From Bullying to Responsible Citizenship:
A Restorative Approach to building Safe School Communities

Brenda Morrison

Research School of Social Sciences
Australian National University

- Acknowledgements -

From Bullying to Responsible Citizenship:
A Restorative Approach to building Safe School Communities

Table of Contents:

- Foreword -

Bullying is a major problem in schools. Brenda Morrison shows it is connected to many other problems such as youth suicide and bullying in adult life that threatens world peace. The sweep of research evidence reviewed in this book also suggests bullying is preventable. In making a fresh contribution to this literature, Brenda Morrison and her team advances our thinking in the fields of education and psychology. But she also progresses thinking in restorative justice – a sub-field of criminology that is now influencing many domains of regulation beyond criminal law. In a wonderful clarifying reformulation of what restorative justice is, Morrison argues that "restorative justice is about building positive affect (interest and excitement) and providing mechanisms to discharge negative affect (shame)" (Chapter 6, p.1).

The contribution of the book occurs both at the level of how to better meet the individual needs of students and how to transform institutions to accomplish this. At the individual level what is needed according to Morrison is fostering pride and respect among students – building of positive affect. Chapter 7 shows that children who are neither bullies nor victims of bullying have high levels of respect and pride. But there is also a need to acknowledge and discharge negative affect, particularly shame. Building on the work of Eliza Ahmed, Morrison concludes that bullies, victims and bully-victims each have distinctive shame management problems. The children who are neither bullies nor victims, have two features to how they manage shame: they know how to acknowledge shame when they do something wrong and they do not displace shame into negative emotions such as anger. Non-bully-non-victim children confront and discharge shame rather than externalize it onto other children who become scapegoats for their emotional mismanagement.

An important empirical contribution of Chapter 3 of the book is to show that changes in children over time support Ahmed's earlier cross-sectional analysis. Decreases in shame displacement, such as blaming and getting angry at others, and increases in shame acknowledgment (accepting shame, taking responsibility, making amends) contribute to a decline in bullying over time. Where shame management changed over time, the propensity to be both a bully and a victim changed.

Children who ceased being victims across the three years of the follow-up also acquired more friends compared to those who continued to be victims. For Ahmed and Morrison this is a clue to the institutional changes needed for schools to reduce bullying.

Victims need the social support of friends, as in other ways do the bullies. Chapters 3-7 of the book move into action research mode on the challenge of meeting these needs. They reveal the process of institutional Research and Development in crafting the Responsible Citizenship Program. In Chapter 7 we see that the Responsible Citizenship Program reduced feelings of rejection among victims of bullying. The program was also associated with a general increase among students in the belief that the school was a "safe place", though it failed to increase identification with the school. One of the participating Canberra students explains what Responsible Citizenship means: "It means that if you do something wrong or if others do something wrong you know how to fix things."

An objective of the Responsible Citizenship Program was to help students discover for themselves how to REACT when a wrongdoing occurs at school:

R – Repair the harm done

E – Expect the best from others

A – Acknowledge feelings

C – Care for others

T – Take responsibility

The activity singled out by the students as most liked was making their own video to represent the REACT concepts. These REACT concepts are indeed keys to responsible citizenship. This book shows in a practical way that we are not born democratic. We are born into a world with a lot of domination, where we are often tempted to model the dominator, to "Expect the worst" of others instead of to "Expect the best". Morrison's work suggests that to learn how to reap the rewards of Expecting the best, Acknowledging and Repairing harm, Caring for others and Taking responsibility, children need supportive school programs that give them a safe space to risk experimenting with the REACT skills. They learn to their surprise that REACTing restoratively can have rich personal rewards compared with defensively expecting the worst. This is their apprenticeship in democratic citizenship. With such citizenship, taking active personal responsibility for putting things right becomes more important than accusing others of being wrong. The REACT keys can in many cases unlock democratic citizenship to dominated and dominating children who are victims and bullies.

Democratic citizenship of course acquires its deepest meaning as a participatory activity. Hence the importance in the Responsible Citizenship Program of students participating in creating their own video to bring the learning concepts to life in a way that they find makes sense through their own experience. If democracy is by definition a bottom-

up institution and if we are not born democratic, how can we build democracy and democratic sensibilities other than bottom-up? Morrison's work is therefore no less than Research and Development on how to rebuild the ship of democracy at sea by growing a new hull of sturdier, more responsible timber. The hope is that this kind of responsible citizenry will be less inclined to sail the ship of democracy into armed conflict, xenophobia and a public life embittered by unresolved hatreds and distrust that inhibits economic cooperation. The mentality required for this is one of asking what can be contributed to fixing a problem peacefully instead of asking who we can blame for it.

Bullying therefore, seen through Brenda Morrison's eyes, is not only a serious problem in its own right. The need to respond to it creates a special kind of opportunity to enrich democracy and struggle for a world with less domination and more care in it. This book represents only early returns from the attempts of Brenda Morrison, Eliza Ahmed Valerie Braihtwaite and others at educational innovation with a philosophy of restorative justice. Beyond the various mistakes reported herein, many more false turns will be taken. Morrison's action research is certainly sufficient to encourage others to embark on their own hazardous journey to nurturing responsible citizenship in schools. This contribution is path breaking in illuminating the hopes and hazards of the voyage.

John Braithwaite

"It is a fundamental democratic right for a child to feel safe in school and to be spared the oppression and repeated, intentional humiliation implied in bullying." (Olweus, 1999, p. 21)

- Introduction -

The ideas in this book are not meant to be definitive. They are also not new. The ideas in this book represent work from different disciplines that have helped us better understand bullying and victimization in schools. The ideas are also relevant to other jurisdictions but will need to be adapted to and evaluated in those contexts. The hope is that the ideas presented will evolve further as we engage in the process of building responsible citizenship for ourselves, for our children, both within the school system and within the wider community.

Allow me to tell the story of how I first engaged in these ideas, and how this lead to the contents of this book. I am a social psychologist, so I think about responsible citizenship primarily from the point of view of how individuals construct and respond to their social world. In other words the influence process bound together through the interaction of social perception and social interaction. On the social interaction side of the equation, there are many sources of influence for individuals. For example, the social institutions of the family, schools and wider social systems shape our behavior. These then shape and are shaped by the processes of social influence and social perception. As a social psychologist, one of my main areas of interest is the study of social cooperation. I am interested in the study of social cooperation both in theory and in practice, hence this book builds an initial theoretical base and then builds practice drawing on the theoretical foundation.

After finishing my PhD, I put my mind to further developing and applying the ideas I wrestled with in my thesis. An opportunity to develop both theory and practice was offered through a position at the Research School of Social Sciences, The Australian National University. The project was to develop theory and practice in the area of school bullying. This project initially grew from the PhD work of Eliza Ahmed on shame management and bullying and she has contributed a chapter on shame-management to this book. Her PhD supervisor, Valerie Braithwaite, so too, has contributed a chapter that examines the issue of bullying in the context of institutional design. This book grew from my collaboration with Eliza Ahmed and Valerie Braithwaite.

The book begins with an initial overview of our current understanding of bullying in schools (chapter 1). Bullying is defined as a particular form of violence in schools. The first chapter also gives an initial overview of the practice of restorative justice and the theoretical propositions that underpin it. Following this introduction, is a chapter that discusses the role of cooperation, competition and conflict resolution in the context of school bullying and restorative justice (chapter 2). Eliza Ahmed then discusses her work on shame management as it relates to bullying behavior (chapter 3). Valerie Braithwaite then ties these notions together from an institutional perspective (chapter 4). These first four chapters, constitute the theoretical base we worked from when developing our intervention program, a program based on restorative justice.

Putting theory into practice unfolds in the next three chapters. The first of these chapters is about the action research undertaken in discovering how restorative justice was being practiced in schools in Australia (chapter 5). An interesting aspect of restorative justice is that current practice is helping to ground new theory. The fact is that the behavioral change, coming out of the practice of restorative justice, is difficult for a number of classical theories to explain. Thus, restorative justice brings to question our current assumptions about processes of social influence and institutional design.

After reviewing a few restorative justice programs currently practiced in Australian schools, the following chapter outlines the principals and structure of the program we design – the Responsible Citizenship Program (chapter 6). This program is aimed to complement existing programs in schools, particularly the restorative processes of community accountability conferencing. It is important to note that the principles behind the program are much more important than the program per se. The hope is that schools will develop their own program based on the principles of restorative justice. In line with action research, we evaluate our program (chapter 7) based on the theoretical premises developed in the initial chapters.

The final chapter (8) endeavors to draw the theory and practice presented to some conclusion. The aim is to present these conclusions in a wider context and to be realistic about the challenges we face in bringing effective practice, that which fosters responsible citizenship, into our schools. The journey will undoubtedly not be an easy one but it is a journey we need to embark on and a journey that we are ready for.

If civilization is to survive, we must cultivate the science of human relationships – the ability of all peoples, of all kinds, to live together, in the same world at peace

Franklin D. Roosevelt (psychologist)

- Chapter 1-
Restorative justice and school bullying

Bullying is a form of social influence that values domination of others. Restorative justice values non-domination. Restorative justice is about restoring the power imbalances that affect our relationships with others. In addressing school bullying, we are only addressing the tip of the iceberg that legitimizes bullying as an appropriate from of social control. The practice of bullying has long been with us and has been institutionalized in a number of realms of social life. Bullying is a particularly insidious form of violence. However perpetrated, there is no doubt of its harmful consequences. The school environment seems a particularly ripe place to make a start at addressing the problem. Not only is violence at school increasingly capturing our attention, schools are also the place where we are most likely to create a shift in this pattern of behavior.

Violence in schools is recognized as not only a social justice problem but also a public health problem (Mercy & O'Carroll, 1988). Violence casts a web of harm that captures the victims, the offenders and their communities. This web creates cycles of fear and distrust to all who befall its trap, perpetuating antisocial and self-critical cycles of behaviour. For offenders, longitudinal studies have shown that there is often a continuity of aggressive behaviours over time (Huesmann, Eron, Lefkowitz & Walder, 1984; McCord, 1991; Moffitt, 1993; Pepler & Rubin, 1991; Tremblay, McCord, & Boileau, 1992). Victims carry with them the emotional scars of nagging self-criticism, suffering the long-term effects of perpetual victimhood (Callaghan & Joseph, 1995; Olweus, 1993; Slee, 1995). Bullying is an insidious form of violence that continues to plague the school system. We now hold clear evidence of the consequences of its ill effects. Those who bully are more likely to drop out of school, use drugs and alcohol and engage in delinquent behaviour (Gottfredson, Gottfredson, & Hybl, 1993). Young bullies carry a one in four chance of having a criminal record by the age of 30 (Huesmann et al., 1984). As for the victims of bullying, they are two to three times more likely to contemplate suicide than their peers (Rigby, 1998). Children who are bullied have higher levels of stress, anxiety, depression and illness (Cox, 1995;

Rigby, 1998; Rigby, 1999). For both, this web of fear becomes an obstacle to learning, self-development and effective citizenship. Our concern must be at many levels, not only for the individuals themselves, and their families, but also society at large. For collectively we support those who become dependent on our justice and health care systems.

In Australia this evidence has been clearly recognised. The Attorney-General's National Crime Prevention branch has identified school bullying as a risk factor associated with antisocial and criminal behaviour in its publication "Pathways to prevention: Developmental and early intervention approaches to crime in Australia" (National Crime Prevention, 1999). Early intervention has been advocated as the most appropriate way to break this cycle (Yoshikawa, 1994; Tremblay & Craig, 1995). Schools may be the most appropriate institution to target in addressing these issues, reducing antisocial and criminal behaviour patterns, while promoting physical and psychological well being and developing productive citizenship.

School bullying as a target of early intervention practice

Schools are an appropriate target because they capture such a large proportion of the population base. They not only capture children in their formative years, they also capture parents in their most influential years with their children. Schools also capture other members of a child's community of support, such as grandparents, friends, teachers, instructors and coaches. Schools, in essence, are a microcosm of society. Schools have the developmental potential to both stigmatize and exclude, as well as nurture and integrate individuals within society. The process of becoming a chronic offender and victim in society is often fed by the cycles of bullying and victimization that develop in the school system. Bullying, and victimization, within schools is an effective behavioural target as these behaviours signal the breakdown of social relationships. In such cases, the re-affirming of positive relationships is vital to individual and social well being. This is reflected in the increasing awareness of researchers who couch deviant behaviour not in terms of individual pathology but in terms of social relationships that sustain individual lives (Ahmed et al., forthcoming; Koh, 1998; Mugford, 1995; Emler & Reicher, 1995). The task is to re-build relationships in individuals' lives at the first sign that the child is becoming disenfranchised from the relationships that sustain their well-being during their school years. Working with children who bully and children who are bullied in schools, particularly in the primary years, seems an effective place to commit our resources. Bullying is an important target as it is one

of the most prevalent and insidious forms of domination over others. Bullying is also a behavior that can be changed.

What is Bullying?

The most frequently cited definition of bullying is the "repeated oppression, psychological or physical of a less powerful person by a more powerful person or group of persons" (Rigby, 1996, p 15; see also Farrington, 1993; Olweus, 1993). Three critical points are important in this definition:

Power: Children who bully acquire their power through various means: physical size and strength; status within a peer group; and recruitment within the peer group so as to exclude others.

Frequency: Bullying is not a random act; it is characterized by its repetitive nature. Because it is repetitive, the children who are bullied not only have to survive the humiliation of the attack itself but live in constant fear of its re-occurrence.

Intent to harm: While not always fully conscious to the child who bullies, causing physical, psychological and emotional harm is a deliberate act.

It is important to note that bullying does not define all forms of conflict. If the power balance is relatively equal, bullying is not in play. The bullying battleground is not a level playing field. Bullying is the assertion of power through aggression. It happens in government, corporate boardrooms and in our schools. The form that bullying takes changes with life stage: from playgroup bullying and gang violence, to sexual and workplace harassment, to child abuse and domestic violence, as well as abuse of our elders and disabled (Pepler & Craig, 1997). The exertion of power can be both verbal and physical and it can take many forms: through the overt use of physical size, strength and numbers, to the use of status within a group. The form can be face-to-face or insidiously indirect, through rumours, exclusion, stalking and setting people up through others (Olweus, 1991). The repetitive nature of bullying sets up an ongoing relationship of dominance and submission. Both patterns can have a negative impact on the individuals and the communities concerned. Both

can be understood through an analysis of how we manage our social relationships – individually and collectively.

How pervasive is school bullying?

Bullying in schools is a world-wide phenomenon. The data in Australia mirrors that of other countries, such as Canada (Bentley & Li, 1995; Pepler et al., 1997), Scandinavia (Olweus, 1991), Ireland (O'Moore, 1986) and England (Boulton and Underwood, 1992). Recent figures suggest that 50% of children have experienced being bullied at school at least once (Rigby, 1996). It has been estimated that for Australian students (between the age of 9 and 17) 1 student in 5, or 20%, is bullied at least once a week (Rigby, 1996). This amounts to 634, 320 students being bullied every week across Australia (based on 1997 census data). Verbal bullying was reported by both boys and girls as the most common form of bullying. Physical bullying was the form experienced least. For girls, a figure that stands out above the boys, is the occurrence of being excluded, on purpose.

While bullying comes and goes with age, there is a developmental pattern. At the ages of 11 and 12, students are most likely to report bullying others (Pepler et al., 1997). In other words, the pattern changes once adolescence begins. Overall, reported bullying is higher in primary school than secondary school; however, the early years of secondary school are higher than the final year of primary school (Rigby, 1996).

If it's everywhere, is bullying just a lesson in life?

Bullying is widespread and always has been. There are numerous historical and fictional accounts, such as in the works of Charles Dickens (Oliver Twist, 1837; Nicholas Nickleby, 1838) and Thomas Hughes (Tom Brown's School Days, 1857), as well as other historical tales (see Ross, 1996). Even today, the exploits of the orphaned boys in Oliver Twist are alive and well in the hearts and minds of contemporary society, for the same issues are still alive today, and continue to present themselves. More recently, James Moloney's (1998) award winning "Buzzard Breath and Brains" tells the contemporary tale of dominance and submission, in other words bullying. The behaviour may be common through the ages, but this is as much a reflection on having institutions that tolerate (even condone) bullying, as on the nature of children. Bullying is not just "kids being kids." Bullying is the systematic

abuse of power. This book is based on the premise that bullying should never be condoned at any age or stage of life's journey.

The acceptance of bullying as a normal part of life signals that intimidation and violence are acceptable ways to resolve conflict. We may always have to deal with some form of bullying but we should never have to nurture our children in its arms. Children who tread the path of bully and victim can carry the emotional turmoil with them for a lifetime. Not only does it harm their own sense of personal well being, it also affects those who care for these children.

To understand the problem of bullying and of being bullied, we must consider the characteristics of children who dominate others and their victims. We must also examine the social systems in which bullying occurs, such as the family, peer groups, schools and other social institutions. We can not dismiss children who bully in schools as part of a behavioural cycle that they'll grow out of; likewise, we can not pass off children who are bullied as needing a lesson in learning to stand up for themselves. The evidence shows that we are not doing anyone a service by taking this stand.

Students who bully others: What path are they treading?

There isn't a single path that leads a child to bullying others. There are also many different types of bullies. Each arrives at this point through many different life experiences. Some bullies stand alone, while others come to the fore in groups. Bullies are not necessarily those who lack academic ability or a secure family environment. While some bullies tend to be impulsive, others can be extremely clever about how they craft their place in world (Sutton, Smith & Swettenham, 1999). In general, bullies behave aggressively towards others, including their peers, teachers, parents, siblings (Olweus, 1991). They are assertive and easily provoked. In line with the old adage, like attracts like, children who bully are not only aggressive themselves, they are attracted to situations with aggressive content and view aggression as being quite a productive means to an end (Stephenson & Smith, 1989). In fact children who bully have little empathy for their victims and show little or no remorse about their actions (Olweus, 1987). While boys bully in overt physical ways, girls are more insidious (Craig & Pepler, 1997). Interestingly, while boys who bully are physically stronger on average than their classmates, girls who bully often possess the least physical strength in the class. Bullies tend to be hyperactive, disruptive and impulsive (Lowenstein, 1978;

Olweus, 1987). Without doubt, for children who bully, the pattern is complex. There are a range of factors that are indicative of the path they are treading.

Children who bully at school are more likely to drop out of school, use unsolicited drugs and engage in delinquent behaviour (Gottfredson, Gottfredson & Hybl, 1993). Longitudinal studies have shown that up to one half of first graders who are disruptive, unable to get along with other kids, disobedient with their parents, and resistant with teachers, will become delinquent in their teen years (Offord et al., 1992 in Goleman, 1995). The path they tread generally reflects a pattern of poor social adjustment, as later reflected in the areas of marital and occupational relations (Robins, 1966; Bachman, Green & Wirtanen, 1971; Wolfgang, Figlio & Sellin, 1972; Jessor & Jessor, 1977). Academic under-achievement, which also characterizes children who bully, has also been linked with antisocial behaviour (Larson, 1994). These children often have an external locus of control in relation to academic achievement (Ahmed et al., forthcoming). A number of risk factors have been associated with antisocial and criminal behaviour, such as low self-esteem, poor social skills, alienation and impulsive behaviour (National Crime Prevention, 1999). Each of these factors characterize school bullies, however the evidence is not always consistent. For example, some bullies have very high levels of self-esteem, while others don't. For some bullies, the social skills they possess are often more than adequate for getting what they want. Their self-esteem is thriving. They've found their place within the system. For others, we can see them continue to struggle, even battle, to find their place.

Of course not all children who bully are on the trajectory that leads to violence and criminality later in life. But of all children, these are the ones most at risk for eventually committing violent crimes. The pattern is becoming entrenched by the fourth or fifth grade when others begin to see them as "bullies" (or just plain difficult to get along with). Thus, these children become increasingly rejected by their peers and are unable to make friends easily, if at all. At the same time, they may be taking on the baggage of academic failure. Feeling themselves friendless and academically unsuccessful in schools, they gravitate toward other social outcasts and take on delinquent identities. School suspensions (and other forms of "time-out") exacerbate this situation, as this action facilitates the gravitation towards subcultures that uphold counter value systems that lead to further alienation from the dominant culture. These are the students who are the most at risk of alcohol and drug use. Thus the recursive nature of this path of social alienation continues. These developmental cycles need to be understood and addressed. Early intervention in breaking this cycle is essential.

Students who are bullied: what path are they treading?

The victims of bullies often stand alone, for different reasons. Physically weak, relatively introverted, socially unskilled and unassertive, they do not engage with any particular peer group on a regular basis (Olweus, 1993; Rigby, 1996). Victims are typically withdrawn and anxious, characterized by tenseness, fears and worries (Neary & Joseph, 1994; Slee, 1995). This is particularly evident in younger years. Try as they may, they find it difficult to fit in with others. As a result, victims report lower self-esteem (Besag, 1989; Egan & Perry, 1998) and depression, characterized by sadness and loss of interest (Slee, 1995; Craig, 1998). The anxiety and depression associated with victims has also been linked to lower immunity to illness (Cox, 1995). Bullied children are more likely to report headaches and stomach aches (Williams et al., 1996). An Australian study has shown that victims have higher levels of anxiety, social dysfunction, depression and other somatic symptoms (Rigby, 1998). They report more headaches, sore throats and mouth sores. Victimization has also been associated with suicidal ideation (Rigby, 1998). Futhermore, the effects are long term (Rigby, 1999).

Boys and girls are equally likely to be victims of bullying (Charach et al., 1995; Pepler et al., 1997). Unlike bullying, which peaks in the middle years of schooling, more children report being victimized in the early years of schooling. A Canadian study showed a drop from 26% for school years 1 – 3 to 12% in years 7 – 8. One way of understanding this discrepancy is to look at the profile of the children who do the bullying. In general, younger students are more likely to be victims of older bullies. As children get older the number of children who are in a position to dominate them decreases. Furthermore, as students get older, indirect bullying such as exclusion and rumours, replaces direct bullying (Olweus, 1993).

A number of general points can be made about the path of children who are victimized. Over time, they are less inclined to relate positively to the school environment and may exclude themselves. Rigby (1998) found that 9% of girls and 6% of boys reported staying away from school at least once because of school bullying. The high anxiety levels that these children report interferes with their ability to concentrate and their capacity to learn. Finally, their health, mentally and physically, is affected, both short and long term.

Children who bully others and are bullied: what path are they treading?

While this is a fuzzy group, a number of surveys have identified students who report being both bullies and victims. They are also called provocative victims. Relative to other categories (i.e. bullies, victims, non bullies/non-victims) this category covers the smallest percentage of students. A recent Australian sample found it to be just over 8% of students (Ahmed et al., forthcoming). By comparison, a Canadian sample found that 2% of students fit into this category and a British sample report 6% (respectively, Pepler et al., 1997; Stephenson and Smith, 1989). More research needs to be done to understand and define this group of children. Do victims become bullies out of anger and frustration? Do bullies become victims of their own targets? We are only beginning to scratch the surface in understanding this group of students.

Given that students in either one of these categories are already at high risk of maladjustment, these children are at an even higher risk of developing a range of adjustment problems and subsequent antisocial behaviour. They are the most insecure, the least likeable and the most unsuccessful in school (Stephenson & Smith, 1989). They have also been characterized as strong and easily provoked (Besag, 1989).

What developmental role does the family play?

Two features of family life are particularly influential in the social development of bullying behaviour: parenting style and family disharmony. Parenting style has been differentiated in terms of whether it is authoritarian or authoritative. An authoritarian parenting style is characterized by harshness and punitiveness (Manning, Heron & Marshall, 1978; Olweus, 1980, 1984; Strassberg et al., 1994). The behaviour of children in this family environment is controlled through the assertion of power and domination. Parents who bully their children produce children who bully others. In contrast, an authoritative parenting style is characterized by support for the autonomy of the child while providing clear boundaries as to what is acceptable behaviour. Children who perceive their parents to adopt this style are less likely to engage in bullying behaviour (Rican et al., 1993). Relatedly, the parent-child relationship has also been shown to be important. Children with positive relationships with their parents are less likely to participate in bullying (Rican et al., 1993; Rigby, 1993). In other words, children who are insecurely attached to their parents are more likely to bully their peers (see Troy & Stoufe, 1987). Along consistent lines, it has also been shown that

children who perceive their families to be less cohesive and less caring for each other, are also more likely to participate in school bullying (Bowers, Smith, & Binney, 1992, 1994; Berdondini & Smith, 1996).

So, generally speaking, we can see that the family life of children who bully others can be characterized by neglect, dominance, hostility, and harsh punishment (Olweus, 1993; Rigby, 1993, 1994). This family dynamic can be overt or insidious. The children of these families model the conflict resolution style to which they have been exposed. Children's interaction with their siblings also fuels this developmental path (Patterson, 1986). Aggression between siblings has been found to be the most common form of family violence (Struas et al., 1981). By not intervening when siblings fight, parents can inadvertently support bullying. Parents too often attribute this behaviour to sibling rivalry and see it as a normal part of growing up. They believe that their children will learn best from sorting out their own problems. They cannot proceed to productive levels of resolution, however, unless parents signal the inappropriateness of their behaviour and ensure they have effective role models in resolving conflict.

Families often don't know about their child being a victim of bullying. Victims often keep the problem to themselves, either feeling they should be able to handle the problem or worrying over possible revenge and disapproval. They also believe that there is little others can do (Garfalo et al., 1987; Olweus, 1991). While not always the case, if a victim is going to discuss the problem with an adult, it will most likely be a parent, rather than a teacher. It is then up to the parent to work both with their child and the teachers. In general, the relationship patterns that children first learn at home are the ones they bring to the school environment.

What developmental role do peers play?

Peers play an important role in understanding bullying and victimization. An interesting finding shows that 85% of bullying episodes occur in the context of a peer group (Atlas & Pepler, 1997; Craig & Pepler, 1997). While most (83%) students report feeling uncomfortable when confronted with an incident of bullying, peers have been observed to adopt many roles: joining in, cheering, passively watching and, on occasion, intervening. This observational research has spotted the following pattern of interaction between peers. More often than not, positive attention is given to the bully over the victim. This reinforces the bully's dominance over the victim and their position within the peer group. Peers

attracted to aggression become excited and join in, more often in the case of boys than girls (see also Salmivalli et al., 1996). At the same time, peer intervention and mediation can reduce overall levels of bullying in schools. Mediation is often effective when peers become involved in whole school anti-bullying programs. One study has shown that peers often intervene more often than adults (respectively, 11% compared to 4%).

What developmental role does the school play?

Family and peers do not wield all the power in reducing school bullying. School culture also contributes significantly to the reduction of bullying. Schools differ significantly in the amounts of reported bullying, even when socio-economic and other variables are controlled (Rigby, 1996). The hard work that schools must do is to find the balance between the maintenance of clear and consistent behavioural standards that characterize a safe school and a supportive and warm learning environment that promotes challenge and creativity for the students.

Without the support of those in power in the school, addressing bullying in a systematic way can be an uphill battle. It is important for everyone in the schools to be committed to reducing bullying in the school. In particular, teachers need the support of the principal if school bullying is going to be reduced (Charach et al., 1995). Positive and supportive school relationships between all members of the school community (principals, teachers, students, and parents) can have a positive impact on reducing school bullying. Having all members of the school community share in the decision making that affects their lives has also been found to be particularly effective (Olweus, 1987). This process has been applied to the development of the school bullying policies, as it aids in making the message clear that bullying behaviour is not condoned and that follow through is consistently applied (Olweus, 1991).

It is also important that schools and their classrooms are well structured physically and well integrated culturally. More behaviour problems occur in classrooms where this is absent (Doyle, 1986). Teacher's organizational skills are essential to the goal of maintaining order. Effective teachers have a very clear communication style; monitor and respond to student behaviour; and endorse student responsibility and accountability for their work (Evertson & Emmer, 1982; Duke, 1989). In contrast, disorderly schools are characterized by teachers with punitive attitudes; rules that are loosely enforced and perceived to be unfair or unclear; ambiguous responses to student misbehaviour; a non-consensual attitude between

school staff about appropriate responses to misconduct; and general staff disagreement. Lack of appropriate resources within schools is also associated with higher levels of school bullying (Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1985). The parallels with the risk factors associated with family life are clearly evident. Schools need to be consistently authoritative rather than authoritarian.

Schools also play a role through recognizing where bullying occurs. Generally, students are much more aware of bullying than teachers. When there are consequences for bullying at school, children who bully are careful about where and how they exert their dominance. One study showed that teachers only intervene in one in twenty-five bullying episodes (Craig & Pepler, 1997). There are times and places at school where bullying is most likely to occur. Bullying often occurs when there is little or no supervision, such as on the school playground (Olweus, 1991; Pepler et al., 1997). Bullying is also more likely to occur during more competitive or aggressive activities (Murphy et al., 1983). This highlights the importance of supervision of students during non-classroom time and the maintenance of behaviour codes during all school activities.

What developmental role do our broader social institutions play?

Our social institutions regulate and legitimate our tolerance for violence and aggression in society. They set limits on what is acceptable and define the reward structure that aims to build compliance through encouraging certain behaviours and discouraging others. In essence, they shape the norms that we live by. The assertion of power, be it through violence or status, is an avenue for resolving social problems that is often proposed and carried through. More importantly, across many contexts, it is rewarded in many ways. Violence, and other forms of bullying, are legitimated by governments, corporate bodies and families. The consistent message in the media, be it the evening news, the latest block buster production or morning cartoons, is that bullying works. In other words, domination of others is an effective means to an end. The message has particularly appealed to those who see violence as consonant with their view of the world. Aggressive children are more likely than non-aggressive children to be drawn to and imitate media violence (Huesmann et al., 1984). Those developmentally predisposed to bullying and other forms of school violence are also predisposed to seek out aggressive acts in the media and others who perpetrate it (ie through the internet, television and street gangs).

Bullying in school is not too different from repeated and unjustified domination in other domains, such as sexual harassment in the work place and racial discrimination in the community. It is the systematic abuse of power, and institutions, particularly institutions designed to enhance individual development, need to increase their capacity to address these issues (see Morrison, forthcoming). As Goleman (1995) has stated:

Family life no longer offers growing numbers of children a sure footing in life, schools are left as the one place communities can turn to for correctives to children's deficiencies in emotional and social competence. That is not to say that schools alone can stand in for all the social institutions that too often are in or nearing collapse. But since virtually every child goes to school (at least at the onset), it offers a place to reach children with basic lessons for living that they may never get otherwise. (p.278)

In summary, we can see that both children who bully and who are bullied are treading a path that we should be concerned about. Being a bully and being a victim are risk factors for subsequent antisocial behaviour that have serious personal and social consequences. We can also see that there are a number of risk factors associated with becoming a bully and victim. The web is cast early in life and can secure itself as the child moves from the family environment, to school and into the workplace. Given this analysis, early intervention that captures each of these nodes in the web seems the most productive path to take. Children, their families and communities, must be given opportunities to learn that there are alternatives to bullying, and our developmental institutions, such as schools, are well placed to support them in this learning process.

Developing a theoretical framework

We have endeavoured to this point to build a broad and coherent picture of bullying and victimization in schools. It has been a descriptive account of bullying and victimization. The aim now is to establish a theoretical framework from which we can work in developing an intervention program in schools. We will begin with the finding that a lack of cooperation has been correlated with high involvement in school bullying (Rigby, Cox & Black, 1997). Two different theoretical perspectives may be helpful in explaining this finding: social identity (and self categorization) theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987) and reintegrative shaming theory (Braithwaite, 1989). The social identity perspective argues that social cooperation is a product of the salience (or activation) of a social identity. A social identity can be thought of as the psychological link between the self and the collective,

in this case the school community. Through social identification, the school becomes a positive reference group for the student. When students identify with the school community, they will see themselves as interdependent with this community and behave cooperatively, upholding the school's rules and values (Morrison, 1999). Tyler (1998) has made a similar point. He argues that there are two inter-related aspects to an individual's self-worth. One relates to the collective nature of the self and is reflected in an individual's pride in community membership. The other aspect is more individualistic and is reflected in an individual having respect within that community. Self worth increases as a function of pride and respect within that community; likewise, cooperation within the community also increases.

For bullies, the evidence indicates that the school community is not seen as a positive reference group. Indeed the school may even become a negative reference group as a child drifts towards a delinquent identity (see Koh, 1998). The building of a positive identity within the school is not a simple and straightforward means to an end. There may be some barriers to the process of identifying with the school community. Work by Eliza Ahmed and her colleagues (forthcoming) suggests that one barrier that needs to be addressed is the affective barrier associated with shame. It is here that work on shame management, as informed by reintegrative shaming theory (Braithwaite, 1989), sheds further light on this process. Shame management has been found to be an important mediating variable in the understanding of bullying and victimization (Ahmed et al., forthcoming). Shame management can be broken down into a number of factors. Broadly speaking, these include: (1) individuals' acknowledgment of shame over wrongdoing and (2) individuals' displacement of shame onto others. In other words, shame acknowledgement focuses more on the act, while shame displacement focuses more on the individual's relationship with others. These two features map well onto Braithwaite's (1989) analysis of shame in that the first recognizes the importance of the offender taking responsibility for the act, and the second recognizes the importance of rebuilding social relationships with others, especially those affected by the act. Ahmed has classified school students into four categories: bullies, victims, bully/victims and non-bullies/non-victims. Each of these categories can be characterized in terms of their shame management style.

This work was inspired by reintegrative shaming theory (J. Braithwaite, 1989) which suggests that both shaming and the emotion of shame are of considerable importance in regulating social behaviour. When a member of our community has done something that the community does not condone, the act can be dealt with in two ways: one can belittle both the

person and the behaviour, or one can respect the person while not condoning the behaviour. The former is known as stigmatized shaming, a process that gives negative labels to both the person and the act, the latter is known as reintegrative shaming, a process that supports the person while not condoning the act. Within this framework, Ahmed has developed an integrated model of shame management and bullying. Building on many of the variables that have previously been found to influence bullying behaviour, such as family, school and individual difference variables, Ahmed shows how shame management mediates many of these well acknowledged influences. In other words, failure to manage shame effectively is understood to be important to understanding and addressing school bullying.

Shame can be adaptive or maladaptive. Shame is adaptive when it activates an internal sanctioning mechanism that regulates the consistency and appropriateness of our social behaviour. The process can be understood as follows. Shame comes to the fore when we behave inappropriately in respect to an important community of support, for example our family or school. Through taking responsibility for the wrongdoing and making amends, shame is acknowledged and discharged. Through this process, feeling of connectedness with others in our community remains intact. Our social relationships are not damaged. Shame can be maladaptive when our internal sanctioning agent is functioning in such a way that does not allows us to discharge our shame over a wrongdoing. Why the sanctioning system is not operating at an optimal level can be a product of a number of processes. These will be discussed further by Eliza Ahmed in chapter 3. Suffice to say for now that the shame has not been discharged appropriately and thus remains with the individual. This has consequences for our feeling of connectedness with others in our community. Diminished feeling of connectedness, are also reflected in individuals' feelings of pride in their community and respect within them. Further, unacknowledged shame has the potential to be expressed as anger. The community that has evoked the shame can contribute further to its negative manifestation if the individual is subjected to further feelings of rejection from the community.

How was shame management found to be different across the four categories of bullying behaviour (what we call bullying status): bullies, victims, bully/victims and non-bullies/non-victims)? Non-bullies/non-victims acknowledge shame and thus discharge it; victims acknowledge shame but are caught up in self-critical thinking, through their ongoing feelings of rejection from others. Their shame becomes persistent, despite acknowledgement of wrongdoing. Bullies are less likely to acknowledge shame and the shame is transformed, often manifested as anger. Bully/victims capture the worst of these two troubled groups.

They feel the shame but, like bullies, fail to acknowledge it. As such, they are also more likely to displace shame. Again their shame can be transformed into antisocial behaviour, such as anger. Further, like victims, they are caught up in self-critical thoughts.

How does shame management relate to some of our earlier risk factors for bullying behaviour? The influence of the family can be taken as one example. One family factor which has been found to be significantly influential is how wrongdoing is dealt with in the family. Is the process punitive or reintegrative? Does the process stigmatize the child into a certain pattern of behaviour or does the process allow the child to make amends and carry on as a respected member of the family? The evidence is consistent with the theory we have outlined. Parents of children who bullied others report using stigmatized shaming more often as a child-rearing practice (Ahmed, et al., forthcoming).

We will take a closer look at these two theoretical frameworks, social identity and shame management, in Chapters 2 and 3 respectively. For now the important point to remember is the emphasis that each gives to the importance of social relationships. This is consistent with other theorists, who emphasize the importance of social bonds. Lewis (1981, 1983) argues that connection with others is a primary motive in human behaviour. The maintenance of bonds is reciprocally related to and involves emotions: emotions are a means of cohesion. Nathanson (1992) has also argued that shame is the central social regulator that governs our social relations with others. Shame, as such, is intimately connected with solidarity (ingroup cooperation) and alienation (outgroup competition). Humans are inherently social animals, lapses in important social bonds affect us as individuals. Threatened or damaged bonds create an environment for shame. Chronic unacknowledged shame arises from and generates failure of social connectedness (Retzinger, 1991). Shame can be conceptualized as a thermostat; if it fails to function informatively about the state of our social relationships, regulation of relationships becomes impossible. Thus, shame is an important signal about the state of our social relationships. Shame management involves the search for coherence of identity. Acknowledgment of shame can lead to greater integrity of the self and our social world; shame avoidance (as well as persistence) can lead to social alienation and conflict for the self and our social world.

From this analysis, nine basic assumptions about the behaviour of individuals can be used to build a conceptual framework to work from:

1) An individual's self-worth is developed in the context of their social relations with others.
2) Individuals choose, implicitly and explicitly, how they will behave in a particular situation.

3) The options available to individuals are shaped by social institutions, role models, social norms, social identities and values.

4) A central criterion in the choice of behaviour is protection and enhancement of self.

5) The self is complex and dynamic.

6) The self is socially constructed.

7) The self is constantly evolving in terms of our social relations with others as reflected through the process of social identification.

8) The self identifies with many different social groups.

9) Affect regulates relationship patterns of the self.

Restorative justice and school bullying: The philosophy of the practice

A central tenant that has developed in this chapter is the importance of social relationships to individual and social well-being. This is the central tenant of the practice of restorative justice, which at its heart holds that the nature of our social relationships is central to the nature of our individual lives. Re-integrative shaming theory upholds the practice of restorative justice. Based on this theory, Braithwaite (1989) has argued that there are two main features inherent to restorative processes. First, to achieve successful reintegration the process must involve the presence and participation of a community of support for the offender and the victim. This community would be made up of the people who respect and care most about these two (or more) people. Second, the process of shaming requires a confrontation over the wrongdoing between the victim and offender within this community of support (see Braithwaite, 1989). The theory argues that the process is restorative in that the intervention (1) makes it clear to the offender that the behaviour is not condoned within the community; (2) is supportive and respectful of the individual while not condoning the behaviour. The first point constitutes the shaming aspect of the intervention while the second point provides the basis by which the shaming process is of a re-integrative (rather than a stigmatizing) nature.

Restorative justice processes offer us an opportunity to get off the sea-saw between punitive and moralistic approaches to addressing school bullying. Advocates of punitive approaches call for responsibility and accountability for behavior. Advocates of moralistic approaches call for further care and support of the person. A restorative process involves both these components, in that: (1) a message is communicated to the offender that the behaviour is not condoned by a community; (2) the offender is offered respect, support and

forgiveness by the community. In other words, efforts are made to separate the act (or behavior) from the person.

In line with this ethos, we prefer to separate the act from the person and use the terms *students who bully* or *students who are bullied.* Commonly, literature on bullying uses the terms bullies and victims when referring to children involved in bullying. As many children may at some point take on either role, and because the terms bullies and victims label the children rather than the behaviour, these terms have not been adopted in our work on restorative justice. An important tenet of restorative justice is the ability to conceptually separate the behaviour from the person. This is a philosophical point rather than a semantic preference. It is our hope that through approaching the problem in this way, children will not be polarized into these two positions and become stigmatized as problem kids with associated behavioural problems. At the same time we maintain that bullying, and other forms of violence, have no place in the school environment.

The aim of many programs is to reintegrate those affected by wrongdoing back into the community, to identify with the community, and become a cooperative member of that community, upholding its laws and values. A community accountability conference, which brings together victims, offenders and their respective communities of care, is one such intervention program. As Braithwaite states (1999) "Restorative justice conferences may prevent crime by facilitating a drift back to law-supportive identities from law-neutralizing ones" (p. 47). Community accountability conferencing has been used well in schools, particularly in addressing bullying (see Cameron & Thorseborne, forthcoming; Wachtell & McCold, forthcoming). However, these programs also highlight some problems with the use of conferencing when not supported by a sympathetic institutional framework (see O'Connell & Ritchie, forthcoming). The current evidence suggests that what is needed is a broader institutional approach that supports the practice. We also need to be more proactive in addressing the problem of bullying in schools. As such, the intervention to be developed will be designed to be a proactive curriculum based program, with the program ideals institutionalized within the school, early in a child's development. The program is thus designed to complement current restorative justice practices, such as community accountability conferencing, already being carried out in some schools.

Social institutions and social regulation

Social institutions, as regulated patterns of interaction and behavioural practices, frame choices. Linked to institutions are beliefs, ideals, and possibilities.

Functioning institutions, along with functioning families, are central to a community's capacity to uphold a certain code of non-violent behaviour. Individual citizens alone cannot successfully demand of each other and their children behaviour that is legal and morally acceptable. Non-violence must be a community standard, supported and reinforced by all institutions and groups within the society. (Prothrow-Stith, 1993, p. 76)

Institutions have the capacity to provide our hope for the future. They also have the capacity to disenfranchise us. Institutions possess both restricted and unrestricted resources. Thus institutions can work within competitive and cooperative frameworks. Most often institutions work within a framework that is both competitive and cooperative. Sometimes competitive frameworks provide the best environment to improve individual and collective well-being. A simple example would be winning a sports competition. Sometimes a cooperative framework has the capacity to produce the best results, particularly when we are learning "new tricks" and trying to adapt to change.

In the case of the latter, why might this be the case? When performance skills operate in a competitive institutional framework, you can't afford to take risks. Mastery skills operate within a cooperative institutional framework, where you can afford to take risks, to make mistakes, to try new things. A cooperative system should evaluate performance and allow reintegration. The cooperative system is the restorative system. Schools balance the competitive and cooperative.

The need is to get this balance right, through strengthening the cooperative system and providing clear guidelines as to the circumstances in which each system operates. Performing tasks - whether they relate to sport, social activities, school work, music or artistic endeavors – reveals children's competencies and relative competencies. Competencies are related to rewards within the school system and beyond. These rewards may be material and formal (e.g. prizes, certificates, and money) or they may be social. These regulated patterns of behaviour pertain to the competitive system.

Spending time with others – to share information, feelings, interests and to have fun playing games, or just hanging out – reveals who a person is, something more than what a person can do. These experiences are rewarding when individuals explore new things,

discover new things about themselves and others, acquire new identities, see new possibilities, and feel more positive about themselves through affirmation of others. The reward is intangible and internal and has to do with "meaning in life," coherence and connectedness. These behaviours belong to the cooperative system. Schools nurture both systems. Pressures to have performance outcomes weakens the cooperative system. It needs to be revitalized. Schools must enhance a student's capacity to work within both cooperative and competitive frameworks. We need a curriculum that strengthens both systems. To sustain and strengthen both systems we need effective ways of dealing with conflict.

A Learning Unit for Primary Schools: The Responsible Citizenship Program

Peer mediation and conflict resolution programs have been found to give students important skills in reducing bullying (Cunningham, 1997; Fine et al., 1995). There are many different conflict resolution programs being used in schools. The intervention program developed in this book aims to bring together (a) community building, (b) conflict resolution, and (c) shame management under one conceptual umbrella. The unit aims to give students conflict resolution skills based on the principles of restorative justice.

Peer mediation programs acknowledge the importance of mutual peer influence in addressing conflict in schools. Likewise, the Responsible Citizenship Program capitalizes on this influence process. Harris (1999), in her book "The Nurture Assumption, " shows just how influential peers are in the developmental cycles of children. With this in mind our aim was to develop an intervention program that relied heavily on student to student learning and influence. Particularly important to us was how students manage wrongdoing, conflict and shame. Not only did we want to provide an opportunity for students to learn productive conflict resolution skills, we wanted to focus on the feelings associated with conflict and how to resolve those feelings. And, most importantly, we wanted to provide students who were poor shame managers with peer role models who were managing their shame well.

Goleman's (1995) research on Emotional IQ provides support for our aspirations. He argues that children need lessons in learning about and coping with a repertoire of emotions, particularly the emotions involved in conflicts, as these are the ones that are often masked. Becoming aware of our emotions, acknowledging them, speaking about and acting on them are healthy skills to develop. Through building this awareness, we can often front-end the escalation of conflict. Goleman (1995) comments:

… over the last decade or so 'wars' have been proclaimed, in turn, on teen pregnancy, dropping out, drugs, and most recently violence. The trouble with such campaigns, though, is that they come too late, after the targeted problem has reached epidemic proportions and taken firm root in the lives of the young. They are crisis interventions, the equivalent of solving a health problem by sending an ambulance to the rescue rather than giving an inoculation that would ward off the disease in the first place. Instead of more 'wars,' what we need to follow is the logic of prevention, offering our children the skills for facing life that will increase their chances of avoiding any and all these fates. (p. 256)

How do we as concerned parents, educators and citizens increase our capacity to enable our children to manage their shame more effectively? Is it possible to enable a child to increase the capacity to manage shame more effectively? It seems reasonable to argue that one can not do this without first creating a community of care for a child – a community in which the child feels both pride and respect. Given this, one aspect of the program we have developed aims to develop a community which fosters pride and respect for each of the students. Through this process shame management can then be addressed productively.

Overview

In this chapter, we have tried to provide an overview of the literature that grounded our starting point when we began our research into developing an effective intervention program. We will now develop our theoretical basis a bit further. In Chapter 2 we will look at social identity and restorative justice processes in relation to social cooperation, competition and conflict resolution. Our hope is that this will give readers a good overview of group processes (the good and the bad) in schools. In chapter 3 we will look more closely at the shame management strategies adopted by children who bully and who are bullied. This analysis will complement the analysis of group processes with individual processes. Chapter 4 will bring these two perspectives together through an analysis of institutional design. Thus, chapters 2, 3 and 4 will serve as the theory chapters on which our intervention, outlined and evaluated in chapters 5, 6 and 7, rests. In chapter 8 we wrap up our thinking on the developments within this book and present our final comments.

We South Africans believe in Ubuntu – the essence of being human, that we are caught up in a delicate network of interdependence. We say 'A person is a person through other persons'.

Desmond Tutu

Education can never merely be for the sake of individual self-enhancement. It pulls us into the common world or it fails us altogether.

Robert Bellah (The Good Society)

- Chapter 2 -

Cooperation, competition and conflict resolution:
Social identity and restorative justice perspectives

Schools: Developing cooperative and competitive frameworks

Schools function at two levels: they aim to develop both competitive and cooperative frameworks. These frameworks strive to build the achievements of individual students and they strive to build productive citizenship. Every year in our schools students are recognized and rewarded for their achievements as individuals and for being a good citizen. We hope that our students will perform well at both. Competitive frameworks often enhance the acquisition of skills and knowledge in the pursuit of performance goals; cooperative frameworks provide the social glue that underpins responsible citizenship. These two systems work best in concert.

How do we best bring these two systems together? To address this question, we need at least two things: (1) We need to develop a functional framework through which we understand the relationship between the individual and society (and the place of competition, cooperation and conflict resolution); (2) We need to think carefully about the best way to institutionalize this framework, based on the diversity of perspectives that make up our communities of today. The struggle to find this balance has a long history.

Most recently, reacting to the unweilding competition in schools, the 1980's was characterized by the push for and growth of cooperative learning programs. This line of thought is well characterized by Kohn's (1986) "No contest: The case against competition."

Schools have found these programs to be productive in enhancing the learning outcome for students (see Aronson, 2000). Kohn's argument is based on the premise that we lose in our race to win; that competition alone is inherently destructive. Unbridled competition could see more losers than winners, but does that mean that competition has no place whatsoever? Many would argue otherwise, including Kohn (1996). Many since this time have argued that we need more than cooperative classrooms, we need effective ways of resolving conflict. We also need to model this approach clearly and consistently to our students. As with other social institutions, many schools side-step the problem of managing conflict. Bullying is a form of conflict that is inherently destructive. It can lead to poor outcomes academically and socially, hindering development of the individual and society as a whole. This is true for both victims and offenders.

Johnson and Johnson (1995) have acknowledged the failure of many schools to deal with conflict head on. They differentiated between conflict negative schools, those that manage conflict destructively, and conflict positive schools, those that manage conflict constructively. They noted that most schools today are conflict negative, wherein conflict is either denied, suppressed or avoided. They advocate a culture change to conflict positive schools, where conflict is addressed openly. The question remains how this change can be managed effectively. We need conflict in schools, as in society, in order to grow, to progress. Hence we need to provide children with opportunities to learn productively from their experiences of conflict.

Interestingly, conflict resolution is seldom formally addressed in many schools. It is usually done in an informal manner as situations arise and teachers assist students in resolving their differences. Sometimes the situation is resolved in a manner that meets the needs of the students involved, however in many cases the stage is set for further conflict. One study has found that without formal training, 90% of the conflicts in schools result in one or both parties being injured physically or psychologically (Johnson & Johnson, 1995).

In general, conflict resolution is learnt through informal channels, at home or at school. Children can also get conflicting messages about the best way to resolve conflicts: parents may model conflict avoidance, denial and suppression when managing conflict, which may then conflict with what is deemed appropriate at school. There may also be chronic family disharmony, with family members managing conflict in mutually damaging ways. Further, the media often models violence and aggression as legitimate ways to manage conflict successfully. In others words, students will be influenced through many different channels. Schools can make a difference but their commitment to addressing the problem

must be solid and consistent (Rigby, 1996). A number of schools have made a difference in providing a safe and productive learning environment for students through a range of programs. For example, peer mediation and conflict resolution programs have been found to give students important skills in reducing bullying (Cunningham, 1997; Fine, Laccy, & Baer, 1995). The question that arises is what constitutes the core features of these programs in dealing with bullying and victimization, particularly when it comes to the hard core cases?

<u>Why a conflict resolution program based on restorative justice?</u>

Within schools, there is a large range of programs, which attempt to address issues of safe schools and behavioural mangement; all will not be reviewed here as a number of recent publications have done this well (see Department of Education, Training and Youth Affairs, 1999). We have chosen to focus on the practice of restorative justice, a practice that aims to restore relationships with the community for both the victim and the offender. A key facet of restorative justice is the role of affect (core underlying emotional responses) in conflict resolution. Interestingly, a review of the many conflict resolution programs currently being implemented in schools reveals that many fail to acknowledge the importance of resolving the emotional barriers inherent to many forms of conflict. If it is mentioned, it is seen as a secondary issue rather than a primary component that needs to be addressed.

Our research suggests that the affective component of shame is central to understanding children who bully and who are victims of bullying. As such this is our focus, as it provides an important link in furthering our understanding of conflict resolution, particularly for those who fall outside the web of current programs. This framework thus brings together important aspects of other intervention programs (e.g. peer mediation, conflict resolution) under one conceptual umbrella with the management of shame at its core. Students need to learn effective conflict resolution skills that focus on resolving the situation at the overt behavioural level, as many conflict resolution programs do, but also resolve the wrongdoing at an emotional level. It is here that restorative justice can be helpful.

How conflicts are managed, and what is learnt from them, determine whether the conflict has been constructive or destructive for those involved. Constructive conflict resolution brings those affected back into what can be characterized as communities of care, that is communities that foster mutual respect. The process aims to be restorative to those involved through building supportive relationships for students. In essence, the focus aims to build hope and security for students. Destructive conflict resolution breaks down social

bonds and leaves those affected feeling estranged from the communities within which they live. Constructive conflict resolution restores social bonds and fosters responsible citizenship.

Conflict is always a difficult issue to address. However, when there is a power imbalance, conflict can be particularly harmful as it implies domination of a weaker party by a stronger party. Restorative justice values non-domination, as one can not fully engage in productive citizenship when one is dominated. Bullying is more than a conflict of interest with another party, it is domination of one party by another. Restorative justice prioritizes not just settling conflict but justice without domination. Justice is then served through self-regulation rather than by pressure imposed through power imbalances.

Restorative justice – practice grounding theory

Restorative justice is new in theory but old in practice. It can be found in ancient traditions of justice in Arab, Greek and Roman civilizations (Van Ness, 1986, pp. 64-68) and in other traditional cultures as diverse as Indian Hindus, Buddhist, Taoists and the indigenous cultures of North America and New Zealand (see Braithwaite, 1999). Theories that uphold the practice of restorative justice are relatively new and have grown primarily from theories grounded in an understanding of affect. The aim of restorative justice is to resolve conflict and build cooperative resolutions between affected parties.

Restorative justice is based on the philosophy that productive citizenship is upheld when judicial processes are about restoring victims, restoring offenders, and restoring communities as a result of a participatory process that involves those stakeholders affected by the situation at hand (Braithwaite, 1999). The philosophy of restorative justice transforms our notions of freedom, democracy and community. When a process is truly restorative cooperative relations will ensue between the parties affected. The aim is to take participants through a process that repairs the harm done and reduces the likelihood of further harm. The emphasis shifts from the traditional approach of guilt and punishment to one of responsibility and reparations. Restorative justice offers us an opportunity to jump off the see-saw between legalistic punitive approaches and moralistic collectivist approaches (Zehr, 1990). Each of these approaches has been advocated in responding to bullying in schools.

Rigby (1996), in his review of bullying in Australian schools, includes these approaches. He defines three broad approaches to interventions: moralistic, legalistic and humanistic. For example, one common practice in upholding school discipline consists of

providing a set of standards about school expectations and administering sanctions for rule violations in order to prevent or reduce re-occurrences of problem behaviour. This system can be described as a moralistic approach (the reward component), which is often augmented with punitive sanctions. Many students do respond favourably to this approach and students come to comply with the standards of the school because they can learn from negative consequences (Sugai, 1996). However, some students do not learn from the sanctions imposed. Rigby (1996) argues that the moralistic and legalistic approaches fail to take the values or motives of the individual perpetrator into account. Hence, the opportunity for the student to learn from the experience within the affected community is rarely established. The result is often a cynical acquiescence by the perpetrator, which feeds the establishment of antisocial behavioural patterns. This is particularly true of students who befall suspensions. Rigby (1996) notes that this system "may fail to make much impact on the 'hard core' bullies who may become defiant and redouble their efforts to make it worse for the informer(s)" (p. 197). Moralistic and legalistic approaches also fail to involve the victim in the resolution process. This is undesirable as the victim too needs to reconcile their relationship with the community.

An alternative approach, advocated by Rigby (1996), is the humanistic approach which favours understanding each bully as a unique individual supported by a community of care and respect. The intervention involves trying to understand what is motivating an individual to behave in this way and to apply an appropriate intervention. This approach is "characterized by a sincere desire to understand and appreciate the needs of those primarily involved in the bully/victim problem" (p. 201). Restorative justice, as exemplified by intervention processes such as Community Accountability Conferencing (see Cameron & Thorsborne, forthcoming), is an example of a humanistic approach.

While the moralistic, legalistic and humanistic approaches each aim to instil a sense of responsibility within the offender, the emphasis in this latter approach is to undertake this process in a more humanistic manner. It is important to emphasize that concern and responsibility must go hand in hand. For the bully, concern without responsibility is vacuous; responsibility without concern is flippant.

What are we trying to achieve in effective interventions? Three aims are widely held: (1) to stop, or minimize the potential for future harmful behaviour of the offender; (2) to minimize the harm done; (3) to bring the offender, and victim, back into the school community. To achieve these ends, a number of elements seem essential to an intervention process. Unfortunately some of these elements are often missing in many intervention

processes or don't come together as an integrated whole. O'Connell (1995) has put forward the following list of important elements in successful intervention processes:

1) Opportunity of insight for the bully into consequences of action

2) Opportunity to learn from his/her experience

3) Opportunity of accepting responsibility for the harm done and to self-regulate behaviour in accordance with this responsibility

4) Opportunity for the victim to be involved in the process and to address their needs

5) Opportunity for the offender's and victim's families to participate in the reconciliation and reintegration, taking responsibility where need be and providing a supporting role for the victim and offender

6) Opportunity for the collateral harm in the school community to be addressed

Only when each of these elements is present will we maximize the opportunity for an intervention to be successful and sustainable. The intervention process itself and the atmosphere that supports this process must be participatory and foster care and respect for all community members. In line with this, it is the responsibility of all community members - students, parents and teachers – to ensure the development and maintenance of schools as safe communities.

Restorative justice and cooperative relations

Justice Einfield presents schools as a microcosm of society, and indeed they are. If we alienate a child from the school community, we essentially have created the potential to alienate a child from society as a whole. Pervasive bullies and victims within the school system are at a high risk of proceeding down the route of social alienation and subsequent anti-social behaviour. As highlighted: for bullies, this often leads to lives of domination, often in the form of crime and violence; for victims, this often leads to social-isolation and suicide. The school system must find ways of nurturing the lives of individuals, through fostering pride and respect.

Justice Einfeld in his keynote address to a national conference on safe schools recognizes this important role that schools play in imparting a sense of justice in the community. As he states:

> If it is the obligation of society as a whole to address the social injustices that confront the disadvantaged and the victims of discrimination, it is the responsibility of schools to

impart to children the equal worth of all peoples ... Knowledge is the key to overcoming prejudices and ignorance, and school is the environment to which society has entrusted the responsibility of providing the foundations of a lifetime of learning. (May, 1998)

Schools are central to developing responsible citizenship and maintaining social justice. And they need the support, resources, skills and training to carry this responsibility through. They are the one institution wherein productive relationships between students, their families, teachers and other staff members can be fostered in the formative years of a child's life. The development of pride and respect within the family and school enhances the productivity of the school years. It is the students who lack a connection with the family and school community who are most at risk of academic failure, drug abuse, truancy and delinquent behaviour (Posner, 1994, in Johnson & Johnson, 1995). Through building the capacity for schools to foster supportive relationships for the students, schools can address the feelings of estrangement and hopelessness that some students feel. The key to individual well-being, resilience, social development, and productive citizenship is through the fostering of positive relationships.

The self: Bridging the individual and society

A coherent framework through which to understand the self is important when we are developing programs that addresses behavioural change, in this case breaking the developmental cycles of children who bully and are bullied. The conceptual model of the self that we have adopted is taken from social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and self-categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherall, 1987). As Turner (1996) states:

> [The theories suppose] that the self-process works to socialize cognitive functioning and individual behaviour and ensure that cognitive activity is closely tied to the current realities of individual's social environment. (p. 8)

Thus, if a student's social environment is characterized by ongoing conflict and domination (at home and/or at school), self-functioning will learn from and adapt to those realities. This theoretical framework for thinking about the self and society enables us to jump off the see-saw between individualism (a framework that underlies legalistic traditions of regulating behaviour) and collectivism (a framework that underlies moralistic traditions in regulating

behaviour). One of the early drives in this theoretical approach was a reaction to individualism. As Caporael (1995) has also stated: "Most behavioural and social sciences assume human sociality is a by-product of individualism. Briefly put, individuals are fundamentally self-interested; "social" refers to the exchange of costs and benefits in the pursuit of outcomes of purely personal value, and "society" is the aggregate of individuals in pursuit of their respective self-interest" (p.1). In other words social capital is the by-product of individual capital. In line with this ethos, much of our institutional practice in social regulation rests on these individualistic exchange notions. Schools are no exception.

These theories are defined by the same meta-theory and differentiate themselves from individualistic accounts of human behaviour which often seek to pathologize an individual's deviant behaviour. Tajfel (1977) summed it up as follows:

> Any society which contains power, status, prestige and social group differentials (and they all do), places each of us in a number of social categories which become an important part of our self-definition. In situations which relate to those aspects of our self-definition that we think we share with others, we shall behave very much as they do … They acted together, but it was not because of any individual facts of their personal psychology. (p. 66)

This analysis of society and the self relates directly to bullying behaviour because bullying is defined in terms of power, status, prestige and social group differentials. Further, in terms of acting together (i.e. cooperating) in reference to shared self-definitions, or social identities, the evidence suggests that bullies do not act in terms of a shared social identity with the school as a whole. A lack of cooperativeness has been linked to high involvement in school bullying (Rigby, Cox & Black, 1997). In other words, children who bully at school do not identify with the school community as a whole. As such they are not cooperative members of this community. More likely, they identify with a subgroup of this community and act in term of the norms and values of that subgroup, which often takes on a persona counter to that of the school community. Given this analysis, to understand and address school bullying the focus is to examine the relational aspects of an individual's life, rather than the pathology of the individual.

Lack of cooperativeness in school can be understood as a problem of "us and them" (see Johnson & Johnson, 1995; Morrison, 1998), "us" being those we identify with, "them" being those that we don't. Social cooperation can be explained as a product of a salient (or activated) social identity (or ingroup) (Morrison, 1998). We see ourselves as interdependent, and cooperate, with those who we identify with. In other words, we identify and cooperate

with ingroups or what are called positive reference groups. Positive reference groups define the collective aspect of ourselves; they define "us" for an individual. When an individual becomes alienated from a group, this becomes the basis for competition through the emergence of a negative reference group, in other words "them". Bullies, for various reasons, do not identify with the school community. For example, their poor academic performance may lead them to feel devalued by the school, and they, in turn, devalue the school. As such bullies do not see themselves as interdependent with others within the school and thus are not a cooperative member of the school community.

Interestingly, for school bullies, the relationship that is often fostered in school is one of co-dependence rather than interdependence. Bullies are dependent on their victims to gain their self-worth through domination. In this sense the school environment becomes an important context within which to validate this co-dependency on others to gain self-esteem. Bullies need victims to gain their self-worth, particularly when it is dwindling due to a sense of failure, in other words shame, on some important dimension. Bullies also need a place to belong, to identify with in a collective sense. Bullies, are often quite successful in finding collective legitimacy somewhere within the school environment. In other words, they often do find a social group that affirms their bullying behaviour. When bullying is legitimized by a positive reference group (which could be the school community as a whole), things come easily for the bully; when bullying is not condoned, in any form, by the community, other processes come into play. These processes can be either positive or negative. They can either stigmatize a student into further negative forms of behavior or they can assist in reintegrating the student into the community.

Social identity, bullying and deliquency

So what can bullies do when they need a new place to belong within the school yet don't identify with what the school values as a whole? They form a gang that values delinquent behaviour. Koh (1998) has applied this analysis to an understanding of delinquency in schools. Delinquent behaviour is defined as the behaviour of adolescents who have violated the norms and rules of society. Delinquency, literally defined, is the deficiency of social links (social bonds). Koh (1998) has investigated the development of the delinquent social identity. Her research makes a number of points: it shows how the negative identity arises through social comparison processes; the role of the peer group in delinquency; and the context specific nature of the delinquent social identity.

Emler and Reicher (1995) have made similar claims. They understand delinquency in terms of the collective management of reputation. Their argument incorporates three main elements. First, an individual only defines how they relate to an institutional order (such as a school) once they come to participate in that order. Second, delinquent acts signal opposition to the institutional order, while conformist acts signal identification with the institutional order. Third, self-definition is a collective process and depends on the reputation that an individual is able to negotiate with significant others. So in the case of children who bully this identity is negotiated in the context of the social relationships that sustain their lives at school.

Social institutions, social identity and cooperation

Within an institutional framework, Tyler (1998) has applied a social identity analysis to the understanding of cooperative behaviour. He has linked cooperation within organizations to pride and respect (Tyler, 1998). An individual's self-worth is argued to be both collective (taking pride in group membership) and individualistic (having respect within that group). Thus, as self worth increases in terms of pride and respect, cooperation also increases. For school bullies, it is often difficult for them to take pride in certain aspects of school life (such as academic achievement) but gain respect through the domination of others. If domination of others is valued (and legitimated by principals and teachers) within the school, they can also take pride in this behaviour at school. When students cease to take pride in their accomplishments at school and gain respect through the domination of others, the path to delinquency is being laid. Yet, bullies often stand out less than delinquents, and may not take on the persona of a delinquent. This is because institutions can legitimize bullying as a form of accepted behaviour.

The hard work to be done in our schools is at a number of levels. A first step is to define for all members of the school community what is appropriate behavior. A further step is then to define consistent procedures to deal with inappropriate behavior. It is important that these procedures (1) build positive affect, associated with pride and respect, and (2) include mechanism for the negative affect, such as shame, to be discharged. This is the heart of processes that heal. Without healing the relationships within the community, our efforts to nurture cooperative and productive communities will be fraught with difficulty and unrest.

Social identity, the self and affect

From the clinical (or theraputic) literature, social identification and the self have also been linked in the affect theory of Kauffman (1996). Building on Tomkin's script theory (1987), Kauffman understands the development of multiple social identities through ones' life course as a conscious differentiation of the self into a number of identity scripts. Identity regrowth and the healing of shame lead to reintegration of the self. Kauffman (1996, pp. 199 - 217) argues that shame is healed when we offer a genuine and honest human relationship that provides for an individual's deepest needs, in particular care and respect. Through building and affirming positive relationships shame is healed, hope is instilled and individuals are freed from the shackles of the past. He concludes: "Central to the resolution of shame is the development of a *self-affirming* capacity … This capacity to affirm oneself translates into having esteem for self, valuing self, respect for self, pride in self" (p. 216).

Kauffman and Raphael (1990) have developed an intervention process for children that is called "Stick up for yourself: Every kid's guide to personal power and positive self-esteem". Children receive an exercise booklet through which they work and learn. The book moves from exercises on being responsible, to making choices and then getting to know yourself, particularly your needs and feelings. This learning is then applied to relationships. A central theme is how power is used in relationships. This is important to our understanding of bullying and victimization because bullies abuse power in their relationships and victims are dominated by power. For both, the power relationships in their lives are out of balance. Power from this perspective is a function of patterns of social identification. Processes of identification are positive when they foster pride and respect. Personal power is maintained. However, processes of identification can be negative when they are developed in the context of power imbalances which foster shame and guilt.

Restorative Justice and Reintegrative Shaming

Community conferencing is a form of restorative justice that rests on the premise that shame must be acknowledged for reconciliation between the conflicting parties to ensue. Community conferencing is a practice used to restore victims and offenders to their communities as a response to wrongdoing within the community. The process is structured such that both a subordinate identity (e.g., a family group) and superordinate identity (e.g., a community) is acknowledged in the process. Both the victim and the offender come together with their respected communities of care (often an individual's family members but this could also include others, such as the football coach), which represent the two subordinate

identities. These two groups together represent the superordinate group, in other words the community as a whole. The aim is to develop common understanding, within the affected community, between the individuals within the two (family) groups. In other words to develop a common frame of reference. The dynamic of the conference is complex and there would be many identities emerging and receding in the process for each of the participants. For example, the parents may identify with each other, as could siblings, as each individual's story of how they were affected by the incident unfolds. However, the collective frame of reference that is hoped for typically does not emerge until the expression of shame is brought to the fore. It is here that the psychological alienation between the conflicting parties is resolved.

Within the literature on restorative justice, forgiveness, respect, and shame are the affective mechanisms by which conflict is resolved. Specifically, the theory states that through a process of re-integrative shaming from respected others a process of forgiveness and social cooperation can begin. Reintegrative shaming theory (Braithwaite, 1989) has informed the sociological understanding of restorative justice. This analysis of restorative justice argues that there are two main features inherent to the process of successful reintegration ceremonies. First, a community of support must be offered to the offender and the victim. This community would be made up of the people who respect and care most about the individuals involved and they must participate and offer support in the proceedings. Second, the wrongdoing must be addressed in a manner that exposes how each party present has been affected by this action. It is through this process that the shame over the wrongdoing emerges (see Braithwaite, 1989, 1999). This process puts the behaviour, and not the person, in the centre of the proceedings. This participatory process thus (1) makes it clear to the offender that their behaviour is not condoned within the community; (2) is respectful of the individual while not condoning the behaviour. The first point constitutes the shaming aspect of the intervention while the second point provides the basis by which the shaming process is reintegrative, rather than stigmatizing.

McDonald and Moore (forthcoming) have moved to an understanding of conferencing as "a mechanism by which the negative emotions associated with conflict can be transformed into the positive emotions associated with cooperation." They argue that the expression of shame occurs at a turning point in a community conference. They emphasize "that a significant part of the experience of shame seems to be collective." It is at this collective level that emotional transformation allows the shame to be acknowledged and forgiveness to be expressed. This point has been described as the time when a process of emotional

transformation occurs. We can give a more macro meaning to this approach by contemplating results that show collective shame in Germany with respect to practices upheld at the time of Natzi Germany. Processes of shame management and collective identification at this macro level mirror that at the micro, or interpersonal, level (Dresler-Hawke, 1999).

Further, offenders generally seem to express a sense of shame most strongly when everyone affected has participated in the process of reconciliation. This is the moment when the extent of the harm done has been most thoroughly communicated. Offenders, as the primary cause of the harm, are now at their most vulnerable. It is at this moment that a "relationship common to all participants comes to the fore." Participants sense that they are a community of people all harmed by the incident (a common ingroup). As we can see, both theory and practice in restorative justice uphold the importance of shame in understanding conflict resolution and reintegration.

<u>Pride, shame and conflict resolution</u>

Scheff (1994, p. 34) argues that pride and shame play central roles in the escalation and resolution of conflict. Scheff conceptualizes pride as the obverse emotion to shame, as they could both be conceptualized as emotions grounded in our collective knowledge of self. Pride is associated with achievement and success while shame is associated with failure and wrongdoing. Scheff rests his argument on three main principles that build upon one another.

1. Protracted conflict often oscillates between silent impasses and interminable confrontation.
2. The alienation between the two parties takes the form of unity (engulfment) during impasses and separation (isolation) during confrontation. The denial of shame is a key aspect in the alienation of the self from others. The result is a feeling trap within and between each party.
3. Protracted conflict is resolved when alienation is transformed into solidarity through the acknowledgment of shame. Parties are able to self-regulate the social distance between themselves and others when shame is acknowledged.

Following Durkheim (1952), Scheff argues that there must be a balance between the emphasis given to individuals in society and the emphasis given to groups. Scheff uses the terms solidarity and alienation to explain social integration. Solidarity is a product of a

balance between the "I" and the "We" (see also Elias, 1987). Alienation has two forms: isolation and engulfment. When there is too much emphasis on the "I" in conflict, isolation results because there is little basis to find common ground; when there is too much emphasis on the "We" in conflict, engulfment results because the individual is not communicating their own distinctive point of view. As Sheff states:

> Effective cooperation between human beings involves the ability to deal rapidly with complex and novel problems as they arise. Because of the complexity and novelty of the problems we face, solidarity requires that we draw upon our whole selves, and connect with the whole selves of other participants. Alienation occurs if important parts of self are withheld (engulfment) or if participants are completely divided (isolation).

Retzinger and Scheff (1996) argue "that shame plays a crucial role in normal cooperative relationships, as well as conflict. ... shame signals a threat to the social bond, and therefore is vital in establishing where one stands in a relationship. Similarly, pride signals a secure bond. Shame is the emotional cognate of a threatened or damaged bond, just as threatened bonds are the source of shame" (p. 5).

It seems that students who are victims of bullying and students who are bullies are both alienated in different way. Those who are victims are engulfed; there is too much emphasis on the "We" and not enough on the "I". Those who bully, on the other hand, are alienated from the school community as a whole through isolation; there is too much emphasis on the "I". Either way, transformed shame alienates individuals from their communities. Shame that is acknowledged re-connects us with our social world but shame that is by-passed underlies shame-rage cycles that characterize the worst types of conflict (Scheff, 1994).

<u>Lessons learnt from these theoretical perspectives</u>

What can we conclude? It seems clear that what we need is both sublimely simple and dauntingly complex. At the individual student level it seems simple. We need to use the ups and downs of schoolyard life as opportunities to build positive regard between the students and work through conflict. The building of positive regard aims to foster pride and respect. Working through conflict will provide students with learning opportunities to effectively discharge negative affect, such as shame. Students' confidence in themselves, and good judgement, will be developed and sustained by these relationships.

At the institutional level it becomes more complex. How does one institution meet these needs for hundreds of students? This is where the hard work needs to be done, for the evidence at hand suggests that we are not achieving this, on the whole, for our students.

The individual needs of students must be the focus of our behavioural management policies. We need to ask ourselves a number of questions: what are students telling us (implicitly and explicitly) when they become a behavioural management problem? What are we doing in response? And does this response meet their needs? In behavioural management, restorative justice tells us that we must separate the student from the behaviour. It is the behaviour, and not the person, that is not condoned within the community and it is the behaviour, and not the person, that needs to be confronted by the community. Put another way, it is the problem behaviour and not the problem person that needs to be the focus of our attention. In line with this, the behaviour needs to be confronted in terms of how it has affected the individuals within the community involved. Throughout this process, both victim and offender need to be supported through the offer of care and respect from others. This process is important if we hope to instil a sense of sound judgment and self-regulation for students. From this, six framing principles, taken from restorative practices, can be taken as a guide to the development of effective program implementation.

(1) Bullying and being bullied are ways of behaving that can be changed (Rigby, 1996).
(2) Regulation of bullying concerns actions and should not involve the denigration of the whole person (Moore & O'Connell, 1994).
(3) The harm done by bullying to self and others must be acknowledged (Scheff & Retzinger, 1995).
(4) Reparation for the harm done is essential (Retzinger & Scheff, 1996).
(5) Both bullies and victims are valued members of the school community whose supportive ties with others need to be aligned and strengthened (Bazemore & Umbreit, 1994).
(6) Forgiveness, at some level, is necessary for social reintegration (Tavuchis, 1991).

If these principles are truly taken on board by any school or institution, the chances are the school will need to go through a process of organizational change. In other words, the taking on of this framework will be a learning process for all involved: principals, teachers, students and their parents. Through this process self-regulation by students will ensue and productive citizenship will be fostered. The building of social relationships in schools, orchestrated through formal and informal channels, has the potential to capture and develop the self-worth of all students, and for them to become self-regulating in turn.

Dewey (1899) long ago recognized and emphasized the public function of education. Drawing on the ancient Greeks' conceptulization of education, he discussed the relationship

between social order and education. As he stated "[The Greeks] regarded education as the chief, if not the only fundamentally important instrument of social progress" (p.36). Dewey (1899) also recognized that an individual's self-worth is developed in the context of their social relationships. When we fail to offer respect to students, when we fail to allow children to respond to and learn from their own experiences, particularly when a harmful incident has occurred in our schools, we fail ourselves. We fail ourselves because each of our lives rests on our interdependencies with others. By not approaching the problem of bullying (and other wrongful acts) through engaging with those affected, the seed is sewn for the breakdown of social relationships. Students will then fail to self-regulate in ways that we deem appropriate. Dewey (1899) states the problem as follows:

> The reason that they are social wreckage or failures, or burdens, is simply, at least partly, in the fact that they never have been educated to habits of self-control and self-adjustment, they never have been rendered flexible, capable of using good judgement during their school years, and the result is that they are not adjusted. (p. 92)

Well adjusted students capitalize on effective cooperative and competitive frameworks. They learn good practice in meeting both individual and collective goals. We must create the right environment for students, a place that fosters pride and respect for individuals. A first step that needs to be taken is to transform schools from exclusionary environments, those that capitalize on difference and domination, to inclusionary environments of participative democracies.

Indeed many schools do recognize these elements when building their school cultures. At the same time, many schools will point out that this analysis doesn't seem to go far enough. Creating positive school cultures will go a long way but it is only one of a number of environments that nurture students. Children who bully others, and children who are bullied, are carrying a lot of alienation and anger with them. This is the evidence from our recent work on shame management and bullying. We need to develop, model and teach productive conflict resolution styles for students and the wider community that supports them. Productive conflict resolution that enables each of us to relinquish our shame and re-connect with others is the heart of democratic citizenship. Shame management is central to our understanding of citizenship. In the next chapter we will look at shame management processes more closely, particularly in how they relate to bulling and victimization in schools.

"...individuals who resort to crime are those insulated from shame over their wrongdoing" (Braithwaite, 1989, p. 1)

- Chapter 3 -
Shame management and bullying:
Stability and variability over time

Eliza Ahmed

This chapter examines the scope of shame management processes in understanding bullying/victimization in schools. The restorative justice literature is helpful here in that it emphasizes the building of emotional resources and social connectedness between bullies, victims and their communities. As our work shows (for details, see Ahmed, Harris, Braithwaite, & Braithwaite; forthcoming), bullying/victimization in children occurs as a result of both emotional and social drift away from significant others. We have found that bullying/victimization is related to children's shame management skills. These skills are learned through processes of socialization and so can be relearned within frameworks that seek to build these skills. Moreover, within these, and other relevant channels, they can be refined over time. A child's social, emotional and behavioral functioning can suffer as a result of failing to acquire and refine these skills. The main purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate this.

Background

Our initial research in 1996 examined bullying and victimization in 32 schools (grades 4, 5, 6 and 7) in the Australian Capital Territory. This research showed that children's poor skills in managing shame could be a risk factor for bullying/victimization (see Ahmed et al., forthcoming). Bullies[1] were less likely to acknowledge shame, and more likely to displace shame into anger; victims showed excessive shame acknowledgment (with a particular focus on self-critical thoughts) without displacement; children who were both bully

and victim felt shame but showed less acknowledgment and more displacement of it; and children who are non-bully / non-victim acknowledged shame without displacement. A follow-up survey was undertaken to find out how stable the relationship between shame management and bullying status (bully, victim, bully/victim and non-bully / non-victim) was over time. This chapter aims to build on this initial research, providing a further evaluation of the relationship between shame management, bullying and victimization.

The research into bullying and victimization reviewed in chapter 1 converged on a set of variables that indicate a general pattern of poor social adjustment in both bullies and victims. Children who bully others have often been brought up under a regime typified by punitive, inconsistent discipline, and which exhibits a lack of care and concern among family members (e.g., Ahmed, et al., forthcoming; Bowers, Smith, & Binney, 1992; Lowenstein, 1978; Rigby, 1993). Such children often lack academic achievement, face problems in developing friendship groups, and therefore do not enjoy school life. In addition, they are less likely to be able to control their impulses and feel empathy for others. Interestingly, they think that bullying is not well controlled at their schools (e.g., Ahmed et al., forthcoming).

Children who become the victims of bullies have also been characterized by poor social adjustment. Research shows that victimized children often have a disagreeable and insecure relationship with their family members (e.g., Komiyama, 1986; Troy & Sroufe, 1987). Such children are found to be withdrawn, anxious, depressed, and prone to low self-esteem (e.g., O'Moore & Hillery, 1991; Slee, 1995; Slee & Rigby, 1993).

In summary, research into bullying and victimization, across a range of social contexts, has established a strong link between poor social and personal adjustment and the behavioral outcomes for bullies and victims. Based on restorative justice principles, our work seeks to investigate the shame management profiles of children who bully and are victimized. The 1996 study showed a strong relationship between children's shame management and bullying status. How enduring this relationship is over time is the focus of this chapter. It aims to develop our understanding of this relationship, particularly in terms of its stability and variability over time.

---

[1] Using 'bullies' or 'victims' is not to label such children but to simplify the text.

Shame-management: A key concept in bullying/victimization

The inclusion of shame management skills in developing our understanding of bullying/victimization is supported by a body of clinical, developmental and criminological literature, which suggests a relationship between shame, anger and criminal behavior (Braithwaite, 1989; Lewis, 1971, 1987, 1995; Scheff & Retzinger, 1991; Tangney, Wagner, & Gramzow, 1992). It was argued that shame, when unacknowledged, leads to anger and angry actions which can intimidate and/or hurt others. Support for this argument has come from investigations which document the link between unacknowledged shame and anger (Lansky, 1992; Nathanson, 1992; Retzinger, 1991; Scheff, 1987). Research has shown that shame is not only related to hostility and a tendency to blame others (Harder & Lewis, 1986; Tangney, Wagner, Fletcher, & Gramzow, 1992), but is also related to feelings of unworthiness, helplessness and depression (Lewis, 1971; Nathanson, 1987; Tangney, 1990, 1993).

While focusing on the maladaptive aspects of shame, these researchers have not denied the adaptive aspects of shame. Indeed, some have argued that shame acknowledgment plays a central role in maintaining healthy interpersonal relationships (Kaufman, 1996; Lynd, 1958; Retzinger, 1996; Schneider, 1977; Turner, 1995). The current work incorporates both the adaptive and maladaptive aspects of shame (for details see Ahmed et al., forthcoming).

What is shame management and how does it relate to bullying and victimization?

Shame management can be understood as the process we use to rationalize wrongdoing that threatens our ethical identity. Shame is what we feel when we violate a set of social and moral norms or standards. We all violate such norms (at least to some extent) at one time or another. The important question is how we rationalize our wrongdoings, and also how we manage our shame over them. There are adaptive and maladaptive ways of managing shame. Maximizing and minimizing feelings of shame are both maladaptive. What is adaptive then? There are several means of managing shame adaptively. Some of them can co-occur and some of them are more overtly recognized than others. The first step to manage shame adaptively is to –

- admit "Yes, I have done wrong and I am ashamed of it".

This acknowledgment need not be a public admission; it could be completely private.

The next steps are to -

- take responsibility for the harm done; and

- make amends for the harm done, such as saying sorry or at least expressing some symbolic gesture of regret.

These three steps can be understood as an *internal sanctioning mechanism.* They are the key components of our conscience. The other adaptive shame management strategies that follow the mechanism are the absence of -

- persistent self-critical thoughts from others' rejection; and

- externalizing blame or anger onto others.

Through these strategies, the outcome is adaptive, both personally and socially. That is, the feeling of shame is discharged and the "self" remains free of conflict between conscience and wrongdoing. Moreover, good interpersonal relationships are maintained.

Let us now consider the maladaptive ways to manage shame. In spite of the presence of an internal sanctioning mechanism, it is possible that some of us will be unable to heal shame adaptively. In some cases, this arises from a constant fear of others' rejection. We then feel inferior, defective and helpless, and our self-esteem is deflated. So we distance our social relationships to avoid further feelings of rejection and shame because we are struggling with these unresolved feelings already.

A second maladaptive way to manage shame is when we simply fail to acknowledge such feelings and deny them instead. In this case, our feelings are not confronted and dealt with. The message to others is that we are not ashamed of the wrongdoing. Because we do not acknowledge our feelings, we feel that we have no responsibility and therefore no need to make amends. In this case, we are inclined to blame others for what went wrong. In other words, we find a "scapegoat". These maladaptive strategies may relieve the pain of shame in the short term, but they have a harmful impact upon the self and the community in the long run. The consequence of this maladaptive strategy is a feeling of unfairness, blaming others, and being angry at others to get revenge. In these circumstances, maintaining good interpersonal relationships becomes difficult.

How does adaptive and maladaptive shame management relate to bullying and victimization? Typically, children who are not bullies and are not victimized manage their shame adaptively by acknowledging shame over a wrongdoing. Acknowledging shame, along with taking responsibility and making amends, is not a very pleasant experience in the short term, primarily because we become exposed to others (the threat being real or imaginary), and see ourselves as more or less disgraced in others' eyes. However, once this painful part of the shame is discharged, it is adaptive for further self-development and also for maintaining responsible interpersonal relationships in the long run.

Acknowledged shame can on the other hand take a maladaptive path if we adopt a strategy of self-blame and dwelling on others' rejection. In spite of the presence of an *internal sanctioning mechanism*, these strategies are likely to play a role in feelings of alienation. They threaten the social bond between the rule violator and the rule regulator, for example, a child and his/her parent or teacher. The child may become distanced from the community to avoid further shame and is then very likely to recognize him/herself as a "scapegoat". The child constantly strives to do the right thing and not disrupt his/her fragile social world. Maintaining distance from others assists in this process and such children become ready victims to bullies. Bullies are very quick to recognize the fragile nature of such children. Victims then become the scapegoat that the bully is looking for as they are all too ready to take on responsibility, often not theirs, to curb further rejection from others. A dysfunctional co-dependency is established.

How are the bullies affected? Bullies bypass their shame, and thus, it is unacknowledged with no responsibility taken for their action. They believe that other people around them (e.g., students, teachers, siblings) are to blame for what went wrong. When shame goes unacknowledged it is maladaptive, most markedly from the perspective of good interpersonal relationships, though it seems to be adaptive in protecting the self from an immediate sense of humiliation. A threat to the social bond comes about because they fail to acknowledge these feelings, and refrain from repairing the damage done to the relationship with other people. In this case, the ethical element of shame, the *internal sanctioning mechanism*, is missing, and non-compliance with rules takes place almost recklessly. Such is the case with the school bullies.

Shame undoubtedly has a central role in understanding human behavior. Shame is a very sophisticated emotion that can take either a constructive or a destructive path. Shame is constructive when it leads to adaptive activities; conversely, it is destructive when it takes the

maladaptive form. The strategies we adopt following a wrongdoing are especially important. Some strategies are the key to reconciliation and reintegration, whereas others create barriers toward reconciliation and reintegration. When bullies and victims feel alienated from their social surroundings (albeit in different ways), adaptive shame management may strengthen the integrity of the self as well as the social bond.

The stability/variability of shame management and bullying over time

In the 1996 research, shame management skills were found to play an important role in providing emotional and behavioral resources for coping and resolving everyday conflicts. Results showed that bullying occurs primarily because shame is not acknowledged but is displaced to others through blame and anger. Excessive acknowledgment of shame contributed to the risk of children being victimized by peers. Children who play both roles appear to take on shame management strategies that characterize both bullies and victims. A follow-up study was undertaken in 1999. The data for children who took part in the survey in both 1996 and 1999 (N = 368) were used to analyze the following two questions:

1. How stable is a child's bullying status (bully, victim, bully/victim, non-bully / non-victim) across a 3-year time span?

2. To what extent do children's shame management skills relate to their bullying status across a 3-year time span?

How stable is a child's bullying status across time?

To address this question, comparisons are made between 1996 and 1999 data on children's bullying status. As Table 1 shows, 47% of the children who reported either being bullies or victims in 1996 are still bullies or victims in 1999. These numbers represent a sizeable proportion. A substantial number (44%) of the non-bully / non-victims also showed stability in their own category. Interestingly, only 21% of the bully/victims remain in the same category, suggesting far less stability. Of those who shifted to another category, about 48% shifted to the victim category in 1999. These data raise further questions: why is stability different across the different categories and why is this so for some children but not

for others? Answering these questions requires further research. For now, we can examine the issue of whether children's shame management skills relate to their bullying status over time.

Table 1 A comparison of children's bullying status between 1996 and 1999.

Years / Bullying status	Non-bully / non-victim	Bully	Victim	Bully/victim
Number of children in 1996	52	38	71	37
Number of children in 1999	23	18	34	8
Percentage of remaining children in the same status	44%	47%	47%	21%

<u>To what extent do children's shame management skills relate to their bullying status over time?</u>

To answer this question, comparisons were made between the 1996 and 1999 data on children's shame management skills. Shame management was measured through the "Management Of Shame State: Shame Acknowledgment and Shame Displacement" instrument (MOSS-SASD: Ahmed, Braithwaite, & Braithwaite, 1996). Children were asked to read 4 bullying scenarios. For each scenario, they answered a number of questions that measured their shame management skills. These scenarios and the items used to measure shame management appear in Appendix 3. Shame management data for non-bully / non-victims, bullies, victims, and bully/victims were aggregated on two scales: Shame Acknowledgment (e.g., feeling shame, taking responsibility and making amends for the harm done; see Appendix 3, items marked *) and Shame Displacement (e.g., externalizing blame, dwelling on who to blame, retaliatory anger and displaced anger; see Appendix 3, items marked +).

Each of the figures below indicates stability and change in bullying status from the 1996 data to the 1999 data on the Shame Acknowledgment scale and the Shame Displacement scale. For the Shame Acknowledgment figures, a higher score represents a high frequency of acknowledging shame. For Shame Displacement figures, a higher score represents a high frequency of displacing shame on to others.

Non-bully / non-victims: Shame management trends from 1996 to 1999
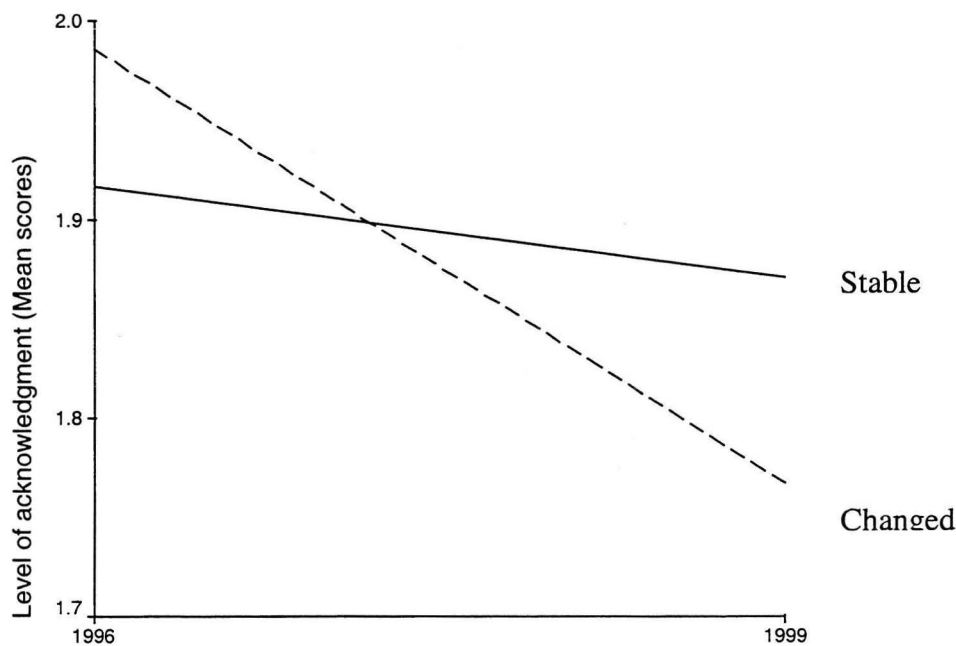
Figure 1   Means of Shame Acknowledgment in 1996 and in 1999 for stable and changed non-bully / non-victims.

As can be seen from Figure 1, compared to the stable non-bully / non-victims, children who moved to other troubled categories (e.g., bully) are less inclined to acknowledge shame in 1999; that is, they are now less likely to feel shame, take responsibility and make amends for a wrongdoing. As Figure 2 shows, children who moved from the 'non-bully / non-victim' category to any other category in 1999 are now more inclined to displace shame; that is, they are now more likely to blame others and feel angry at others for what went wrong. Overall, this suggests that non-bully / non-victims who continue to maintain the same status in 1999 as in 1996 are more inclined to acknowledge shame and less inclined to displace shame.
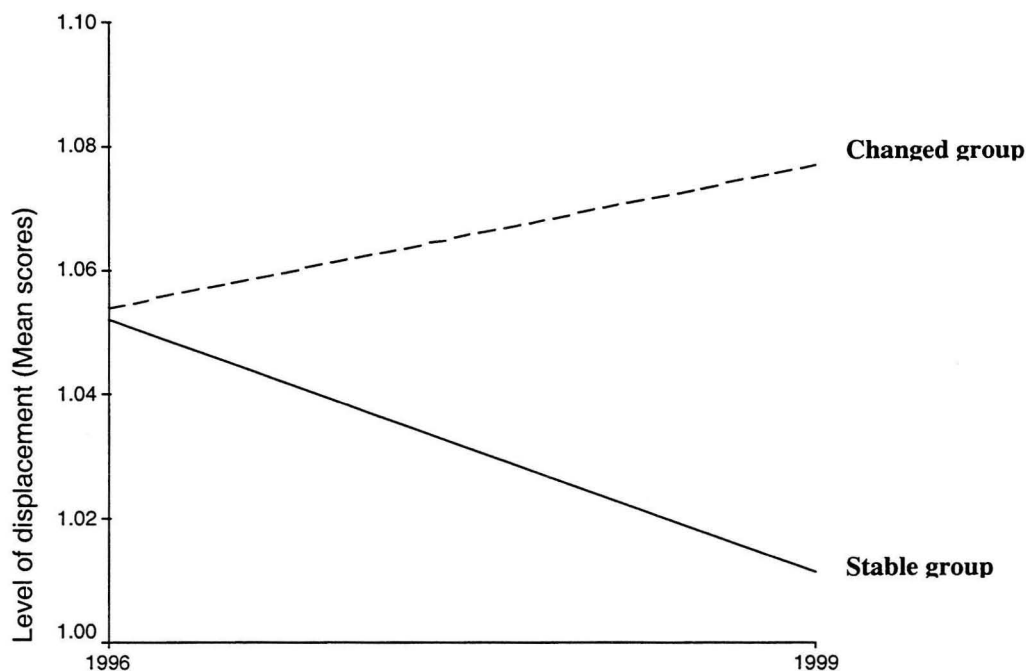
Figure 2   Means of Shame Displacement in 1996 and in 1999 for stable and changed
non-bully / non-victims.

Bullies: Shame management trends from 1996 to 1999

As Figure 3 shows, children who remained stable bullies, compared to those children
who shifted to other categories in 1999, continue to be less inclined to acknowledge shame.
They are now less likely to feel shame, take responsibility and make amends for the harm
done. It is interesting to note that the stable bullies, compared to the changed bullies, had
lower scores on shame acknowledgment in 1996 as well. As for Shame Displacement
(Figure 4), bullies who shifted to another category in 1999 showed a sharp decline in
displacing shame. In other words, bullies who changed are now less likely to blame others
and feel angry at others for what went wrong. In summary, bullies who continue to bully
peers continue to have a low capacity to acknowledge shame (e.g., feeling shame, taking
responsibility, making amends), and a high capacity to displace shame (e.g., blaming others,
feeling revenge against others).
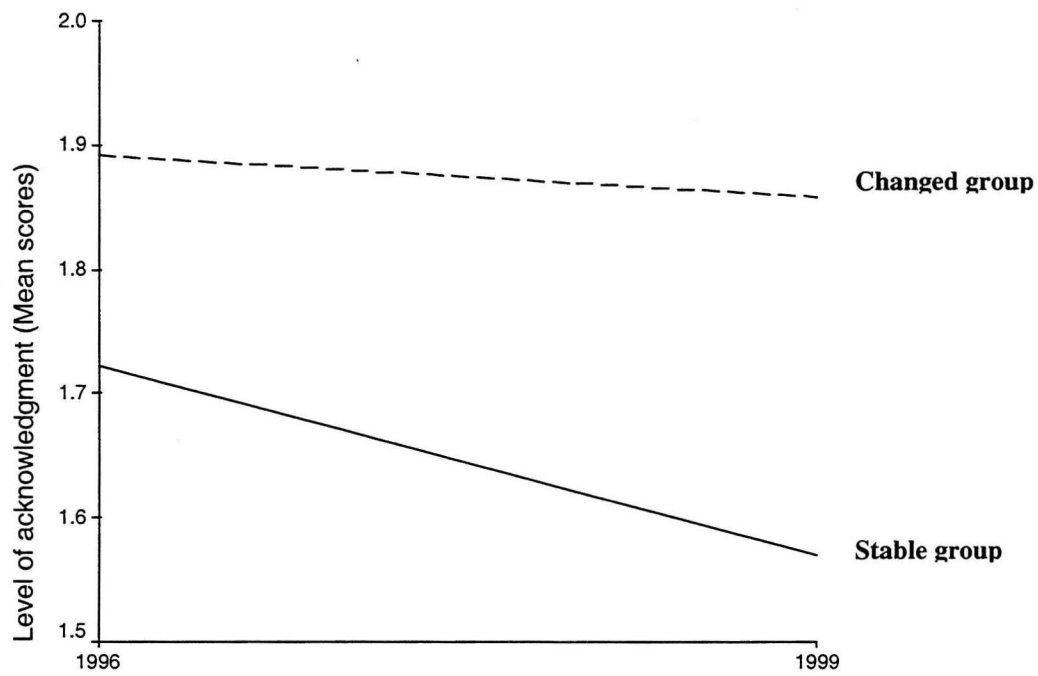
Figure 3   Means of Shame Acknowledgment in 1996 and in 1999 for stable and changed bullies.

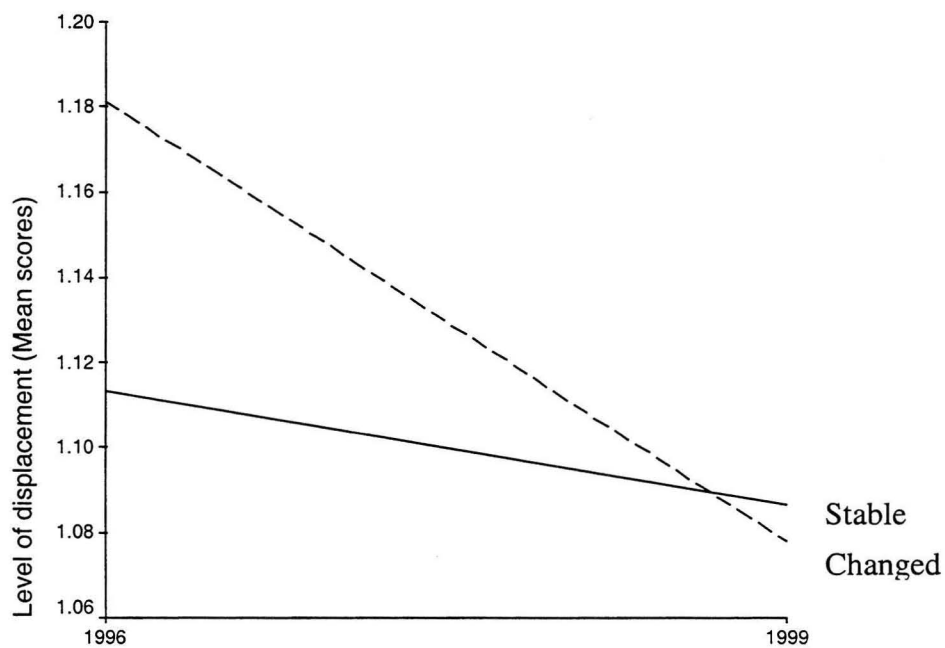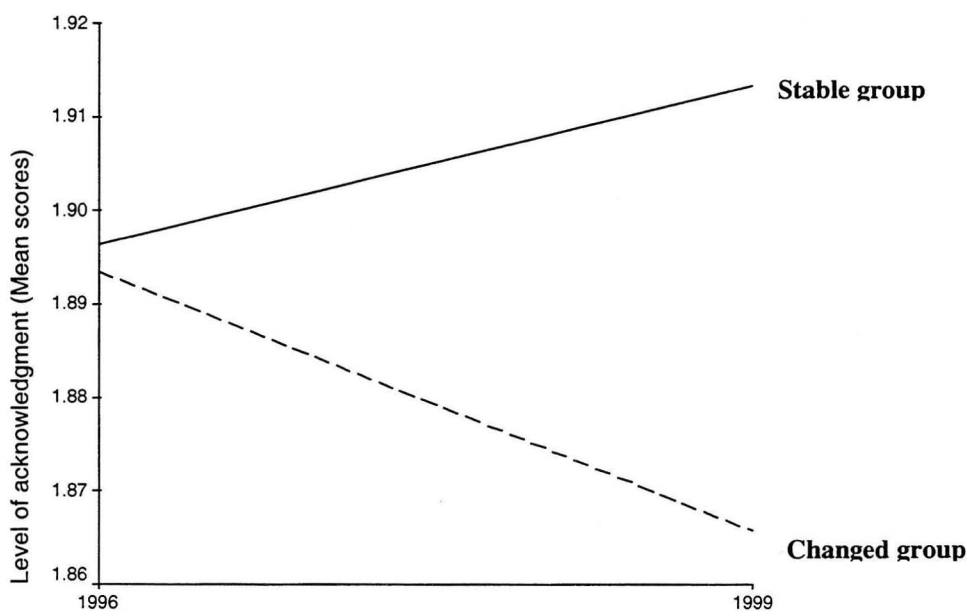

Figure 4   Means of Shame Displacement in 1996 and in 1999 for stable and changed bullies.

<u>Victims: Shame management trends from 1996 to 1999</u>

        Children who were identified as stable victims, compared to those children who shifted to other categories, were more inclined to acknowledge shame in 1999 than in 1996 (Figure 5). In other words, they are now even more likely to feel shame, take responsibility and make amends after a wrongdoing. This excessive acknowledgment of wrongdoing is likely to be an indication of low self-regard. This may lead them to be engulfed by persistent shame and self-blame, and to withdraw from social relationships. With this in mind, a secondary analysis was done to look at friendship patterns[2] within the stable and changed victims. It was found that victims who maintained the victim status over time had fewer friends in 1999, while children who changed to another category reported having more friends (see Figure 6). In other words, children who changed from the victim category were able to widen their social networks through building friendships at school, while the stable victims become more withdrawn and disengaged from their social environment at school. This alerts us to the notion that the stable victims are now in an entrenched pattern of social isolation at their school. Interestingly, stable and changed victim groups behaved similarly in shame displacement. Both showed a decline in displacing shame following a wrongdoing.

Figure 5   Means of Shame Acknowledgment in 1996 and in 1999 for stable and changed victims.

---

[2] Children were asked: "How many good friends do you have in your class?". Responses were made on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (None, at all) to 4 (I have many good friends in my class).
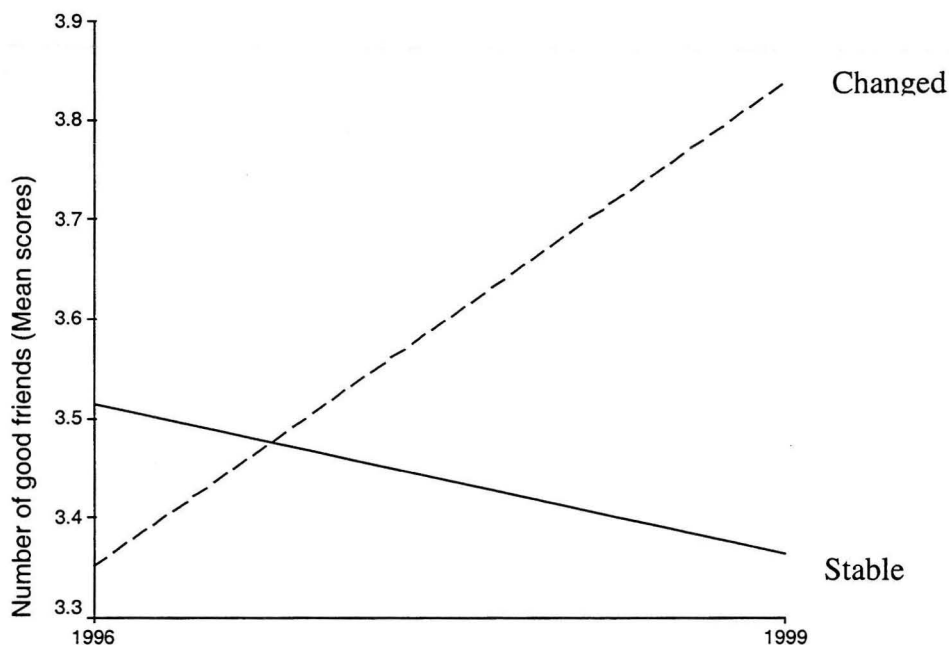
Figure 6   Mean number of good friends in 1996 and in 1999 for stable and changed victims.

Bully/victims: Shame management trends from 1996 to 1999

By 1999, stable bully/victims were less likely to acknowledge shame following a wrongdoing than they were in 1996 (see Figure 7). Those children who moved out of the bully/victim group maintain their 1996 shame acknowledgment level. Interestingly, shame displacement dropped over time for both groups, most markedly for the stable group. This reveals a worrying pattern for this small, yet significant, population of students. These data suggest that children in the stable bully/victim group are taking on the shame management pattern that fits both the stable bullies (less shame acknowledgment) and the stable victims (less shame displacement).

It was mentioned earlier that about 48% children in the bully/victim group had shifted to the victim group by 1999. These victims over represented the changed group and showed more shame acknowledgment and less shame displacement. This warrants some explanation. Any one of a number of changes in these children's daily lives might be responsible for this shift. For example, these children are now in the junior grades of high school where the
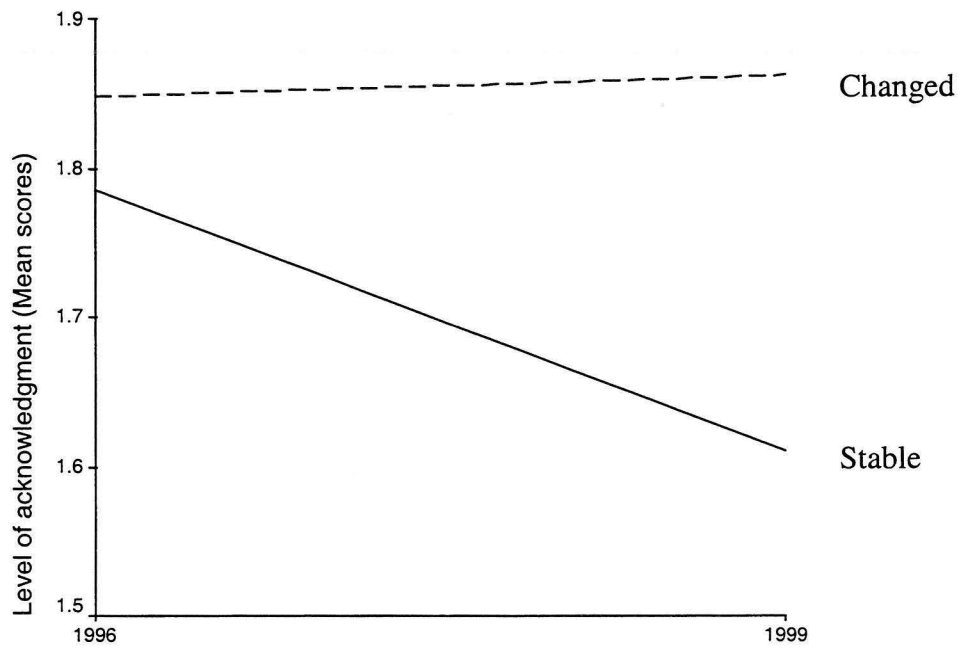
Figure 7   Means of shame acknowledgment in 1996 and in 1999 for stable and changed bully/victims.
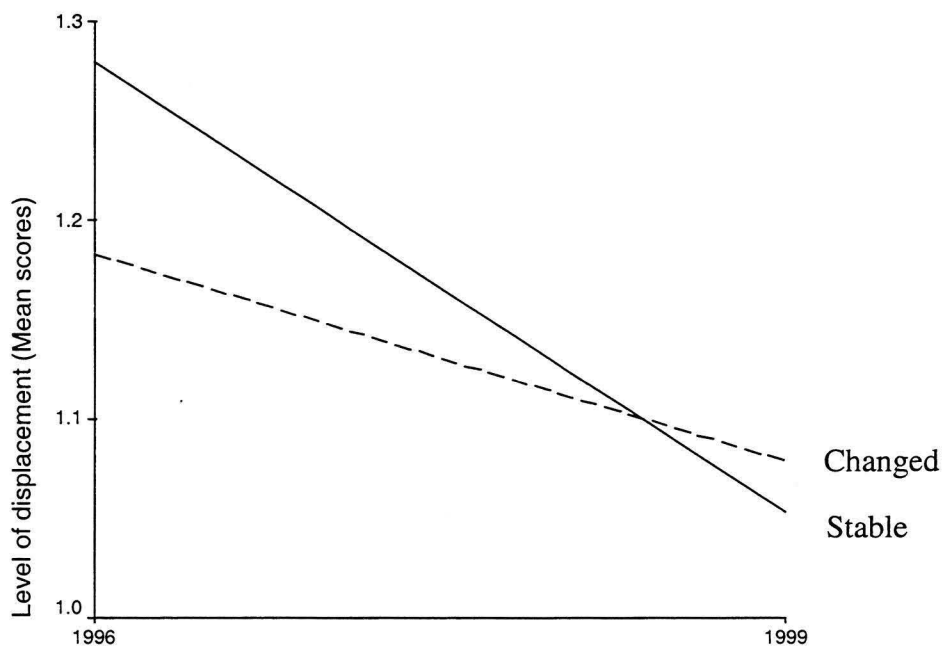
**Figure 8**   Means of shame displacement in 1996 and in 1999 for stable and changed bully/victims.

nature of bullying changes and can become more threatening. New power relations are established and new barriers to establishing affirmation of self appear. In this climate, these children become less like bullies and more like victims. The transition from primary school to high school for these children possibly served to gradually entrench the victim role. Along with other social forces, shame management resources could be an important factor in understanding the dominance of victimization, over bullying, along this developmental pathway. Further research is needed to explore what might be entrenching victims' shame management skills. With many factors operating simultaneously, one method might be to use an idiographic approach where shame management patterns of each child are examined and each pattern would then be considered as a configuration characterizing that particular child.

Discussion and conclusion

This 3-year follow-up study evaluated the relationship between children's shame management and bullying status. Findings provide support for the view that displacing shame is maladaptive and destructive for maintaining interpersonal relationships over time. Evidence was also presented to demonstrate that acknowledging shame is adaptive and constructive for such relationships. Interestingly, and understandably, too much acknowledgment of shame over a wrongdoing was also found to be maladaptive for maintaining social relationships. A summary of these findings is presented in Table 2.

The important theme which emerged from this study is that a child's bullying status is quite stable over time (see also Farrington, 1993; Olweus, 1979, 1993; Tattum, Tattum, & Herbert, 1993), and is related to shame management skills. For example, 47% of the children who bullied others in 1996 continued to bully their peers in 1999. These children also continued to show their poor shame management skills characterized by less shame acknowledgment and more shame displacement. While there is a story of stability, there is also a story of change. That is, a child's particular bullying status can change as we see change in his/her shame management skills. Children who had moved out of the bullying category by 1999 are distinguished by decreases in shame displacement (e.g., blaming others, being angry at others). This finding is one which offers hope for future interventions.

Table 2   Summary of the obtained findings.

Bullying status			What was found	Comment
Non-bully / non-victims	Stable	▶	Shame acknowledgment: no change	Stable group continues to show
			Shame displacement: decreases	adaptive shame management
	Changed	•	Shame acknowledgment: decreases Shame displacement: increases	
Bullies	Stable	•	Shame acknowledgment: no change Shame displacement: no change	Stable group continues to show poor shame management
	Changed	•	Shame acknowledgment: no change Shame displacement: decreases	
Victims	Stable	•	Shame acknowledgment: increases Shame displacement: no change Number of good friends: decreases	Stable group continues to show poor shame management
	Changed	•	Shame acknowledgment: decreases Shame displacement: no change Number of good friends: increases	
Bully/victims	Stable	•	Shame acknowledgment: decreases Shame displacement: decreases	Stable group continues to show poor shame management
	Changed	•	Shame acknowledgment: no change Shame displacement: decreases	

Considerable continuity in adaptive shame management skills was also found for the stable non-bully / non-victims. These children continued to show the same level of shame acknowledgment in 1999. In addition, their shame displacement scores decreased in 1999. In contrast, the changed non-bully / non-victims continued to show poor shame management skills. Their shame acknowledgment scores dropped down and their shame displacement scores went up compared to the 1996 data. These data for non-bully / non-victims suggest that decreases in shame acknowledgment (e.g., feeling shame, taking responsibility, making amends) and increases in shame displacement (e.g., blaming others, being angry at others) resulted in movement from being 'trouble-free' in 1996 to being 'more of a worry' in 1999.

For victims, it was of interest to note that those who moved out of the group showed less shame acknowledgment in 1999. In contrast, those who stayed in the group showed higher shame acknowledgment. This suggests that the stable victims perceived their problems as being their own fault. Persistent shame and self-blame for being a victim of bullying appears to be a major contributor to an increase in shame acknowledgment and to

continuity in victimization. To avoid further shame and self-blame, these children appear to be setting a pattern of social isolation from their peers. This finding is important to consider in the context of research on the higher incidence of suicide among victims of bullying.

What about the bully/victims? Bully/victims who remained in this category in 1999 showed less of a tendency for both shame acknowledgment and shame displacement. Bullying peers possibly pressures them to establish a pattern of less shame acknowledgment while being victimized by peers leads them to establish a pattern of less shame displacement.

To sum up, this research demonstrates three findings which are important key points for bullying intervention:

1. Shame management skills are related to bullying/victimization;

2. Shame management skills change over time as does bullying status; and

3. Children who remain in troubled categories (bullies, victims and bully/victim) have distinctive patterns of poor shame management.

The implications of the above findings for bullying interventions are as follows:

1. Interventions should incorporate the concept of shame management skills.

2. Interventions should focus upon exposing children-at-risk to early intervention before any maladaptive patterns become entrenched.

3. Interventions should aim to empower children in building resilience against bullying/victimization. The concept of shame management can be used for building resilience through role modeling and skill training. Integrating shame management skills training into the school curriculum would seem worthwhile.

4. Interventions should adopt a shame management approach within a whole school approach.

On the basis of this framework of bullying/victimization and shame management, attempts to educate children about shame management are of great importance. The Responsible Citizenship Program (see Chapter 6 of this book) is a pilot intervention designed to achieve this objective. The program is based on the assumption that shame management skills are context dependent and transient in nature. They can be shaped in a desirable way if children are given the opportunity and the role models necessary to bring about this change.

"In the life of societies there is the need for justice and also the need for mercy..... Only a higher force - wisdom - can reconcile these opposites. ... [S]ocieties need stability *and* change, tradition *and* innovation; public interest *and* private interest; planning *and* laissez-faire; order *and* freedom; growth *and* decay: everywhere society's health depends on the simultaneous pursuit of mutually opposed activities or aims." (Ernst Schumacher, 1977, p. 142)

- Chapter 4 -

A framework for tailoring a Responsible Citizenship Program to your school

Valerie Braithwaite

When schools decide to implement anti-bullying programs, they must decide on an approach that best fits their underlying organizational philosophy. Some schools maintain a hierarchical structure with strict codes of conduct and punishments associated with violation of these codes. Other schools are organized around a set of democratic principles in which codes of conduct are communicated, developed, modified, and enforced through discussion and feedback among all members of the school community. It is tempting for us to assume that the anti-bullying program of traditional hierarchical schools should be very different from the anti-bullying program of liberal democratic schools. One might expect that schools that adopt a traditional hierarchical philosophy will prefer a legalistic approach to regulating social conduct. In contrast, liberal democratic schools might be expected to favour a more humanistic approach (Rigby, 1996). Preferences, however, are not necessarily synonymous with best practice. This chapter puts forward an argument for why schools, no matter how liberal or traditional they are, should create the safe space offered by programs such as the Responsible Citizenship Program.

Why the Responsible Citizenship Program?

The Responsible Citizenship Program (RCP) and programs like it rest on the principle that ideology is not what is important. Rigby (1996) has drawn on the work of Ernst Schumacher (1977) to make the point that what is important for each child is to be treated with love and respect, regardless of whether the ideology of the school is conservative or

liberal. RCP provides institutional space within the school for not only espousing the principles of respect, consideration and participation, but practicing such principles, and sanctioning actions that contravene or undermine them. The program may be embedded within a traditional school structure, or it may be merged with a democratic school structure so that the standard operating principles of the school and program are seamless.

How can RCP transcend ideology?

Researchers for some time have advocated a whole school approach to dealing with bullying. This means that parents, students, teachers, principals, and school boards all support the anti-bullying policy of the school at all times, showing respect and consideration for each other in their interactions, and actively discouraging actions in which one person dominates and hurts another, regardless of whether this occurs between teachers, between students, between parents, or across these groups. Respect, consideration and participation are social values that are part of a more general societal concept which we might term civility. Civility in human interactions is an ideal that is compatible with the operations of both traditional and democratic schools. Thus, in principle, RCP can find a home in either institutional structure.

Many will say at this point that it is easier to transcend ideology in theory than in practice. How does RCP look when it is adopted in democratically structured schools and how does it look in more hierarchically structured schools? The difference is likely to lie in the amount and kind of space that RCP occupies in the school context.

In a democratically structured school, the boundaries of the RCP program are likely to be indistinct and many facets of the program probably will overlap with other well-established school practices. For instance, much of what happens within RCP may also happen on school committees and governing boards where students participate in the decision making processes of the school. The danger for RCP in this context is that it may lack distinctiveness and there may be difficulties evaluating its effectiveness. More specifically, if the program is not meeting its desired goals, it may be hard to know where the problem lies. A culture of spontaneity and openness may have inadvertently camouflaged some fun loving practices that seriously threaten the freedom of others. One of the most insidious features of domination is that it is not always apparent to those who do it. Once domination becomes an acceptable part of a culture, the seed is planted for toleration and rationalization over bullying incidents. Democratically structured schools that merge RCP into well entrenched school

practices may be lulled into a false sense of security that their democratic philosophy will protect from engagement with some rather undemocratic practices.

While domination is rejected in principle by democratically structured schools, domination is part of traditional school structures. In such contexts, the RCP is not expected to mesh with established practices: Rather it is meant to represent a break from traditional practices. In the space defined by RCP, teachers and students have an opportunity to step into a world where the rules of hierarchy and dominance no longer apply, and where open and frank communication about feelings, concerns and beliefs can take place in confidence and safety. Furthermore, RCP provides the opportunity to decide upon and monitor the rules for ensuring that hierarchy does not result in abuse of power in the school. The challenge in this school context is to identify the ways in which hierarchical structures lead to domination, and domination to bullying, and to use the RCP principles to preserve civility within a hierarchical school structure. The RCP is therefore likely to be a more discrete and well-defined program within the traditional school curriculum. The danger for the program in this context is that the civility espoused and practiced within RCP may not be carried over into the school environment more generally.

A framework for adapting RCP to the school context

In the above discussion, traditional and democratic schools have been discussed as prototypes of the school system. In reality, most schools are characterized by elements of both philosophies. How then can RCP be made to suit the particular philosophical mix that defines a school's individual identity? There is no one answer to this question. Schools must find their own way of integrating RCP into their school philosophy and their established practices. While implementation and adaptation must be left to schools themselves, we can assist in the process through providing a framework to guide implementation, a framework that has met with support from parents and teachers alike in our work with ACT school communities. Before presenting this framework, however, we would like to take a small detour to explain the reasoning that underlies it. The starting point for this discussion is human values because values shape our view of how the world is and how it should be.

Security and harmony value systems

Values are defined as goals in life and ways of behaving that transcend specific objects and situations and that serve as standards or principles to guide our actions. Values belong to the domain of what we should do, as opposed to what we want to do or have to do (Rokeach, 1973). Not only are values the standards that we believe we should live by in our daily lives, they are the standards that we believe others should live by (Scott, 1965). Values are part of our shared conception of what our society should be like (Braithwaite & Blamey, 1998). Yet values are not purely social phenomena. Values are internalized beliefs, deeply held and remarkably stable, which we use to evaluate our own actions and those of others (Braithwaite & Law, 1985; Blamey & Braithwaite, 1997; Feather, 1975; Rokeach, 1973; Smith, 1963).

Two of the very important functions of values are to provide standards for regulating competition and nurturing cooperation (Kluckhohn, 1951; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987). If we are to ask ourselves whether or not we want to implement the RCP, two of the fundamental questions are likely to be: "Can the RCP be used to ensure security for our children at school, that is, can it protect from the damage done by bullying?" (the competitive struggle question); and "can the RCP help us coordinate the activities of all school members so that they can act in concert and harmony with each other when the need arises?"(the nurturing cooperation question).

Many academics have drawn a distinction between values that guide the competitive struggle for finite or scarce resources in a community and values that guide the sharing of resources and the quest for wisdom and social harmony (Fromm, 1949; Hogan, 1973; Sorokin, 1962, Weber, 1946). We have been tracking values of these kinds in Australia over a 20 year period (1975-1995) (Braithwaite, 1994; Braithwaite & Blamey, 1998; Blamey & Braithwaite, 1997). We call them the security and harmony value systems.

The security value system brings together guiding principles that ensure that one is well positioned to protect one's interests and further them within the existing social order. Security values guide us in deciding how we divide up limited resources, what kinds of competition between groups and individuals is legitimate, and how we define winners and losers. The security value system encompasses values such as the rule of law, authority, social recognition, economic prosperity, and competitiveness.

In contrast, the harmony value system brings together ideals for furthering peaceful coexistence through a social order that shares resources, communicates mutual respect, and

cooperates to allow individuals to develop their potential to the full. Harmony values orient us toward establishing connections to others, transcending our individual grievances and dissatisfactions, and finding peace within ourselves and with our world. Harmony values include a good life for others, rule by the people, the pursuit of knowledge and wisdom, as well as tolerance, generosity and forgiveness.

The security and harmony systems are stable, enduring, and valued at some level by the vast majority of the population (Braithwaite & Blamey, 1998). While some people prioritize one system over the other (e.g., advocates of traditional versus liberal education systems), the majority strive for ways of maximizing both. We think this can be done in setting up an anti-bullying program, but first let us explore the benefits of working within a harmony framework and a security framework and explain how each contributes to social and individual well-being. First, we will examine social well-being through what it means to trust others and to be trusted in the school context. Next, we will focus on three indicators of individual well-being, performance, learning and shame management, and show that they also take different forms in a security and harmony framework. Finally, we argue that changing a bullying culture relies on taking the best of what the harmony and security value systems have to offer.

The basis for trust

Solving a problem such as bullying does not simply mean stopping the act of aggression. It means building positive social relationships between bullies, victims and others in the school community, and most importantly, building relationships of trust so that children do not live with fear and suspicion. If we are to build trust relationships, however, we must understand what it means to be trustworthy in other people's eyes. Interestingly, the behaviours associated with being trustworthy differ somewhat, depending on whether one takes a security value system perspective or a harmony value system perspective (Braithwaite, 1998).

From the security perspective, being trustworthy means being predictable, consistent, competent, and holding to accepted or agreed standards of behaviour. These expectations can best be understood by standing in the shoes of someone adopting a security oriented frame of reference. The other is seen as a competitor who can harm us. Our way of protecting ourselves from this potential threat is to rely on laws and rules to structure others' actions. This will limit the options of those who threaten our well-being. Should the rules be

disobeyed, we can rely on the law and on authority to restore our sense of security through the delivery of justice and the prevention of further harm. Under these circumstances, we can have confidence that we can predict the others' actions, that is, we can trust the other.

From the harmony perspective, being trustworthy means seeing the other as understanding our point of view, wanting to help us meet our needs, showing concern for us, and treating us with respect and dignity. If we adopt a harmony frame of reference, we do not regard the other as a competitor, but rather as a fellow traveller who is an equal, worthy of respect, and equally deserving of the opportunities that we wish for ourselves. From this view point, we look for signs that the other is indeed in harmony with us, that is, that we can trust the other.

As with security and harmony values, most of us use both kinds of trust, depending on the context. It is adaptive for us to have such flexibility. Different kinds of trust are required in different kinds of social situations, and no where is this more evident than in schools. There are times when children are given tasks to perform which test their competence and require them to accept responsibility and deliver certain outcomes. This is one of the goals of the education process: to give children the skills to become reliable, competent, and consistent performers in the adult roles of worker, parent, citizen and so on. On these occasions, children learn that to be trustworthy is to be performance oriented; that is, they are operating under security trust norms.

At other times, however, children don't know what to do and feel ill equipped for the task ahead. When children regard the skills that they require as being beyond their reach, the gift of trust will be more likely to bring about the desired goals than demands for performance. Children need others to extend encouragement, to given them space to try and fail, to share an appreciation of the value of their effort, and to assure them that they won't be punished or teased for getting it wrong; that is, they need to operate under harmony trust norms.

School performance: security and harmony perspectives

Schools are the province of performance and the learning of skills, sometimes cognitive in nature, sometimes social. Our level of performance and learning is influenced by our perceptions of our environment and those around us. Our environment provides us with cues about others' expectations (Orne, 1962; Roethlisberger & Dickson, 1939; Rosenthal, 1966). These expectations may concern the requirements of the situation: for instance,

Dweck and Leggett (1988) ask, is it an occasion for acquiring new skills or should we be demonstrating that we have mastered old ones? The environment can be important to the extent that it builds confidence or undermines it. A substantial body of research has shown how others' perceptions of our capacities influence our behaviour (Worchel, Cooper, & Goethals, 1988).

In a review of an extensive research program on human motivation, Carol Dweck and Ellen Leggett (1988) addressed the following question: Why is it that some of the brightest and most skilled students fall apart when presented with a difficult and novel problem, while others thrive in the same situation and become engrossed in finding a solution, no matter how tough the problem is?

Dweck and Leggett suggest that there are two quite distinct goals that motivate us. One of these goals concerns performance. When the performance goal is operating, we want to impress others, we do not take risks, and we do not expose our vulnerabilities. Interestingly, children who are driven by performance goals tend to adopt a set of maladaptive responses when it appears as if their achievement may be blocked: They feel personally inadequate, display negative affect, perform even more poorly, and try to compensate for their poor performance by exaggerating their accomplishments in other areas. In contrast, when the learning goal dominates the performance goal, children react to obstacles in a different manner. The learning goal focuses their attention on doing things better than before, recognizing difficulties and enjoying the challenge of overcoming them. Through this process, the learning goal appears to make individuals less vulnerable to the effects of fluctuations in confidence.

Dweck and Leggett recognized differences in children's tendency to be driven by performance or learning goals. Some preferred to be performance oriented, others preferred to be learning oriented. Apart from personal predispositions, Dweck and Leggett showed how performance and learning goals changed in response to cues about what the situation requires. If bullying is to be successfully managed in a school, the behaviours of bullies and victims must change in response to each other and to other triggers encountered at school. This means that a school's bullying culture has to change, and with it, the behaviour of many individuals. Such changes are most likely to take place when Dweck and Leggett's learning goal is in operation, and least likely to occur when the performance goal is salient. The learning goal increases the probability of considering new options and trying new solutions, and decreases any tendency to become sidetracked in self-protective and defensive thinking.

What kind of institutional environment do we need to promote the learning goal? Dweck and Leggett provide us with some clues as to when learning goals gain ascendancy over performance goals. Of most importance is whether or not we believe it is within our capacity, or that of others, to change behaviour to meet the demands of the situation. For instance, bullies and victims need to believe that they can change, and others need to believe it as well.

Believing that change is possible is thus the basic condition for activating the learning goals that are at the heart of RCP. Believing is not likely to be enough, however. When we turn our attention to school bullying, it seems reasonable to suggest that children will not change their behaviour, they will not risk making mistakes and losing status within the school system, unless they perceive themselves as being in a learning situation where it is safe to try new things and explore new ways of presenting themselves to the school community. The rules of this "safe" space need to be supportive and cooperative, and the trust that is built needs to be based on understanding. We propose that children are most likely to learn about what they must do to build a non-bullying culture when harmony values and harmony trust norms are in operation.

Learning adaptive shame management in harmony space

Why do we suggest that learning new ways of interacting with others is best acquired in an environment where harmony values are operating? Surely learning can take place in a competitive environment where the emphasis is on performance? We would not disagree that learning can and does take place under these circumstances. We need look no further than athletes, performers and teachers to see learning in action under the toughest performance conditions. The question, however, is whether or not this is the best way to learn. It's also noteworthy that the coaches and mentors of the above professionals generally give their toughest criticism in private. When criticism is directed at our core business, we feel hurt, sometimes even humiliated. In such contexts, an emotional component emerges that is of central importance in whether or not we handle criticism constructively or destructively. We call this emotion shame.

At the heart of Dweck and Leggett's analysis is the way we perceive ourselves - who we are, who we want to be, and who we should be. It is difficult for all of us to acknowledge the ways in which we fail to live up to standards, be they our own or the standards of others whom we admire and respect. Nathan Harris (see Ahmed, Harris, Braithwaite, &

Braithwaite, forthcoming) argues that when things happen that make us question our view of ourselves as a decent person, we are likely to feel a sense of shame. This may occur when we have insight into our own shortcomings, or it may occur when someone we respect points out our failings to us. Managing these feelings of shame becomes a major challenge for all of us.

One approach is to dismiss the feelings altogether and pretend that nothing happened, another is to blame others and dissociate oneself from them (Nathanson, 1992). This is difficult, of course, if we are caught in the act, or if others whom we respect express disapproval of our actions (see Harris in Ahmed, Harris, Braithwaite & Braithwaite, forthcoming). Through the theory of reintegrative shaming, John Braithwaite (1989) has argued that disapproval can be expressed by a community in different ways with very different consequences for how we manage shame. Sometimes disapproval is offered by labelling the person as bad, that is, the person is stigmatized and is pushed to the margins of the community. Reintegrative shaming theory explains why this is not an effective way to change anyone's behaviour. The person is shamed in an environment which offers no hope of forgiveness and putting things right. Shame cannot be effectively discharged. Instead resentments and humiliation are fuelled, social distance is placed between the wrongdoer and the community, and those who have hurt others turn away from seeing themselves as offender and toward seeing themselves as victim. The principle of reintegrative shaming is to confront wrongdoing, but to do so in terms of the action being unacceptable, not the person. The idea is that the person can change, and is more likely to do so if the offended community sets standards, expects change to occur, and provides a supportive environment in which the change can take place.

The analysis offered by reintegrative shaming theory was applied to the problem of bullying by Eliza Ahmed (Ahmed, Harris, Braithwaite, & Braithwaite, forthcoming). According to Ahmed, reintegrative shaming works because it allows children to discharge their shame in a constructive way. Constructive resolution of shame involves acknowledgment without the displacement of anger and blame onto others. It also requires acknowledgment without chronic loss of self-esteem and self-deprecating thoughts. Acknowledgment may also involve revelations from others of the part they may have played in causing the problem. Acknowledgment of shame and the learning required to change patterns of behaviour need to occur in a safe environment; where we can admit and deal with our mistakes without fear of social rejection, and where we can work toward discharging shame through accepting responsibility for the harm we have done and repairing the damage. The harmony space defined by values of cooperation, forgiveness, understanding and support

appear ideally suited to this task along with trust norms that promote empathy and sharing experiences. If we were to expose our failings in a competitive environment, it is most likely that others would take advantage of our vulnerabilities. Neither victims nor bullies can be expected to risk the loss of status that acknowledgment would bring in a social situation where they feel self-protective against others, that is, where they have to compete to maintain some dignity.

Within the criminal justice system, institutional space of the kind advocated is already being provided through restorative justice conferencing. In a restorative justice conference or circle, all the stakeholders affected by an injustice (offenders and their families, victims and their supporters, police, affected members of the community) sit in a circle. The injustice is placed in the centre of the circle, not the wrongdoer. First, they discuss what happened, then the harm suffered as a result. Finally, they decide what needs to be done to repair the harm. Usually an agreement will be signed by the offender, the victim and others. A part of the agreement will usually be a process for follow-up to ensure compliance with its terms.

Does this mean that security values are irrelevant in dealing with bullying?

We do not believe that security values on their own provide an appropriate frame for acknowledgment, forgiveness and reparation. At a basic level, security values are associated with the belief that children who bully cannot be changed (Braithwaite, 2000a), and in this sense, do not provide a useful starting point for an anti-bullying program. Yet serious consideration needs to be given to the institutional space defined by security values. Institutional space defined by security values involves punishment for wrongdoing, and possibly expulsion from the school (Braithwaite, 2000b). These policies offer safety to children who are victims of bullies. This message was powerfully brought to our attention in the pilot study. When we asked the children whether or not they thought that banning kids who bullied others from the play area was a good idea, one little boy replied " I'd be dead by now if we didn't do that!". Ensuring safety for children is no small matter in schools where bullying is a problem.

What do parents think?

In 1996 and 1999, we conducted the "Life at School Survey" in Canberra (Ahmed, 1996; Morrison, Braithwaite, & Ahmed, 1999). Children and one of their parents completed

the survey. We were not only interested in hearing about children's experiences of bullying and their perceptions of how much bullying went on in their school, but we were also interested in how parents viewed these matters and what kinds of policy interventions they preferred. In 1996, 978 parents or guardians took part. In 1999, 333 remained involved. For ease of comparison, the analyses reported below are based on the 333 parents who were involved in 1996 and again in 1999.

As part of the "Life at School Survey", parents were presented with a list of actions that schools might take to deal with bullying, and were asked to indicate how important they considered each to be for dealing with bullying on a scale from 1 (undesirable) to 5 (essential). The possible actions were grouped into two main categories. The first concerned educating and persuading the school community that bullying should not be tolerated, and incorporated building positive social relationships in the school community of the kind that characterizes RCP. The second set of strategies focused on the child who had been caught bullying and advocated dealing with the problem through administering different levels of punishment. The relational and punitive strategies are listed in Tables 4.1 and 4.2 respectively, along with the percentage of parents who regarded each as a desirable or essential step to take to counteract bullying first in 1996 and later in 1999.

In interpreting these results it is important to remember that during the three year gap between the first and second survey, the children moved from being 4th to 6th graders in primary school, to being 7th to 9th graders in high school. In other words, they changed from being children to being adolescents.

From the responses to the relational strategies in Table 4.1, it is clear that the majority of parents in both 1996 and 1999 want to see dialogue in the school community about bullying, education campaigns for its prevention, and efforts made to persuade children who bully others that it is not the way to go. Table 4.2 shows that most parents also want to see some punishments in place for bullying. Over half want to see principals formally confront children who bully others and over half believe that children who bully should lose privileges. From 1996 to 1999, it is of note that the percentage of parents who saw the strategies as desirable or essential dropped with two exceptions. More parents in 1999 favoured the signing of an anti-bullying contract with the school and more parents favoured expulsion. This finding may reflect the ageing of this cohort of children, with parents favouring tougher measures as children move into adolescence. Parents may also be expressing a degree of despair that nothing appears to be working to contain the bullying

problem in schools. All we know at this stage is that parents have changed over this three year period to become more sympathetic toward legalistic solutions.

We were particularly interested to find out if support for relational and punitive strategies came from different groups in the community. For instance, Rigby (1996) reports anecdotal evidence that parents whose children have been bullied are more likely than others to adopt a punitive attitude to bullies, pressuring the school to take punitive action, often to the despair of staff. Our data provided an opportunity to test this belief.

We were able to find out if parents' support for punitive or relational anti-bullying strategies was a function of their child's experiences with bullying, or was it a function of the broader security and harmony values that they held. In order to answer this question, we used measures of security and harmony value systems from 1996 together with measures of children's bullying experiences in 1999 to predict support for punitive or relational anti-bullying strategies. The model that we tested using a regression analysis is represented in Figure 4.1.

The measures that we used to test this model and the details of the analyses are presented in the Appendix 4.1. The findings can be summarized as follows. The extent to which parents had "experienced" bullying via their children's experiences was not the major determinant of how parents thought bullying should be handled in the school. Indeed, personal experiences were less important than commitment to the more stable and abstract values measured through the security and harmony value systems. Parents who were strong supporters of security values and weak supporters of harmony values were more likely to believe that punitive strategies would be most effective in dealing with school bullying. Punitive strategies were also favoured by those who believed that bullies could not change.

Parents who believed in harmony values were more likely to favour relational strategies to deal with bullying. Interestingly, parents whose children had been the victims of bullying were more likely to favour relational strategies than parents whose children had not been victimized. This result is surprising in that it goes against anecdotal evidence. Nevertheless, it is consistent with a body of research on offenders and victims of crime. Strang (2000) has found that consistently victims say that what they want more than anything else is an apology and to know that it won't happen to someone else. These sentiments do not gel very well with the media hype we often hear concerning victim revenge. Perhaps the mistake that many fall into is to assume that revenge is the first and natural reaction. Revenge may come to the fore when opportunities for apology and repair are denied to those who have suffered at the hands of another. Results from the Reintegrative Shaming

Table 4.1: Parent's views on the desirability of a relational approach to controlling school bullying

Strategies	% saying desirable or essential		
	parents		teachers
	1996	1999	1999
Role-paying and story telling which explains why bullying is bad	81	64	67
Encouragement of neutral students to help break up fights	36	35	30
An anti-bullying school contract signed by students/parents	38	47	57
Discussion groups for parents of students who bully or are bullied	48	46	55
Training courses for parents to improve parenting skills[a]	62		
Meetings that ensure bullies commit to changing their behaviour	81	72	77
Consulting with students to develop policy guidelines[b]	79	64	67
Consulting with parents to develop policy guidelines[c]		48	50
Workshops/classes on democratic decision making[c]		42	56
Meetings about bullying between staff and parents[c]		63	72
Conflict resolution classes within the school curriculum[c]		64	75
Peer mediation programs within the school[c]		58	64

[a]   Question was used in scale in 1996 but not in 1999.

[b]   In 1996 this item included parents and children.

[c]   Question was used in survey in 1999 but not in 1996.

Table 4.2: Parent's views on the desirability of a punitive approach to controlling school bullying

Strategies	% saying desirable or essential		
	parents		teachers
	1996	1999	1999
Formal confrontation of bullies in the principal's office	76	60	54
Expulsion of children who have repeatedly been reported as bullies	42	50	39
Suspension for a week or two of children who have bullied	44	41	47
Taking away privileges from children who bully[a]	91	71	77
Immediate "time-out" for any student who has been caught bullying[b]		75	70

[a] This question was worded somewhat differently in 1996 and 1999.

[b] Question was used in 1999 but not in 1996.

Experiment at the Australian National University (Strang, Barnes, Braithwaite, & Sherman, 1999) suggest that both offenders and victims are less likely to feel vengeful toward the other when wrongdoing is dealt with through conferencing than through court. Conferences are more likely than court cases to give opportunity for apology and the repair of damaged relationships.

To test the idea further that parents favour relational over punitive anti-bullying strategies in schools, parents were asked how they thought bullying should be brought under control: should it be through three way discussions among parents, students and teachers to sort out problems between children who bully and children who are bullied; should it be through enforcing strict rules that forbid bullying and through disciplining guilty parties; or should it be through discussion first and then through stricter enforcement of rules if the problem is not resolved? Parents responded to each of these options on a five point strongly disagree to strongly agree scale.

1996 predictors   1999 predictors   1999 outcomes

```
┌─────────────────┐                              ┌──────────────────────┐
│ Security & harmony│ ───────────────────────────▶│ Relational or punitive│
│  value systems    │                              │ anti-bullying strategies│
└─────────────────┘                              └──────────────────────┘

          ┌──────────────────┐
          │ Belief that children│
          │ who bully can change│
          └──────────────────┘

          ┌──────────────────┐
          │  Assessment of the │
          │ impact of bullying on│
          │  the child ( child as│
          │ victim, child as bully,│
          │   safety of school )│
          └──────────────────┘
```
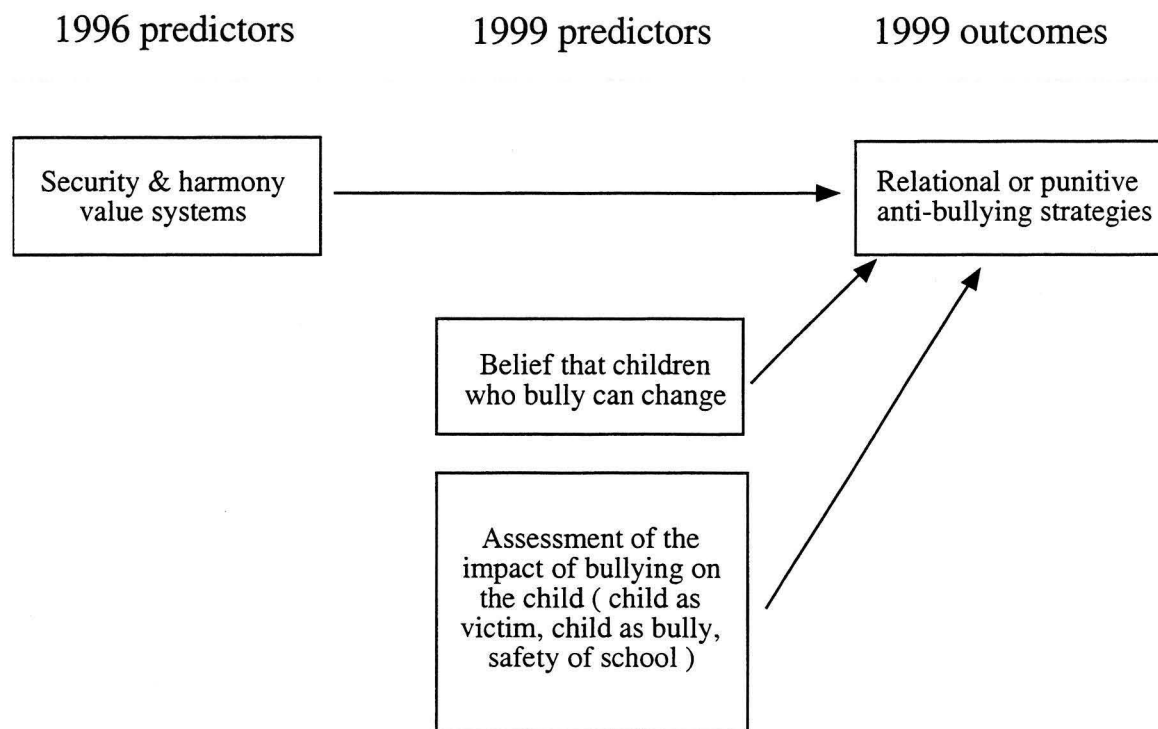
Figure 4.1: A model predicting support for anti-bullying strategies in the school

The percentage of parents who agreed or strongly agreed with each option is given in Table 4.3. Overall, parents prioritize discussion within the school over punishment of individual students. The most popular strategy involved a combination of discussion first and rule enforcement second. When the more stringent cut-off was used of the percentage in strong agreement with each option (those who ticked the category 5), the differences were still marked. The combination strategy was strongly supported by 50% in 1996, followed by 36% for discussion, and 32% for rule enforcement. In 1999, 62% strongly favoured a combined strategy, 60% strongly favoured discussion, and 47% strongly favoured rule enforcement. These responses show that programs like RCP are likely to be acceptable in most school environments as a first step in dealing with bullying problems. Most parents favour relational solutions before punitive solutions.

The school community comprises not only parents, but students and teachers as well. While we do not have data from students on their preferred strategy, a study by Morrison and Reinhart (forthcoming) investigated the extent to which teachers supported punitive and/or relational approaches to dealing with bullying. Morrison and Reinhart's results are presented in Tables 4.1 and 4.2 for ease of comparison alongside the parent's data. The preferences of teachers are very similar to those of parents. The major difference is that teachers are more

strongly opposed to expulsion than parents. From the data in Tables 4.1 to 4.3, we might conclude that both teachers and parents favour relational strategies as the first option, but that both groups also see the need for punitive measures, to be used if relational strategies fail. While both teachers and parents are least supportive of expulsion policies, teachers are more sceptical about their effectiveness than parents.

It is not unusual for educationalists to prioritize disciplinary strategies that fall under the relational/rehabilitative umbrella first, and to discourage escalation up the punishment ladder until cooperative efforts to regulate behaviour have been fully explored (Johnson & Johnson, 1995). Interestingly, this approach is formalized in the arena of business regulation through the concept of an enforcement pyramid. Cooperative problem solving and strategies of education and persuasion should be tried first, against a backdrop of penalties that can be used sequentially, and that escalate in severity until there is no option other than incapacitation (Ayres & Braithwaite, 1992). The survey results presented in this chapter are important because they show that this way of thinking is not peculiar to academics and professionals. These are the views of parents as well.

Table 4.3: Parent's views on how problems of school bullying should be brought under control

Policy Guidelines	% in agreement		
	parents		teachers
	1996	1999	1999
Through discussions involving teachers, students and parents to sort out problems between children who bully and children who are bullied	87	80	82
Through enforcing strict rules that forbid bullying and through disciplining guilty parties	73	72	62
Through discussions first and then through stricter enforcement of rules if the problem is not resolved	92	82	86

Conclusion

The model that meets with most approval from parents is that which uses a relational approach such as RCP, while giving schools the capacity to move to suspension and expulsion if the relational processes for controlling bullying fail. It appears that parents are willing to prioritize harmony values, as long as measures are in place to give expression to security values should that be necessary. This is not to deny that there are parents who would prefer to go straight to punitive individualized measures and opt for a security approach before anything else. Similarly, there are harmony oriented parents who resist contemplating failure of a relational approach, and who are horrified at the prospect of escalation to punitive individualized strategies. But both these ideological groups (the security oriented and the harmony oriented) need to accommodate the world views of the other, and these data suggest that such accommodation is not only desirable, but achievable.

We hope that this chapter contributes to the practical guidance offered in this book as to how high anti-bullying standards can be established, cooperation can be nurtured, and resistance to culture change managed by school authorities. While we do not underestimate the difficulty, we hold to the view that schools cannot turn away from the struggle to reconcile apparently conflicting imperatives. The good news is that there is considerable agreement among parents and teachers about the framework for developing anti-bullying policies, and this consensus on framework concurs with the best knowledge we have from educationalists and regulators. What is now required is the creation of commitment and the provision of resources from the policy makers.

The world we have made as a result of the level of thinking we have done thus far creates problems we cannot solve at the same level at which we created them

Albert Einstein

If prisons and punitive mechanisms are transformed, it won't be because a plan of reform has found its way into the heads of the social workers; it won't be when those who have to do with that penal reality, all those people, have come into collision with each other and with themselves, run into dead-ends, problems and impossibilities, been through conflicts and confrontations; when critique has been played out in the real, not when reformers have realised their ideals.   Foucault (1981, p. 13).

- Chapter 5 -

Program Evolution: A journey within an
action research framework

The story of the evolution of the Responsible Citizenship Program (RCP) deserves telling. It is the story of our journey into grounding current theory in practice, and practice in theory. It began with the conceptualization of PRISM (Program for Reintegration and Individual Shame Management) which grew from Eliza Ahmed's initial work on bullying and shame-management (see Ahmed et al., forthcoming). The RCP was the first program to grow from this framework. The program is based on principles of restorative justice. Many other programs based on these principles could also have evolved and hopefully will evolve. Indeed there are many other restorative practices that are currently in place in schools around Australia, as well as overseas. A few of these programs will be highlighted in this chapter. These are the programs that fit closest to the theoretical groundwork discussed in chapters 2 – 4. These programs contributed to the development of the Responsible Citizenship Program. The hope now is that PRISM and RCP will grow as different individuals and schools engaging with these ideas embark on their own journey. We look forward to hearing the story of their journey and learning too. Ultimately, it is a journey that we take together. We will have much to learn from each other. At times, one school's story will become the inspiration of the next; at other times, one school's success will become another's failure. Either way, it is a journey we are ready for and we need to begin.

Action Research – What is it?

The Responsible Citizenship Program has developed from an action research perspective. This form of research is very much suited to the building of practice and theory.

It is a recursive process of grounding theory in practice and practice in theory. This process is still very much in play.

Action research can "be traced back to the earliest conceptions of the values of democracy and of truth, justice and rationality" (McTaggart, 1991, p. v). The practice of action research in education was advocated strongly by Dewey (1910) at the turn of the century but has only recently come back into fashion. Indeed it wasn't that long ago that Sanford (1970) unhappily enquired, "Whatever happened to action research?" However it can also be said that many researchers did endeavour to create a paradigm shift before Sanford felt it necessary to voice his concern. The legacy of many of these researchers lives on today but is only faintly associated with action research. Among these researchers are names such as Cronbach (famous for his contributions to the field of statistics). Cronbach questioned Campbell and Stanley's (1963; see also Cook and Campbell, 1979) notion of internal and external validity. Cronbach argued that the responsibility for external validity was clearly in the hands of those who used the research, in this case the school community. This is the approach we took when addressing our research questions raised in this book. We asked the question: How is this research, this program, valid for the teachers, students and the other community members in our school system? In other words, in what way does our research meet the concerns of teachers today?

Another notable action researcher, one who is often regarded as the father of action research, is social psychologist Kurt Lewin. Lewin's work has been linked with the critical theory of Habermas (see Gouldner, 1976). Lewin made strong arguments about the relationship between theory and practice and is well known for the statement: There is nothing as practical as a good theory. Lewin (1946) considers that: "We should consider action, research and training as a triangle that should be kept together for the sake of any of its corners" (p. 42). Action, research and training go hand in hand as work and understanding in the area of restorative justice evolves. Indeed, in the area of restorative justice, practice has led theory (see Braithwaite, 1999). Foucault (1980, 1981) also makes this point in the context of managing crime and wrongdoing in society (see quote cited at the opening of this chapter). This approach is about questioning our paradigms and ways of being. It is turning our pratices (and thinking behind them) inside out (even upside down) and thinking about them critically. For example, John Braithwaite (1989) in his development of reintegrative shaming theory asked a question that antithesized a conventional criminological approach. Instead of asking, what motivates a criminal act? he asked: what makes people do the right thing? Addressing this question gave the greatest insights into the development of the theory.

In this light we took what we knew from our theoretical research about bullying (as highlighted in Chapters 2 – 4) and headed out to meet the practitioners. We found a number of programs operating within the field that provided some interesting and important insights for us about what constitutes effective programs. We were also interested in programs that had been evaluated in some way. Unfortunately, these were hard to find. More systematic evaluation of programs is needed, and in this light the questionnaire we have developed is offered, the 'Life at School Survey' (Morrison, Ahmed and Braithwaite, 2000). In the end we took a closer look at Peer Mediation, School Forums, Community Accountability Conferencing, and the Good Beginnings Project.

Peer Mediation

Mediation has been defined as "the process by which the participants, together with the assistance of a neutral person or persons, systematically isolate disputed issues in order to develop opinions, consider alternatives, and reach a consensual settlement that will accommodate their needs. Mediation is a process that emphasizes the participants' own responsibility for making decisions that affect their lives" (Folberg & Taylor, 1984). In the context of peer mediation, the neutral person is a fellow student (or students), who has been trained in mediation. Together with the disputants they go through a structured process to resolve the issues underlying the conflict. The broader aim is for this self-regulating process to become part of the ethos of the school. This of course takes time. The emphasis is on developing students' skills in conflict resolution. As Maxwell (1989) states: "It is the self-empowering aspect of mediation - the fact that disputants actively participate and make decisions about issues and problems that are central to their own lives - that establishes mediation as an important tool in the fostering of self-regulation, self-esteem and self-discipline" (p. 154). While the evidence is somewhat mixed, many peer mediation programs have been found to be successful in schools (see Brown,1995). Bagshaw (1994) outlines a number of reasons this might be the case:

1. Discipline is less time consuming (one study found that there was an 80% drop in the number of disputes reported to teachers).
2. Family relationships, particularly among siblings, are also improved through developing communication and conflict resolutions skills (see Gentry & Benenson,1993; Johnson, Johnson, Cotton, Harris & Louison, 1995).

3. A safe place for children to learn about conflict resolution is created (Miller, 1994).

4. Schools that are pro-active about conflict resolution usually have a more cooperative climate on the whole. There is an overall feeling of improved social relationships. This is attributed to the fact the social skills of effective conflict resolution are modelled amongst peers (Walker, Colvin & Ramsey, 1995). Wilkins (1993) has shown that mediation permeates the school culture for those with effective peer mediation programs.

5. Students learn about both rights and responsibilities, consequences as well as choices (Trevaskis, 1994).

A Dispute Resolution Project in New South Wales (Soutter & McKenzie, 1998) reported findings similar to those of Johnson, Johnson & Dudley (1992). They found the schools (n = 15) that adopted peer mediation (in comparison to schools that did not) had:

- lower incidence of reported fighting
- lower incidence of students believing that avoiding the person/problem was a good way to resolve disputes
- lower incidence of disputes being resolved through a disciplinary warning
- higher incidence of teacher discussing disputes with affected parties
- higher incidence of students talking with teachers/counsellors

For the schools that did not participate in the Dispute Resolution Project the problems associated with behavioral management only got worse. There were significant increases in:

- suspensions
- number of students being sent to the executive by their teachers
- belief that disputes could NOT be resolved through discussion
- belief that disputes could be resolved through fighting/arguing
- belief that avoiding the person/problem was a good way to resolve disputes

It is when peer mediation permeates the school culture that it becomes most effective. Many schools have reported that peer mediation has contributed positively to their school culture. The program must be positively positioned within the student welfare framework, as such the giving of responsibility to students to resolve their own disputes must be aligned with the school's philosophy and culture about student responsibility in general.

In summary, peer mediation programs develop effective citizenship in schools through a self-regulating process that becomes self-empowering. It thus seems worthwhile to teach children conflict resolution skills. More to the point of this book, as with other conflict resolution programs, peer mediation has been found to be an effective approach to managing school bullying (Soutter & Mckenzie, 2000). Remember that bullying is one form of conflict, conflict where there is repeated domination. Once domination of others sets into social relationships the pattern cements itself in further protracted conflict, for as Johnson and Johnson (1995) have shown: "anything that allows students to fail, remain apart from classmates, be socially inept and have low self-esteem increases the probability of destructive conflict strategies" (p. 67). Thus the earlier this damaging pattern is broken the better. Early intervention, in primary schools, even pre-schools, could front end these ill effects.

School Community Forums Program (New South Wales)

Even with the success of many peer mediation programs, the NSW Department of School Education found that peer mediation was not enough for chronic offenders and launched the Community Forums Program (1997). The aim was to reduce the number and length of suspensions in schools through engaging students at risk in a supportive network where they could learn from their experiences in school. The forums targeted a range of behaviors not condoned at school, from bullying to more overt acts of violence. The process aims to shift the emphasis from guilt and punishment to responsibility and reparation (Moore and McDonald, 1998). The process is described as a transformative approach to conflict and is modelled on the original community accountability conferencing process (developed in Wagga Wagga to deal with juvenile offenders, see Moore & O'Connell, 1994). The process brings together those affected by wrongdoing in the school community to address the concerns raised by the harmful act. The specific aims were to:

1) encourage students to become more responsible for their behavior
2) realise the impact of their behavior on others
3) make restitution for the harm they had caused
4) give the student greater levels of support for the desired behavior change by involving the group in fixing the problem

From the 20 conferences carried out in the initial trial, 12 addressed bullying and harassment. Of these 11 had a successful outcome. A successful outcome was defined as a significant reduction in the target behavior (e.g. bullying) and no further suspensions. A number of conclusions were put forward as part of this trial (McKenzie, 1997, p. 7-8). These included that:

1) Forums provide a clear process and opportunity for parents and other significant people to get involved in behavior management issues and to use the resources of the community to resolve the problem.

2) Schools with peer mediation programs saw it as a dispute resolution process on a continuum where mediation was an early intervention tool and forums were a strategy for serious discipline incidents unresolvable by suspension.

The forum process looks promising. The conclusion was that "school community forums work best when used as an anti-bullying and harassment intervention. … The forum process confronts the bully with the consequences of their anti-social behavior more powerfully than do many other forms of intervention" (McKenzie, 1997, p. 8). In line with Olweus (1993), who argues that empathy raising is an important element of anti-bullying programs, the forum process was found to be a powerful empathy builder. Further, through inviting the offending subjects' peer group and friends, they became an important link in sustaining the behavioral change that was hoped for. The process was also found to be satisfying for the victims, in particular because it gave them the opportunity to express their feelings and have some say in the negotiations and outcomes. Moreover, forums were found to address the power imbalances inherent to bullying better than peer mediation.

The report concludes that effective behavioral management systems "will not only manage student behavior but will also encourage the growth of self-discipline within the individual and respect for others. Suspensions deal with violation of school rules, forums deal with violation of a person's rights. This study shows that the two strategies may co-exist in a school's behaviour management plan to provide both consequences and restitution" (p. 10). This is in line with a responsive regulation approach which upholds the meshing of a number of strategies in building safe schools (see Ayres & Braithwaite, 1992). In others words, what is needed in schools is a range of responsive strategies that work together to keep the school community a safe and respectful place to learn (see Morrison, forthcoming).

Community Accountability Conferencing (piloted in Queensland)

       Community accountability conferencing has also been trialed and evaluated in Queensland, where the first school-based community conference was conducted in 1994. The implementation of this approach came from Mary Hyndman and Margaret Thorsborne's "search for a non-punitive intervention for serious misconduct … . In particular, an intervention for serious cases of bullying which did not put the victim at further risk and also involved parents of both the offender and the victim. … [C]onferencing seemed to fit the bill of the ultimate intervention which increased empathy and lowered impulsively on the part of the bully" (Cameron and Thorseborne, forthcoming). The pilot and trial of conferencing resulted in 89 conferences being run, the majority addressing cases of serious victimization (Department of Education, 1996, 1998). Cameron and Thorsborne (forthcoming) report participants as being highly satisfied with the process as a whole. For example:

- 96% of participants agreed they had a chance to have their say

- 87% reported satisfaction with the way agreements were reached

- 95% agreed they were treated with respect

- 99% reported feeling understood by others

- 91% agreed the terms of the agreement were fair

- 89% of victims reported that they got what they needed out of the conference

In particular striking results were that:

- 84% of offenders complied with most or all of the terms of agreement

- 83% did not re-offend within the period of the trial

This is further supported through a number measures that indicate reintegration for the victim, offenders and other affected parties.

Victims

- 94% of victims felt safer

Offenders

- 98% felt cared about during the conference

- 95% felt that those closest to them loved them afterward

- 80% felt they were able to make a fresh start

- 70% felt forgiven
- 87% had a closer relationship with other conference participants after conferencing

Families
- 94% expressed positive perceptions of the school and comfort in approaching the school on other matters

Schools
- 100% felt conferencing reinforced school values
- 92% felt they had changed their thinking about managing behavior from a punitive to a more restorative approach

While these results are very encouraging, the review of these trials also highlights the tensions between the existing philosophies and practices in managing behavior and restorative interventions such as conferencing (see also Morrison, forthcoming). In other words, conferencing may be most effective when it is placed appropriately within a wider framework of behavioral management, underpinned by restorative justice. Two points are made: (1) we need to front-end conferencing in some way, through proactive measures; and (2) all practices need to be framed within a wider framework, substantiated through policy. In other words, restorative justice practices, to be effective, must (and can) contribute to all aspects of the school discipline system (Cameron and Thorsborne, forthcoming). The school community must provide:

(a) opportunities for insight and learning when behavior is deemed unacceptable.
(b) opportunities for dialogue and reflection when behavior threatens the social cohesion of the school community.
(c) processes that identifying issues of harm to relationships and how to 'make things right' through strengthening relationships.

The building of the emotional economy of the school seems a core feature of the process of implementing and sustaining effective behavioral management programs. Cameron and Thorsborne (forthcoming) put it this way:

The lesson for our education system is to introduce restorative measures as early as preschool, and build on creating a climate where relational values are translated into prosocial

behavior by all members of the school community. The teaching and modelling of emotional intelligence and relationship skills becomes part of the daily business in classrooms. Children are taught to understand what they are feeling and how to deal with difficult situations. Situations and their consequent emotions, which, when unacknowledged, feed the need for interpersonal violence, are dealt with openly. (p. 208).

Cameron and Thorsborne (fothcoming) have provided a number of insights for us. For it seems that we not only need to address conflict resolution in schools, but we need to do it early and consistently, and we need to capture students' at an emotional level, that is in terms of the feeling associated with conflict. They also point out that restorative justice training and critical reflection must be incorporated at all levels of schools' curriculum and ethos. These elements are captured in what has become known as the Good Beginnings Project at Lewisham Primary School in Sydney.

Good Beginnings Project at Lewisham Primary

The success of the Lewisham project has been inspiring. At the beginning of 1998 the school implemented a "Conflict Resolution and Behavior Management Program," assisted by the Restorative Justice Group of the New South Wales Police and the Port Jackson Behavioral Correction Team. The aim was to develop a supportive and safe learning environment for students and their families within the wider community as indicated by a reduction in suspension rates and police attendance at the school.

The staff received 24 hours (over 8 weeks) of training in the theory and practice of restorative justice. Through this processes teachers made the commitment to incorporate restorative justice principles within their classrooms on a day-to-day basis. This involved their interaction with all members of the school community – students, teachers and parents. They also developed and standardized a continuum of restorative practices such that each student had the opportunity to learn from his/her experiences. At the end of 1998 the results were encouraging.

- Suspensions dropped to 20% of those given the previous year. When a suspension did result, the harm done was dealt with in the context of a conference.
- Incidents reported in the discipline Register dropped from 20-30 to 2-3 per week
- Incidents reported to the district office dropped from 4-5 per week to 1 in a 10 week period

- Staff felt more confident about handling serious incidents in the school without relying on police involvement. Police attendance was thus reduced.

Lewisham not only incorporated conferencing in addressing incidents of harm but also developed a proactive program to reduce the number of incidents. The proactive program is taken from HIPP (Help Increase the Peace Program). HIPP is based on the same philosophy as restorative justice; specifically, that when a child misbehaves the appropriate intervention is to address the child's relationship with others and correct the imbalance in the relationship pattern. The focus of this program emphasises an integrated and respectful approach that does not threaten the child but builds a community of care around the child.

The Help Increase the Peace Project was developed in the United States in 1990 and grew from a concern for the increasing violence in society, particularly in schools. There was a conviction that a school based non-violent conflict resolution program could be an effective point of target. It was important to the developers of HIPP that it be congruent with broader educational goals. The foundation of HIPP is grounded in the Alternative to Violence Program (AVP). The developers asked themselves, "How can kids get out of this violent cycle and what do they need" (HIPP, p. v). They felt that "young people need opportunities to be part of a caring community in which they can develop a positive sense of self, develop communication skills, and learn to work together to resolve their own conflicts, and deal with their own issues" (HIPP, p. v). Through a series of workshops the students acquire a sense of community and trust. The process eventually includes role plays to ground the skills they have developed.

In practice, HIPP brings together a cross-section of the school community or classroom and takes them through 10 sessions that aim to build pride and respect within the school environment for each of the students. This program is more about process than content. It is the process of involving the students in the program that is the cornerstone of its effectiveness. As the program develops the facilitators find that the groups become self-regulating, in that the peers regulate their fellow group members. As such, "rules" aren't handed down from a higher authority (such as a teacher or principal) but become everyday practice for the school community. In other words, there was a shift from a paradigm of power and control, to a paradigm of mutual respect and mutual understanding. To help teachers with this shift in culture within the school, the teachers designed a pocket book 'checklist' of key questions to be employed in disciplinary interactions. These questions

emphasised relationship and the consequences of inappropriate behaviors, including understanding how others were affected.

HIPP, together with community accountability conferencing and other restorative practices, have made a clear difference to managing behavior at Lewisham Primary School.

Effective Interventions: Core features and strategies

Through talking to practitioners involved in these programs, and reading the literature supporting them, a number of insights were gained into the cultures of safe schools and responsible citizenship. A number of key elements seem to be essential in building effective programs in schools. There must be a complementary continuum of practices, some pro-active, some reactive, that fit coherently into a wider policy framework. Once in place, this policy must be consistently practiced amongst the staff. Without this, the policy will fail to be legitimate in the eyes of the students, and their parents. The following is a list of program elements that we took on board when developing the Responsible Citizenship Program.

1) Proactive early intervention processes need to be developed that complement existing restorative justice practices, such as community accountability conferencing.

2) In line with peer mediation programs and HIPP, programs need to build students skills in conflict resolution.

3) Complementary conflict resolution programs would be most effective when couched in terms of core principles of restorative justice, building positive affect (interest and excitement) and discharging negative affect (shame).

4) The program needs to involve community building for the students.

5) The community building process should develop a common structured language that maps a restorative culture. The process needs to allow students to tell their own stories. Through this process, the program becomes a voice for children and expresses to them that we value them and what they have to say.

6) The students need a safe place in which to explore these issues.

7) Mechanisms are needed to bring the learning in the groups back into the classroom culture, so that learning is transferred and becomes part of the wider culture.

8) The program needs to create opportunities for role plays to help ground the learning for the students. Role reversal has been shown to clarify misunderstandings about another's position, aids in building a frame of reference through which to gauge the other's point of

view, thus bringing about re-evaluation of the situation as a whole. In other words, role reversal assists in bringing about the attitude change that is necessary to resolve the problem.

9) Rather than facilitators handing down program content, peer to peer experience and learning is needed to ground the process. This process, as a focus, is more important than the content.

10) The program must create a fun and participatory environment for the students. This goes for the facilitators as well. They need to be as engaged as the students.

11) Tangible outcomes that remain when workshops conclude help to ground the process in the wider community.

12) Parents need to be involved in the learning process.

13) The learning process for the students, and the school as a whole, needs to be evaluated on a regular basis.

Effective programs exploit "the possible" for students, yet ground these possibilities in their own experiences. The language of the possible is often the language of hope. Each and every student in our school system hopes for a place in their school where they will feel safe, feel respected. The dynamic of the possible does not have a set script. Program development needs to be approached with an open mind, yet guided by a set of principles. The aim should be to create a sense of dominion (freedom as non-domination) for the students. In many ways restorative practices are about building dominion in the lives of individuals and securing hope for the future (see Braithwaite and Strang, forthcoming).

Working with Schools: Developing a productive infrastructure for the program

It is important to integrate restorative practices into the school appropriately. A number of considerations need to be taken into account. Expectations must be clear. Time must be put aside for discussion with the appropriate parties. For example, in our pilot program, we needed to discuss which year groups would participate; the number of sessions and their length; how the program fits into the wider school curriculum; and what existing programs it would compliment. The program needs to not only develop the core features of the process; it needs to work, logistically, practically, and culturally, within the school.

For our initial program, it was decided that the program best suited the Year 5 students, as it would prepare them for their peer to peer program in Year 6. As the program

consisted of 10 sessions, two one hour sessions per week seemed best, maximizing the continuity of the program for the students while keeping disruption to other school activities to a minimum. The program was run in different areas of the school (depending on other activities that were happening at the time) but it was important to have a clear open area with the least distractions (such as people passing by and things to play with). We also needed an area where we could place chairs in a circle, so that participants could sit facing each other. This was also important for creating a safe place for the students.

The number of students is important, no more than 12 – 15 students. In our case, the most feasible thing to do was to split the class in two equal groups. One group would participate in each of the two terms. It is very important to divide the class so the groups are as equal on as many demographic characteristics as possible. This ensures equality across groups and diversity within groups. In general, groups where their members are too similar find their differences; groups where their members are different find their similarities. An oversight about the importance of this arrangement can (and does!) result in programs coming to a grinding halt, when students come to fight against the associated stigma that builds from programs getting off to the wrong start. Students will always find ways of telling us when we are not meeting their needs. Finally, for 15 students, 3 facilitators works best, based on a 1 to 5 ratio of facilitators to students (see Rigby, 1996).

In our case, for a number of reasons, our first program did not get off to a good start. It was decided that it was best for all involved to bring the process to a close. It was actually through the steep learning curve of our initial failed program that the Responsible Citizenship Program was born. The initial program was called RAINBOW (see appendix 5.1) and thanks to the hard work of this initial team we were able to resurrect the program in a newer stronger form. It is not an understatement to say that the development of the RCP was akin to the phoenix rising from the ashes. Adaptive perseverance became our motto. We were as much involved in the learning process, as the students.

Finally it needs to be reiterated that any program can not stand on its own to be effective. It needs to be substantiated at many levels. Gottfredson, Gottfredson and Hypl (1993) have found that misbehaviour in schools has three levels of determinants that can be addressed: the individual student, the teacher and the school itself. Their findings show that individuals, teachers (through their classroom management styles) and schools (through their safe school policy and its maintenance) each influence the behavioural outcomes that they must deal with on a day to day basis.

Workshoping Restorative Justice

Workshops are a good way of introducing restorative justice into schools. They provide an opportunity for teachers to talk through their experiences in managing behaviour in their classroom with other teachers. This gives teachers insights into their own practice. It gives teachers an opportunity they seldom get when running a busy classroom on a day to day basis. As Fullan (1982) states: "Teachers must learn to take advantage of opportunities which enable them to interact with other teachers in examining instructional practices. One of the most pressing needs in education is for teachers to have the opportunity to restore their sense of confidence, meaning and efficacy in making improvements through carefully considered changes in instruction" (p. 129). Creating these windows of opportunity is vital for change to occur.

These opportunities need to be created for instruction in behavioural management, as much as any other aspect of curriculum. The process of implementing restorative justice in schools works best when these opportunities are regularly scheduled. These opportunities not only need to be found for teachers and other school staff members, but for the students and their parents as well. The work we did with a primary school in the Australian Capital Territory began with one such opportunity for the teachers. From that opportunity, came the opportunity to work together in piloting a program in their school.

Opportunities create other opportunities. For from this initial process, the Deputy Principals in the Australian Capital Territory also requested a one day workshop on school bullying. On this occasion, the facilitators who had been involved in the Lewisham Good Beginnings Project were also involved. Together, as researcher and practitioners, we hoped we could offer a diversity of perspective that would nurture the learning process they requested. Two questions were addressed: (1) the problem of school bullying and victimization; and (2) effective practice in addressing the problem. Some of the work presented in Chapters 1 - 4 was presented to build the initial understanding of bullying and victimization. Participants were also asked to offer their concerns about behavioral problems at their schools. This gave the deputy principals an opportunity for them to tell their stories, an important tenant of restorative justice. A number of group activities and discussions followed, which examined the nature of harmful behaviour and the underlying reasons for that behaviour. This then lead into a discussion of why people do comply with rules and other social expectations. Finally, an overview of what restorative justice is and the way that some schools are practicing it in Australia was provided. This process met the concerns of

participants and a number of schools in the ACT are now exploring how restorative practices could be implemented in their school. The Responsible Citizenship Program, outlined in the following chapter, is one such restorative justice program that schools can use as a starting point in exploring how restorative justice could be implemented in their school.

A world at peace is not, and can not be, a world without disagreement and conflict. Resolving in a peaceful way, conflict that occurs between nations, between interest groups and between individuals, is a key part of living in the "Peaceable Kingdom." It is also possibly the most important part of peace education aimed at elementary age children.

Tabachnick (1990, p. 169)

- Chapter 6 -

Responsible Citizenship Program: Building Respect, Consideration and Participation in Schools

Program Philosophy

The Responsible Citizenship Program grew from Eliza Ahmed's (1999) conceptualization of PRISM (Program for Reintegration and Individual Shame Management). The program's aim is to build responsible citizenship within the school through the development of a positive school identity and effective shame management strategies for students. The program takes a restorative justice approach, building on a number of principles of restorative justice. At the core of the program, participants commit to three important cornerstones of restorative justice: respect, consideration and participation. Each one of these is offered to all participants through the learning opportunities that the program provides. Essentially, restorative justice is a participatory process that addresses wrongdoing while offering respect to the parties involved, through consideration of the story each person tells of how they were affected by the incident. At a more basic level, restorative justice is about building positive affect (interest and excitement) and providing mechanisms to discharge negative affect (shame). In line with this approach, respect (R), consideration (C) and participation (P) constitute the program agreements for participants within the Responsible Citizenship Program (RCP). These agreements become the building blocks for Resolving Conflicts Productively (another play on the acronym RCP).

Within this context, the process of reintegration draws on principles of restorative justice: (1) Bullying and being bullied are ways of behaving that can be changed (Rigby, 1996; Olweus, 1992); (2) Addressing wrongdoing, such as bullying, concerns actions and

should not involve the denigration of the whole person (Moore & O'Connell, 1994); (3) The harm done by bullying to self and others must be acknowledged (Lewis, 1971; Scheff & Retzinger, 1995); (4) Reparation for the harm done is essential (Retzinger & Scheff, 1996); (5) Both bullies and victims are valued members of the school community whose supportive ties with others should be strengthened through participation in communities of care (Bazemore & Umbreit, 1994); (6) Forgiveness is important for social reintegration (Tavuchis, 1991). Five of these six principles are built into the REACTion KEYS, introduced in the program. Forgiveness will be the outcome if these five principals come to good effect. Building on each letter from the word REACT, the five principles are stated:

Repair the harm done (Principle 4: Reparation)

Expect the best from others (Principle 1: Change is possible)

Acknowledgment of feelings/harm done (Principle 3: Acknowledgment)

Care for others (Principle 5: Building communities of care)

Take responsibility for behavior/feelings (Principle 2: Responsibility for act without denigration)

Given that restorative justice can be couched within the framework of conflict resolution (McDonald and Moore, forthcoming), this program is one in which participants have the opportunity to learn about effective strategies in Resolving Conflict Productively (RCP). Conflict is a natural part of social relationships yet can easily fall into an escalating cycle of aggression and violence. This program aims to build a more productive approach to resolving conflict, through providing a framework for students to reflect upon the wrongdoing and learn from their experience. The process captures the elements that O'Connell (1995) argues need to be built into effective practice:

1) Opportunity for insight into consequences of harmful action
2) Opportunity to learn from his/her actions
3) Opportunity of accepting responsibility for the harm done and to self-regulate behavior in accordance with this responsibility
4) Opportunity for the victim to be involved in the process, such that their needs are satisfied.

Delimitations of the Responsible Citizenship Program

1) The lesson plan is appropriate for students in years 4 through 6 who have the ability to participate in an experiential education setting involving discussion, poster making and role playing.

2) The curriculum is appropriate for use by teachers who have knowledge and experience of principles of restorative justice.

3) The lesson plan is only as effective as the ideals that become adopted as part of the culture of the classroom and school.

Overview of Program Workshops

The program consists of ten one hour workshops with 12 – 15 participants:

	Activity
1. Introduction to the **Responsible Citizenship Program (RCP)**	Posters
2. Developing **RCP** agreements: Respect, Consideration, Participation	Role Play
3. **Responsibility** in our school community	Posters
4. Feelings – **OOPS & OUCH**	Role Play
5. **REACT**ion KEYS	Posters
6. VIDEO – school based example of **OOPS & OUCH & KEYS**	Video
7. Planning an **RCP** Video	Video
8. Rehearsing an **RCP** Video	Video
9. Making an **RCP** Video	Video
10. **RCP** wrap up and Citizenship Charter	Poster

Structural Elements of Program

In line with the core features that the program aimed to incorporate, outlined in Chapter 5, a number of structural elements substantiate these aims.

1) *Develops a common structured language that maps a restorative culture.* The key concepts that we wanted students to work with and practice were: RESPECT,

CONSIDERATION and PARTICIPATION. Mapped onto this would be a language to acknowledge feelings when you are hurt (OUCH!) and when you hurt another person (OOPS!). Students then learn about a structured approach to repair the harm done using the REACTion KEYS.

2) *Find mechanisms to bring the learning in the groups back into the classroom culture, so the learning is transferred and becomes part of the wider culture.* To ground the concepts we had the students create some banners and posters that could be placed in the classroom as they were completed (becoming a learning focus for students to attend to and discuss). We wanted this process to be established from the onset of the program (establishing the relevance in the classroom early) and remain in the classroom beyond the set time of the program (to sustain the learning outcomes of the program). To this end the students painted a number of posters, beginning with a RAINBOW OF RESPECT, a CONSIDERATE TEDDY, and a PARTICIPATION TREE.

3) *Develops peer to peer experience and learning.* Students needed to think about meaningful examples of RESPECT, CONSIDERATION and PARTICIPATION. To this end, to complement the posters, colourful pots were placed along side each of the posters: POT OF GOLD AT THE END OF THE RAINBOW; TEDDY'S HONEY POT; and the POT FROM WHICH THE TREE GROWS. At the end of each session, students would write on a colourful card (representing GOLD NUGGETS in the pot of gold, TEDDY'S BOW TIE that fell into the honey pot, and SEED PODS from which the tree grows) the name of a student who showed RESPECT, CONSIDERATION AND PARTICIPATION. At the beginning of the following session one GOLD NUGGET, BOW TIE AND SEED POD would be drawn from each pot and the name of the student on the card would be read out. The group as a whole would then be asked: How did "Suzy" show RESPECT last session? In what way was "Matthew" CONSIDERATE last session? In what way did "Steven" encourage PARTICIPATION last week?

4) *Uses role plays to help ground the learning for the students.* The concepts were also grounded in action through role playing stories of RESPECT, CONSIDERATION AND PARTICIPATION developed by the students. The role plays also help the students to develop important skills for the production of their video. Role plays were also used to develop the students understanding of OOPS and OUCH.

5) *Places the learning within the program in a story relevant to the lives of students at school.* To this end the workshops build to the production of a video that gives the

students an opportunity to tell a story about resolving a conflict (harmful action) at school based on what they learnt in the program.

6) *Tangible outcomes for individuals and the group.* The video was one collective outcome that the students could share with others, and take pride in. We also wanted an individual outcome. This became a Citizenship Charter, or a small personal statement, that each student put in their personal portfolio.

7) *Involves a learning element that gives parents an opportunity to be involved.* The parents were invited to the wrap up of the program, when the video was shown and we celebrated our accomplishments. The parents were also invited to help their children develop their citizenship charter.

8) *Evaluate the learning process for the students on a regular basis.* At the end of each session, we asked each student how much RESPECT, CONSIDERATION and opportunity for PARTICIPATION was given to them. We also used the Life at School Survey to evaluate identification with the school and shame-management strategies.

Some helpful hints for workshop facilitators

1. Facilitators need to be positive role models for the students and model (explicitly) the learning outcomes that each workshop aims to achieve.
2. Facilitators need to use humour appropriately and have fun themselves. Turn a mistake into a learning opportunity.
3. Facilitators should participate equally and spread themselves throughout working groups and discussion circles. The variety helps to keep the students engaged in the program.
4. Bring it to the groups attention when they are not practicing RCP, encouraging the students to self-regulate.

Pre-workshop

Parents need to be made aware that their child would be participating in this program and that they will be invited to participate. Encourage the parents to ask their children about the program.

<u>Workshop One</u> - Introduction to the Responsible Citizenship Program

<u>Aim</u>: To introduce the program and the facilitators, through simple and straightforward exercises. Specifically, to think about Responsible Citizenship at school in relation to three key components: Respect, Consideration and Participation.

<u>Activity</u>: Making RCP Banners

<u>Materials</u>: Three painting stations (each with a variety of colours of paint; paint brushes; pencils; water); roll of paper for making 3 banners; 3 pots to decorate;

<u>Agenda</u>

1) *Introduction and setting program expectations* (5 minutes)

The introduction to the Responsible Citizenship Program is intended to be brief. It should set clear expectations of what the program involves. Each facilitator should introduce themselves and participate equally in this opening talk. The following points should be covered:

1. The aim of the program is to develop responsible citizenship in the school.
2. RCP is the students' program and their ideas will be used to develop the program along the way. It is important to listen to everyone's ideas and let everyone have a go. Everyone is an equal participant.
3. What are we going to be doing? Making posters, doing some role plays and much more. Each of the activities will be used to develop the student's ideas about responsible citizenship in school.
4. The program will build to the production of a video. Everyone will be involved in the production. The video will tell a story about responsible citizenship at school. Tell the students that their parents will be invited to see their video and hear about what you have learnt in the program.
5. The success of the video will depend on everyone working together.
6. There is no assessment in the Responsible Citizenship Program. What you put in is what you achieve.

7. Encourage the students to think if they can use any of the learning about Responsible Citizenship on a day to day basis, at home and at school.

2) *Participant introductions* – Name game (5 minutes)

Once the tone of the program is set, give everyone the opportunity to introduce themselves using a fun name game that allows them to express themselves positively. The students, in some sense, can be encouraged to reinvent themselves, show people another side of themselves. The facilitators should be involved in this process too and can set the right tone by one facilitator going first and giving a good example.

3) *Student's expectations and agreements: RESPECT, CONSIDERATION AND PARTICIPATION* (10 minutes)

Get the students to generate a list of their expectations of each other to make the program successful. All ideas are noted on butcher paper. The group as a whole brainstorms a number of possible agreements. Once this is done, tell the students that there is a simple way to remember how to be a good citizen at school. Three simple words are important and, if we took the **R**, the **C** and the **P** from the **R**esponsible **C**itizenship **P**rogram, these three letters could help spell the way for us in a simple way. Encourage the students to figure out what each letter stands for:

R is for RESPECT; C is for CONSIDERATION; P is for PARTICIPATION

From the list that the students generated there are likely be examples of each. For example, listening to others is a sign of RESPECT, considering other people's ideas is an example of CONSIDERATION, allowing everyone to have a go is an example of PARTICIPATION. Ask the students to define each of these words, say why it is important, and what it feels like.

RESPECT – to see each person as worthy and valued within the group
CONSIDERATION – to be considerate of ideas/feeling/needs of each person.
Sometimes your own ideas/feeling/needs may not be the same as the others in the group but it is important to be considerate of them in respect for the person. Sometimes you may not

even agree with someone but it is important to consider what they have to say and how they may be feeling.

PARTICIPATION – to let everyone have a go and be involved. For the school to be a safe place for everyone, it is everyone's responsibility, so everyone has to be involved.

RESPECT, CONSIDERATION and PARTICIPATION will become the groups AGREEMENTS: Get the students to agree to follow the guidelines they have set for themselves. This list should then be produced and hung at each subsequent workshop.

Agree on a way for everyone to stop and focus when the group is not upholding their agreements. Sometimes the use of a buzz phrase/word (a word that the group chooses that captures the nature of the agreements) is effective. For example, when someone notices that the agreements are not being upheld, they could say, "Where's RCP?"

4) *ACTIVITY - RCP banners* (25 min)

Divide the group into 3 smaller groups. Try to make the groups as diverse as possible and bring together students who often don't participate in activities together. Each group will make one poster on a different theme: RESPECT, CONSIDERATION AND PARTICIPATION.

Each group should consider the following when making their poster:
- What does the word you were given mean? (e.g. What does respect mean to you?)
- What would you see? (e.g. What would you see if everyone was acting with respect for each other?)
- What would you hear? (e.g. When respect is being offered?)
- What would you feel? (e.g. When respect is being offered?)
- How would you know? (e.g. When respect is being offered?)

The group tasks:

1) Respect: Ask this group to make a banner of the RAINBOW OF RESPECT.

2) Consideration: Ask this group to make a banner of the most considerate person in the world: A TEDDY BEAR

3) <u>Participation</u>: Ask this group to make a TREE because a tree has many different parts working together to help the tree grow: leaves gather sunlight; roots gather water; the trunk helps the tree stand up straight.

We helped speed the process along by drawing the initial outline of the rainbow, bear and tree.

5) *Parading the RCP Banners* (5 minutes)

Each group is given the opportunity to parade their banner and tell the other groups about it.

6) *Introduce NUGGETS/BOWS/SEEDS* (5 minutes)

At the end of each session the group comes together for a closing exercise that affirms the group and provides an opportunity for each student to offer the name of one person (other than themselves) that showed RESPECT, CONSIDERATION AND PARTICIPATION in the workshop activities of that day. Each student is given a gold nugget, bow tie and a green seed pod (cut from pieces of coloured cardboard). Each student writes the name of one student who they thought captured each of the three components of RCP. Students then place their answers in the appropriate pot: the gold nuggets go into the pot of gold (placed at the foot of the rainbow banner); the bow ties go into teddy bear's honey pot (placed in front of the teddy bear banner); the seeds go into the tree's pot (placed at the foot of the tree).

7) *RCP Wrap up – What I look forward to in RCP* (5 minutes)

While sitting in a circle, each student is given the opportunity to express what they are looking forward to in the workshops ahead.

<u>Facilitators' comments</u>:

"Beginnings are difficult times and so there was a certain self imposed pressure to make the first session a positive experience. Also trying to learn names and gain an appreciation of the individuals' characters were additional demands."

"I believe that this first session was well focused. The balance that we achieved was between portraying RCP as fun and yet work. This meta-message needed to be clear."

"It is vital to set a clear expectation at the start around being attentive. This can be a difficult skill for this age group. It is also difficult to assume a role other than dictator but it is important to model RCP."

"The only room for improvement would be to have more shared resources so there was a higher degree of interdependency. For example the number of colours or paintbrushes could be limited so there was a high level of consideration."

Workshop Two – Developing RCP agreements: Respect, Consideration, Participation

Aim: To develop the concepts of Respect, Consideration and Participation in relation to Responsible Citizenship at school.

Activity: Role Plays

Materials: Assorted props for role plays

Agenda

1. *Circle talk – Someone you respect and why* (5 minutes)

The session is started with an exercise to ground the students in a personal understanding of respect. Students sit in a circle and each person is given the opportunity to tell the others about someone they respect and why. A facilitator can go first and set the tone by providing a brief and succinct account.

2. *Respect, consideration, participation feedback* (5 minutes)

In this session, one person is chosen from each pot as an example of respect, consideration and participation. The idea is that in subsequent workshops each student within the group will be chosen once from the pot. For example, one of the facilitators announces that "Sandra" was nominated as someone who showed respect. What did "Sandra" do to show respect? The same process is continued for consideration and participation. The idea here is

to have a meaningful discussion about the core concepts of RCP. General discussion was found to be less productive (even boring) for the students. This process allows the students to act as role models for each other.

3. *RCP Role Plays* (45 minutes)

The aim of the role plays is to develop the student's understanding of the agreements: Respect, Consideration and Participation. These role plays also help to develop important skills that the students will need for the production of the video. Tell the students that the role plays are important preparation for the videos.

The group is broken into three smaller groups. Each agreement becomes the focus of one group:

1) Respect: This group is asked to think of a role play which develops the character of a person who showed respect. The role play should illustrate an example of how that person shows respect.

2) Consideration: This group is asked to role play a time when someone showed consideration. The role play should emphasize how it felt to show consideration and be considered.

3) Participation: This group is asked to role play a time when someone was given an opportunity to participate in an activity, and to share how that felt.

Once each group presents their role play, the groups can be given a new agreement to work on. If the groups are quick, each group can have a chance to work with each agreement. We didn't spend much time talking about (or debriefing) each skit. We let them speak for themselves.

5. *Nuggets, Bows and Seeds Wrap up* (5 minutes)

Again, each student has a chance to nominate three people: one person who showed Respect, one person who showed Consideration, and one person who encouraged Participation.

Facilitators' comments:

"The repetition of the aims so soon after the first session helped to reinforce the concepts of the program in the students. I perceived that they were more relaxed with us and the idea of being in the program in this session. Therefore the sense of belonging, of being together, being a group was developed."

"The appropriateness came from having the students start to take ownership of the process and feel like they were doing more than being told - they had a degree of freedom."

"The use of the symbols, colour and resources meant that the group could feel comfortable in creating their own unique space. The facilitators provided the framework and the group completed the detail."

Workshop Three - Responsibility in our School Community

Aim: To further develop the concepts of Respect, Consideration and Participation in relation to enabling responsible citizenship at school.

Activity: Poster making

Materials: Three painting stations (each with a variety of colours of paint; paint brushes; pencils; water; other materials for creating fun and imaginative posters); roll of paper

Agenda

1) *Respect, consideration, participation feedback* (5 minutes)

As with workshop 2, in this session, one person is chosen from each of the three pots. The facilitator announces that "Tom's" name was put in the pot during the last session, what did "Tom" do that showed respect. This is again repeated for consideration and participation.

2) *Exploring RCP?* (5 minutes)

Explore the idea of RCP with the students based on their experience in the program so far. Include the following points in your discussion. Ask the students which is the most difficult agreement. The students generally come up with consideration, but explore others as well.

Consideration often comes up because we often feel we are being considerate of another person's needs and feelings but we get it wrong. Sometimes we just don't know. Ask the students: How would someone really know when they are being considerate? They will come up with "talking about it" or "asking the person". Through asking how someone feels about something or telling others how we feel about something we can be more considerate of others. So, who's responsible in making sure everybody's needs and feelings are considered in a respectful way? EVERYBODY!! Everyone must work together (and talk together) to be considerate.

3) *Exploring Responsibility* (5 minutes)

Explore responsibility with the students, include the following points in your discussion. Who's responsible for the kind of person you are and how you live your life? Each of us is! Sometimes people think that "being in charge" or "being the boss" is what responsibility means but that's not the true meaning of responsibility. What does responsibility really mean? (Help the students generate a list that includes these points)

1) Tell the truth – don't exaggerate or make things up
2) People can count on you
3) Don't hurt other people – verbally or physically
4) Do your school work and jobs to the best of your ability
5) Let people know your needs and feelings
6) Be part of the solution to problems
7) BEING RESPONSIBLE MAKES GOOD THINGS HAPPEN AT HOME AND AT SCHOOL

4) *What would a school that encouraged everyone to be responsible look like?* (40 minutes)

The group brainstorms their ideal school community. Prompt questions could be: What would a classroom that allows everyone's interests to be developed look like? Where would people work/play/eat? How many different rooms would the school have? What would it look like? It would have to: respect different people with different talents; consider their needs/feeling; encourage everyone to participate.

Divide the students into three groups (different groups than before) and get each group to paint their responsible school. Each group should be given the opportunity to present their school to the others. It is important to let the students know that their posters will be displayed and they will have to explain how they've incorporated RCP into their school.

4) Nuggets/Bows and Seeds wrap up (5 minutes)

Facilitators' comments:

"The major step here was handing over creative licence to the group and putting the program into a real life context. The creative licence came from giving the group a blank sheet and paint. The previous session had involved more directed learning. This subtle step was significant in empowering the group to take on the responsibility of work."

"The posters were about making the whole process real and tangible. There was a clear end goal or vision that the group (through the sub-groups) were creating or at least aspiring to. The language and aims of RCP were part of the thinking that the students put into the posters."

"There were good signs of participation within the subgroups as they shared ideas for the posters."

Workshop Four – Examining our Feelings - OOPS and OUCH

Aim: The aim of this workshop is for the students to share their feelings about experiences of times when they have hurt someone else's feeling (an OOPS) and times when their feelings have been hurt (an OUCH). Then to examine how Respect, Consideration and Participation work to make things right.

Activity: Role play

Materials: A variety of props for role plays

Agenda

1) Respect, consideration, participation feedback (5 minutes)

2) Introduction to OOPS and OUCH (5 minutes)

Explain that RESPECT, CONSIDERATION & PARTICIPATION are important to practice at all times. Ask the students when RCP is most difficult to practice? They are often most difficult to practice when things go wrong and someone gets hurt. One good approach to making things right, when things go wrong, involves RESPECT, CONSIDERATION & PARTICIPATION. For example, the questions could be asked: Who do we need to respect or consider when an OOPS happens? Who needs to be involved so that everyone feels better?

For everyone to feel better, it is important to:

RESPECT everyone involved

CONSIDER what happened

CONSIDER how everyone was affected (their feelings)

PARTICIPATE together to find a solution

3) *Thinking about an OOPS and an OUCH* (15 minutes)

We broke into three small groups to explore these issues. One facilitator with each group. In small groups, the facilitator describes and gives an example of an OOPS! (when I hurt someone's feelings) and an OUCH! (when my feelings got hurt). Each of the students then tell a story about an OOPS, and then an OUCH. As a prompt, the facilitator asks: What happened? How did you feel? How did you REACT? The facilitator makes notes on butcher paper of feelings and reactions for both Oops! and Ouch! For example,

1) Think of a time when you experienced an OUCH, a time that someone hurt your feelings. What did the OUCH feel like? What feelings did you have? What did you need to feel better? The feeling should include: sad, angry, ashamed, embarrassed, scared, hurt lonely, dumb, afraid, left out, rejected. To feel better the students typically tell us that they need to feel forgiven, accepted.

2) Think of a time when you experienced an OOPS, a time that someone hurt your feelings. What did the OOPS feel like? What feelings did you have? What did you need to feel better? Again, the feelings should include bad, ashamed, guilty, embarrassed, scared, sorry, horrible, left out, lonely. To feel better the students again needed to feel forgiven, accepted.

3) *OOPS and OUCH role plays* (30 minutes)

While still in the three discussion groups, each group was asked to role play an incident when there was an OOPS and OUCH. They were then encouraged to think of ways to put RCP to work to make things better. Each group presented their skit to the other students.

4) *Nuggets, bows and leaves wrap-up* (5 minutes)

Facilitators' comments:

"The activity was hugely appropriate as it was about creating a story for presentation to the whole group. We provided the basis and they had to make the show - a perfect scaled down model of what was to come with the video."

"I think that we were making progress because of the repetition of the messages. However we had created a "space" where the rules and expectations were different to the classroom."

"Again the sequence was very good as the students had more structure to work on with the role-plays compared to the posters. The level of complexity of their tasks was increasing towards the level required for the video."

Workshop Five – REACTion KEYS: What to do about OOPS and OUCH

Aim: To introduce the REACTion KEYS as a way of responding when an OOPS and an OUCH has occurred, always remembering RCP. These keys are based on five principles of restorative justice.

Activity: Poster making

Materials: Three painting stations (each with a variety of colours of paint; paint brushes; pencils; water; and different textual materials); colourful cardboard paper for making the keys

Agenda

1) *Respect, consideration, participation feedback* (5 minutes)

2) *Introduce REACTion KEYS* (10 minutes)

This exercise introduces the REACTion Keys. The keys build on the RCP agreements of being a responsible citizen at school. Many of these points would have come up in the previous workshop. Point this out to the students when explaining the reaction keys. This tells them that, to a large extent, they know what to do, you are just confirming that they are doing the right thing. The reaction keys are helpful when harm occurs in the school and at home.

Repair the harm done (Principle 4: Reparation)

Expect the best (Principle 1: Change is possible)

Acknowledge feelings (Principle 3: Acknowledgement)

Care for others (Principle 5: Building communities of care)

Take responsibility for behavior (Principle 2: Responsibility for act without denigration)

Ask the students: ways to repair the harm done; why it is important to expect the best from others; why it is important to acknowledge feelings, care for others, and take responsibility for behavior. What would happen if an OOPS & OUCH occurred and these things didn't happen.

3) *Make a set of REACTion KEYS* (30 minutes)

Two sets of colourful keys are made, one for each of the videos that will be produced. The keys should be made out of cardboard and be large and vivid. They will be used in the videos.

4) *Presentation of REACTion KEYS* (5 minutes)

Each group will be given an opportunity to show their Keys to the other group.

5) *Nuggets, bows and seeds wrap-up* (5 minutes)

Facilitators' comments:

"This session was another creative exercise for the group to make more meaningful symbols to increase their sense of belonging. Since there were two groups with numerous keys, each person could get involved in the production."

"This was another step towards the group understanding the methods of conflict resolution in the context of the program. The keys form one of the fundamental bases of the program and their introduction in a creative manner allows them to be integrated in a positive manner."

Workshop Six – VIDEO: OOPS, OUCH and REACTion in action

Aim: To show students an example of a video in which an OOPS and an OUCH occurs and how the harm was repaired.

Activity: Video viewing

Materials: Video and video player

Agenda

1. *Respect, consideration, participation feedback* (5 minutes)

Note: This is the last time the RCP feedback was used. By this time each student should have been drawn from a pot to illustrate an example of RCP. To continue would become tedious for them. Also, the logistics of the program in subsequent weeks would make it cumbersome to continue as the two video groups will now work quite independently. The focus will be on the production of their videos.

2. *VIDEO: OOPS, OUCH and REACTion KEYS in action* (20 minutes)

The students watch a video about an OOPS and an OUCH that happen in a school in Australia. Many different videos are available from a number of different school districts.

3. *Video discussion* (15 minutes)

This exercise takes place after the video is watched. Participants sit in a circle with the five keys scattered in the middle of the circle on the floor. The facilitator asks what the OOPS and the OUCH was in the video, who was affected by the action taken and what REACTion KEYS they saw in action, how the keys helped make the situation better, and, through using the keys, what was achieved. It may be helpful to ask the students what would have happened if the keys were not used.

4. *Preparation for Video Production* (10 minutes)

Groups of 6-7 work best for the production of the video. Split the group into two smaller groups, if need be. The groups should be equally diverse. The students need time to settle into their new groups so it is useful to do it at the end of this session, otherwise it will take up valuable time in the next session. Introduce the students to storyboards (laying out their story scene by scene on large blocks of paper) and get them to start thinking about the theme of their video.

Facilitators' comments:

"The video was a useful tool for contextualising the ideas and aims in a school setting. Since the video is professionally made it makes for a very impactful story for the students to learn from."

"The video gave some clear messages for the group to review. It served as a story to be safely analysed by the group, rather than unsafe talking about an actual group conflict. They were able to identify, for example, the Oops and Ouches, to be able to see them in a proper context."

Workshop Seven, Eight and Nine – Planning, Rehearsing and Producing an RCP Video

Aim: To plan, rehearse and produce an RCP video. In theory, one session each should be used for (1) planning, (2) rehearsing and (3) producing. In practice, it is a bit of each along the way, albeit more planning in the beginning and more producing in the end.

Activity: Video planning, rehearsing and producing.

Materials: Story boards, props, video cameras, video tapes

<u>Agenda</u>

These workshops are less formatted as the students must now take responsibility for their learning within the program. Participants are encouraged to use storyboards to develop the plot. There is only one guiding principle: the production must be about what they learnt in the program. In other words, the production must be based on the RCP agreements and be about an OOPS and an OUCH and incorporate the REACTion keys into the story. All students must have a role to play in the production.

<u>Facilitators' comments:</u>

<u>Planning an **RCP** Video</u>

"The splitting of the group into smaller sub-groups changed the dynamic. There was naturally an element of competition that developed between the two. This did lead to some instances of disrespect towards the other team. On the positive side the fact that there were less members meant that people had to start pulling their weight and participating more."

"From a facilitator's perspective it was important to be able to hand over the sense of responsibility for the task that they were taking on. Therefore a "*planning a video*" poster gave a clear image of their task."

"There was a clear need here to find a line between fun and work as well as handing over responsibility and not overwhelming the group. The group needed to be enthusiastic and yet focused."

"There was a fair amount of tension in the initial stages of decision making about the story line, content and who was going to do what."

"The students certainly did have a sense of the video aims at this point. They were able to create storylines that fitted in with the RCP aims. There were plenty of bogus stories put forward that were more about showing off than making a story with a message."

<u>Rehearsing an **RCP** Video</u>

"The sense of belonging was high at this stage. The subgroups had a task that they were excited about completing. They were enjoying the position of responsibility and level of creative freedom that they had."

"Each person was certainly caught up in the excitement and made a contribution as best they could. Naturally it was hard for the quieter ones to participate as readily as the more vocal or more popular group members."

"I saw my role as providing a framework and letting the group work within that. This was perhaps a high-risk strategy as there were clear deadlines to be met and often little appreciation of the time pressures. I did not want to reduce their sense of responsibility or

achievement by stepping in to help or enforce rules. The exception was if the group was trying to include inappropriate material in the video such as violence or bad language."

"At this stage it was proving useful to have flexible end times to the sessions. The primary reason for this was that the group would take some time to get into the story after the previous session and the creative process was not working according to the deadlines."

Making an **RCP** Video

"The way I had facilitated the previous session meant that the group knew that today was the only chance they had to finish the production. Therefore they had a real desire to participate in the process. They wanted to make it happen and be successful."

"Everyone certainly did participate, however there were plenty of disagreements about how to proceed which I needed to manage."

"Mostly the group were considerate and respectful, though the pressure for results did mean that there were some minor confrontations."

Workshop Ten – RCP wrap up

Aim: The aim of this workshop is to bring the learning together and conclude the process such that each participant is acknowledged for their achievements and has had an opportunity to reflect upon and decide what has been useful for them. It is important to recognize the students' achievements and celebrate their achievements with them.

Activity: Videos, Presentations and Celebration

Materials: Videos, video player, certificates, RCP badges, and party food

Pre-workshop: Send invitations home for the parents to come and watch the videos and participate in the wrap-up of the program. The students also wrote a short note for the school's newsletter.

Responsible Citizenship in 5S

All students in 5S have been able to participate in the Responsible Citizenship Program. RCP is funded by the Criminology Research Council and students attend ten workshops over five weeks. RCP also stands for Respect, Consideration and Participation. That is their motto because that

is what their program helps to build. It is run by Jack, Ali and Dr Brenda Morrison of the ANU Research School of Social Sciences. The compact resolution word is REACT which stands for;

Repair the harm done

Expect the best from others

Acknowledge feelings of everybody

Care for others

Take responsibility

Next week all parents of 5S are invited to our final session and video presentation.

Agenda

The videos are shown and each group has an opportunity to talk about their video with the audience. Make the audience as broad as possible, in particular invite the student's parents along. Other classes could also be included. A large group session follows where each participant decides what they have learnt from RCP. Presentations are made to each participant in the program. Each student was called forwarded and presented with a personalized RCP certificate, which they could hang on their wall or put in their portfolio. The students were also given a badge, which played on the RCP theme yet again. Just before the presentations began, we asked the students what RCP meant and they gave us the standard response, the Responsible Citizenship Program. Then we told them that what RCP really meant: that each and every one of the students was a **Really Cool Person**.

An informal evaluation of the workshop also takes place where participants can share their favourite and least favourite activities. In the final closing each participant has the opportunity to say what they, as individuals, have learnt from RCP.

Upon completion of the program, the class teacher finds time for the students to write about their own reflections on the program and what they learnt. One activity that is productive is for each student to write a Citizenship Charter. The students could also do this as homework, with their parents, especially if the parents have watched the video.

<u>Facilitators' comments</u>:

"This was a major celebration and a bringing together of the first and second groups, so there was a high level of belonging across all the groups. At last the groups could share in their unique experiences and compare/contrast their thoughts and feelings."

"There was a great sense of achievement that came with having reached the conclusion of the program which meant the students were feeling positive about themselves and others."

"A celebration of this nature was integral to the completion of such a project. I cannot think of a way to improve upon it. The symbols, the video, the awards and sense of occasion all contributed to a grand finale."

Rigor alone is a paralytic death; imagination alone is insanity (G. Bateson)

- Chapter 7 -
The Responsible Citizenship Program:
Evaluation and Comment

This chapter will examine the effectiveness and learning outcomes of the initial pilot of the Responsible Citizenship Program. It provides a tentative picture of the possible. A disclaimer about the generalizability of these results is necessary, given the small and specific sample that we worked with: one class within a single primary school. Only 30 students participated in the program. As such, the results reported here are informative but not the end of the story. Sometime in the future, as opportunities become available, a more systematic evaluation will be necessary to establish more clearly the true effectiveness of intervention programs of this nature. For example, we need to know how sustainable the effects of the program are over time. We also need to know what features constitute the core in bringing about sustainable outcomes, which contribute in an aesthetic sense, which are important in terms of local culture, and which are redundant. The results reported here are a start, especially in light of the fact that many programs are not evaluated. Here we aim to do our best in reporting where an impact has been made and wherein lie our concerns.

Measurement tools

We used a multi-method approach to gather data on the effectiveness of this program. This strategy was adopted to counter, in some small way, the limitations of evaluating a singe pilot program. We thought this was particularly important given that there would be little statistical power to find systematic effects. As Table 7.1 indicates, some of the data were qualitative, some quantitative. For some data we had repeated measures that we could compare, such as before and after participation in the program, or at the completion of each workshop. We also asked for final comments from the students, facilitators, teacher and principal at the school. As an indicator of the long term learning that the program sustained, in the year following the program the class teacher gathered the students who had participated. She asked them what they remember as important aspects about the program.

The students provided some interesting (and amusing) comments for us. The outcomes of each of the methods used will be discussed.

Table 7.1

Measurement tool, source, type and nature of evaluative information

1) Life at School Survey	students	quantitative	repeated measures
2) RCP questionnaires	students	quantitative	repeated measures
3) RCP observations	facilitators	quantitative	repeated measures
4) Learning outcomes	students	qualitative	final comments
5) Learning outcomes	facilitators	qualitative	final comments
6) Learning outcomes	teacher	qualitative	final comments
7) Learning outcomes	principal	qualitative	final comments

The "Life at School Survey" included items that measure the shame management and social identification with the school community as a whole. The RCP questions and observations were used to measure social identification within the working groups.

1) Life at School Survey (students)

This survey contains a number of measures that have been found useful in understanding bullying behaviour. Many questions have been adapted from Rigby and Slee's (1993) Peer Relations Questionnaire. As well as these standard measures, this survey also contains two instruments that have been developed to evaluate social identification and shame management, both central to our theoretical framework.

The social identification instrument was adapted from Tyler's (1998) measures of pride and respect. Pride reflects the collective sense of self-worth within the school community, in that an individual can feel pride in being a member of the community. Respect reflects a more individualistic sense of self-worth within the school community, in that an individual can feel valued for their unique contribution within the community. Students well integrated within the school community would rate high on both measures of pride and respect. This measure can be used to measure changes for the students over time on integration within the school community. The shame management instrument is called the MOSS-SASD (Measurement of Shame State: Shame-Acknowledgment and Shame-

Displacement). This instrument can be used to evaluate our success in building students' adaptive shame management strategies and curb students' maladaptive shame management strategies.

A) <u>Social identification with the school community: Pride and respect as measures of integration</u>

Measures of identification, pride and respect were taken at the beginning of the school year and at the end of the year. On the whole the results were positive. The self-report data indicated that most students had high rating on each of these measures. In other words, most students identified strongly with the school, took pride in being a member of the school community and felt respected within that community. This was the case at the beginning of the year and the end of the year, hence no significant change was observed (see Appendix 7). Interestingly, the average score did drop slightly (but not significantly) at the end of the year; however, this could be due to the fact that the final measures were taken on the last day of the school. Not a good time to measure identification with the school in retrospect! With the school holidays to look forward to, the school community becomes less relevant for the students with the closing of the school year. In other words, the school becomes less of a relevant reference group at this time, hence the drop in identification with the school. A positive aspect of the relatively consistent and high ratings for pride and respect is that given these students already held a sense of belongingness within the school community, we had a strong basis from which to work on shame management. Recall, the first lever to managing shame effectively is to develop community.

Some interesting patterns are revealed when these broad measures of identification, pride and respect are broken down by the bullying status category (non-bully/non-victim; bully, victim, bully/victim). The trend in the data mirrors that of results taken from a larger data set (see Morrison, Braithwaite and Ahmed, forthcoming). Bullies, victims, bully/victims and non-bully/non-victims each rate differently on measures of pride and respect. Table 7.2 shows the pattern of results. These differences were found to be statistically significant in the larger data set (Morrison, et al., forthcoming). The non-bullies/non-victims, who rate high on both pride and respect, see the school as a <u>positive</u> reference group. In other words these students feel good about their relationship with the school and identify strongest with the school.

The other groups are less positive about their relationship with the school. For the bullies, they rate high on respect but lower on pride. Often for these students it is pride in achievement within the school that comes hard. They may not perform well on the traditional indicators of achievement within the school, whether that be academically or on the sports field. They gain respect within the school through their bullying activities. The school, in the worst of cases may even be a <u>negative</u> reference group for these students, as they feel alienated from the community. For the victims, the school is an <u>insecure</u> reference group, they are generally cooperative school members but are self critical and are insecure about their place in the school. They rate high on pride but low on respect. Finally, for the bully/victims the school is an <u>ambivalent</u> reference group, sometimes they connect and sometimes they don't. Overall, they rate lowest on both pride and respect.

<u>Table 7.2</u>

Bullying status categories in reference to levels of respect, pride and nature of reference group

	RESPECT	PRIDE	REFERENCE GROUP
Non-bullies/non-victims	High	High	Positive reference group
Bullies	High	Lower	Negative reference group
Victims	Lower	High	Insecure reference group
Bully/victims	Lower	Lower	Ambivalent reference group

B) <u>Shame-management: Adaptive and maladaptive strategies</u>

A number of items measured shame acknowledgment and shame displacement. Following the findings reported in Chapter 3, three different types of shame-management were measured: acknowledgment (four items), self blame (two items), and displacement (four items). Acknowledgment constitutes the adaptive forms of shame management: Would you feel ashamed of yourself? Would you wish you could just hide? Would you feel like blaming yourself for what happened? Would you feel like making the situation better? Chronic self blame is the form of shame management that is maladaptive and characterizes victims of bullying: Do you think others would reject you? Would you hate yourself? Displacement is the other form of maladaptive shame management. This form characterizes bullies, who bypass their shame: Would you feel like blaming others for what happened?

Would you feel like doing something else, for example, throwing or kicking something? Would you be unable to decide if you were to blame? Would you feel like getting back at that person? Table 7.3 shows the percentage of students using the different shame management strategies at the beginning of the year (pre-program) and at the end of the year (post-program).

Table 7.3

Pre-program and post-program percentages of students using the different shame-management strategies (n=30)

	Pre-Program	Post-Program
Adaptive shame management		
Acknowledgement	83 %	87 %
Maladaptive shame management		
Feelings of rejection (victims)	33 %	20 %
Displacement (bullies)	27 %	13 %

The majority of students (25 of 30 students) were acknowledging shame over wrongdoing at school both at the outset of the program and continued to after the program. While the change is not significantly different, the data suggests that there was a slight shift in a positive direction. There was a greater shift in student's maladaptive shame-management strategies, both decreased.

Students felt that others were less likely to reject them over the wrongdoing; in other words, students were less likely to take on strategies typical of victims. This result could be due to the students having more productive shame-management skills, through participation in the program. In other words, the students became more confident about managing their social relations with others, in particular ways to make up for harm done so that others would not reject them. As one student said about what it means to be a responsible citizen at school: "It means that if you do something wrong or if others do something wrong you know how to fix things."

Further, students were less likely to displace responsibility for the wrongdoing onto others, in this case take on strategies typical of bullies. In particular, the item: "Would you feel like doing something else, for example, throwing or kicking something?" showed the

greatest decrease. This indicates that the students were managing their feelings better and not displacing shame towards objects. Again we interpreted this as a positive result.

Overall, our results indicate we did make some progress in shifting the students' shame management skills. This result was encouraging. At the same time, we do hold reservations. Without a control group, we do not know if these results are a product of some other learning that occurred within the school and can not be attributed to the program. These changes could have also come about through a general maturation effect. After all the students were almost a year older by the end of the school year. The sample is also small and the lack of statistical significance suggests the change could be random too. Finally, the students could be supplying us with the answers that we sought because they wanted to get the question "right". This is all speculative. The reported change could be due to the students' participation in the program. We can't know for sure. A larger study, with control groups is called for. We also need to closely examine the sustainability of these results over time. We also recognized that we needed to increase our repertoire of items that measure shame management strategies. Since the time of this evaluation, this has been done. The Life at School Survey (2000) now measures five shame management strategies: shame-acknowledgement; shame-displacement; shame-avoidance; shame-confusion; and chronic-shame.

C) Additional measures from the Life at School Survey

1. On the whole 60% of students reported that life at school was "Good, I quite like it". This did not change significantly from the beginning to the end of the year.
2. When asked how many good friends the students had in their class, students responded that they either had "two or three good friends" or had "many good friends." Again, this did not change significantly across the year.
3. Students also reported high levels of empathy with other students across the year.
4. Students did report a significant increase on the question: "In your view, is this school a safe place for young people who find it hard to defend themselves from attack from other students. At the beginning of the year 10 % of students indicated that they thought "It is hardly ever safe for them" while at the end of the year no student chose this answer. The answer most often chosen was: "It is usually a safe place for them."

2) <u>Respect, consideration and participation (RCP) questions</u> (students and facilitators)

Each student responded (on a 7 point scale) to the following questions after each session:

1. How many people in the group showed you respect during today's activities?
2. How many people in the group considered your feelings during today's activities?
3. How many people in the group gave you an opportunity to participate in today's activities?

The two facilitators also rated each student on their observation of respect, consideration and participation for all but the final session, when it was less appropriate due to the presentational emphasis of that session. The sessions have been blocked into two batches as the group worked as a whole for the first five sessions and then broke into two smaller groups for the production of their respective videos. For the first five sessions, the rating of the two facilitators were highly correlated (alpha = .93), indicating that there was a high amount of agreement between the two facilitators. Table 7.4 gives an overview of the average responses from the students and facilitators.

A number of patterns are evident from these data on respect, consideration and participation. Overall the student's ratings are higher, as compared to the facilitators on all three measures. This could be due to program effects on both sides. The facilitators may have given modest ratings, not wanting to inflate measures we were explicitly targeting. The students may have inflated their ratings, out of performance demands, knowing we were targeting these practices and wanting to be seen in a good light. Having noted this, the more general patterns do show some systematic effects.

The rating changed greatest for participation and consideration, and least for respect; however, the rating were already quite high for respect, particularly from the students. The rating for each of the three measures generally increased over time, but there is a systematic drop across respect and consideration a few sessions into the program. The measures then increased again until the completion of the videos. This is not surprising, given that the program aims to challenge the way students interact in terms of upholding the RCP principles. At this time the students could be questioning the norms of appropriate behavior that constitute the group. We were encouraged to find that RCP ratings did not drop when the groups split into two, in that the norms of appropriate behavior carried over into the sub-groups. Overall the results are positive, indicating that the students put into practice the emphasis the program put on building respect, consideration and participation.

Table 7.4
Facilitators and students average ratings of respect (R), consideration (C), and participantion (P) across 9 sessions.

	STUDENTS			FACILITATORS		
	R	C	P	R	C	P
Session 1	5.0	3.4	4.3	3.7	3.0	4.2
Session 2	5.5	3.8	5.1	3.5	2.9	4.8
Session 3	4.2	2.8	4.4	2.8	3.1	4.5
Session 4	3.9	3.4	4.5	3.9	4.1	4.8
Session 5	3.6	3.2	3.7	3.4	2.8	4.7
Session 6	4.5	3.9	4.1	4.2	4.3	5.2
Session 7	4.3	3.8	5.0	3.8	4.1	5.1
Session 8	4.7	4.2	5.1	4.4	4.3	5.3
Session 9	5.2	5.2	5.7	4.9	4.7	5.8

3. Learning outcomes: Open comments

3. 1 The facilitators' comments

The facilitators were asked to address a number of questions related to program development. Some of their comments are noted below:

A. Developing a sense of belonging

1. Given that one of the aims of the program was to develop a sense of belonging within a community; to what extent did we achieve this for the group?

"In our favour I think that we created a space that was safe, fun and educational in a different way to the classroom. Looking at the excitement and enthusiasm of the group to participate in the program the students were certainly happy to be present."

"Some of the weaknesses with our community focus were the lack of time, and the space between sessions. The sessions were only an hour long, which meant it was difficult to sustain a sense of community at times. When sessions were separated by a number of days this meant that we were starting over on many occasions."

2. What were the most effective things we did (formally structured and/or informally introduced) to develop community within the group?

For me it the major fact was that we facilitated rather than instructed. We were mentors or friends rather than teachers or parents. This allowed the students to feel more comfortable in our presence.

Other examples include:

The use of the symbols, posters etc helped to create a space that was identifiable as their own. It gave them a tangible measure of the growth of trust and relationships.

Remembering the students' names and using them all the time rather than "Oi, whatever your name is"

Handing over responsibility and certain control to the group.

3. What could we have done better to develop community within the group?

Setting up a clear method for dealing with inappropriate behaviour with the group at the outset is important. We could have spent more time with this so it was clear and consensual from the beginning.

B. Developing shame management

1. Given that one of the aims of the program was to develop shame-management strategies for the students (ability to accept wrongdoing while not feeling rejected by others), to what extent did we achieve this for the group?

I am not sure that I saw any specific evidence for this except in the context of the video production and the role-plays. In this sense the students were familiar with how to deal with their shame when they had done wrong. However I cannot think of a specific example of this in a real life setting.

2. What were the most effective things we did (formally structured and/or informally introduced) to develop shame-management strategies within the group?

I think by giving them a framework and some tangible strategies for managing shame they would be able to learn from the program.

3. What could we have done better to develop shame-management strategies within the group?

The strategy, that may have been high risk, would have been to work through a real incident in a group setting.

C. Conflict resolution

1. Given that the skill we aimed to develop (using the REACTion keys) for the students was their ability to resolve conflict, to what extent did we achieve this for the group?

I think that this was a partial success given that they now have the framework of the REACTion keys to work with, but I think they lack the maturity or ability to put it into practice. When I think back to the video production the groups were struggling to contextualise the REACTion keys into the story. However I think the groups do have a sense of what is necessary based on their video storyline, they just lack detail.

A clear example of the difference between what the groups perception and ours was when we put forward "E - expect the best". The groups were vocal in their disagreement. They felt that it was "Expect the Worst".

2. What were the most effective things we did (formally structured and/or informally introduced) to develop the students' conflict resolution skills within the group?

I think it was seeing the video and then writing a story about resolution. In the video they watched they had to pick out the elements of the REACTion keys and then in the story they had to put the keys into practice. Given the fact that they did not fully understand the context, I think this model was only partially successful.

3. What could we have done better to develop the students' conflict resolution skills within the group?

Perhaps there needed to be a step between the introduction of the keys and the making of the video, where we presented a role-play that they could see and then they had to make a role play involving the keys. I felt that during the production time there was pressure to get the video made rather than ensuring full understanding of the keys.

D. Respect, consideration and participation

The program was grounded in three main concepts: respect, consideration and participation.

1. To what extent did the students understand and put into practice:

respect

There was definitely evidence of the group having understood the concept of respect. In the video we can see that it is an issue that is discussed. However I did not see people show respect in all of their social interactions. To a degree I think that they were separating their normal behaviour from their new learning. It may take time for them to put this new learning into practice or perhaps my expectations are too high for this age group.

It would be necessary to compare the number of disrespectful comments or actions at the start of the program and the end of the program to see if there had been any change. This is what I believe the observers were doing.

consideration

Similar to the previous comments about respect, I would find it difficult to note any noticeable change in behaviour across the group or within individuals. However they certainly have a clear understanding if we look at the evidence of the video content.

participation

This is the area where I feel it is possible to make some comment. There was certainly a greater level of participation at the end of the program compared to the beginning. This may

have been a change brought about by our teaching or it could have been because they felt more comfortable in each other's and our presence.

2. What were the most effective things we did (formally structured and/or informally introduced) to develop

respect

I believe that by exemplifying respect we were able to walk the talk, not just through our interactions between each other, but also with our interactions with the group. Simple things such as bothering to remember their names, I think helped them to see what respect was about.

consideration

This is more intangible than respect in that it involves attitude perhaps more than actions. For me the fact that we listened to their ideas and thoughts even when they contradicted our expectations, showed the group that we were considerate, and was the most effective strategy.

participation

This is the most tangible element and I think we achieved success through designing dynamics that required everyone to pitch in and also by gently encouraging when appropriate.

E. Final comments - The gestalt

1. How did the program come across as a whole across all sessions?

The program was a good balance of fun and work, structure and flexibility and movement and reflection.

2. What were the highlights for you?

Moving from a point of wondering how a video would ever be made out of the chaos to seeing it on screen - a great sense of shared achievement.

The level of creativity that the group could use to make all the exercises happen.

The blend of creativity with theory - very exciting.

3. When was it hardest for you?

The realisation and acceptance that I was looking for evidence of learning that was just not going to be there. This was characterised when the group spoke about "Expecting the worst" rather than "Expecting the best". For me I wanted the group to understand what we were teaching and realising that they had their own reality was really difficult, but essential to working with this age group.

4. What else is important to mention about RCP? (i.e. what else would someone implementing this program find interesting/need to know)

1. be clear about what you want to achieve
2. be flexible about how you want to get there
3. chaos can be educational
4. let the students learn, do not try to teach them - if you do not know the difference find out NOW
5. Find a balance between fun and work.

3. 2 Students

We asked students who participated in the program what they learnt. The aim of this part of the evaluation was to assess whether or not the students gained a good grasp of the main practices that we were promoting in developing their conflict resolution skills at school.

Overall we found that students had a good grasp of the main practices promoted and could give examples of each. These practices included: respect, consideration, participation, an OOPS, an OUCH and the REACTion KEYS. Examples of each are included below.

1) OOPS

When someone hurts someone else physically or emotionally
When someone puts down another person
When you are mean to someone
When you make fun of someone or tease them

e.g. when I pushed my little brother
e.g. when I say "you're stupid"
e.g. when I punch someone
e.g. when I called a person "a fat turd"
e.g. when I said "You're a dumb little runt"

Associated feelings include: ashamed, sorry, guilty, scared, embarrassed, bad, sorry, not very good, upset, horrible, left out, lonely

2) OUCH

When someone does a mean thing to you
When a person is ouched they feel upset and they begin to think they are dumb
When you are physically or mentally hurt by someone else
When you feel something wrong is done to you
When someone makes fun of you and you feel bad

e.g. Someone calls you a name
e.g. When you get punched
e.g. Not having any friends

Associated feelings include: Sad, afraid, not want to participate, bad, left out, and not belonging, hurt, lonely, dumb, like reject, angry

3) REACTion keys

When would you use the REACTion keys?

When you ouch
When you are mean to someone
When repairing a fight or when someone is in trouble
When you hurt someone or their feelings
When someone is hurt and someone tries to repair the damage done
When you have teased somebody and feel sorry for them
When you have done something to someone
When you do an oops to someone and you want to make them feel better
When you bully someone you would use the reaction keys
When someone feels down and upset
If you tripped someone over you could use the R, A and T keys.
After being bullied or when someone hurts your feelings
If I teased or did something to hurt someone
When someone was left out of a game in the play ground
When a bully bullies another boy, because he wears glasses. And after a while he feels bad, and so he uses the reaction keys

4) What does it mean to be a responsible citizen at your school?

It means that if you do something wrong or if others do something wrong you know how to fix things
I feel good because I know what to do when someone is in trouble
I like being a responsible citizen because I have a responsibility
Good, because you can help people understand how to handle stuff without complaining to the teacher
It means to care and help others
It means a lot to me because it teaches you to do good things
To be responsible means to show respect, participation and consideration
It means I am a very caring responsible person
I feel more mature
It means that we can help other people when they are hurt
To not bully others
To look after others
It means I can take responsibility
You have to respect other people, consider them, and let them participate proudly
I feel good because it was fun and I learnt alot

How was the program interesting?

Good to talk openly
That if you do something wrong there are so many ways to fix it
It was lots of fun and I enjoyed it very very much

I gathered lots of information
It was fun to participate in
The people who were running it were very good at keeping the lesson interesting
The lessons were enjoyable, fun and they had great activities to learn and play
It helped me with a lot of things in how to act
It was fun
You got to be with your friends and Ally, Jacko and Brenda were nice

How was the program useful?

To think about others feelings
It teaches people not to bully
I learnt a lot more than I had already known about being a responsible citizen
To help people when they are hurt
Explained more about playground bullying
In all ways, it taught me to be kinder and stuff
Because now I feel more confident to choose which is the right way
It taught me things I did not know
It was fun and taught me a lot
You can use it in the playground
It helps me consider others
So we can help other people
Now I will know how to be a responsible citizen
Teaching me how to act if an oops or an ouch occurs
People haven't teased me as much about my own language
I learnt a lot of things I would not learn in school
People are nicer to me and I am nicer to them
I think the program gave me a little bit more confidence
To get the bad out of me
I know what to do when someone bullies me

In response to which activities the students liked the most, the students generally responded that they enjoyed all the activities but the activity most often singled out was producing their own video. In response to which activities the students liked the least, the students generally said none but a few students from Term 1 said discussion (in response, the Term 2 program had less structured discussion). A couple of students didn't enjoy the poster making as much as the other activities. Overall, we were very pleased with the responses that the students provided for us. On the whole the students showed a clear understanding of the important concepts and ideas that we wanted them to learn and understand.

3.3 Teacher's comments

I am a teacher at Hawker Primary School and my class was involved in the Responsible Citizens Program in 1999. My class consisted of 30 students aged between 10 and 13 years old. They were a grade S grouping (6th year of schooling). There were a total of 60 children in the Unit where we worked. The majority of the group came from a middle / upper socio economic background.

Both bullying and harassment were evident in the group, mainly with a group of boys who had low self esteem and poor social skills. These boys tended to associate very well with their immediate peer group. The boys focussed on other `weaker' students to bully and harass. These incidents occurred particularly on the playground. This group played usually on the outer boundaries of the school enjoying lots of war / army type games and also harming small creatures such as bull ants. A favourite past time of theirs was poking the ants to death. Whilst it was expected they wear school uniform it had become a `norm' for several of them to dress in army greens as their usual code of dress. All students, in the group mentioned, wore camouflage hats to school. The boys mentioned covered two `home' groups with half of the group in my care. It was with this focus group in mind that I first nominated for the program.

The initial RAINBOW program was not successful and it was decided after a few-sessions not to continue with it. My personal feelings for the failure of this program had to do with several things. Firstly the program's content was at an inappropriate level for the students. They complained in the very first instant that the content was `too babyish'. Secondly, the facilitators lacked `oomph' and were not in tune with student's level of development. Another factor was that we started RAINBOW with students who were not in the School Band. We did this because of timetabling restraints but found that many good role models were missing from the group and so the dynamics were less than perfect. It was certainly the best decision to abort the initial program.

The second program was much improved and students were highly motivated from an early stage. Lessons became more 'hands on' and the content much more appropriate for a year 5 level. The biggest change as compared to the first group, were two highly motivated and well prepared facilitators. These facilitators had an instant rapport with the group. All of a sudden RCP was something the kids actually wanted to do. I think that this feeling of wanting to be involved helped with the success of the program. In particular, the very first session of the RCP program was well focussed with a very positive atmosphere, students leaving the session commented how much better it had been than RAINBOW.

The success of the program is difficult to quantify but I began noticing the use of particular jargon associated with the program in everyday situations. It was apparent from observation that there was carry over of learned outcomes in the sessions. Positive feelings about the program emerged more as the sessions continued. The video production was tremendous in that students were able to work in very small groups with a high facilitator / student ratio, far better than a classroom teacher is able to provide. The video productions and subsequent formatting of these videos was highly appreciated by the students, who by the presentation stage felt real ownership of the production. These facilities of video dubbing, editing, etc, are not available within the budget of small schools such as ours.

I could see this program operating very effectively in school and could be modified simply to start at an earlier age. The success of the Program can certainly be attributed to many factors including:
- Well balanced and highly planned outcomes by Dr. Morrison
- Highly skilled facilitators
- Ability to use small groups with teacher student ratio of 1:7
- Supportive classroom teacher with flexible programming discretion

The small groups allowed for all students to have a greater input into all sessions and feel valued. The program was a great success and the final display and presentation was terrific. Both the Principal and Deputy Principal attended the final workshop and wrap-up. The facilitator's comments of "I cannot think of a way to improve upon it" sums up my feelings as well. Both the school, the students and myself were most grateful to Dr. Morrison and her team. However the greatest beneficiaries of the program are the students who were lucky enough to be in the trial. They are the ones who will go through life better off from having participated in the program. I would most definitely support the funding of future programs.

3.4 Principal's comments

From Dr. Morrison's initial contact with the school, when she addressed a whole staff meeting, it was obvious to the school staff that the proposed program and planned outcomes addressed a number of important aspects of child development. The main thrust of her program addressed the positive and negative aspects of conflict and employed teaching of strategies that students could adopt to deal with this in their lives. Consequently we were delighted when she chose our school to run the pilot.

Dr Morrison made it very clear that it was a trial and there would need to be a flexible approach with modifications as the program progressed. I was most impressed by the process and both her team and the school staff involved enjoyed this experience. As a result of this dynamic approach the program grew in an exciting way actively engaging students. Initially there was some student resistance however Dr Morrison, her team and the class teacher spent a great deal of time debriefing after each teaching session considering the needs of the student group and individual students.

The practical approach allowed students to develop strategies to cope with real life situations. I believe the outcomes were extremely positive. The class climate created during the program was one of support and respect for other students; it also demonstrated that conflict is a part of living having both positive as well as negative aspects. The most important aspect of the program was giving students appropriate strategies for coping with conflict. This is particularly important in coping with bullying for both victims and those perpetuating bullying.

I certainly appreciated the work Dr Morrison and her team undertook at Hawker School last year and know all students involved gained a great deal.

3.5 The students comments the following year

A year after the program was completed the students who participated were gathered together by their teacher and were asked for feed back on the program. They offered us these comments:

I enjoyed making the video because it was a good experience.

The group work was fun.

Making the video was fun - it taught me about bullying.

My skit was on bullies. It was called the day the bullies hit. We did it about bullies because we wanted to show people not to bully because it can turn into a really big disaster. We started with three people going to school. They were playing with a basket ball and then two

mean bullies came up and took the basket ball off them. The smallest bully came up and started being mean. They all had to stay in and then the bullies invited all of us to a really cool party. They said sorry and were being very nice and that was the end.

It was really great. I enjoyed it.

Every session at the end we elected a person rather than ourselves for their show of respect, consideration and participation. At the beginning of the next lesson they would announce whoever got the most votes for each section.

The end of the R.C.P. program was when we got a badge with really cool people on it and got a lollypop and a certificate with really cool people and our name on it. We had a party and revised our videos. The whole experience was fun.

Last year a program called rainbow came to our school. We didn't like it because the activities didn't benefit us and should have been aimed at younger children.

In R.C.P. we did skits the first and second weeks. Everybody got into groups and performed short skits that had bullying and how to resolve it. We used drums and tables for special effect. The leaders seemed to like their jobs and always encouraged people.

The leaders we had were young and enthusiastic. Everyone made up nicknames for every leader + the baby, there was Wacko Jacko, Allie McBeal, Brenda the wonder camel and the baby Hamish McBeth. The leaders were very understanding plus they let us do whatever we wanted to do for the movie. It was really cool.

We made a video, about bullying and respect, consideration and participation. It was fun. We had to think of our own play. It was so hard. In the end we thought that maybe we could do a play on deciding what to do in the school concert. We had to think of the good and bad points of each idea. I enjoyed it.

The leaders were Jako (Wako Jako), Allie (Allie Macbeille) and Brenda. They were all positive and helped us understand how other people felt. We learnt what to do if we did hurt someone or someone hurt you.

We were put into two different groups and given a video camera. We worked together putting a script together then we rehearsed and recorded it with Ally and Jacko. At the end of the term we were each given a badge and a certificate of participation. It really made you feel a part of something.

We had key words to help us learn the meanings of some of the phrases.

Our video was about a group of young Year 6 children deciding what to do for their act which turned out to be Romeo and Juliet. Out of the group there was one boy who was always getting teased and pushed around. That boy had to play the Romeo part. In the end all the other people in the group realized that they were mean to him so each one apologised.

I really enjoyed playing and doing the video. It taught me to co-operate with other people.

Jacko and Ali told us to bring in a plate of food so we could have a party. It was awesome! Jacko and Ali said they should have video taped us while we ate. The food was great.

We were put into two groups to make a video play about the things we learnt in the sessions.

Our group made a video about a boy getting bullied because he had a learning disability.
We used all the things they taught us to help the boy.

We all really enjoyed making the video and all the other activities and hope we can do it again.

On my first day there, our group did a painting of a teddy. We put bandages on it.

Final comment

Overall we were encouraged with the outcomes of the evaluation. The Responsible
Citizenship Program proved to be both viable and effective in three important respects. First,
all the parties involved in the development of the program found the program to be of benefit
to the students. This included the teacher, the principal, the facilitators and the students
themselves. One student wrapped up the objects we tried to build into the program well in
stating what the program meant to him/her: "It means that if you do something wrong or if
others do something wrong you know how to fix things." This response, like those from
others, was very encouraging.

Second, the program met our theoretical objectives of (1) creating a fun and safe
community for the students; (2) developing the student's conflict resolution skills; (3)
developing student's shame management skills. While measures of pride and respect did not
change significantly over the course of the school year, measures of respect, consideration
and participation did increase from the beginning of the program to the end of the program,
indicating that the student's sense of identification with the group increased over time.
Further, measures taken at the beginning and the end of the school year showed that students
felt safer at school following participation in the program. Each of these is an indication that
we developed the student's sense of belongingness and safety within the community. In
addition to the statements made by the students, teacher and principal that the student's learnt
appropriate strategies for dealing with conflict, the shame-management data also suggests this
was the case. There were clear findings of shifts in shame-management styles from
maladaptive styles to adaptive styles. In particular, student's feelings of rejection by others
decreased over time.

Finally, the program's objects of building a practical and adaptable program, based
on principles of restorative justice were fulfilled. The principals upon which the

Responsible Citizenship Program were built are easily adaptable to other schools and grade levels. As the teacher put it: "I could see this program operating very effectively in school and could be modified simply to start at an earlier age." The program thus provides a good base from which other programs can grow and adapt. This is important to the long term research and development that now needs to be done. The result of this initial pilot program are encouraging but tentative. We need more rigorous evaluation done across a range of programs and populations. In particular, it would be interesting to look at sustainable change in school's that take on restorative justice practices in a more comprehensive manner. The Life at School Survey (2000) has been developed to not only examine pride, respect and shame management processes for students, but also procedural justice and general compliance levels.

This program marks only the first step in an ongoing process of development and evaluation. Our hope is that our story of the development of the Responsible Citizenship Program is sufficient to encourage others to embark in the development of their own program that fosters responsible citizenship in their school.

Niyimpa kor ntsetse ba – "it takes an entire village to raise a child"

African proverb

- Chapter 8 -
Restorative Justice:
Building safe and healthy school communities

<u>Opening Pandora's box</u>

Bullying, because of its insidious nature, is often easier to ignore than confront. On one hand we can rationalize bullying such that the problem is minimized; on the other hand, to confront bullying is akin to opening Pandora's box. This is the case because our society, local cultures and their authorities can (and do) legitimize bullying. Those that legitimize it often don't see the problem. The status quo remains in place. Those who fully understand the problem know that there will be many layers to work through to fully address the problem. We might not be able to peel away all the layers, but it is important to make a start. Pandora's box needs to be opened. We, individually and collectively, must confront the problem. This often means confronting ourselves.

Bullying relationships break the potential of students. Students can not gain their sense of autonomy when caught in these relationship patterns. In schools, bullying can be condoned in many ways, through the principal's relationship with the teachers and students, through teachers' relationships with each other, and with the students, as well as with the student's relationships with each other. Bullying is about domination and control. It puts value on some students, some teachers, and not on others. Once the value of one person over another has been legitimized (and this is often a product of unmitigated competition), we set the scene for further dominance and control. The pattern is self-perpetuating. Bullying is a difficult and complex issue. We need to work together to address it. We need to acknowledge that we may be part of the problem, however worthy our intention. We must support each other in finding better ways and work through our differences. The first step is to take on board the serious nature of bullying and to take a hard look at the problem in our communities.

Taking the problem seriously

As Slee and Ford (1999) point out, bullying is not only a serious issue, much of it is criminal. Schools must take the problem seriously; if they fail to, they may open themselves to litigation, through their failure to fully discharge a school authority's duty of care. A school can be found culpable when: (1) a duty of care is established; (2) that duty of care has been breached; (3) that breach has caused injury to the party involved. For example, in the ACT: "What started out as 'play-fighting' in a school yard eight years ago ended ... as a $770,000 damages award and a decision with profound ramifications for the ACT Education Department" (Canberra Times, Saturday, August 28, 1999). If schools fail to responsibly address incidents of harm, including bullying, harassment, and other forms of intimidation, the probability of litigation increases. Australia is in need of an open and passionate debate on the issue of bullying, and its individual and collective consequences from many different standpoints. Not only do we need to address how it affects us legally, we need to debate how it affects our health-care system, welfare system and criminal justice system. If we don't put serious time and resources into addressing incidents of harm in our schools, we will need to put serious time and resources into addressing our overburdened systems, those that underpin the health, and ill-health, of our communities. Put another way, if bullying is not addressed by our communities, this will not only open the potential for the burden of litigation, there will be a widening burden on our social system and their institutions. We need to take heedful note of the clear warning signs from overseas. A recent editorial from Britain read: "Schools will face legal bills of tens of thousands of pounds if they fail to protect pupils and staff from bullying. ... The bill to the taxpayer could run into millions of pounds" (O'Leary, 2000).

While in Australia we have not touched anything akin to the school massacres witnessed overseas, we have had our warning bells and we have good reason to be concerned. No one would like to think a serious incident could happen at a school in their community. But it could, and the cycle often starts with the cycle of bullying and victimization. Bullying is a form of violence, and it is a concern in Australia. This was the conclusion drawn from a Federal government inquiry into violence in Australian Schools in 1994. The implementation of intervention programs and building of resources was recommended. Many of the resources developed between 1995 and 1998 are represented in an annotated bibliography produced by the Department of Education, Training and Youth Affairs (1999). However, as Slee and Ford (1999) note:

Unfortunately in the last five to six years in Australia, the push for 'quick-fix' solutions to school bullying has had some negative outcomes including undue pathologising of the individual. Construing bullying as aberrant behaviour with its origins in personality flaws or dark family history has focussed attention on remedying deficiencies in the individual. ... Schools must confront how [broader] issues impinge on school life, feeding and amplifying bullying problems. Instead of simply reflecting dominant cultural themes played out in behaviour such as bullying, schools must be agents for change" (p. 30)

This is a tough agenda. We not only have to take the problem seriously, we have to find ways of effectively addressing the problem. What are the current options when schools face breaches of safety within the school? How do we build a safe place for our students?

Dealing with actions that breach safety within schools

One way of keeping our schools safe, and minimize the prospect of litigation from victims, is to cast out the perpetrators. While this may be effective in the short term, it is never effective in the long term. When we cast offenders from the schoolyard to the community, we only widen the sphere of alienation. Those who offend in classrooms and schoolyards will potentially offend in the community. Safe schools work hand in hand with safe communities. In fact suspensions often put our most vulnerable students at further risk (Hayden, 1996; Jenkins, 1994). The behaviour that has resulted in suspension is often associated with poor social and emotional support to begin with. These students are already enmeshed in unresolved conflict in the family or at school. Yet we are willing to cast them out again. Further, when we do take them back, suspended students are more likely to re-offend and disrupt class (see Collett, 1996). The cycle is perpetuated.

Suspensions have been found to be effective only when the student has received support or participated in a program that aids the transition to and from the suspension (Wilcox, Brigham & Nicolai, 1998). Suspension needs to be addressed on a case by case basis, to address the motivational meaning for the students involved. These students have a story to tell us, as do their victims. Through listening to their respective stories in an environment that sanctions the importance of social relationships, these students are more likely to take on measures of responsibility and self-control (Pranis, 2000). Collett (1999) concludes that: "What emerges from the research literature [on suspensions] is the importance of valuing all perspectives of a suspension situation because it is not just individual deficits but relationship dynamics and social environments that shape behaviour" (p. 41). Restorative processes, such as community accountability conferencing, is one such

process that brings together the victim, the offender, and their respective communities. It is a process that offers each person care and support, while valuing accountability and responsibility.

Soutter and McKenzie (2000) offer an alternative to suspension. They outline three common features of effective anti-bullying and anti-harassment programs in Australian Schools (p. 103 -104):

1) Positive and productive conflict resolution is endorsed by the school community, such as through peer mediation programs. They state: "Bullying generally responds well to restorative justice techniques, particularly mediation and school community forums. The latter is more able to deal with power imbalances than mediation" (p. 103).

2) Effective programs focus on the context in which the behaviour occurs, rather than the characteristics of an individual. This is an important principle of restorative justice.

3) Bullying is addressed openly by the school community. A consensual view of what bullying is and what harm it causes is brought to the awareness of all community members. School procedures in dealing with bullying are spelt out and consistently applied. Good reporting and documentation procedures are essential.

Implementing restorative practices in schools

Restorative practices, through valuing relationships, challenge everyone involved. This is an important challenge. To sustain any shift in the way schools operate lies in each party questioning, in the most fundamental way, their own beliefs and practices. The central, dominant, theme to be addressed is the use of punishment and control in achieving behavioural compliance. These practices value domination. Restorative justice does not value domination, it values relationships of non-domination. Respect for authorities does not necessarily equate to domination.

Herein lies the hurdle that restorative justice must confront, because it does value relationships. Because of the embedded basis of relationships in society, real change will not be sustainable until a critical mass of individuals makes the shift towards restorative processes. One can not practice restorative justice alone. Only through changing our language and discourse around compliance and deviance can we expect a sustainable shift in practice. The root to compliance has many paths, but the compliance that we should strive for is an outcome of positive relationships, of a sense of community, of mutual respect and understanding. Compliance is not an end in itself. Cameron and Thorsborne (forthcoming) see it like this:

School behaviour management plans have focused largely on what should happen (penalties and tariffs) to offenders when (school) rules are broken, with only limited understanding of the impact on those in the school community of the offending behaviour. Restorative justice in the school setting views misconduct not as school-rule-breaking, and therefore a violation of the institution, but as a violation against people and relationships in the school and wider school community (p. 2-3).

This is what Masters (1998) found in his study of misconduct in Japanese schools. The emphasis on behavioural education, over control, went a long way to achieving compliance. In Japan the aim is to take a child through a process by which they can understand the consequences of their behaviour for themselves and others, to develop relational thinking and bring understanding to a collective level. Punishment is deemed to instil a narrow, selfish, way of thinking, the focus is on oneself rather than others. Delinquency is understood as non-existent links with others. Shame becomes a powerful social regulator in this context. We can only manage our shame over wrongdoings in healthy ways, when we are part of a healthy community, one that respects us, cares for us, and allows us to work through our differences.

Community building through our schools

Can truly productive communities be developed through our schools? What characterizes a productive community? Schorr (1997) has examined a number of community building programs in America, addressing the question: why do many promising community building initiatives fail to reach their full potential? Through closely examining those that have succeeded, she highlights a number of elements that exemplify outstanding programs. The building of "common purpose" is an overriding theme and schools, she argues, are the institution to build upon in strengthening the relationships between families and neighbourhoods. This is important because safe schools are the heart of safe communities. Her research highlights four key elements that characterize effective community initiatives:

1. Action or activity that draws on the overlapping domains of community life: economic, service, education, physical and community development.

2. The community itself is the foundation from which resources are drawn and strengthened; in other words, the community becomes the source of individual, social and physical capital - each having an important role.

3. From this foundation, external resources are brought in to further strengthen the foundation. Typically these resources will include public and private funds, professional expertise, and partnerships that bring clout and influence.

4. They are grounded in a theoretical framework of social change that provides an optimistic basis for the efficacy of the program.

These elements characterize the whole school approach to behaviour management that was taken up by Mayfield Primary school in Tasmania, when they decided to get serious about dealing with inappropriate behaviour. "Making Peace at Mayfield" (1996) is the story of their journey. As the forward suggests, it is a book that offers hope. They worked long and hard to make Mayfield the place it now is:

...a place to belong, to feel safe, to enjoy and learn respect, to learn, to grow .... It just didn't happen. In turning the school around, a team effort had to come to terms with what its community was and what they could do to build a positive ethos, climate and learning environment. They addressed a wide range of issues affecting curriculum, teaching and learning styles, physical layout and environment, the way they encouraged and celebrated individual and group success, and, most of all, how they could enable students to manage their behaviour in a positive, non-violent way." (p. ii-iii).

The forces for change at Mayfield included: leadership towards a shared vision; leadership through an organizational culture characterized by rights and responsibilities; focus on professional and curriculum development; opportunities for parent education and participation. As highlighted here, change works best when it works from the bottom up, rather than being imposed through the broader education system. The role of the broader education system is important though. It needs to support and legitimate. A change in culture, even a culture of bullying, must come from within. It can not be imposed. This is often only met with resistance.

The program of Mayfield, also captures key components of effective programs that Schorr (1997) highlights:

1. They are comprehensive, flexible and persevering.
2. They see people in the context of their families.
3. They deal with families as part of neighbourhoods and communities.
4. They have a long-term, preventative orientation, a clear mission, and continue to evolve over time.
5. They are well managed by competent and committed individuals with clearly identifiable skills.
6. They train and support staff, to provide high-quality, responsive services.
7. They operate in settings that encourage practitioners to build strong relationships based on mutual trust and respect.

Good Beginnings, at Lewisham primary school (discussed in chapter 5), also mirrors these features. The work done at these schools has not been an easy road to travel. The work done everyday in schools across Australia is not easy. There are daily frustrations. For every school faces the "relentless intrusion of social problems into the classroom" (Schorr, 1997, p. 283). Teachers increasingly feel that they are being asked to address the problems society has created. These problems manifest themselves in classroom behaviours. Schools should not have to face these problems alone. Schools too must build partnerships. Schools also need the support of government and their local communities. Schorr (1997) finds that schools who are faring well have:

1. Improvised and linked themselves with whatever services/resources are available.
2. Put their buildings at the disposal of the neighbourhood.
3. Become partners in efforts to reform services and build communities.
4. Supported families as valued partners in promoting children's learning.

The theme that emerges from this analysis is that the building of relationships is the key component underlying effective programs. This, too, is the message of restorative justice.

Policies of Hope

It is important to get our policies right, not only from the bottom up but also from the top down. Policy can not be driven by fear of litigation. It must be considered but it should not drive the process. Defensive policies are wrapped up in paradigms of control, "which limits the potential for addressing the culture, curriculum, organization and pedagogies of schooling which contribute to indiscipline. Education authorities' concern tends to revolve around questions of after-the-fact responses to disruption and is beholden to political dynamics of competing cultures within the education organization and to electoral politics which shape governments and, in turn bureaucratic agendas" (Hutchinson, 1996, p. 167). We need to get past this.

Francis Hutchinson (1996), in his book "Educating Beyond Violent Futures" challenges us to change our approach to education, to learning. He tells us why we need to expand our ways of knowing and vocabularies of hope. He argues that we must question our contemporary rationalizations. Statements such as "Don't worry. It's just a phase" or "Boys will be boys", which often characterize the rhetoric around school bullying, legitimize the status quo. Hence, endeavouring to implement a change in attitude is difficult and often met

with resistance. It becomes too easy to cut down those interested in change. Those involved are often accused of trying to change what is; what will always be. This is certainly the case with school bullying.

Schools should not be characterized as places that legitimize resignation to change. Schools should be vehicles for change. They need to challenge the past, the present, the future. Hutchinson (1996) concludes:

Perhaps the most important lesson to be drawn here is, despite the many setbacks and disappointments that we may experience in our schools and societies, not to give up, not to become overly cynical but to keep trying. Fatalism and cynicism may be commonsensical but they dissipate our social imagination and that of our children. Whether for our schools or societies, they fragment hopes of any real social transcendence .... [They] obscure the potential value of schools and teachers to actively listen to children's voices on the future, to contribute to student empowerment by planting seeds of hope and to facilitate the acquisition of non-violent action competencies. (p. 270)

The practice of restorative justice is a vehicle that offers hope (see Strang and Braithwaite, 1999). Following principles of restorative justice the Truth and Reconciliation Commission offered hope to South Africans.

The Commission was deeply rooted in the conviction that our relationship to others is central to our existence as human beings. By describing its unique, harrowing and thought-provoking process, Archbishop Tutu shows that reconcilitation after conflict is not easy but is the only way forward – whether at the political or personal level – and he offers inspirational advice on how we might make this principle work in a better, more humane future. (Forward)

Desmond Tutu (1999) tells us of *ubuntu* – the essence of being human. That we "live in a delicate network of interdependence. ... That a person is a person through other people. ...It says 'I am human because I belong.' I participate, I share." (p. 35). When victims and offenders come together, the common reason that they share in confronting each other is that the process offers them hope. Through each telling their personal stories of harm caused, reconciliation and forgiveness can follow. In other words, the process gives them hope for a better tomorrow, where they may feel safer, more secure, within their community. Restoration of the individual becomes restoration for the community as a whole.

Hutchinson's (1996) vision for a better tomorrow is spelt out in UNESCO's declaration and programme of action on a Culture of Peace. Each Article within that declaration makes an important point. Article 4 is particularly noteworthy here. It states that education at all levels is one of the principal means to build a culture of peace. We must ensure that children from an early age benefit from education on the values, attitudes, modes

of behaviour and ways of life to enable them to resolve any dispute peacefully and in the spirit of respect for human dignity and of tolerance and non-discrimination. UNESCO has proclaimed the period 2001 – 2010 as the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the children of the world. Schools have an important agenda to take up here. This past century has been characterized of one that lacked hope. Let's make this next century one that instils hope. Let's develop praxis based on the institutionalization of hope. Instead of teaching our children to expect the worst, let's teach our children to expect the best. This might not always be the case, but it is a good place to start, particularly when trying to overcome an alienated society.

Institutions, individuals and alienation

Many students are able to successfully negotiate their way through the current institutional systems; however, a good number are less successful and they become alienated in some form. This is true for both victims and offenders. There are serious consequences when individuals are alienated from their communities, their social institutions. When the process cuts hard enough individuals become alienated from society as a whole. One of the problems is that we've segmented society to unprecedented levels. We've also become increasingly time poor. As this happens we need to compartmentalize to keep things manageable. Different domains take on the responsibility for different tasks. For example, the schools' core business is largely seen as one of numeracy and literacy development; parents are responsible for their children's moral development. There is, of course, some cross fertilisation in that both schools and parents share in many aspects of child development. But overall we like to compartmentalise our respective responsibilities. Overall, this is a very mechanistic view and one that is endemic in modern society.

Our rituals have become personal, rather than collective. Truly holistic, as such deeply meaningful, experiences have become rare. One of the consequences is that children are being denied their childhood and their rights of passage into adult life (Hinkle & Henry, 2000). When grounded in mundane experiences, Staples (2000) argues that, "[Children] see a world without hope and are taught not to feel passionate about anything. … [Violence is] both a reaction to hopelessness and powerlessness and, paradoxically, an attempt to assert one's will that often becomes addictive" (p. 32 – 33). The tracking system within our school system can further amplify these problems because it undermines the students' sense of integration within the community. Through this process students are deprived from

developing the ability to be fully self-integrate within the school. The process compromises the sustainability of nurturing students that have a positive, well-rounded, sense of self.

Welsh (2000) characterizes "violence [as] a failed epiphany, that is, a heightened moment of awareness emerging out of the everyday flow of experience that seeks to overcome alienation. Violence fails because it cannot create a world of sustained meaning" (p. 30). Children are gaining meaning about social life in ways very different than even 20 years ago. These days children have access to a wide range of electronic media. They can be entertained for hours sitting alone in front of a range of multi-media devices. As a consequence, the pattern of interactions with peers and adults has changed. Children are socialized within different relationship patterns than their parents. This, of course, has its consequences for many different domains of life. We must work through the consequences of these shifts in how we manage our relationships when developing the policies and practices that mould our institutions.

Policy Practice and Recommendations

The proceedings of a recent conference of Violence in Schools (see Hinkle & Henry, 2000) makes a number of broad recommendations. Interestingly, these recommendations mirror the framework, based on restorative justice, that we have developed in this book. Eight recommendations that present an integrated response to the issue of school violence are put forward:

1) Schools need to develop comprehensive policies and strategies.
2) Real solutions will come from caring people working together to solve the problem.
3) Schools need to develop early intervention programs, which bring a diverse group of students together, to learn productive citizenship skills.
4) Schools need to teach children how to resolve conflict without the use of force and this practice needs to be mirrored by the school as a whole.
5) Parental involvement must be increased.
6) Resources and opportunities to address alienated youth need to be improved.
7) An interagency approach is essential, because violence is an interagency concern.

Each of these points will be taken in turn, as they highlight important issues that we hope to have confronted in this book. Interestingly, the conference papers also highlight the three

principles (respect, consideration, and participation) that ground our approach. For example, Welsh (2000) makes a strong argument about the importance of school climate in undermining school disorder. The importance of respectful relationships is highlighted. He offers clear evidence that schools who disrespect their students and treat them unfairly, are those where we can expect to see higher levels of violence. Consideration of different individual's needs and circumstances is also highlighted, as is active participation in the resolution of conflict. As one former chief juvenille probation officer states: "It takes three or four caring individuals interacting to save a child" (p. 13). In other words, through caring for an individual in a respectful way you are considering their needs, their position and working together to find a solution. This statement also highlights the importance of participation in the process for they were working together, interacting, to solve the problem. With respect, consideration and participation in mind, each of the recommendations put forward will be examined in further detail.

Integrated response - As Gottfredson, Gottfredson and Hypl (1993) have highlighted, misbehaviour requires a multi-level response. We can start with the individual but we then need to include an ever widening spheres of influence: families, schools, communities, to society. An integrated response is needed at all levels of activity. This does not mean more is better. It does mean those affected by different processes must be represented.

Policies – A good place to start in building effective policies is from the bottom up through the school community as a whole working together to foster safer schools. Through this process, a message of respect within the school community is offered to all involved. Each person's point of view needs to be considered thoughtfully. At another level, it is important to work with other community organizations, such as the police, fire and ambulance in developing crisis management plans. Our broader institutional bodies also need to be involved. They too set policies, which often determine the boundaries, or parameters, in which schools work.

Schools at the centre of the community building process - Schools, such as Lewisham Primary, have become the centre of activity in their communities. They offer a range of activities that sit along side, and further develop, school curricula. Cohn (2000) notes that these services "can be expensive, but [they are] cheaper than incarceration" (p. 14). These services can offer a broader range of mentors for students, mentors that can inspire and

support students (see also Braitwaite, in press). Strong mentoring programs, such as 'Big Brothers' and 'Big Sisters', have been found to be very successful in reducing crime (Elliott, 1998).

Early intervention that incorporates peer to peer learning – Many of our current intervention programs don't start early enough. Small groups of students need to work together to learn how to think critically and work through their problems. These groups need to include all students, even our most difficult students. Only through this process will students gain a positive sense of self (see Caulfield, 2000).

Conflict management skills – Students need to be taught productive conflict resolution skills. They need to understand that there are alternatives to the use of force. These conflict management skills need to be endorsed and practiced at all levels of the school's community. It is not enough to teach conflict resolution, it must permeate the culture of the school.

Parental involvement must be increased – Not only do students do better academically when their parents are involved in the learning process with their children, they also behave more appropriately when their parents are involved in the behavioural management process.   The earlier the parent is involved in all aspects of life at school the better. Family group conferencing offers a mechanism for parents to be involved when an incident of harm needs to be addressed. But before behaviour reaches a level where a conference is required, wouldn't it be healthy for parents to learn about productive ways of managing conflict?

The range of community resources and opportunities to address alienated youth needs to be improved – Effective services that are offered to alienated youth require sustained resources. Innovation is hard to initiate and sustain without the resources to maintain the processes. Strong leadership can guide a process but it can not sustain it. Too many effective programs have failed when the key people involved have left. Different individuals and different schools will have different needs. Only through a range of community resources will these needs be met and program initiates sustained.

Inter-agency support is essential in addressing the issues – Violence is an inter-agency concern and should be approached as such. Violence is a social health problem, a social justice problem and a problem for our education system. A multi-agency approach can widen

the lens on the problem. Resources can also be shared. This is the model that has been taken up in British Columbia, Canada, through a joint initiative between the Department of Education and the Attorney General's office. The initiative as a whole is called "Taking a Stand: Working together for Safe Schools and Safe Communities". A number of services to schools are offered. The Safe School Centre, established as part of the initiative, services schools throughout the province, offering a range of programs. These include programs such as:

TROO (Total Respect of Others): This team offers workshops for all ages. The workshops aim to promote the importance of respect, building a sense of community, recognizing the warning signs of alienation and working together.

Comprehensive Research and Development is essential – a clear message from the proceedings of the conference was that "one of the desperate needs in addressing the school violence issue is for additional evaluation research" (Hinkle & Henry, 2000, p. 15). Australia does not stand alone here. We have little comprehensive and systematic research. This was the finding of Pathways to Prevention (National Crime Prevention, 1999). To this end, we offer our Life at School Survey, developed in our program of research, as one such instrument that could be used in a systematic evaluation process. The survey covers a range of important issues in addressing bullying in our schools. Students respond to questions on their involvement in bullying behaviours, shame-management strategies, feelings of pride and respect, procedural justice and compliance within the school community.

Final comments

Developmental institutions, such as schools, are important in the fostering of responsible citizenship. Schools need to provide the opportunities for students to create a safe place for themselves. Governments and communities must support them in this task. Schools must foster respect, consideration and participation. Many students are able to capture these elements within their school years. Other students fail in this capacity. We must widen our focus. Schools need to value their relationship with all students equally, with all members of their community equally. If the development of our students' capacity to live a life of productive citizenship, through the building of healthy relationships, continues to be

neglected, we face heavy consequences. These will be reflected back on each of us through the growing burdens within the social justice system and health care systems.

- References -

Ahmed, E. (1996). "Life at School: Parent Survey" and "Life at School: Child Survey". Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University.

Ahmed, E. (1999). Shame Management and Bullying. The Australian National University.

Ahmed, E., & Braithwaite, V. A. (1996). Expressions of Stigmatized versus Nonstigmatized shaming (ESNS). Life at School Survey: Parent questionnaire. Unpublished booklet, 12-14.

Ahmed, E., Braithwaite, V. A., & Braithwaite, J. B. (1996). Measurement Of Shame State: Shame Acknowledgment and Shame Transformation. Life at School Survey: Child Questionnaire. Unpublished booklet, 28-32.

Ahmed, E., Harris, N., Braithwaite, J, & Braithwaite, V. (forthcoming). Shame Management through reintegration. Manuscript under review.

Aiken, L. S., & West, S. G. (1991). Multiple regression: Testing and interpreting interactions. Newbury Park, CA, USA: Sage Publications.

Aronson, E. (2000). Nobody Left to Hate: Teaching Compassion After Columbine. New York, NY : Worth Publishers.

Atlas, R., & Pepler, D. (1997). Observations of bullying in the classroom. LaMarch Centre for Research on Violence and Conflict Resolution, York University, *.

Ayres, I., & Braithwaite, J. (1992). Responsive Regulation: Transcending the Deregulation Debate. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bachman, J., Green, S., & Wirtanen, I. (1971). Dropping out – problem or symptom? Youth in Transition, 3, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Institute for Social Research.

Bagshaw, D. (1994). Peer Mediation Strategies in Schools. In Oxenberry, K., Rigby, K., & Slee, P.T. (Eds). Children's Peer Relation: Conference Proceedings. Adelaide Institute of Social Research, University of South Australia, 22-33.

Bateson, G. (1972). Steps to an Ecology of Mind: a revolutionary approach to man's understanding of himself. Ballantine Books, New York.

Bazemore, G. & Umbreit, M. (1994). Balanced and Restorative Justice: Program Summary: Balanced and Restorative Justice Project. Washington DC: U.S. Department of Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

Bellah, R. (1991). The Good Society. Random House/New York.

Bentley, K. M., & Li, A. K. F. (1995). Bully and victim problems in elementary schools and students' beliefs about aggression. Canadian Journal of School Psychology, 11(2), 153-165.

Berdondini, L., & Smith, P. K. (1996). Cohesion and power in the families of children involved in bully / victim problems at school: An Italian replication. Journal of Family Therapy, 18, 99-102.

Besag, V. E. (1989). Bullies and victims in schools. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Blamey, R., & Braithwaite, V. (1997) . The validity of the security-harmony social values model in the general population. *Australian Journal of Psychology, 49*, 71-77.

Bjorkqvist, K., Ekman, K. & Lagerspetz, K. (1982). Bullies and Victims: Their ego picture, ideal ego picture and normative ego picture. Scandinavian Journal of Pschology, 23, 307-313.

Boulton, M. J. & Underwood, K. (1992). Bully/victim problems among middle school children. British Journal of Educational Psychology, 62, 73-87.

Bowers, L., Smith, P. K., & Binney, V. (1992). Cohesion and Power in the Families of Children Involved in Bully/victim Problems at School. Journal of Family Therapy, 14, 371-87.

Bowers, L., Smith, P. K., & Binney, V. (1994). Perceived Family Relationships of Bullies, Victims and Bully/Victims in Middle Childhood. Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 11, 215-232.

Braithwaite, J. B. (1989). Crime, shame and reintegration. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Braithwaite, J. B. (1999) Restorative Justice: Assessing optimistic and pessimistic accounts. In M. Tonry (Ed.), Crime and Justice: A Review of Research, (25), Chigago: University of Chigago Press, 1-127.

Braithwaite, J. B., & Makkai, T. (1994). Trust and compliance. Policing and Society, 4, 1-12.

Braithwaite, J. B., & Pettit, P. (1990). Not just desserts: A republican theory of criminal justice. Oxford University Press.

Braithwaite, J. B. & Strang, H. (forthcoming). Introduction: Restorative Justice and Civil Society. In J. Braithwaite and H. Strang (Eds.), Restorative Justice and Civil Society. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Braithwaite, V. A. (1994). Beyond Rokeach's equality-freedom model: Two dimensional values in a one dimensional world. *Journal of Social Issues*, 50, 67-94.

Braithwaite, V. A. (1998). Communal and exchange trust norms, their value base and relevance to institutional trust. In V Braithwaite and M Levi (Eds.) *Trust and governance* pp 46-74). New York: Russell Sage.

Braithwaite, V. (2000a) Social values versus contextualized beliefs and experiences as determinants of parental support for anti-bullying policies (unpublished manuscript).

Braithwaite, V. (2000b) Values and restorative justice in schools. In H. Strang & J. Braithwaite (Eds.), *Restorative Justice: Philosophy to Practice*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

Braithwaite, V.A., & Law, H.G. (1985). Structure of human values: Testing the adequacy of the Rokeach Value Survey. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 49, 250-263.

Braithwaite, V. A., & Blamey, R. (1998). Consensus, stability and meaning in abstract values. *Australian Journal of Political Science, 33*, 363-380.

Breheney, C., Mackrill, V., Grady, N. (1996). Making peace at Mayfield: a whole school approach in teaching children to manage their behavior. Armadale: Eleanor Curtain Publishing.

Brown, R. S (1995). An evaluation of the conflict resolution programs at secondary level at the Toronto Board of Education 1993-1994. Toronto Board of Education Report.

Callaghan, S., & Joseph, S. (1995). Self-concept and peer victimization among school children. Personality and Individual Differences, 18(1), 161-163.

Cameron, L., & Thorsborne, M. (forthcoming). Restorative Justice and School Discipline: Mutually Exclusive? In J. Braithwaite and H. Strang (Eds.), Restorative Justice and Civil Society. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Campbell, D. T., Stanley, J. C. (1963). Experimental and quasi-experimental designs for research and teaching. In N. L. Gage (ed.), Handbook of Research on Teaching. 171-246. Chicago: Rand McNally.

Caporael, L. R. (1995). Sociality: Coordinating bodies, minds, and groups. In Psycolloquy, 95.6.01. [on-line serial].

Caulfield, S. L. (2000). Creating peaceable schools. In W.G. Hinkle & S. Henry (Eds.), School Violence. CA: Sage

Charach, A., Pepler, D. and Ziegler, S. (1995). Bullying at school: A Canadian perspective. Education Canada, 35, 12-18.

Collett, J. (1999). Perceptions of suspended secondary students towards their school disciplinary absences. Australian Journal of Guidance and Counselling, 9(2), 39-54.

Cook, T. D., & Campbell, D. T. (1979). Quasi-Experimentation: Design and Analysis Issues for Field Settings. Chicago: Rand McNally.

Cox, T. (1995). Stress coping and physical health. In A. Broome & S. Llewelyn (Eds.), Health Psychology: Process and Application. London: Singular Publication Group.

Craig, W. M. (1998). The relationship among bullying, victimization, depression, anxiety, and aggression in elementary school children. Personality and Individual Differences, 24(1), 123-130.

Craig, W. M., & Pepler, D. J. (1997). Naturalistic observation of bullying and victimization on the playground. LaMarch Centre for Research on Violence and Conflict Resolution. York University. Unpublished report.

Cunningham, C. B. (1997). The effects of primary division, student-mediated conflict resolution programs on playground aggression. Department of Psychology, Chedole-McMaster Hosptials, Hamilton, Ontario.

Department of Education, Queensland. (1996). Community Accountability Conferencing. Trial Report.

Department of Education, Queensland. (1998). Community Accountability Conferencing. Pilot Report.

Department of Education, Training and Youth Affairs (1999). An annotated bibliography of resources to assist schools in responding to school violence. Commonwealth of Australia.

Dewey, J. (1899). Lectures in the Philosophy of Education. New York: Random House.

Dewey, J. (1910). How We Think. New York: Heath.

Dickens, C. (1837). Oliver Twist. London: Chapman & Hall.

Dicken, C. (1838). Nicholas Nickleby. London: Chapman & Hall.

Doyle, W. (1986). Classroom organization and management. In M. Wittrock (Ed.), Handbook of Research on Teaching, NY: Macmillan.

Dresler-Hawke, E. (1999). Reconstructing the Past: Perceptions of the Holocaust and Positioning of German National Identity.

Duke, D. (1989). School organisation, leadership, and student behaviour. In O. Moles (Ed.), Strategies to Reduce Student Behaviour. Washington, D.C: US Department of Education.

Durkheim, E. [1897] (1952). Suicide. New York: Free Press.

Dweck, C. S. & Leggert, E. L. (1988). A social-cognitive appraoch to motivation and personality. Psychological Review, 95, 256-273.

Egan, S. K., & Perry, D. G. (1998). Does low self-regard invite victimization? Developmental Psychology, 34(2), 299-309.

Einfeld, M. (1998). Schools as a Microcosm of Society. Paper presented at Australian Council of State School Organizations, May 8, Canberra, ACT.

Elias, N. (1987). Involvement and detachment. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Emler, N., and Reicher, S. (1995). <u>Adolescence and Delinquency: The Collective Management of Reputation</u>. Oxford: Blackwell.

Evertson, C., & Emmer, E. (1982). Effective management at the beginning of the school year in junior high classes. <u>Journal of Educational Psychology</u>, 74, 485-498.

Farrington, D. P. (1993). Understanding and Preventing Bullying. In M. Tonry & N. Morris (Eds.), <u>Crime and Justice</u>, (17), University of Chicago Press.

Feather, N. T. (1975). <u>Values in education and society</u>. New York: Free Press.

Fine, E. S., Laccy, A., & Baer, J. (1995). <u>Children as Peacemakers</u>. Portsmouth, N. H.: Heinemann.

Folberg, J. & Taylor, A. (1984). <u>Mediation: A Comprehensive Guide to Resolving Conflict without Litigation</u>. San Francisco: Josey Bass.

Foucault, M. (1980). <u>Power/Knowledge: selected Interviews and other Writings</u>. C. Gordon, et al. (ed. & trans.). Sussex: Harvester, Hassocks.

Foucault, M. (1981). Questions of Method: An interview with Michel Foucault. <u>Ideology and Consciousness</u>, 8, 3-14.

Fullan, M. (1982). <u>The Meaning of Educational Change</u>. New York: Teacher's College.

Fromm, E. (1949). <u>Man for himself: An enquiry into the psychology of ethics</u>. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Garfalo, J., Seigel, L., & Laub, M. (1987). School-related victimization among adolescents: An analysis of National Crime Survey narratives. <u>Journal of Quantitative Criminology</u>, 3, 321-337.

Gentry, D. B. & Benenson, W. A. (1993). School-to-Home Transfer of Conflict Management Skills among School-age Children. <u>Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Human Services</u>, 4(2), 67-73.

Goleman, D. (1995). <u>Emotional Intelligence</u>. New York: Bantam.

Gottfredson, G. & Gottfredson, D. (1985). <u>Victimization in Schools</u>. New York: Plenum.

Gottfredson, D., Gottredson, G., & Hybl, L. (1993). Managing adolescent behaviour: a multiyear, multischool study. <u>American Educational Research Journal</u>, Spring (30/1), 179-215.

Gouldner, A. (1976). <u>The Dialectic of Ideology and Technology</u>. London: Macmillan.

Harder, D. W., & Lewis, S. J. (1986). The assessment of shame and guilt. In J.N. Butcher & C.D. Spielberger (Eds.), *Advances in personality assessment*, Vol. 6, (pp. 89-114). Hillside, NJ: Erlbaum.

Harris, J. R. (1999). The Nurture Assumption. New York: Touchstone Books.

Hayden, C. (1996). Primary exclusion: evidence for action. Educational Research, 38, 213-225.

Heusmann, L. R., Eron, L. D., Lefkowitz, M. M., & Walder L. O. (1984). Stability of aggression over time and generations. Developmental Psychology, (20), 1120-1134.

Heusmann, L. R., Lagerspetz, K., and Eron, L. D. (1984). Intervening variables in the TV violence-aggression relation: Evidence from two countries. Development Psychology, 20, 746-775.

Hinkle, W. G. & Henry, S. (2000). School Violence. CA: Sage

Hogan, R. (1973). Moral conduct and moral character: A psychological perspective. Psychological Bulletin, 1973, 79, 218-232.

Hughes, T. (1857). Tom Brown's School Days. London: Macmillan.

Hugo, G. (1999). Atlas of Australian People. 1996 Census. National Overview. University of Adelaide.

Hutchinson, F. P. (1996). Educating beyond violent futures. USA & Canada: Routledge.

Jenkins, J. (1994). Suspension support for children and youth with behaviour problems. In Tainsh, M., & Ezard, J. (Eds), Widening Horizons: New Challenges, directions, and achievements. Melbourne: ACER.

Jessor, R., & Jessor, S. (1977). Problem behaviour and psychological development: A longitudintal study of youth. University of Colorado Institute of Behaviour Science.

Johnson, D. W., & Johnson, R. T. (1995.) Reducing School Violence through Conflict Resolution. Alexandria, Virginia: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.

Johnson, D. W., & Johnson, R. T. (1995). Why violence prevention programs don't work- and what does? Educational Leadership. 52(5), 63-68

Johnson, D. W., Johnson, R., Cotton, B., Harris, D. & Louison, S.(1995). Using conflict managers to mediate conflicts in an inner-city elementary school. Mediation Quarterly, 12(4), 379-390.

Johnson, D. W., Johnson, R. & Dudley, B. (1992). Effects of peer mediation training on elementary school students. Mediation Quarterly 10(1), 89-99.

Kauffman, G. (1996). The psychology of shame: Theory and treatment of shame-based syndromes. (2nd ed.). New York: Springer.

Kauffman, G., & Raphael, L. (1990). Stick Up for Yourself! Every kid's guide to personal power and positive self-esteem. Pamela Espeland (Ed.). Hawker Brownlow Education.

Kauffman, G., & Raphael, L. (1991). Dynamics of Power: Fighting Shame and Building Self-Esteem. (2nd Ed.) Rochester, Vermont: Schenkman Books Inc.

Kluckhohn, C. K. M. (1951). Values and value orientations in the theory of action. In T. Parsons & E. Shils (Eds.), Toward a general theory of action (pp. 388-433). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Koh, A. C. E. (1998). The delinquent peer group: Social identity and self-categorization perspectives. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Australian National University, Australia.

Kohn, A. (1986). No Contest: The Case Against Competition. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Komiyama, K. (1986). A study of the background factors related to bullying among junior high school students. Reports of National Research Institute of Police Science, July, 27(1), 38-53.

Lansky, M. R. (1992). Fathers who fail: Shame and psychopathology in the family system. London: Hillsdale: The Analytic Press.

Larson, J. (1994). Violence prevention in the schools: A review of selected programs and procedures. School Psychology Review, 23(2), 151-164.

Lewin, K. (1946). Action research and minority problems. Journal of Social Issues, 2, 34-46.

Lewis, H. B. (1971). Shame and guilt in neurosis. New York: International University Press.

Lewis, H. B. (1981). Freud and modern psychology. Vol 1. The emotional basis of mental illness. New York: Plenum Press.

Lewis, H. B. (1983). Freud and modern psychology. Vol 2. The emotional basis of human behavior. New York: Plenum Press.

Lewis, H. B. (1987a). Shame and the narcissistic personality. In D. L. Nathanson (Ed.). The many faces of shame (pp. 93-132). New York: USA: Guilford Press.

Lewis, H. B. (1995). Shame, repression, field dependence and psychopathology. In J. L. Singer (Ed.), Repression an dissociation: Implication for personality theory, psychopathology and health. The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation series on mental health and development. (pp. 233-257). Chicago, Il, USA: University of Chicago Press.

Loh, D. (1999). Bully/Victim problems among 8 to 9 year old children: Their relationship with sociometric status and attitudes towards bullying. Unpublished Masters Dissertation, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh.

Lowenstein, L. F. (1978). Who is the bully? Bulletin of the British Psychological Society, 31, 147-149.

Lynd, H. M. (1958). On shame and the search for identity. N.Y.: Harcourt, Brace, and World.

Manning, M., Heron, J., Marshall, T. (1978)Styles of hostility and socialinteractions at nursery, at school and at home: an extended study of children. In L.A. Hersov, M. Berger, & D. Schaffer (Eds.), Aggression and Antisocial Behavior in Children and Adolescence, 29-58. Oxford: Pergamon.

Masters, G. (1998). Reintegrative shaming in theory and practice: thinking and feeling in criminology. Lancaster University: Department of Applied Social Sciences.

Maxwell, J. P. (1989). Mediation Quarterly, 7(2), 149-155.

McCord, J. (1991). Family relationships, juvenile delinquency and adult criminality. Criminology, (29), 397-417.

McDonald, J. M. and Moore, D. B. (in press). Community conferencing as a special case of conflict transformation. In J. Braithwaite and H. Strang (Eds.), Restorative Justice and Civil Society. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McKenzie, A. (1997). An evaluation of school community forums in New South Wales Schools. New South Wales Department of Education and Training.

McTaggart, R. (1991). Action Research: a short modern history. Geelong: Deakin University Press.

Mercy, J. A., & O'Carroll, P. W. (1988). New directions in violence prevention: the public health arena. Violence Vict, (3), 285-301.

Miller, S. (1994). 'Kids Learn about Justice by Mediating the disputes of Other Kids', in J. Wolowiec (ed.). Everybody Wins: Mediation in the Schools, pp. 2-5. Chicago, IL: American Bar Association.

Moffitt, T. E. (1993). Adolescence-limited and life-course-persistent antisocial behavior: A developmental taxonomy. Psychological Review, 100, 674-701.

Moloney, J. (1998). Buzzard Breath and Brains. Queensland: University of Queensland Press.

Moore, D. B., & O'Connell, T. A. (1994). Family Conferencing in Wagga Wagga: A Communitarian Model of Justice. In C. Alder and J. Wundersitz (eds.), Family Conferencing and Juvenile Justice: The Way Forward or Misplaced Optimism? (pp. 45-86). Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology.

Moore, D. B. & McDonald, J. M. (1998). TJA Community Conferencing Facilitator's Kit., Sydney.

Morrison, B. E. (1998). Social Cooperation: Re-defining the Self in Self-Interest. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Australian National University.

Morrison, B. E. (1999). Interdependence, the group and social cooperation: A new look at an old problem. In M. Foody, M. Smithson, S. Schneider, M. Hogg (Eds.), Resolving Social Dilemmas: Dynamic, Structural and Intergroup Aspects. Philadelphia: Psychology Press.

Morrison, B. E. (forthcoming). The School System: Developing its Capacity in the Regulation of a Civil Society. In J. Braithwaite and H. Strang (Eds.), Restorative Justice and Civil Society. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Morrison, B. E. (forthcoming). Responsive Regulation in Schools: Implementing restorative practices in ACT schools. Manuscript in preparation.

Morrison, B., & Reinhart, M. (in preparation). Teachers' attitudes to anti-bullying strategies: Do they reflect community views or policy makers?

Morrison, B. E., Ahmed, E., & Braithwaite, V. A. (1999). Expressions of Stigmatized versus Nonstigmatized shaming (ESNS). Life at School Survey: Parent questionnaire. Unpublished booklet, 12-14.

Morrison, B. E., Ahmed, E., & Braithwaite, V. (2000). Life at School Survey. Unpublished booklet.

Morrison, B., Braithwaite, V., & Ahmed, E. (1999) "Life at School Survey: Child Follow-up" and "Life at School Survey: Parent Follow-up". Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University.

Morrison, B., Braithwaite, V., & Ahmed, E. (forthcoming). Pride, respect and identity in bullying & victimization at school. Unpublished.

Mugford, S. (1995) Diversionary Conferencing: Conceptual and Theoretical Issues. Canberra: Australian National University. (unpublished paper)

Murphy, H. A., Hutchinson, J. M. & Baily, J. S. (1983). Behaviour school psychology goes outdoors: The effect of organized games on playground aggression. Journal of Applied Behaviour Analysis, 16, 29-35.

Nathanson, D. L. (1992). Shame and pride: Affect, sex and the birth of the self. New York: Norton.

National Crime Prevention (1999). Pathways to Prevention: Developmental and Early Intervention Approaches to Crime in Australia, Summary Volume, Attorney General's Department, Canberra.

Neary, A., & Joseph, S. (1994). Peer victimization and its relationship to self-concept and depression among school girls. Personality and Individual Differences, 16, 183-186.

O'Connell, T. (1995). Community Accountability Conferences: An Effective School based Strategy for Violence and Drug Matters. Unpublished discussion paper.

O'Connell, T. & Ritchie, J. (in press). Restorative Justice and the Contest Between the Relational and Institutional Paradigms. In J. Braithwaite and H. Strang (Eds.), Restorative Justice and Civil Society. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

O'Leary, J. (1999). School bullying 'could cost millions'. Times Newspapers Ltd.

Olweus, D. (1978). Aggression in the schools. Bullies and the whipping boys. New York, Wiley Series.

Olweus, D. (1980). Familial and temperamental determinants of aggressive behavior in adolescent boys: A causal analysis. Developmental Psychology, 16, 644-660.

Olweus, D. (1993). Bullying at school: How we know and what we can do. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Olweus, D. (1984). Aggressors and their victims: Bullying at school. In N. Frude & H. Gault (Eds.), Disruptive Behavior in the Schools (pp. 57-76). New York: Wiley.

Olweus, D. (1987). Bully/victim problems among school children in Scandinavia. In J.P. Myklebust & R. Ommundsen (Eds.), Psykologprofesjonen mot ar 2000, Universitetsforlaget, Oslo.

Olweus, D. (1991). Bully/victim problems among school children: Basic facts and Effects of a School Based Intervention Program. In K. Rubin & D. Pepler (Eds.), The Development and Treatment of Childhood Aggression (pp. 45-102). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Olweus, D. (1992). Bullying among children: Intervention and prevention. In R.D.V. Peters, R.J. McMahon, & V.L. Quinsey (Eds.), Aggression and violence throughout the life span (pp. 100-125). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Olweus, D. (1993). Bullying at school: What we know and what we can do. Oxford: Blackwell.

O'Moore, A. M. (1986). Bullying in Britian and Ireland: An overview. In E. Roland & E. Munthe (Eds.), Bullying: An International Perspective. London: Fulton.

O'Moore, A. M., & Hillery, B. (1991). What do teachers need to know? In M. Elliott (Ed.), Bullying: A practical guide to coping for schools (pp. 56-69). Harlow: Longman, UK.

Orne, M. (1962). On the social psychology of the psychological experiment: with particular reference to demand characteristics and their implications. American Psychologist, 17, 776-83.

Patterson, G. R. (1986). The contribution of siblings to training for fights: A microsocial analysis. In D. Olweus, J. Broke & M. RandkeYarrow (Eds.), Development of antisocial and prosocial beaviour: Research, Theories and Issues. New York: Academic Press.

Pepler, D. J & Rubin, K. H. (1991). The development and treatment of childhood aggression. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Pepler, D. J. & Craig, W. (1997). Bullying: Research and Interventions. Youth Update. Publication of the Institute for the Study of Antisocial Youth.

Pepler, D. J., Craig, W., O'Connell, P., Connonly, J., Atlas, R., Sidigdeilami, F., Smith, C. & Kent, D. (1997). Prevalence of bullying and victimization among Canadian elementary and middle school children

Pranis, K. (2000). Empathy development in youth through restorative practices. Public Service Psychology, 25(2).

Prothrow-Stith, D., (1993). Deadly Consequences: How Violence is Destroying our Teenage Population. Harper: Perennial.

Retzinger, S. M. (1991). Violent Emotions. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Retzinger, S.M. (1996). Shame and the social bond. In D. Parker, R. Dalziel & I. Wright (Eds.), Shame and the modern self (pp. 6-20). Victoria: Australian Scholarly Publishing.

Retzinger, S. M., & Scheff, T. J. (1995). Strategy for community conferences: emotions & social bonds.

Retzinger, S. M., & Scheff, T.J. (1996). Stratgey for community conferences: Emotions and social bonds. In B. Galaway & J. Hudson (Eds.), Restorative justice: International perspectives. Monsey, New York: Criminal Justice Press.

Rican, P., Klicperova, M., & Koucka, T. (1993). Families of Bullies and Their Victims: A Children's View. Studia Psychologica, 35(3), 261-266.

Rigby, K. (1993). School children's perceptions of their families and parents as a function of peer relations. Journal of Genetic Psychology, 154(4), 501-513.

Rigby, K. (1994). Psychosocial functioning in families of Australian adolescent school children involved in bully victim problems. Journal of Family Therapy, 16, 173-187.

Rigby, K. (1995). New thinking about bullying in schools. Independent Education, 25(2), 3-5.

Rigby, K. (1996). Bullying in schools: What to do about it. Australian Council for Education Research Limited: Melbourne.

Rigby, K. (1998). The relationship between reported health and involvement in bully/victim problems among male and female secondary school students. Journal of Health Psychology, 3(4), 465-476.

Rigby, K. (1999). Bullying – no way!...a commentary. Educational Views, March 26.

Rigby, K., Cox, I., & Black, G. (1997). Cooperativeness and bully/victim problems among Australian school children. The Journal of Social Psychology, 137(3), 357-368.

Rigby, K., & Slee, P. T. (1993). Dimensions of interpersonal relation among Australian children and implications for psychological well-being. Journal of Social Psychology, 133 (1), 33-42.

Robins, L. (1966). Deviant Children Grown Up. Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins.

Roethlisberger, F. J., & Dickson, W. J. (1939). Management and the worker. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Rokeach. M. (1973). The nature of human values. New York: Free Press.

Rosenthal, R. (1966). Experimenter effects in behavioral research. New York: Appleton.

Ross, D. M. (1996). Childhood bullying and teasing: What school personnel, other professionals, and parents can do. Alexandria, VA, USA.

Salminvalli, C., Lagerspetz, K., Bjorkqvist, K., Osterman, K., & Kaukiainen, A. (1996) . Bullying as a group process: Participant roles and their relations to social status within the group. Aggressive Behaviour, 22, 1-15.

Sandford, N. (1970). Whatever happened to action research? Journal of Social Issues. 26 (4), 3-23.

Scheff, T. J. (1987). The shame-rage spiral: A case study of an interminable quarrel. In H. B. Lewis (Ed.), The role of shame in symptom formation. (pp. 109-149). Hillsdale, NJ, USA: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Scheff, T. J. (1994). Bloody revenge: Emotions, nation and war. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

Scheff, T. J., & Retzinger, S. M. (1991). Emotions and violence: Shame and rage in destructive conflicts. Lexington, MA, USA: Lexington Bookds/D. C. Heath and Company.

Scheff, T. J., & Retzinger, S. (1995). Strategy for Community Conferences: Emotions and Social Bonds.

Schneider, C. D. (1977). Shame, exposure, and privacy. N.Y.: USA: W. W. Norton and Co, Inc.

Schorr, L. B. (1997). Common Purpose: strengthening families and neighborhoods to rebuild America. Anchor books Doubleday, New York.

Schumacher, E. (1977). A guide for the perplexed. London: Jonathon Cape.

Schwartz, S. H., & Bilsky, W. (1987). Toward a universal psychological structure of human values. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 53, 550-562.

Scott, W. A. (1965). Values and organizations: A study of fraternities and sororities. Chicago: Rand McNally.

Slee, P. T. (1995). Peer victimization and its relationship to depression among Australian primary school students. Personality and Individual Differences, 18(1), 57-62.

Slee, P. T. & Ford, D. C. (1999). Bullying is a serious issue – it is a crime! Australia & New Zealand Journal of Law & Education, 4(1), 23-39.

Slee, P. T., & Rigby, K. (1993). The relationship of Eysenck's personality factors and self esteem to bully-victim behavior in Australian schoolboys. Personality and Individual Differences, 14(2), 371-373.

Smith, M. B. (1963). Personal values in the study of lives. In R. W. White (Ed), The study of lives (pp. 324-347). New York: Atherton Press.

Sorokin, P.A. (1962). Social and cultural dynamics, Vol. 1. New York: Bedminster Press

Soutter, A. & McKenzie, M. (1998). The Evaluation of the dispute resolution project in Australian Secondary Schools. School Psychology International. 19(4), 307-316.

Soutter, A. & McKenzie, M. (2000). The use and effects of anti-bullying and anti-harassment policies in Australian schools. School Psychology International. 21(1), 96-104.

Staples, S. (2000). Violence: Rage against a broken world. In W.G. Hinkle & S. Henry (Eds.), School Violence. CA: Sage.

Stephenson, P. & Smith, D. (1989). Bullying in two English comprehensive schools. In E. Roland and E. Munthe (Eds.), Bullying: An International Perspective. London: Fulton.

Strang, H. (2000). Victim participation in a restorative justice process: the Canberra Reintegrative Shaming Experiments. Unpublished doctoral disseration, Australian National University, Canberra.

Strang, H., Barnes, G. C., Braithwaite, J., & Sherman, L. (1999). Experiments in restorative policing: A progress report on the Canberra Reintegrative Shaming Experiments (RISE). Canberra: Law Program, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University.

Strang, H. & Braithwaite, J. (forthcoming). Restorative Justice and Civil Society. Cambridge University Press.

Strassberg, Z., Dodge, K. a., Pettit, G. S., & Bates, J. E. (1994). Spanking at home and Children's Subsequent Aggression Towards Kindergarten Peers. Development and Psychopathology, 6(3), 445-461.

Straus, M. A., Gelles, R. J., & Steinmetz, S. K. (1981). Behind closed doors: Violence in the American family. NY: Anchor Books.

Sugai, G. (1996). Providing effectiv behavior support to all students: Procedures and processes. SAIL, 11(1), 1-4.

Sutton, J, Smith, P. K., Swettenham, J. (1999). Bullying and 'Theory of Mind': A critique of the 'Social Skills Deficit' view of anti-social behavior. Social Development, 8(1), 117 – 127).

Tajfel, H. (1977). The social dimension, volume 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An intergrative theory of intergroup conflicts. In W.G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), The social psychology of intergroup realtions. Monterey: Brooks/Cole.

Tangney, J. P. (1990). Assessing individual differences in proneness to shame and guilt: Development of the self-conscious affect and attribution inventory. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 59, 102-111.

Tangney, J. P. (1993). Shame and guilt. In C. G. Costello (Ed.), Symptoms of depression. (pp. 161-180). New York, NY, USA: John Wiley & Sons.

Tangney, J. P., Wagner, P., Fletcher, C., & Gramzow, R. (1992b). Shamed into anger? The relation of shame and guilt to anger and self-reported aggression. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 62, 669-675.

Tattum, D. P., Tattum, E., & Herbert, G. (1993). Bullying in Secondary Schools (video and resource pack). Drake Educational Associates, Cardiff.

Tavuchis, N. (1991). Mea Culpa: A Sociology of Apology and Reconciliation. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Tomkins, S. S. (1987). Script Theory. In Aronoff, J., Rabin, A.I., & Zucker, R.A. (Eds), The Emergence of Personality, New York: Springer.

Tomkins, S. S. (1987). Shame. In D.L. Nathanson (Ed.), The many faces of shame (pp. 133-161). New York, NY, USA: Guilford Press.

Tremblay, R. E., McCord, J., & Boileau, H. (1992). Early disruptive behaviour, poor school achievement, delinquent behaviour and deliquent personality: a longitudinal analysis. Journal Consult Clinical Psychology, (60), 64-72.

Tremblay, R. E., & Craig, W. M. (1995). Developmental crime prevention. Crime Justice, (19), 151-236.

Trevaskis, D. K. (1994). Mediation in Schools. University of South Maine. ERIC Digest ED 378108.

Troy, M., & Sroufe, L. A. (1987). Victimization among preschoolers: Role of attachment relationship history. Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, 26, 166-172.

Turner, F. (1995). Shame, beauty and the tragic view of history. American Behavioral Scientist, 38(8), 1060-1075.

Turner, J. C. (1996). Henri Tajfel: An introduction. In W. P. Robinson (Ed.), <u>Social Groups and Identities: Developing the Legacy of Henri Tajfel</u>. Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann.

Turner, J. C., Hogg, M. A., Oakes, P. J., Reicher, S. D., & Wetherell, M. S. (1987). <u>Rediscovering the social group: A self-categorization theory</u>. New York: Basil Blackwell, Inc.

Tutu, D. (1999). <u>No Future Without Forgiveness</u>. London: Rider.

Tyler, T. R. (1998). Why people co-operate with organizations: An identity-based perspective. In B. M. Staw & R. Sutton (Eds.) <u>Research in organizational behavior</u>. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Van Ness, D. (1986). <u>Crime and its victims: What we can do</u>. Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press.

Wachtel, T. (2000). In H. Strang and Braithwaite (eds), <u>Restorative justice and civil society.</u>

Wachtel, T. (in press). Restorative Justice in Everyday Life: Beyond the Formal Ritual. In J. Braithwaite and H. Strang (Eds.), <u>Restorative Justice and Civil Society</u>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Walker, H. M., Colvin, G. and Ramsey, E. (1995). <u>Anti-Social Behaviour at School: Strategy and Best Practices</u>. Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks Cole Publishing Company.

Weber, M. (1946). Politics as a vocation. In H.H. Gerth & C. Wright Mills (Eds.), <u>From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology</u> (pp. 77-128). New York: Oxford University Press.

Welsh, W.N. (2000). Effects of school climate on school disorder. In W.G. Hinkle & S. Henry (Eds.), <u>School Violence</u>. CA: Sage

Wilcox, T., Brigham, F., & Nicolai, B. (1998). Increasing Self-Discipline with the ABC Event Frame. <u>Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals</u>, 82, 16-24.

Wilkins, R. (1993). Training children and adolescents in the skills of interpersonal conflict resolution: A developmental theory and training strategy. In D. Evans, M. Myhill and J. Izard (Eds.), <u>Student Behaviour Problems: Positive Initiatives and New Frontiers</u>. Selected papers from the 1993 National Conference on Student Behaviour Problems. Hawthorn, Vic: ACER.

Williams, K., Chambers, M., Logan, S. & Robinson, D. (1996). Association of common health symptoms with bullying in primary school children. <u>British Medical Journal</u>, 313, 17-19.

Wolfgang, M., Figlio, R., & Sellin, T. (1972). <u>Delinquency in a birth cohort</u>. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Worchel, S., Cooper, J., & Goethals, G. R. (1988). <u>Understanding social psychology</u>. Chicago: The Dorsey Press.

Yoshikawa, H. (1994). Prevention as cumulative protection: effects of early family support and education on chronic delinquency and its risks. Psychological Bulletin, (115), 28-54.

Zehr, H. (1990). Changing Lenses: A new focus for criminal justice. Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press.

Zoccolillo, M. (1992). Co-occurrence of conduct disorder and its adult outcomes with depressive and anxiety disorders: A review. Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry, 31, 973-981.

- Appendix -

APPENDIX 3

Research methodology

Participants

The 1996 data involved the participation of 978 students and one parent. The students (45.5% boys and 55.5% girls) were enrolled in the 4th through 7th grades of primary schools in the ACT. Of these 978 families, 581 families (59.40%) agreed to participate in the follow-up survey. Of the 581 families who agreed to participate in the follow-up survey, 368 families (63.3%) returned their questionnaires. The 36.7% attrition rate was due to a number of reasons: 19% could not be contacted at follow-up; 7% did not return the questionnaires as promised; 6.5% changed their minds and declined to participate in the follow-up; and 4.2% were not included for other reasons. No significant differences were evident between those who participated in the follow-up and those who did not, in terms of a range of demographic characteristics (child's sex, age, grade, language spoken at home, parent's employment status and education level) and bullying / victimization experiences. However, they did differ in term of the child's ethnicity: Australian parents were more likely to take part than the non-Australian parents.

Method

Measures were collected from parents and children independently at each time point through the Life at School Survey (see Ahmed et al., forthcoming).

Grouping children into their bullying status

For the purpose of grouping children into whether and how they relate to bullying/victimization, the adopted classification procedure was identical to that used in the initial study (see Ahmed et al., forthcoming). Briefly, the act of bullying/victimization had to be unprovoked. In other words, if the intention behind the bullying act was to cause distress, and not to get even or to defend oneself, it was considered bullying. Similarly, the victimization classification was applicable only to those incidences which took place when the victim did not do something hurtful to someone.

Following such a strategy, provoked bully/victim was excluded. The four categories of bullying status discussed in this chapter were as follows:

(1) The 'non-bully/non-victim' group had neither bullied others nor were victims of bullying.

(2) The 'victim' group had been victimized without provocation and had never bullied anyone.

(3) The 'bully' group had never been victimized but had bullied others, alone or in a group, without provocation.

(4) The 'bully/victim' group both bullied others and were bullied themselves without provocation.

The MOSS-SASD (Management of Shame State: Shame Acknowledgment and Shame Displacement) Bullying Scenarios

1. Imagine that you are walking along the corridor at school and you see another student. You put your foot out and trip the student. Then you realize that the class teacher has just come into the corridor and saw what you did.

2. Imagine that you have been making rude comments about a student's family. You find out that your class teacher heard what you said.

3. Imagine that a younger student is going to the canteen to buy something. You grab his/her money. You warn the student not to tell or else. Then you realize that your class teacher saw you and heard what you said.

4. Imagine that you are left in the classroom alone with a student. You think that the teacher has gone and so you start teasing the student. Then you realize that the teacher is still in the classroom.

Children were asked to agree or disagree with the following question items:

*1 Would you feel ashamed of yourself?

*2 Would you feel like blaming yourself for what happened?

*3 Would you feel like making the situation better?

+4 Would you feel like blaming others for what happened?

+5 Would you be unable to decide if you were to blame?

+6 Would you feel like getting back at [that student]?

+7 Would you feel like throwing or kicking something?

The above items were scored 1 if children answered 'no' and 2 if they answered 'yes'. Responses were averaged across the 4 scenarios. The Shame Acknowledgment scale comprised the average of 3 items (marked as *) and the Shame Displacement scale comprised the average of 4 items (marked as +).

APPENDIX 4

Table 4.4: Predicting relational strategies from values and from the experiences that parents have had with bullying through their child

Predictors	r	Model 1 (β)	Model 2 (β)
Harmony values (1996)	.41**	.38**	.36**
Security values (1996)	.20**	.09	.08
Safe school (child report 1999)	-.16**		-.09
Bullies can change to be good citizens (1999)	.06		.04
Child has been accused of being a bully (1999)	-.02		-.07
Child has been bullied (1999)	.15**		.12*
R^2		.17**	.20**
Change in R^2		.17**	.03*
Adjusted R^2		.17**	.18**

** $p < .01$

* $p < .05$

Table 4.5: Predicting punitive strategies from values and from the experiences that parents have had with bullying through their child

Predictors	r	Model 1 (β)	Model 2 (β)
Harmony values (1996)	-.11	-.20**	-.18**
Security values (1996)	.29**	.35**	.34**
Safe school (child report 1999)	.07		.10
Bullies can change to be good citizens (1999)	-.17**		-.14*
Child has been accused of being a bully (1999)	-.04		-.03
Child has been bullied (1999)	.04		.04
R^2		.12**	.15**
Change in R^2		.12**	.03*
Adjusted R^2		.12**	.13**

** p < .01

* p < .05

Description of measures

(a) Relational strategies are measured through adding together responses to the following strategies listed in Table 4.1. When these scores were added and divided by the number of items in the scale, the mean scale score was 3.54 (standard deviation = .60). The alpha reliability coefficient was .81.

(b) Punitive strategies are measured through adding together responses to the strategies listed in Table 4.2. When these scores were added and divided by the number of items in the scale, the mean scale score was 3.54 (standard deviation = .92). The alpha reliability coefficient was .75.

(c) Harmony values were measured by a scale comprising the following items: (i) a good life for others, (ii) rule by the people, (iii) international cooperation, (iv) social progress and social reform, (v) a world at peace, (vi) a world of beauty, (vii) human dignity, (viii) equal opportunity for all, (ix) greater economic equality, (x) preserving the natural environment. Scores were added and divided by the number of items in the scale. The scale mean was 5.84 and standard deviation .66. The alpha reliability coefficient was .84

(d) Security values were measured by a scale comprising the following items: (a) national greatness, (b) reward for individual effort, (c) national security, (d) the rule of law, (e) national economic development. Scores were added and divided by the number of items in the scale. The scale mean was 5.19 and standard deviation 1.00. The alpha reliability coefficient was .84.

(e) The safe school scale was computed from children's responses to the following questions: (a) How often would you say that bullying happens at these places at school? (i) in the classroom, (ii) at recess/lunch, (iii) going to school, (iv) on the way home; (b) In your view, is this school a safe place for young people who find it hard to defend themselves from attack

from other students? (c) Do you think that teachers at this school are interested in trying to stop bullying? The mean was 2.41, standard deviation .41, and alpha reliability coefficient .67.

(f) The bullies can change question was "What do you think are the chances of changing children who bully others into good citizens in the school: 10%, 25%, 50%, 75% or 90% chance? The mean score was 53.31 with a standard deviation of 23.40.

(g) Having a child who has been accused of bullying was measured through a single question, "How often has your child been accused of being a bully?" The response categories were "several times" (scored 4 for this analysis), "more than once" (3), "once" (2), and "never" or "don't know" (1). 16% of parents had a child who had been accused of bullying at least "once".

(h) Having a child who has been bullied was measured through a single question, "How often is your child bullied by another student or group of students?" Response categories ranged from "most days" (scored 6 for this analysis) to "never" or "don't know" (1). 55% of parents had a child who had been bullied at least "every now and again".

APPENDIX 7

School safety: (4 point scale: 1 = It is never safe for them; 4 = Yes, it is a safe place for them)
In your view, is the school a safe place for young people who find it hard to defend themselves from attack from other students?

Pre-program: M = 2.39 (SD = .55)   Post-program: M = 3.0 (SD = .50)   t = 3.72 (p .001)

Identification: (4 point scale: 1 = Disagree a lot; 4 = Agree a lot)
Four items were used to measure identification (alpha = .92):
1. I really like being a student at my school.
2. I feel very comfortable at school.
3. I feel very satisfied going to school each day.
4. Going to school makes me very happy.

Pre-program: M = 2.39 (SD = .55)   Post-program: M = 3.0 (SD = .50)   t = 3.72 (p .001)

Pride: (4 point scale: 1 = Disagree a lot; 4 = Agree a lot)
Three items were used to measure the pride dimension of identification (alpha = .85):
1. I feel very proud of being a student at my school.
1. What my school expects from me is clear to me.
2. often speak proudly about being a student at my school.

Pre-program: M = 2.39 (SD = .55)   Post-program: M = 3.0 (SD = .50)   t = 3.72 (p .001)

Respect: (4 point scale: 1 = Disagree a lot; 4 = Agree a lot)
Three items were used to measure the respect dimension of identification (alpha = .91):
1. I feel valued and respected as a student at my school.
2. At school I am listened to when I have something to say.
3. I feel good about how I am treated at school.

Pre-program: M = 2.39 (SD = .55)   Post-program: M = 3.0 (SD = .50)   t = 3.72 (p .001)