimental and psychometric traditions.

Postulate 4: Philosophical Rehabilitation of Psychoanalytic Knowledge

In the century that has passed since Freud's original discoveries there has been significant philosophical reconceptualizations of the forms of knowledge pertaining to the human situation. Although rejected by a positivist philosophy of science, the knowledge production of psychoanalysis has been a challenge for thinkers in continental European philosophy. Although critical of the speculative and reductionist trends of Freud's naturalistic metatheory, they have addressed the unique nature of the personal interaction of the psychoanalytical situation, its potentials for personal change, and its contributions toward the knowledge of the human situation.

The psychoanalytical interview comes in important aspects close to conceptions of knowledge developed with existential, hermeneutical, dialectical, and postmodern philosophy, as stated previously in the fourth postulate. Although differing in fundamental positions, these alternative philosophies point to the important aspects of psychoanalytical knowledge production dismissed by a positivist methodology. With their complex and differing conceptions of knowledge, it is not feasible to make any simple point to point comparisons of these philosophies with the psychoanalytical interview, such as was done previously with respect to positivist philosophy. I shall instead briefly depict some meeting points and then in a later section discuss more specific implications for understanding the knowledge production in therapeutic and in research interviews.

The openness of the psychoanalytical observations has been emphasized from phenomenological positions and the richness and the complexities of meaning interpretation has been addressed from hermeneutical positions. The influence of the therapeutic relationship has been prominent in existential approaches. The intertwinedness of knowing and acting, as well as the potentialities of overcoming oppressive forces, have been significant for dialectical positions. Attention to the relational, constructive, and conversational aspects of psychoanalytical knowledge production follow from a postmodern position and will be more specifically treated in the following section. Rather than being treated as sources of error in the quest for objective facts, the human aspects of the psychoanalytical interview appear from these alternative philosophies as pivotal for the rich knowledge of the human situation provided by psychoanalysis.

Some key works extensively addressing the above relations shall be briefly mentioned. From psychotherapists, an early introduction was given by May, Angel, and Ellenberger (1958) in *Existence—A New Dimension in Psychology and Psychiatry*. The existential psychoanalyst Boss' (1963) *Psychoanalysis and Daseinsanalysis* is based on Heidegger's phenomenological existential and hermeneutical philosophy, and Laing's (1962) *The Self and Others* was inspired by Sartre's existentialism. Among the philosophers addressing psychoanalysis there is Sartre's (1963) existential mediation of psychoanalysis and Marxism in *The Problem of Method*, Ricoeur's (1970) phenomenological and hermeneutical *Freud and Philosophy: Essays on Interpretation*, and Habermas' (1971) critical hermeneutical analysis of psychoanalysis as a model for an emancipatory social science in *Knowledge and Human Interests*.

The philosophical reinterpretations of forms of knowledge in the psychoanalytical interview have to some extent been taken up by practicing therapists writing on therapy, but to a little extent by therapists doing research. In recent German social science, however, the research potentials of psychoanalysis have been addressed by drawing on hermeneutical and critical phi-

losophy, such as in several chapters of a German handbook of qualitative research—*Handbuch Qualitativer Sozialforschung* (Flick, von Kardoff, Keupp, von Rosenstiel, & Wolff, 1991). In this book, Treppenhauer, following Habermas, argues for a psychoanalytical-qualitative social research of societal forms of oppression; Wierling addresses the relevance of the historical dimension of psychoanalytic therapy for the new interest in oral history; Haubl treats models of psychoanalytical text interpretations; Auckenthaler recommends a renewed attention to therapeutic case study research; Scheele focuses on the dialogical hermeneutics of psychoanalytical interpretations and constructions; and Leithäuser argues for the general application of psychoanalytical methods in social research.

In the Anglo-Saxon social sciences the new interest in qualitative research has largely bypassed the research potentials of the psychoanalytical interview and its philosophical reinterpretations. Thus, in the comprehensive *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994), with its multitude of methods and philosophical perspectives represented, therapy is not included as a research method and the qualitative researcher having largest impact on human culture in this century, Freud, does not exist in the index.

The philosophical paradox of therapeutic research. The neglect of the psychoanalytical research interview remains most remarkable within psychology. I have here attempted to document the earlier postulates of the incompatibility of psychoanalytic research with positivism and its compatibility with alternative philosophical schools. The paradox remains: Therapeutic researchers may still adhere to philosophically outdated positivist conceptions of scientific research and not recognize the research potentials of the therapeutic conversation that follows from alternative conceptions of knowledge in current philosophy.

Although the dismissal of the therapeutic interview is rational from the viewpoint of a positivist psychology, it seems irrational for current therapists doing research to forego the research potentials of their own therapeutic practice. It is tempting to suggest a superficial psychoanalyzing of the causes of this paradox. Here may appear an anxiety-driven identification with the aggressor—the academic experimentalist—leading to a repression of the historical contributions of Freud to the development of culturally innovative and provocative knowledge through therapeutic interviews. It is also reflected in a resistance to facing newer developments in philosophy even as they are compatible with a psychoanalytical approach. The present discussion may be seen as an attempt of self-assertion therapy for the therapeutic researchers' low self-esteem concerning the scientific value of their practice by repeatedly pointing out the historical significance of the knowledge contributions from the psychoanalytical interview, as well as the important position of psychoanalysis in current philosophical discussions of knowledge.

KNOWLEDGE POTENTIALITIES OF THERAPEUTIC AND RESEARCH INTERVIEWS

Therapeutic researchers may today learn from the methods and conceptual approaches developed during the last decades in qualitative research in the social sciences. Qualitative researchers in the social sciences may learn from the use of the therapeutic interview as a research method originating a century ago. In this final section I shall address some specific research potentials of interviews by relating therapeutic and research interviews within the context of current philosophical discussions of knowledge (for a more extensive discussion see Kvale, 1996). The analysis shall focus on these aspects of interview research: the interrelational nature of knowledge, the conversation as a site of knowledge production, the importance of personal knowledge, ethical issues of interview research, generalization from cases, validation as communication and action, and finally an epistemology of practice.

There are other aspects of psychoanalytical research relevant for current qualitative inquiries, a few shall be mentioned here, but not pursued further in the present context. They include the extensive theoretical and personal training of psychoanalytical interviewers, working under close supervision for several years before becoming qualified to conduct psychoanalytical observations and interpretations. The psychoanalytical emphasis on a comprehensive theoretical background for making interview interpretations contrasts with some empiristic atheoretical trends in current qualitative research (confer, for example, to the critiques by Giorgi, 1995; and Strauss, 1995). The openness of classical psychoanalysis to the insights of the cultural tradition deserves serious attention; the therapeutic interview interpretations also draw on the knowledge of the human situation brought forth in myths, literature, and art.

The Interrelational Nature of Knowledge

In interview research and therapy of postmodern philosophy, we find an emphasis on the interrelational nature of knowledge, with the creation of knowledge through human relationships.

Postmodern knowledge. The interrelational and constructive nature of knowledge is prominent in postmodern conceptions of knowledge. Philosophy of the last half century has been characterized by a series of linguistic, conversational, narrative, and pragmatic "turns." The conception of knowledge as a mirror of reality has been replaced by a conception of the social construction of reality, where the focus is on the interpretation and negotiation of the meaning of the social world. With the breakdown of universal metanarra-

tives of legitimation (Lyotard, 1984), there is an emphasis on the local context, on the social and linguistic construction of a perspectival reality where knowledge is validated through practice. There is an openness to qualitative diversity, to a multiplicity of meanings in local contexts; knowledge is perspectival, dependent on the viewpoint and values of the investigator. Human reality is understood as conversation and action, where knowledge becomes the ability to perform effective actions. The question of whether a study can legitimately claim to be scientific tends to be replaced by the pragmatic question of whether it provides useful knowledge: justification is replaced by application (Kvale, 1992).

In postmodern and phenomenological philosophy, there is an emphasis on knowledge as interrelational and structural, interwoven in networks. Knowledge is neither inside a person nor outside in the world, but exists in the relationship between person and world. In an introduction to phenomenological philosophy Lyotard (1991) depicts the intentional relation of subject and the situation.

We arrive at a new locus of the “psychological”, which is no longer interiority, but intentionality—that is, the relation between the subject and the situation, it being understood that this relation does not unite two separable poles, but on the contrary that the ego, like the situation, is definable only in and by this relationship. (p. 80)

Merleau-Ponty (1962) has emphasized the interrelational nature of man in *Phenomenology of Perception*. His critique of the prejudice of an objective world in psychology concludes with a quote from Saint Exupery: “Man is but a network of relationships, and these alone matter to him” (p. 456). Within a social constructionist approach to psychology today there is a move from the individual mind to relations between persons: “Constructionism replaces the individual with the relationship as the locus of knowledge” (Gergen, 1994, p. x).

The interrelational nature of the interview. The qualitative research interview is a construction site of knowledge. An interview is literally an *inter-view*, an interchange of views between two persons conversing about a theme of mutual interest.

The ambiguous drawing in Figure 1 was introduced by the Danish psychologist Rubin as an example of the figure ground phenomenon in visual Gestalt perception. I shall here use the figure to picture the interview conversation as *inter views*. We may focus on the two faces of the ambiguous figure, see them as the interviewer and the interviewee, and conceive of the interview as the interaction between the two persons. Or we may focus on the vase in between the two faces, and see it as containing the knowledge constructed *inter the views* of the interviewer and the interviewee. The knowledge constructed between the two subjects in this intersubjective field is an *intersubjective* knowledge.

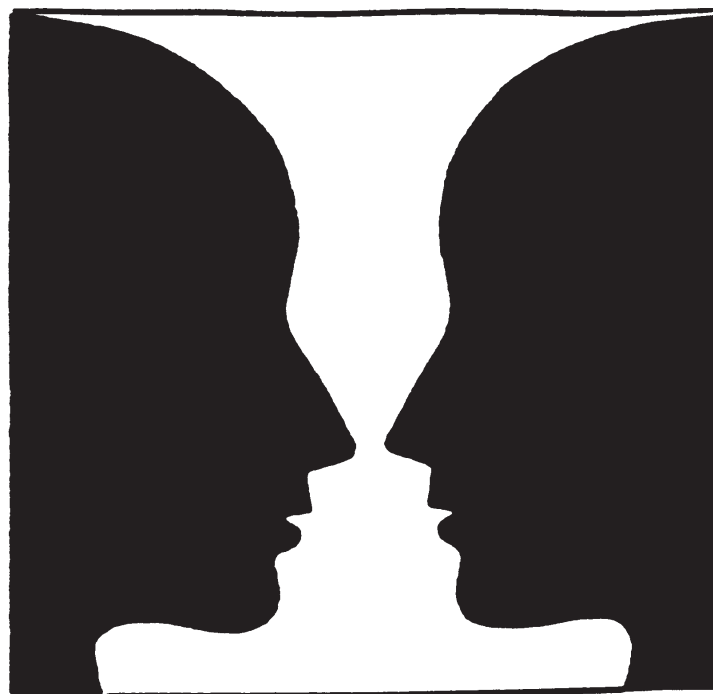


Figure 1: The Interview Seen as *Inter Views*

The Therapeutic Interrelation

The interpersonal nature of therapeutic knowledge has long been recognized by therapists. To Sullivan (1954), knowledge was created through interpretation in the interpersonal relation of the psychiatric interview.

The processes and the changes in processes that make up data, which can be subjected to scientific study occur, not in the subject person nor in the observer, but in the situation which is created between the observer and the subject. . . . There are no purely objective data in psychiatry, and there are no valid subjective data, because the data becomes scientifically usable only in the shape of a complex resultant—inference. (p. 3)

In an interview about the therapeutic interview the Jungian therapist Hillman (1984) replied to the interviewer:

The main thing is that we both get out of the way. What can block the interview is "us," your thinking about what you have to get done here, and my thinking about my own thoughts, opinions, biography, myself. The "you" and the "me" can prevent the "inter." It's not our views that matter, it's the "inter." (p. 8)

The interrelational and conversational nature of the therapeutic interview, as recognized by therapists, remains for a modern empiricist and individualist psychology a source of error. From an alternative perspective, the very interrelational and constructive nature of the therapeutic interview is in line with key aspects of knowledge in a postmodern condition, which leads to a focus on the nature of the knowledge-producing relationships. Social science interviewers may learn from therapeutic interviews to pay close attention to the complex interpersonal relations of the interview when constructing knowledge from the interview situation.

Academic psychology is today essentially a psychology of strangers, constructing a knowledge of human experience and behavior on the basis of brief chance encounters. In psychological experiments and tests, and also in many qualitative interviews, the subjects will be strangers meeting for a brief period, rarely for longer than an hour. Academic psychology has until now remained a tourist psychology, constructing its knowledge of the human situation on the basis of instamatic snapshots.

In contrast, therapists and anthropologists (see, e.g., Lave & Kvale, 1995) construct their knowledge of the human situation through personal interrelationships over extended periods of time. Together with observation, the human conversation here is the main basis for knowledge construction.

A classical psychoanalysis would imply 5 hours of therapy a week over several years. The psychoanalytical relationship is construed to provoke emotional reactions. An emotional attachment of therapist and patient will arise over the many hundreds of hours of therapeutic interviews, theoretically conceived as transference and countertransference. This intensive personal therapeutic relationship may open to painful, hidden memories, and deeper levels of personality, which may be inaccessible through a brief research interview. The unique nature of the therapeutic conversation with the trust of personal interrelation opens for layers of self-disclosure not available in a brief research interview. The extended and close personal interrelation of the therapeutic interview allows for more penetrating critical forms of investigation and validation than will be ethically feasible in a brief research interview.

Conversational Knowledge

Although long discredited as too subjective for a scientific method for obtaining knowledge in academic psychology, the conversation has a central position in the current philosophy of knowledge. These analyses of conversa-

tions may contribute to clarifying the conversational nature of the therapeutic and research interviews. The conversation encompasses not only the research and the therapeutic interview as specific methods, but involves epistemologically a clarification of the nature of the knowledge constructed, and it is ontologically the basic form of human interaction in a human world as a conversational reality.

Thus, the conversation may be conceived *epistemologically* as a basic mode of knowing. Rorty (1979), a neopragmatist philosopher close to postmodern thought, has emphasized the constitution of knowledge through the conversation. The notion of mind as re-presenting an objective world can be discarded "if we see knowledge as a matter of conversation and social practice, rather than as an attempt to mirror nature" (p. 171). The certainty of our knowledge is then a matter of conversation between persons rather than a matter of interaction with a nonhuman reality. If we regard not knowing as having an essence, but as a right to believe, we may see "*conversation* as the ultimate context within which knowledge is understood" (Rorty, 1979, p. 389).

Human reality may further be understood *ontologically* as persons in conversation. To the hermeneutic philosopher Gadamer we are conversational beings for whom language is a reality (see Bernstein, 1983). In a postmodern conversational version of social constructionism, Shotter (1993) attempts to describe the conversational worlds within which we have our being.

For conversation is not just *one* of our many activities in *the* world. On the contrary, we constitute both ourselves and our worlds in our conversational activity. For us they are foundational. They constitute the usually ignored background within which our lives are rooted. (p. vi)

Personal Knowledge

Important as the conversation may be for knowledge, one should be careful of restricting knowledge to explicit verbal discursive knowledge. Schön (1987) has pointed to the detrimental effect of an academic rationality neglecting the professionals' implicit knowing-in-practice. The contextual embeddedness of practical knowledge goes forth in the recent studies of un verbalized knowledge, philosophically analyzed by Polanyi as "tacit knowledge." There is a focus on the implicit, tacit knowledge of the practices of everyday life, as well as in the performances of experts. Dreyfus and Dreyfus (1986) have for their novice-expert hierarchy of skill learning depicted a transition from an explicit knowledge of the novices based on rules and facts to intuitive forms of knowing at the higher level of expertise. Such competencies need not be formulated in explicit rules or verbalized at all, and are acquired by participating in local forms of practice, often in a master apprentice-like relationship, even in research (Kvale, 1997; Mishler, 1990). The intuitive nature of professional knowledge that has to operate in unique

and uncertain practical situations was described by Schön as a knowing-in-practice that relies more on qualified judgments than on explicit general rules. In a chapter on *Learning the Artistry of Psychoanalytical Practice*, Schön (1987) discusses the constructive nature of this knowledge, and its dependence on the training of the therapist.

The knowledge obtained in a therapeutic interview goes beyond the explicitly formulated verbal dimension to encompass tacit knowing. Much of the therapists' knowledge is based on intuition, empathy, and listening to what goes on in the therapeutic relationship. Thus, Freud (1963) recommended the therapist to listen with an evenly-hovering attention, aimlessly, allowing one to be overtaken by any surprises.

Although some therapeutic researchers are starting to apply methodical approaches focusing on language (such as hermeneutics and narrative analysis, conversational analysis, and discourse analysis), it should not be forgotten that the "database" of the therapeutical interpretations also encompasses the bodily presence of the patient. There is a wealth of information provided by facial gestures and bodily postures, systematically employed within a character analysis and vegetotherapy developed by Reich.

The emphasis on empathy as a mode of knowing, the focus on a bodily human being and on the personal interaction in the interview situation, may also be of value to interview research in the social sciences in general. The linguistic verbal modes of analysis are restricted to impoverished embodied material, abstracted from the human presence of the interpersonal interview. Current interview research is often subject to the tyranny of verbatim transcripts and formalized methods of analysis. One may speculate that if the tape recorders had been available in Vienna at Freud's time, there might not have existed any powerful psychoanalytic theory or practice today; a small sect of psychoanalytic researchers might still have been reading and categorizing their transcripts, and discussing their reliability rather than emphatically listening to the many layers of meaning revealed in the embodied therapeutic interrelations.

Interview Ethics in Research and Therapy

Although the research interviewer can learn much from therapeutic interviews, it is important to distinguish between the different forms of human interaction. In therapy the main goal is the change of the patient, in research it is the obtaining of knowledge. A research interviewer's ability to listen attentively may, however, in some cases, lead to quasi-therapeutic relationships, for which most interviewers neither have the training nor the time to enter into. Not having therapeutic training in handling the emotional personal nature of therapeutic relations, interview researchers in the social sciences should be careful not to promote some kind of therapeutic expectancies from

their subjects. By studying therapeutic interviews the researchers may, though, become aware of the complexities of the personal relations in interview situations.

Therapeutic and research interviews also differ with regard to interpretations and testing of interpretations. In therapy it is ethical for therapists to be skeptical of what the patients tell them: The patients may be at a loss about the meaning and purpose of their life, and go to a therapist for help to clarify what they really mean and want. In a therapeutic interview, a suspicious attitude to manifest content of the patients' statements may be part of an implicit therapeutic contract. In contrast hereto, the use of concealed techniques and interpretations with a distrust of the subjects' motives raises ethical problems in a research interview.

When a qualitative researcher makes interpretations going beyond the self-understanding of the interviewees, a series of issues are raised: Should subjects be confronted with interpretations of themselves, which they may not have asked for? During the interview? By the analysis of the interviews? When reporting the interviews? And what should be done about disagreements between the subject's and the researcher's interpretations of a theme?

In therapy, the answer to such questions is relatively simple: The patients themselves have sought the therapy and they are paying the therapist to help them change, involving often painful changes in self-understanding, and which may take place in a dialogue over many years. In psychoanalysis the working through of the patient's resistance to the therapist's interpretations is an essential part of the therapeutic process. In research it is the interviewer who has sought the interviewees, they have not asked for interpretations leading to fundamental changes in the way they understand themselves and their world. Put sharply: In therapy it may be unethical if the therapeutic conversations the patient has asked for, and often paid highly for, do not lead to new insights or emotional changes. In a research interview, which the interviewee has not asked for, it may, however, be unethical to instigate new self-interpretations or emotional changes.

Fog (1992) has discussed an inherent contradiction in pursuing scientific knowledge and ethically respecting the integrity of the interviewee. As a therapist also conducting separate research interviews, she addresses the dilemma of the researcher wanting the interview to be as deep and probing as possible, with the risk of trespassing the person, and on the other hand to be as respectful to the interview person as possible and risk getting empirical material that only scratches the surface. She reports the example of a woman who repeatedly and energetically tells the interviewer how happy she is in her marriage. The woman also gives many verbal and nonverbal signals denying the happiness and reports situations where she is angry about the marriage. Thus, the information obtained by the interview is ambiguous and puts the interviewer in a dilemma between scientific and ethical considera-

tions. Should she leave the woman's version uncommented or should she follow her own hunch that the woman is denying the realities of the marriage and probe further and point out to her the many inconsistencies and contradictions in what she tells about her marriage? A consequence of the latter could be a radical challenge of the woman's understanding of herself and her marriage. This would have been part of an implicit contract of a therapeutic interview, but is definitely beyond the contract of a normal research interview, and was not attempted in this case.

Generalization

Psychoanalytical research has been criticized from mainstream psychology on the grounds that its basis in case studies does not allow generalizations. Current therapeutic research more broadly also harbors critical voices that challenge the reliance on case studies (e.g., Faller, 1994). On the other hand, in current social science research there is a renaissance of the case study (see, for example, Stake, 1995; Yin, 1994). In contrast to a modern demand of developing context-independent knowledge, ideally in the form of universal laws of human behavior, a postmodern approach emphasizes that knowledge obtained within one context is not necessarily transferable or translatable to, nor commensurable with the knowledge of, other contexts. This leads to an interest in contextualized local and narrative knowledge.

Generalization of knowledge has been a persistent problem in modern psychology. This includes the issue of generalizing to professional situations the knowledge produced in experimental laboratories, such as applying to the domain of education the laboratory-based theories of learning (Kvale, 1976b). It also includes problems with the relevance of current clinical psychological research to therapeutic practice (Hoshmand & Polkinghorne, 1992; Polkinghorne, 1992).

For classical psychoanalysis the problem of transfer of knowledge from the research situation to the therapeutic situations is overcome—the psychoanalytical knowledge is produced in the same type of therapeutic situation as it is to be applied. The transfer of psychoanalytical knowledge rests on *analytical generalization*, which involves a reasoned judgment about the extent to which we can use the findings from one study as a guide to what might occur in another situation. Analytical generalization of psychoanalytically-produced knowledge to human behavior outside therapeutic situations will then depend on extensive documentation and argumentation.

Generalizations from case studies have today become a concern of qualitative research. In Kennedy's (1979) article, "Generalizing From Single Case Studies" in evaluation research, Kennedy argues for establishing rules for drawing inferences about the generality of qualitative findings from a case

study, and rules of inference that reasonable people can agree on. As one point of departure Kennedy (1979) turns to the practical situations in the legal and the clinical fields.

In case law, it is the preceding case that is most analogous, that which has the most similar attributes to the actual case, which is selected as the most relevant precedent. The validity of the generalization hinges on the extent to which the attributes compared are relevant, which again rests on rich, dense, and thick descriptions of the case. In case law it is the later court that decides whether in fact a particular decision generalizes to its own case.

Thus it is the receiver of the information who determines the applicability of a finding to a new situation Like generalizations in law, clinical generalizations are the responsibility of the receiver of information rather than the original generator of information, and the evaluator must be careful to provide sufficient information to make such generalizations possible. (Kennedy, 1979, p. 672)

There is an issue here of who should conduct the analytical generalization from the qualitative research case: the researcher or the reader and the user? In science it has commonly been the researcher who builds up and argues for the generality of his or her findings—through statistical procedures or by an assertational logic. For the legal and the clinical cases discussed by Kennedy (1979), it is the judge or the clinician who makes the judgment of whether a previous case was sufficiently analogous to be used as a precedent for the present case. In both instances, it is paramount that sufficient evidence is provided by the researcher for the analytic generalizations to be made. The reception of Freud's therapeutic case stories may be mentioned as one case of a reader generalization; Freud's descriptions and analyses of human behavior were so vivid and convincing that readers today generalize many of his findings to current cases.

Validation as Construction

New developments in conceptions of knowledge make it possible to clarify forms of validation taking place in therapeutic and in research interviews. A move from knowledge as correspondence with an objective reality to knowledge as a social construction of reality, involves a change in emphasis from observation of, to a conversation and interaction with, a social world (Kvale, 1995). Method as a truth guarantee dissolves; with a social construction of reality the emphasis is on the discourse of the community. Communication of knowledge becomes significant, with esthetics and rhetorics entering into a scientific discourse. With a modern legitimation mania receding, there is an emphasis on pragmatic proof through action.

Communicative validity involves testing the validity of knowledge claims in a dialogue. *Pragmatic validation* is verification in the literal sense ("to make

true"). A pragmatic concept of validity goes further than communication, it represents a stronger knowledge claim than an agreement through a dialogue ("actions speak louder than words"). Both a communicative and a pragmatic approach to validation were discussed by Freud (1963) in the article "Constructions in Analysis." Here he addressed the validation of the therapist's interpretations and constructions. The therapist makes constructions about the forgotten past of the patient being analyzed, and he conveys the constructions to the patient.

Freud did not here rely on the patients' self-understanding and verbal communication; he regarded neither the patient's direct "yes" nor "no" to his constructions as sufficient confirmation or disconfirmation—they were both ambiguous and could be results of suggestion, as well as of resistance, in the therapeutic process. He recommended more indirect forms of validation, inferring from the patient's reactions after he had offered one of his interpretative constructions. Acknowledging that a patient's reactions to the therapist's constructions may be the expression of legitimate dissent as well as of resistance evoked by the subject matter of the construction, he would carefully observe the patient's subsequent behavior for indirect forms of confirmation of a construction, such as changes of the patient's free associations, dreams, the recall of forgotten memories, and alteration of neurotic symptoms.

Freud's reflections on validation through the therapeutic interaction appear more subtle than many of the current discussions about "member checks" by qualitative researchers—that is, of presenting their interpretations to their subjects for confirmation or disconfirmation. The construct validation of psychoanalytic interpretations through multiple methods has later been expanded from the mainly verbal domain of Freud's treatment to encompass the body by Christiansen (1964), drawing in the characteranalytic and vegotherapeutic techniques developed by Reich.

While the intense interaction and critical questioning of the subjects statements are out of bounds for academic interviewers, they may find inspiration in the therapists recognition of the influence of suggestion as well as resistance on the results of their "member checks," and of going beyond verbal member checks to include observations of the subjects' bodily actions.

Epistemology of Practice

In modern thought, the scientific legitimation of knowledge has preceded the application of knowledge. Also, within current therapeutic research there may be a stronger preoccupation with the scientific position of this research than with its relevance for practicing therapists. In a postmodern condition, the legitimation of knowledge through external justification by appeals to some grand systems, or metanarratives, loses interest. Justification of knowledge is replaced by application, knowledge becomes the ability to perform

effective actions. Criteria of efficiency and their desirability become pivotal, raising ethical issues of right action.

In his book *Educating the Reflective Practitioner*, Schön (1987) points to a crisis of confidence in professional knowledge that he traces to the technical rationality derived from a positivist philosophy. Within a constructive conception of knowledge, Schön develops an epistemology of practice for professionals. For the clinical domain, Polkinghorne (1992) has pointed to the irrelevance of a major part of current clinical research for clinical practice, and has attempted to overcome the gap of research and practice in therapy through an analysis of the nature of a therapists' expert knowledge. He further attempts to develop a postmodern epistemology of therapeutic practice from neopragmatic and postmodern approaches to knowledge. Science is then not a fundamentalist search for underlying laws and truths about the universe, but an attempt to collect, organize, and communicate forms of practice that lead to intended purposes.

The purpose of a therapeutic interview is the facilitation of changes in the patient, and the knowledge acquired in the interview interaction is a means for instigating personality changes. The general knowledge of the human situation gained through the psychoanalytical interview has followed from the attempts to help patients overcome their neurotic suffering, including the resistance they provide to change. In this respect, the psychoanalytic research interview comes close to action research. Thus, in collaborative action research, investigators and subjects together seek knowledge of a social situation in order to change the situation and then apply this knowledge through new actions in the situation. In this form of participatory inquiry, validation of the findings goes beyond a possible consensus collusion of the researchers by testing the validity of their knowledge in praxis (see Reason, 1994).

It remains a paradox of psychology that some of its most lasting and relevant knowledge of the human situation has been produced as a side effect of helping patients change. One potential implication for psychology may be a move from treating professional practice merely as the application of academically-produced theoretical knowledge, to regarding professional practice as a powerful site for producing knowledge of the human situation.

CONCLUSION

I have here argued that therapeutic researchers in light of the historical contributions of the psychoanalytical interview also today should pay serious attention to the potentialities of their therapeutic interviews as a research method. They may here draw on the methodical and conceptual refinement of the qualitative interview research developed in the social sciences in the last decades. They may further draw on the philosophical analysis of the last

century about knowledge of the human situation in order to articulate and elaborate the nature of the knowledge produced in the therapeutic situation.

I have further argued that interview researchers in the social sciences today may learn from the use of psychoanalytical interviews as a research method. In particular, this concerns the influence of the interpersonal interaction of the interview situation by the construction of knowledge. It further concerns the importance of extensive knowledge of the subjects and their life situation over longer periods of time for making sound interpretations and for critically validating interpretations of their subjects' statements.

Existing philosophical and methodological refinement of knowledge about the human situation makes it possible for interview researchers to go beyond the opposing alternatives of uncontrolled case reports and overcontrolled experimental-statistical investigations. Today there exists conceptual maps of knowledge pertaining to the human situation that were not available by Freud's therapeutic explorations a century ago. With refined maps of their knowledge area, therapeutic researchers may today be able to navigate more safely through the dangerous strait between a no-method Charybdis and an all-method Scylla. They may return home with exciting tales from their adventures to the strange and difficult accessible sites discovered through the therapeutic interviews, and perhaps inspire other interview researchers to adventurous pursuits in new domains.

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