Gazing inwards: A Discussion of the Potential of Norwegian Social Workers to Counteract the Negative Looping Effect of Radicalisation Labels

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Abstract

European countries have adopted a multidisciplinary approach to ensure the prevention of violent extremism (PVE) and radicalisation related to social work, which has led to concerns that social workers are engaged in the surveillance of client groups. Our proposal is that social workers need to be involved in the PVE debate and determine ways to work within the PVE. As categorisation and labels impact the individuals being categorised and may even change them, the adoption of an approach motivated by curiosity based on the 'typology' of clients is suggested. Social workers should carry out a sensitive balancing act in cooperation with the police by explaining their roles and tasks to clients and clarifying confidentiality regulations. This has the potential to ensure that visiting clients in need of social workers' services will remain open to engaging with such services. However, the execution of this approach is dependent upon social workers' ability to be aware of and reflect upon the security dimensions that PVE entails. Thus, recommendations were formulated for the development of an approach centred on curiosity and client-centred practice. Adherence to these recommendations could help social workers communicate their true intent and remove any confusion, for the benefit of both themselves and their clients, regarding misconceptions of surveillance and policing.

Introduction

Terrorism, violent extremism and radicalisation are contemporary topics that engage a broad selection of public services in Western countries, including Norway (Lid et al., 2016), Denmark (Sestoft et al., 2014) and the United Kingdom (Stanley et al., 2018). Prevention work related to these services ranges from a universal approach that targets all young people to tailored interventions aimed at those deemed high risk or already showing signs of

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radicalisation and violent extremism. There is considerable focus by researchers and analysts on radicalisation, extremism and terrorism because they are connected in the global war on terror. Despite significant efforts, a clear profile of a violent extremist or terrorist has not been determined in any study to date, and these phenomena are recognised as complex and involve multiple factors (Dalgaard-Nielsen, 2010; De Pelecijn et al., 2021; Grønnerød & Hellevik, 2016; Vergani et al., 2018). Factors associated with, or to some degree explaining, radicalisation will be further explored in the chapter 'Security and Social Work'.

Increasingly, research is centred on the actors involved in prevention work targeting radicalisation and the prevention of violent extremism (PVE). In many European countries, Nordic countries in particular, a networked approach is used to facilitate engagement by the educational system, social services and police (Lindekilde & Sedgwick, 2012; Mattsson, 2018; Sjøen & Mattsson, 2020; Solhjell, 2021). However, this has raised concerns that social workers and other professionals are engaging in the 'soft' policing and control of vulnerable individuals (Coppock & McGovern, 2014; McKendrick & Finch, 2017; Muna, 2020; Stanley et al., 2017). The Norwegian research and practice field is the point of departure of this article. Contrary to European countries, Norwegian social workers have a long history of working in partnership with the police to prevent crime in general and substance abuse among youth and young adults. However, historically, this partnership has not extended to include the Norwegian Police Security Service, which has entered the cooperative arena in the last decade.

Recently, Norwegian social workers were shown to struggle with the lack of clear demarcation lines between their work and that of the police in terms of jurisdiction (Haugstvedt & Tuastad, 2021). The conflict between adherence to the expectations associated with their professional role and pressure to perform security-oriented tasks has created emotional tensions that are burdening social workers (Haugstvedt, 2021). Therefore, there is a need to develop a practical approach based on cognitive principles for implementation by social workers.

Aims and Structure

The aim of the current study was, first, to establish the importance of social workers in the wider field of PVE. Second, the manuscript discusses whether an exploratory approach by social workers might help break the negative stigma attached to those deemed at risk of radicalisation. We recognise that policy and contextual factors influence the practice field. However, the scope of this article is confined to a single aspect of PVE work, namely, an understanding of and interactions with those at the receiving end of prevention work. Although the complexity of the PVE field as a whole was recognised, it was determined that a limited focus might illuminate other related issues. A combination of perspectives from both academic concepts and practitioner experiences was applied to create a pragmatic lens through which social work and PVE could be informed and stimulated. Hacking's (1999) theory regarding *indifferent kinds* and *interactive kinds* was utilised as well as the typology of clients (Berg, 1989). This led to a discussion of how social workers may be able to work with, not against, clients. The aim of reducing stigma and labelling clients in PVE or social work in general is not novel; however, the practical approaches suggested in the current study provide guidance on how this can be achieved. The above concepts led to a model for how social workers can counteract a possible negative looping effect, which is presented later in this article.

Security and Social Work

At first glance, PVE might appear to be the responsibility of the police/security services who obviously have a significant role to play. Nevertheless, it is vital that input from and cooperation with other stakeholders in society is considered. The issue of violent extremism is complex and personal and societal factors have been identified to influence this process. The prevalence of mental health issues among sub-groups of radicalised individuals, lone actors and terrorists is high (Trimbur et al., 2021). It has also been shown that socio-political inequality positively correlates with cognitive radicalisation (Franc & Pavlović, 2021), and that ostracism contributes to increasing extreme opinions and willingness to violent behaviour on behalf of an extremist group (Pfundmair, 2019).

Importantly, a multitude of factors, such as inequality, exclusion, poverty and unemployment, significantly impact radicalisation across different geographical regions (Vergani et al., 2018). Notably, a risk of 'false positives' has been identified in research on radicalisation and terrorism; in other words, many individuals who possess some or all of the characteristics predictive of radicalisation were not found to be radicalised (Rink & Sharma, 2018). Thus, phenomena such as radicalisation and violent extremism do not pertain to single factors that are easily identifiable and can be specifically targeted in short intervention bursts. Rather, the case is complex, highlighting the demand for general and personalised services for individuals and groups identified in concerns about radicalisation.

This has led to calls for stronger causal design in radicalisation research to uncover not only correlation, but also causal effect (Gøtzsche-Astrup, 2018). This is further substantiated by findings in recent reviews highlighting that radicalisation is complex and caused by an imbalance of a large number of risk and protective factors (Beelmann, 2020; Jahnke et al., 2022).

Transformed into the policy and practice field, the above findings show that a broad approach is required. Complex issues, including mental health issues, poverty and unemployment, are typically encountered by social workers, which suggests that there is potential to exploit the competency and experience of social workers in this area.

Also, concerns have been raised about labelling people, minorities in particular, as vulnerable to becoming potential terrorists (Coppock & McGovern, 2014; Schclarek Mulinari, 2019; Silva, 2017). Lastly, the broad scope of risk factors constitutes an obstacle in itself (Mattsson et al., 2016) since numerous groups of people are identified as being at risk of radicalisation; yet, it is more than likely that the majority of these individuals will not become radicalised.

Similarly, Kruse (2019) established that his participants, youth who had been targeted with concerns related to radicalisation, experienced objectification as suspects, yet they had little power over their situation. This finding was supported by Sieckelinck et al. (2015), who argued that educators were drawn into an understanding of young Muslims in Western countries as either villains or victims. Muslims at UK universities have found the securitisation of higher education to be constraining. Consequently, they have adapted to a more low-key style of student activism and debate outside of formal forums and public spaces

in fear of being 'policed' on campus (Brown & Saeed, 2015). Hence, the ways in which social workers and other practitioners view and describe target groups impact these groups.

Obviously, social work is performed within a broad context, where expectations related to policy and professionalism influence the ways in which social workers practise. In Norway, social work practice differs between municipalities, and different jurisdictional settlements between social workers, police and the police security service have been identified. The most worrisome of these, from an ethical and professional autonomy perspective, are the cases where the social workers appear to be subordinated to the police security service (Haugstvedt & Tuastad, 2021). Given that different actors subscribe to different professional logics in multi-agency cooperation (Sivenbring & Malmros, 2021), it is possible that the settling of cooperation and the division of responsibilities at the local level affects how the target group is described and addressed. In addition to how the target group of such prevention work is described, social workers are influenced by their more security-driven partners and experience emotional tension when being pulled in different professional directions (Haugstvedt & Gunnarsdottir, 2021).

Based on the above, it is likely that the consequences of how professionals and society describe and frame those identified as at risk of radicalisation extend to those described or addressed in such interventions. This process is now explored through the lens of *interactive kinds,* first described by (Hacking, 1999).

Analytical Framework: Categorisation of the Relationship between the Client and the Professional

Hacking (1999) made a distinction between two phenomena in society: *indifferent kinds* and *interactive kinds*. *Indifferent kinds* is a term that refers to individuals who are not affected by the process of being categorised. An example of this might be clouds in the sky or trees in the forest; although clouds and trees are named using different terminology according to different languages or cultures, they are not influenced by the terms used to describe or categorise them. *Interactive kinds* is a term that refers to people, groups or entities who are influenced by categorisation (Hacking, 1999); thus, there is an interaction or relationship between the classification itself and the entity being classified. The interaction could be a response by the

entity (i.e. the object of classification) to classification through thoughts, feelings and behaviour. In other words, classification affects the kinds being classified. This is what Hacking refers to as a *looping effect,* in which the classified may change in response to classification in terms of how they understand themselves. Alternately, they may change in response to how they are treated differently owing to the classification (Hacking, 1999, p. 104). Hacking (1999) argued that *interactive kinds* are exclusive to the human realm. This was later contested by other philosophers who suggested that similar interactions occur in the natural realm (Allen, 2018; Khalidi, 2010).

The theory proposed by Hacking (1999) suggests a continuous interaction between the classified and the classification; however, it has not been unelucidated how the categorisation process materialises and how it is communicated. In the context under consideration, communication between individuals and groups in society primarily takes place through media and social media, government-issued documents, policy recommendations and strategies and personal contact between professional actors in the prevention sphere and target groups.

Hacking (1999) stated that *interactive kinds* are more than categories; they are entities and a part of society. Hacking (1999) used an example of how autism is understood in society to describe how categorisation can be both helpful and problematic; it is helpful because it can lead to access to services to help affected families, but problematic because autism was formerly and wrongfully linked to childhood psychosis (Cheung et al., 2010; Esterberg et al., 2008). Thus, categorisation labels the individual and his or her family (Hurley-Hanson et al., 2020). Elsewhere, it has been suggested that the stigmatisation of an individual can result in cognitive development, whereby the stigmatised accepts the stigma and enters the role defined by it (Goffman, 1986). The phenomenon of stigma may not fit well with the autism example; however, it might apply to those who are 'radicalised'. The term 'radicalisation' is riddled with ambiguity (Herz, 2016; Sedgwick, 2010), and it is understood differently according to the professional logic applied in different professions (Ponsot et al., 2017; Rambøll Management Consulting, 2018).

In addition to applying the theory of *indifferent kinds* and *interactive kinds* (Hacking, 1999), the typology of clients (Berg, 1989) was employed in the current study to address the research aims. A systemic-oriented therapist, Berg explicitly addressed the relationship

between the professional and the client, not the client in particular (1989, p. 20–21), and her perspective on client typology and client 'resistance' was considered relevant in the current research because her questioning directs responsibility towards the professional. In her famous article, *Of Visitors, Complainants and Customers: Is There Really Such a Thing As 'Resistance'?,* Berg (1989) suggests a three-category (i.e. visitor, complainant and customer) typology of clients, which is based on the relationship between the client and the social worker/therapist (Berg, 1989). The first classification in the three-category typology of clients is the *visitor,* who is characterised as an individual who is not personally invested in the problem and does not want to change it. Typically, *visitors* present at counselling or therapy at the request of others; for example, a person in a relationship is persuaded to attend therapy by his or her spouse. In case work related to radicalisation, an example would be an organised, or incarcerated, violent extremist who reluctantly meets with a social worker as part of their community sentence or prison sentence.

The second classification in the three-category typology of clients is the *complainant*, who, like the visitor, is not invested in change based on the belief that the problem was not caused by the *complainant*. However, the *complainant* client acknowledged that they were affected by the problem and that they might be willing to talk about it. This could be a client who is on the fringes of a violent extremist group, a so-called 'hang around'. They might be involved in the group's activities, but they might not be fully ideologically committed.

The third classification in the three-category typology of clients is the *customer*. By contrast, the *customer* is both affected by the problem and invested in changing it. They also recognise their contribution to the problem. Hence, they are a client who is ready to 'go to work' and who is willing to participate in therapy, for example, someone who wishes to exit a violent extremist group.

### Discussion: A curious and exploratory approach to clients

As a first step in the current study, a literature review regarding the state-of-the-art factors associated with radicalisation and violent extremism was conducted. The key finding was that social workers are trained in and capable of addressing many of these issues. However, as explained earlier, there is a risk of false positives when trying to identify at-risk individuals

(Heath-Kelly, 2012). Drawing on the experiences described in past research on target groups (Brown & Saeed, 2015; Kruse, 2019), and drawing on the theory of *interactive kinds* (Hacking, 1999), the current research sought to determine how social workers can engage with youth and adults where concerns about radicalisation have been raised without negatively labelling them.

In the current study, it was determined that the use of the typology of clients suggested by Berg (1989) and an understanding of the relationship between a social worker and a client would offer the most pragmatic approaches to addressing PVE in social work. By breaking down the three main categories of the client–social worker relationship, Berg (1989) directs the responsibility of client resistance towards the professional, suggesting that the goal of working with a *visiting* client should be to establish a working alliance and a therapeutic relationship so that the *visitor* may be open to returning for therapy (Berg, 1989).

Hence, the approach to a new client who has been labelled as at risk of (further) radicalisation should be one of curiosity and a desire to understand the person presenting for therapy. Below, our conceptual model of this interaction can be found.

Figure 1 – Conceptual model of the approach to counteract a negative looping effect
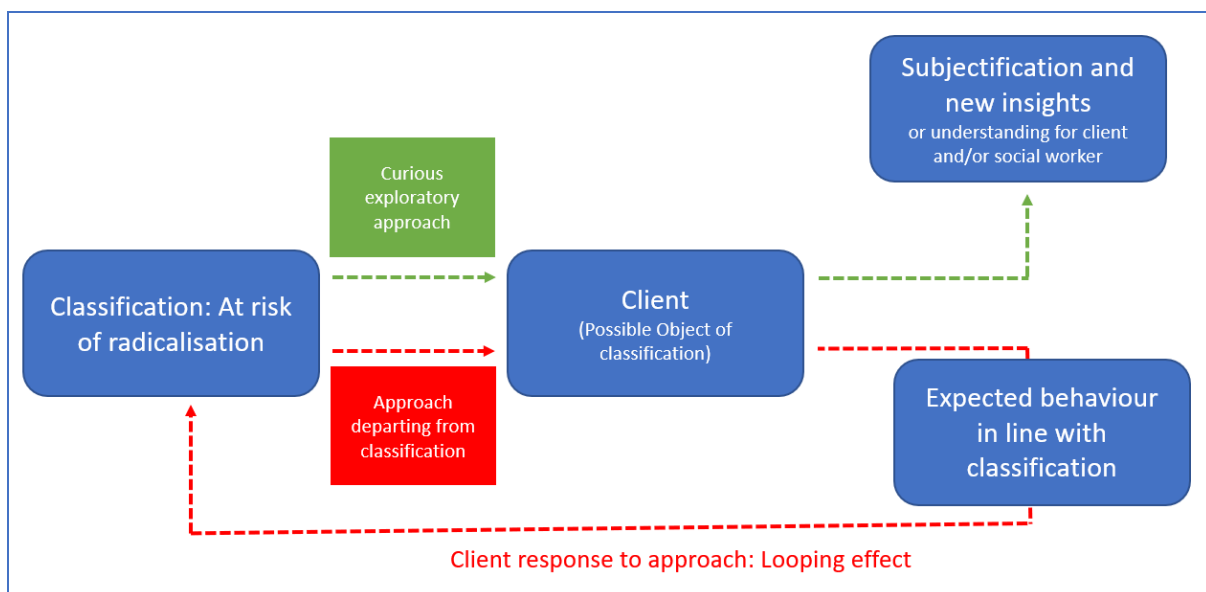
Following the suggested approach, visually presented above, might involve critically evaluating the information passed on by other agencies or exercising temporary restraint over

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the security issues raised by professionals with 'harder' policing responsibilities. Curiosity affords the professional an opportunity to perceive the client beyond the label conferred by the cooperating services, such as the police or security services. Subsequently, this gives the client a chance to interact with the professional without being forced into a radicalisation 'box'. Following this, the client and/or social worker engaging with the client might co-create new insights about the client. Walter (2016) argued that Berg's approach to client resistance encompassed looking beyond the clients themselves and incorporating the relationship between the client and the problem. By following this suggestion, there is potential to break out of the *looping effect,* as proposed by (Hacking, 1999). Therefore, it is critical to identify practical and concrete ways in which social workers can take responsibility for this relationship to avoid unintended negative consequences, such as stigmatisation and/or the l*ooping effect,* as well as to adapt the approach to clients in the three different categories defined by Berg (1989).

Some aspects of the client–professional meeting influence the possibility of a *looping effect.* Kruse (2019) reported that the participants in his study were frustrated with being linked to or framed based on disputed or unclear concerns about radicalisation. Delving into, exploring and discussing concerns with the client could open dialogue and introduce different perspectives. Incorporating the relationship between the client and the stated problem, alluded to earlier, could be a starting point for building a client–social worker relationship around a possible radicalisation theme. Also, it would help reduce concerns about falsely positive identification.

Consideration must be given to how the theme of radicalisation is verbalised to the client. In the PVE field, several different perspectives and theories among the professions involved have been identified (Madriaza et al., 2017; Sivenbring & Malmros, 2020). All of these factors influence how professionals engage with both partner agencies and clients regarding different aspects of radicalisation or violent extremist issues. Professionals must ask themselves if they are using terms with security connotations or addressing the problem from the perspective of the social work field. Førde and Andersen (2018) highlighted the use of *concern* is a starting point; it signals a deviation from something normal, but also possibly a level of care and empathy. At the other end of the spectrum, the focus could be on radicalisation as constituting violent or criminal acts and on the client as an individual as well

as on the security of local society and the inhabitants therein. While a social worker (or other professionals within the fields of education or healthcare) can concentrate solely on the client, police and security professionals are obliged to work in the interest of societal security, even if the objectives related to both are contradictory.

Another advantage of using the term *'concern'* is that it encompasses a level of uncertainty, since the concern has not yet been proved and concluded; nonetheless, it is a conversational starting point (Førde & Andersen, 2018). Conversely, even though a social worker may prioritise the client's needs and perspectives, Førde and Andersen (2018) suggest that the use of *concern* as an entry point can be used to disguise power and control under a 'cloak' of concern and empathy.

Social workers should also discuss the potentially negative unintended consequences of the intervention directly and openly with the client, both to acknowledge the fact that consequences exist and to find measures to work around them. Another approach could be to analyse and discuss, together with the client, the diverse ways in which power dynamics play out in the relationship between the client and the social worker, between the client and other professionals (police, security workers and others) and between the social worker and other professionals.

The participants in the study by Kruse (2019) stressed the importance of clarifying the roles and mandates of different professional actors, that is, the differences between teachers, police officers, security officials and social workers, and including the rules for information exchange and cooperation. This issue has also been reported by social workers in Norway (Haugstvedt & Tuastad, 2021). Lastly, the participants in Kruse's study (2019) accentuated the importance of communication. They encountered professionals whose understanding of how to communicate with them was ambiguous and insecure and whom they described as having harsh, rude or angry communication styles that ruined the relationship. In contrast, open and direct communication, in which social workers dared to address concerns about radicalisation clearly and explicitly in dialogue with the client, was important. The participants recommended addressing any concerns quickly by daring to ask difficult questions and being direct and open when communicating concerns and how they were evaluated (Kruse, 2019). Hertz's (2016) recommendations about preventive work on radicalisation include the importance of involving family, friends and the local community;

focussing on democracy, human rights and access to welfare; 'seeing' the human being instead of the ideology; and critically and reflectively scrutinising one's own practice.

In Kruse's study (2019), the participants presented two main narratives: the suspected object and the engaged subject. Each of the suspected objects described how it felt to be perceived as an object targeted with concerns of radicalisation and how it made them feel different and excluded. They had feelings of being objectified, yet felt powerless to influence their situation and how they were handled by other people. Through the approaches presented and discussed, the social worker can identify the subject position of the client and how to build agency, which in turn can be used to build a relationship that will lead to the client transitioning into the *customer* category.

The use of appropriate practical approaches might help to avoid the *looping effect* and facilitate the development of a productive client–social worker relationship; this is particularly important if the client is a *complainant* or *visitor* (Berg, 1989). Even if the client is a *customer* from the onset, a lack of an appropriate approach can quickly and efficiently shut down any possibility of successfully establishing a working relationship. Importantly, clients are not customers in the business sense, and it is also not appropriate for social workers to perceive their clients as customers. Rather than pursuing financial profits—as the term *customer* might imply—or covertly conducting surveillance, social workers should be driven by their professional perspectives and ethical guidelines, using the clients' own perspectives and experiences as focal points (Gambrill, 2003; International Federation of Social Workers, 2018).

In one study, it was found that the adoption of curiosity towards the client, based on a client-centred strategy, was used by Norwegian social workers; they specifically addressed each client's own understanding of their situation and possible needs early on in their contact, and this extended to clarifying the roles and responsibilities of social workers in the PVE (Haugstvedt, 2019). However, PVE is an evolving field of practice, and the need for acknowledgement, support and supervision has been identified (Haugstvedt, 2020). Being curious and critical about their own strategies, both in and outside of client meetings, may help social workers disengage from the *looping effect* associated with radicalisation labels. This might provide the client with a fair chance of succeeding in getting help, if needed.

There is a scarcity of evidence regarding the effects of specific counter-narrative strategies to prevent violent extremism on intent to carry out violence; however, these recommended approaches may impact certain risk factors for radicalisation (Carthy et al., 2020). It is likelier, in a social context, that the practical approaches proposed in this paper will facilitate dialogue, which might lead to clients questioning extremist standpoints or seeking to exit any association therewith. This may possibly launch a positive looping effect characterised by subjectification. Young people develop their lives and identities actively by relating to their surroundings, challenges and issues that arise (Pedersen & Bang, 2016). By engaging with curiosity and exploring youths' perspectives, social workers and others involved in PVE may actively influence youths' own understanding of themselves in a positive direction. While Hacking (1999) concentrated on the negative effects of classification, he also described the positive effects of classifications. This is mostly associated with political positions and how such positions cultivate certain character and behaviour (Vesterinen, 2020). This potentially positive identity process is, as in our discussion, a theoretical one and should be explored by practitioners and in future studies of both prevention workers and clients. However, several recommendations to facilitate dialogue, with a view to achieving disengagement and de-radicalisation, have been provided in past research; for example, Dalgaard-Nielsen (2013) argued against heavy reliance on re-education, rhetoric and arguments. The author proposed that a more promising approach would be to follow up on the expression of ideological doubt and make subtle attempts to influence it as a way of reducing resistance (Dalgaard-Nielsen, 2013). This resonates with recommendations to use a bottom–up approach and exercise sensitivity regarding the complexity of radicalisation as a means of reaching vulnerable individuals early (Leuprecht et al., 2010).

Limitations and Implications for Practice

In addition to their relevance to the risk of radicalisation, the characteristics and factors presented earlier in this paper could be predictors of other forms of present or future risky behaviour. There is a danger of 'false positives' in this field of research (Rink & Sharma, 2018); that is, there is a high likelihood that individuals with similar personal traits or

characteristics may not necessarily support or engage in violent extremism. While this article suggests that social work can make a valuable contribution to the field of PVE, local contexts, legislation and how information and tasks are shared between social workers and professionals with greater policing responsibilities should be considered. In terms of manoeuvrability within this field, it is recommended that social workers seek out peers and support staff to help them become aware of possible ethical practice issues (Haugstvedt, 2020).

As the fields of social work and PVE continue to develop in many countries, including Norway, supervision and professional guidance may provide the necessary arena for clarity regarding the roles, tasks and responsibilities of social workers. Particularly, it might be useful to clearly demarcate differences in the responsibilities between social workers and the police/security services. This may benefit partnering agencies and clients who receive social worker interventions and preventive efforts. Obviously, social workers are not, nor should they be, the only professionals involved in preventing or countering violent extremism. Hence, the challenge ahead in European countries is to clarify the roles of the authorities involved and identify who is subject to their input. We strived to focus on the possibilities within the client interaction itself. However, we are aware that this directs attention away from the context in which PVE work is carried out. To make our curious approach possible, we believe efforts should be made at both the policy and practice levels to help practitioners of all backgrounds. This should follow the recommendations to bridge silos and professional differences provided in earlier reviews of multiagency and networked approaches to establish both understanding and respect between partnering agencies. At the core of these are mutual training sessions and workshops to clarify roles and responsibilities and foster understanding among agencies (Atkinson et al., 2007). By following these recommendations, social workers and other professionals may create spheres of interaction with a higher likelihood of focusing on the curious client-interaction and all the possibilities this may create. Importantly, this is dependent on social workers having established boundaries and roles vis-à-vis their more security-driven partner agencies.

Conclusion

In this article, recommendations are provided based on the experience of the authors and research findings regarding useful approaches to facilitating the adoption of curiosity towards clients and implementing a client-centred approach. These have been discussed in relation to theoretical perspectives as well as past extant research on multiagency approaches.

The current study argues that social workers are well suited to address many of the issues with which these individuals, as a group, struggle. However, PVE work exposes the labels that some communities, Muslims in particular, are given (i.e. at-risk, vulnerable to becoming terrorists and potential terrorists) (Brown & Saeed, 2015; Coppock & McGovern, 2014), and this can result in social services being connected to a more controlling policy (Çilingir, 2019; McKendrick & Finch, 2017; Ragazzi, 2017).

The perspective of the authors of the current study, based on the theory of *interactive kinds* (Hacking, 1999) and in consideration of the possibility of the *looping effect* produced when labels are assigned, was a narrow focus on the internal framing and sense-making by professionals of potential clients with whom social workers engage in PVE practice.

Also, by adopting the typology of clients (Berg, 1989), the focus was directed at the professional, not the client. This has the potential to stimulate a curious approach to social workers' clients deemed by some to be at risk of being (further) radicalised. In this context, the adoption of a curious and exploratory approach to first-time clients is important. Clarification of the roles and responsibilities of social workers and the information to be shared and with whom (i.e. between social workers and professionals with greater policing responsibilities) is pivotal to ensuring cooperation between social workers and clients.

While the narrow perspective of PVE in the current study might have overlooked the contextual factors that influence social work 'on the ground', it also illuminates what might be possible should social workers adopt the proposed approach. They must consider themselves influential actors who affect the client, and they should adjust their approach according to the category of client encountered. These approaches, taken together with the professional support received from experienced supervisors or peers, might strengthen social workers' ability to remain curious and explorative, even when they encounter novel or sensitive matters, such as radicalisation and violent extremism.

Many scholars have raised concerns that PVE interventions are causing stigmatisation (Vaughn, 2019; Weine & Kansal, 2019) and turning social work into a 'soft' policing profession (Coppock & McGovern, 2014; McKendrick & Finch, 2017; Muna, 2020; Stanley et al., 2017). The recommendations in this paper are directed at professionals with a view to reducing the risk of the *looping effect* due to potential stigmatisation. Through self-directed initiatives, social workers can show, through their own actions and attitudes, who they are and what they are not. We believe that a curious client-centred approach, as conceptualized in this paper, has the potential to counteract the negative looping effect of radicalisation labels.

Acknowledgements

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