

“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**

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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 individual well-being and institutional stability.

### 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 give 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. Children need an environment where others will respect them for trying and will be understanding and sympathetic; they need to operate under harmony trust norms.

School performance

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 influences our behaviour (Worchel, Cooper, & Goethals, 1988). In this section of the chapter, we will argue that learning new skills and performing old skills are suited to different kinds of institutional space. In particular, the learning of new skills needs to take place in "safe" space where it is okay to admit mistakes and try out new ways of doing things. We believe that this "safe" space is provided by harmony values and harmony trust norms.

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 for at least a short period of time? 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 within a harmony value system

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). John Braithwaite (1989) has developed a theory of reintegrative shaming to explain how disapproval can be expressed by a community towards one of its members with maximum effectiveness. Often 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 in the previous chapter. According to Ahmed (Ahmed, Harris, Braithwaite, & Braithwaite, forthcoming), 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 an environment where we feel safe, 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. This is most likely to occur in institutional space that is defined by harmony values of cooperation, forgiveness, understanding and support; and where the trust norms are

about understanding the other 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. They put the problem, the injustice, in the centre of the circle rather than the wrongdoer. First, they discuss what happened, then what harm has been 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. 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.

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-playing 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 <sup>a</sup>	62		
Meetings that ensure bullies commit to changing their behaviour	81	72	77
Consulting with students to develop policy guidelines <sup>b</sup>	79	64	67
Consulting with parents to develop policy guidelines <sup>c</sup>		48	50
Workshops/classes on democratic decision making <sup>c</sup>		42	56
Meetings about bullying between staff and parents <sup>c</sup>		63	72
Conflict resolution classes within the school curriculum <sup>c</sup>		64	75
Peer mediation programs within the school <sup>c</sup>		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 <sup>a</sup>	91	71	77	
Immediate “time-out” for any student who has been caught bullying <sup>b</sup>		75		70

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

b Question was used in 1999 but not in 1996.

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.

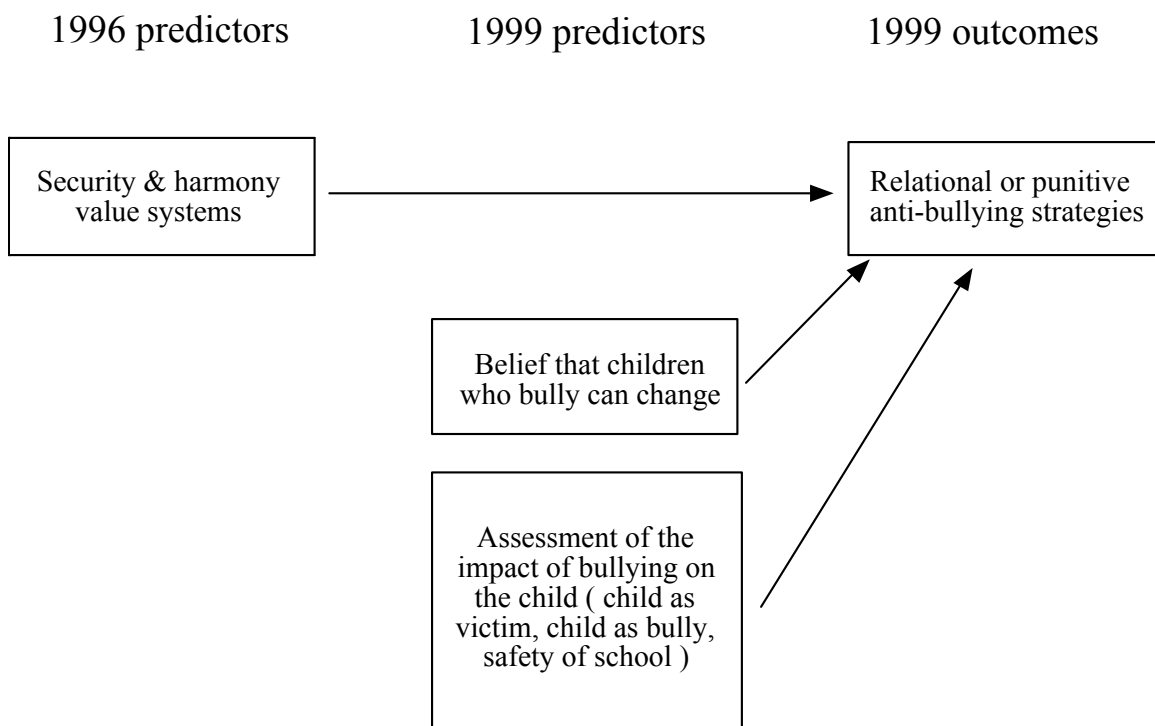


Figure 4.1: A model predicting support for anti-bullying strategies in the school



The measures that we used to test this model and the details of the analyses are presented in the Appendix 4.1. The findings, however, 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 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.

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 (2000) 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.

## Appendix

Table 4.4: Predicting relational strategies from values and from the experiences that parents have had with bullying through their child

Predictors	<i>r</i>	Model 1 ( $\beta$ )	Model 2 ( $\beta$ )
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*
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>			
		.17**	.20**
Change in <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>			
		.17**	.03*
Adjusted <i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>			
		.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	<i>r</i>	Model 1 ( $\beta$ )	Model 2 ( $\beta$ )
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
<hr/>		
$R^2$	.12**	.15**
Change in $R^2$	.12**	.03*
Adjusted $R^2$	.12**	.13**
<hr/>		

\*\*  $p < .01$

\*  $p < .05$

#### 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”.

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