

‘Stop it, that’s enough’: Bystander intervention and its relationship to school connectedness and shame management

Eliza Ahmed*

Regulatory Institutions Network, The Australian National University, Canberra, Australia

(Received 19 June 2006; final form 20 February 2008)

Bystanders are an invaluable source of information about school bullying. Anti-bullying efforts to deliver justice are hampered if bystanders remain reluctant to discourage bullying; but given that bystanders who intervene to prevent bullying may be at increased risk of retaliation, why would they do so? This study aims to answer what promotes bystander intervention in the context of school bullying using a restorative justice approach. Data were collected through the Cross-national School Behaviour Research Project from 1,452 secondary school students (49% girls) in grades 7–10 in Bangladesh. Students who scored higher on school connectedness were more likely to intervene. High shame acknowledgement (accepting responsibility, making amends) and low shame displacement (blaming or hitting out at others) were also significant predictors of intervening in bullying. Regression analysis indicates that school connectedness compensates for the adverse effect of non-adaptive shame management (low acknowledgement and high displacement) on bullying prevention. Under a ‘whole-of-school’ approach, bystanders who can be referred to as ‘soft targets’ are moved more easily by a sense of collective shame/guilt and responsibility than ‘hard targets’ (such as bullies) whose emotional shell protects them from being ashamed/guilty. Establishing an ethical climate within schools that encourages a culture of mutual respect, shared responsibility and social inclusion may be a positive step towards promoting bystander intervention.

Keywords: bystander intervention; restorative justice; bullying; shame management; social inclusion

Introduction

Bystanders are an invaluable source of information about school bullying. Anti-bullying efforts to deliver justice are hampered if bystanders remain reluctant to discourage bullying; but, given that bystanders who intervene to prevent bullying may risk retaliation, why would they do so? This study aims to answer what promotes bystander intervention in the context of school bullying by considering two principles of restorative justice: school connectedness and adaptive shame management.

The bullying problem and restorative justice

Bullying has taken on epidemic proportions in schools worldwide, which poses a threat to the community at large. The estimated rates of bullying and victimization range from 10% to 25% in Australia (Rigby & Johnson, 2004), Austria (Klicpera & Klicpera, 1996), Bangladesh

*Emails: eliza.ahmed@deewr.gov.au, eliza.ahmed@anu.edu.au

(Ahmed & Braithwaite, 2006), Canada (Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991), England (Wolke, Woods, Schulz, & Stanford, 2001), Finland (Kumpulainen & Rasanen, 2000), Germany (Wolke et al., 2001), South Korea (Shin, 2006) and the United States (Nansel et al., 2001).

It is well established that bullying among children occurs as a result of both emotional and social drift away from significant others (Ahmed, Harris, Braithwaite, & Braithwaite, 2001; Shields & Cicchetti, 2001). Longitudinal studies demonstrate that bullies are at increased risk of becoming involved in delinquency/crime, and they continue to experience social problems such as high moral disengagement accompanied by low shame/guilt (Farrington, 1993; Kaltiala-Heino, Rimpelä, Rantanen, & Rimpelä, 2000; Ahmed, 2006). Victims are at increased risk of poor mental health. They are more likely to feel shame with self-blame and self-hatred (Ahmed, 2006), and experience depression, low self-esteem and social exclusion (Kaltiala-Heino et al., 2000; Kumpulainen & Rasanen, 2000; Schwartz, 2000).

The restorative justice approach seems attractive in this context because of its relational component. Restorative justice can be understood as a response to wrongdoing, conflict or crime that makes things as right as possible for all those affected, directly or indirectly, by the mishap. In the school context, restorative justice principles include (i) empowering victims, (ii) encouraging bullies to arrive at expected resolutions through making amends and being accountable for the wrongdoing and (iii) reconciliation of both bullies and victims. Such an approach has already been used in addressing school bullying, and recognized nationally and internationally as a successful evidenced-based bullying prevention programme (Cameron & Thorsborne, 2001; McNeely, Nonnemaker, & Blum, 2002; Canberra Times, 2007).

The ways in which bystanders behave is particularly important if restorative justice is to reduce bullying occurrences effectively. Restorative justice aims to create and strengthen community members' accountability, thereby building the capacity for collective management of bullying behaviour. An important part of such capacity is having witnesses who will speak up against bullying. However, their efforts to protect the victims of bullying may have negative repercussions: they may become victims themselves. A restorative approach does not deny that possibility. The approach acknowledges and addresses the danger to bystanders by inclusiveness as efforts are directed to building a culture of mutual respect and shared responsibility. The message is that the bystander stands with the school community and the school community does not tolerate bullying.

The phenomenon of bystander intervention

In any bullying episode, at least two parties are involved: the bully and the victim. In most cases (85%), however, a third party—the witness or bystander (Craig & Pepler, 1995)—is involved who can participate by either encouraging the bullying through verbal support, or staying silent and not taking either side, or coming forward and trying actively to stop the bullying. Given that defenders intervene on behalf of the victim in only 25% of cases (O'Connell, Pepler, & Craig, 1999), participation of bystanders in anti-bullying programmes has recently been considered necessary and valuable (Salmilvali, 1999; Rigby & Johnson, 2004), and empirical studies of bystander intervention are now being undertaken.

Intervening in bullying effectively requires behavioural competence. It involves knowing what to do when witnessing a bullying episode and being able to do it. It can be understood as a responsible behaviour motivated primarily to protect the victim(s), to enhance the welfare of the victim(s) and to promote a safe and respectful school environment. It may arise out of empathy for the victim, but it involves something more. It requires active involvement in a bullying situation by coming forward and initiating action to stop those engaged. Feeling empathy may not be enough to motivate a bystander to come forward and combat bullying. To intervene, one

needs to be backed up and well equipped with (a) a ‘safe school’ culture, (b) a sense of responsibility beyond oneself, (c) the capacity to regulate one’s own behaviour and (d) the capacity to regulate effectively others’ behaviour in a challenging situation.

The school bullying literature includes a growing number of studies that look at bullying and victimization experiences. Few studies (Salmilvalli, 1999; Rigby & McLaughlin, 2005) have examined bullying from the perspective of bystanders, and accordingly we know little about it.

In the psychological literature, studies of group violence include theoretical works on the role of bystanders in safeguarding human rights; for example, acting to prevent genocide (Staub, 2000). In explaining why some bystanders remain passive, Staub argues that bystanders do not see themselves necessarily as moral agents responsible for the welfare of the victims. In researching the social psychology of bystander behaviour, Staub has emphasized the importance of a society promoting positive mutual connections among its members. This, of course, requires a society to be secure and trustworthy in the first place. Accounts of the important roles played by moral engagement and social connectedness in bystander intervention are echoed in the work on school bullying reviewed below.

School connectedness and bystander intervention

School connectedness is a sense of belonging to a school that represents ‘oneness’ or a sense of interconnected identities (Cialdini, Brown, Lewis, Luce, & Neuberg, 1997). Belonging is recognized as being essential for psychological and physiological health (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). When students feel emotionally close to their school they are likely to become an active agent in the school community, displaying an adherence to the standards and norms of the school.

Theories of social bonding (Hirschi, 1969) have served as a foundation for studies of school liking and social competence in children (Agnew, 1985). These studies have extended the study of attachment in directions anticipated by early attachment theorists. Empirical evidence of a relationship between school connectedness and an array of socio-emotional competencies is relatively well documented. Researchers often find that students who feel connected to their school are more likely to achieve higher grades (Finn & Rock, 1997), and to become more engaged through taking responsibility and feeling remorse for any harm done (Ahmed et al., 2001). They are also less likely to display behavioural problems, such as bullying and harassment (Eisenberg, Neumark-Sztainer, & Perry, 2003). A considerable body of research has documented a relationship between school disengagement and risky behaviours such as smoking, substance abuse, delinquency and other gang-related activities (Agnew, 1985).

Recognizing that school connectedness is a significant factor for behavioural competence, the present study sets out to assess the relationship between school connectedness and a specific behavioural competence – intervene in bullying. As social connectedness brings people together and promotes commitment and conformity to conventional norms (Hirschi, 1969), it should increase students’ social and moral responsiveness to bullying. Previous research suggests that students who feel close to their school are also likely to be more tolerant and respectful of interpersonal differences, and therefore more motivated to prevent bullying. It is hypothesized that the more connected students feel to their school, the more involved they are in bullying intervention (Hypothesis 1).

Shame management and bystander intervention

Shame management is expected to be an important factor for bystanders. Those who defend against bullying are likely to be guided by an ethical stance that decries bullying and an internal

regulatory system that triggers feelings of shame/guilt at the thought of not intervening in bullying. Shame management also seems an important factor for bystanders who do not defend against bullying. Passive bystanders may have an ethical stance that favours intervention, but they may not have appropriate internal regulatory processes to act on their beliefs. They may blame others and find reasons not to accept personal responsibility to act to help prevent the bullying. Such bystanders would be expected to sidestep feelings of shame or guilt.

According to shame management theory (Ahmed et al., 2001), shame/guilt is an emotion that we feel when we breach a social and/or moral standard. We use shame management strategies to rationalize wrongdoings which threaten our ethical identity; that is, our sense of who we are and how we want to regulate our behaviour. The theory holds that individuals who do not acknowledge shame and responsibility, who do not feel remorse for harming others, are less likely to form constructive interpersonal relationships.

The theory has been developed through empirical work across cultures (Braithwaite, Ahmed, Morrison, & Reinhart, 2003; Ahmed & Braithwaite, 2006; Shin, 2006; Ttofi & Farrington, 2008) which has identified two styles of shame management: shame acknowledgement and shame displacement. Shame acknowledgement is an admission that what has happened is wrong and shameful, and involves expressing remorse. Shame displacement takes the form of blaming others for the wrong and expressing anger towards them. According to the theory, individuals who acknowledge shame and accept personal responsibility will refrain from wrongdoing because they have considered the harmful consequences and taken steps to avoid them in the future. In contrast, dismissing shame feelings by blaming others will leave wrongdoing unresolved because personal action is dissociated from its consequences. Several studies have demonstrated that high shame acknowledgement (admitting shame and wrongdoing, taking responsibility and making amends for the wrongdoing) and low shame displacement (anger, blaming and other externalizing reactions) are associated with lower levels of rule violation (Braithwaite et al., 2003; Ahmed, 2006; Ahmed & Braithwaite, 2006; Morrison, 2006; Ttofi & Farrington, 2008). In other studies, moral emotions such as shame and guilt have been linked positively to victim-orientated empathic concern, self-control and helping behaviour, whereas their absence (blame, unresolved shame and anger) has been related positively to impulsive and antisocial behaviour (Batson, Early, & Salvarani, 1997; Harris, 2001).

The self-regulatory mechanism (of shame management) has very interesting applications to understanding bystander intervention in the bullying context. It is expected that the capacity to manage shame adaptively would increase the likelihood of bystanders defending victims. There are three reasons for such an expectation.

First, bystanders with adaptive shame management skills would be more likely to view the bullying incident as unjust and a shameful act, and thus feel more of an impetus to help the victim. Secondly, they would be ashamed of being seen to be passive in the situation, and would take proactive responsibility to do something constructive. Thirdly, bystanders with adaptive shame management skills would not fear the embarrassment of negative evaluations from peers who viewed them as acting against the informal social norm by supporting a 'loser' or one perceived as 'weird'. While peer evaluation may pose a threat to a bystander's ethical identity, adaptive shame management skills provide the resilience to overcome any such feelings of stigma.

If these suppositions are correct, the following hypotheses should be supported by the data: bystanders who acknowledge shame and accept responsibility would be more likely to intervene in bullying (Hypothesis 2) and bystanders who displace shame and anger would be less likely to intervene in bullying (Hypothesis 3).

In addition, it seems likely that school connectedness, apart from having a direct main effect on bystander intervention, may compensate for the absence of adaptive shame management skills among bystanders. In the case of bystanders who do not have the capacity to manage shame/guilt well, it is possible that their feelings of school connectedness would buffer against shame/guilt by fostering a sense of collective responsibility to further school community wellbeing. This assumption will be tested by examining the interaction between shame management skills and school connectedness. When shame acknowledgement is low, school connectedness protects against the negative effects of poor acknowledgement on bystander intervention (Hypothesis 4). Similarly, when shame displacement is high, school connectedness protects against the negative effects of poor shame displacement on bystander intervention (Hypothesis 5).

The present study

Recently, school bullying has received extensive media coverage in Bangladesh (<http://www.isiswomen.org/pub/we/archive/msg00138.html#bully>) because of several extreme cases of violence in schools. However, school bullying remains an understudied subject in most Asian countries, including Bangladesh (Kikkawa, 1987; Ahmed & Braithwaite, 2006). Basic prevalence data on bullying among Bangladeshi schoolchildren have been made available only recently (Ahmed & Braithwaite, 2006), and school intervention programmes are non-existent.

The work presented in this article contributes to understanding more about bullying behaviour in Bangladesh but, importantly, it also contributes to the very limited literature on bystander intervention across the world. In recent years, there has been a shift to viewing bullying as a group process occurring in a specific peer context (Salmivalli, 1999), instead of simply the outcome of personal and individual factors such as lack of impulse control, self-esteem and having a supportive environment at school and at home. The context in which bullying occurs involves a complex set of social processes, and factors such as norms and values, social acceptance, friendships and social play underlie its occurrence. This has led bullying researchers to focus beyond the bully and the victim to include peers who witness bullying episodes in addressing bullying prevention.

The present study is designed to answer the question of what promotes bystander intervention in the context of school bullying. It proceeds by considering two principles of restorative justice: school connectedness and adaptive shame management. It aims to extend knowledge of the ways in which these two principles contribute to bystanders' capacity to prevent bullying.

Method

Sample

The study participants (1,452 students, 49% girls) were drawn from grades 7–10 (mean = 8.42) from six coeducational schools (public and private) located in Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh. A convenience sampling strategy was chosen mainly because of the lack of video facilities across Bangladeshi schools. Video technology was an important methodological tool used in this study and, hence, schools chosen were based on those that offered video technologies to students—predominantly capital-based expensive schools. The generalizability of our results may, therefore, be limited by a demographically homogeneous study population such as students of wealthy parents who resided in Dhaka. In countries such as Bangladesh there are large disparities in income between the rich and the poor, and only wealthy parents can send their children to such schools.

Procedure

This study is part of an international ‘Cross-National School Behaviour Project’ (Rigby & McLaughlin, 2005) initiated at the University of South Australia. The countries involved are Australia, Bangladesh, England, Israel, Italy and South Africa.

All students from grades 7–10 were invited to participate. Participation rate was 92%. A Bengali version of the questionnaire was administered with additional items to extend the project’s scope. Students were presented with a video depicting different kinds of bullying behaviour in the presence of bystanders. They were then asked to rate their responses on a questionnaire in relation to their acts of bullying intervention, own experiences of bullying and victimization and shame management strategies. Information was also collected about their school connectedness, along with grade and gender. The survey took 30–40 minutes to complete during class hours.

Measures (details can be obtained via request from the author)

Intervening in bullying was measured by asking questions (Rigby & McLaughlin, 2005) following a video depicting two scenarios in the presence of bystanders: a verbal bullying episode with one child insulting another, and a physical episode with one child pushing another child down. The question measuring intervention was: would you object to what was happening by saying, ‘Stop, this is enough’ (‘never’ = 1, ‘definitely yes’ = 5).

School connectedness was measured by two sets of drawings: Smiley Face Scale (Mooney, Creeser, & Blatchford, 1991) ranging from ‘Ugh, I hate it’ (1) to ‘Great, I love it’ (5), and School Engagement–Withdrawal scale (Braithwaite, 1996) ranging from ‘absence of belongingness’ (1) to ‘presence of belongingness’ (5).

Shame management was measured by the Bengali version of the ‘Management of Shame State—Shame Acknowledgment and Shame Displacement’ (MOSS–SASD; Ahmed et al., 2001).

MOSS–SASD is a scenario-based self-report measure. It aims to capture the shame reactions of children who encounter a situation of social or moral wrongdoing. Following the above two scenarios, the students were given a range of shame-related questions [‘never’ (1) to ‘always’ (4)], asking them to indicate how they would feel if they were the one doing the bullying.

Based on a confirmatory factor analysis, two distinct factors were computed: shame acknowledgement and shame displacement.

Control variables

In addition to gender and grade, children’s past experiences were controlled to predict bystander intervention, as these experiences may have an effect on their decision to intervene bullying. [Victimization experiences were measured using six items (Rigby & McLaughlin, 2005) by asking: ‘looking back over this year, how often have you personally been unfairly treated by a more powerful person or group in each of these ways – hurtful teasing, unpleasant name calling, hitting or kicking, deliberately excluding, spreading lies about them, and threatened with harm’; the response categories ranged from ‘never’ (1) to ‘many times’ (3). Bullying experiences were measured using the above six items by asking: How often this year have you either on your own or as part of a group treated other less powerful students in the following ways? The response categories were same as above] Past intervention to stop bullying was also controlled for, as it is likely to affect the probability of future intervention. [Children were asked whether they intervened to stop a bullying event by asking: ‘have you personally done something this year at your

school to try to stop a student from being bullied by another student or group of students?’ (Rigby & McLaughlin, 2005). The response categories ranged from ‘yes, often’ (1) to ‘no, never’ (4).]

Results

Intercorrelations among variables

From Table 1, girls were more likely to participate in bullying intervention ($r = 0.09, p < 0.001$). Students who intervened in the past were also more likely to intervene in bullying ($r = 0.21, p < 0.001$). The variable showing a significant negative relationship with bystander intervention was bullying experience – those involved in past bullying were unlikely to defend victims ($r = -0.35, p < 0.001$).

As posited (Hypothesis 1), students who liked their school tended to participate more in bystander intervention ($r = 0.39, p < 0.001$). Support was also found for the hypothesis (Hypothesis 2) that students who acknowledged shame and responsibility were more likely to intervene to stop bullying ($r = 0.38, p < 0.001$). Findings are also in line with Hypothesis 3: that those who adopted the shame displacement approach to handle shame feelings and displaced shame by diffusing responsibility to others were less likely to intervene ($r = -0.41, p < 0.001$).

Regression analysis

In line with the correlational findings, regression results (model A; Table 1) showed the importance of three variables (school connectedness, shame acknowledgement and shame displacement) in predicting bystander intervention explaining an additional 13% of the variance in the outcome (control variables explained 20%).

The biggest effect-size was for shame acknowledgement. Moving from the lowest to the highest score on shame acknowledgement in the regression model (with all variables controlled) increased bystander intervention by 17%. Measured in the same way, school connectedness increased bystander intervention by only 11%. Moving from the highest to the lowest score on shame displacement in the regression model increased bystander intervention by 10%.

Table 1. Regression results predicting bystander intervention from school connectedness and shame management controlling for gender, grade, bullying and victimization experiences and past interventions (listwise deletion $n = 1,211$).

Variables	Correlation coefficients (r)	Model A	Model B
Gender (0 male; 1 female)	0.09***	0.05*	0.05*
Grade	0.05 (NS)	0.01	0.01
Bullying experience	-0.35***	-0.12***	0.02
Victimization experience	-0.01 (NS)	0.02	0.05
Past intervention	0.21***	0.10***	0.09***
School connectedness	0.39***	0.17***	0.12***
Shame acknowledgment (SA)	0.38***	0.27***	0.26***
Shame displacement (SD)	-0.41***	-0.19***	-0.12***
School connectedness \times SA	NA	NA	-0.11**
School connectedness \times SD	NA	NA	0.19***
Adj R^2	NA	0.33	0.36

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$. NA, not applicable; NS, not significant.

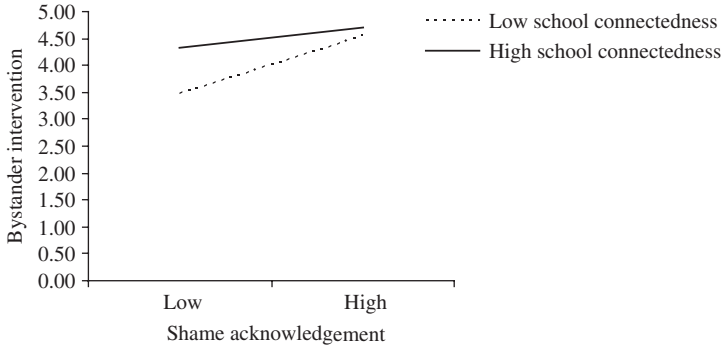


Figure 1. The role of school connectedness in moderating the relationship between shame acknowledgement and bystander intervention.

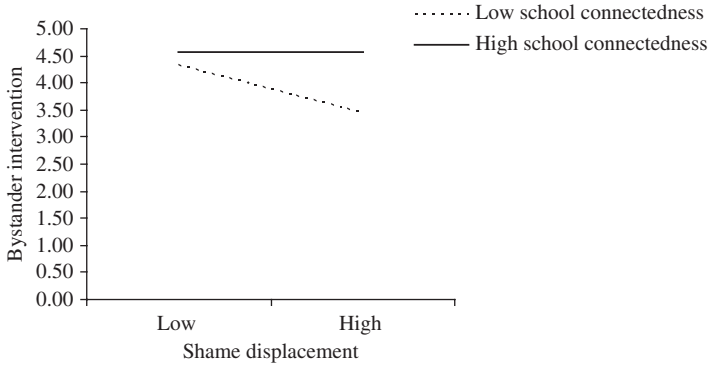


Figure 2. The role of school connectedness in moderating the relationship between shame displacement and bystander intervention.

Model B showed that, in addition to main effects, there were two significant interaction effects on bystander intervention, explaining an additional 3% of the variance in the outcome ('school connectedness \times shame displacement' and 'school connectedness \times shame acknowledgement'). School connectedness and shame acknowledgement are protective factors that compensate for each other's absence (Figure 1). Similarly, school connectedness is a protective factor that compensates for shame displacement, and an absence of shame displacement compensates for school disconnectedness (Figure 2).

Discussion

The present study examines the extent to which school connectedness and adaptive shame management promote bystanders' capacity to prevent school bullying. It also provides recommendations as to how social exclusion and bullying should be addressed by school management and personnel. The results have undoubtedly contributed to psychological and criminological knowledge of the importance of school connectedness and adaptive shame management in promoting bystander intervention. In particular, findings provide support for a restorative approach to offending that includes active participation by a key party, the bystander, to deliver justice.

The findings highlight the fact that bystanders who feel part of their school and enjoy being at school, the phenomenon referred to as ‘school connectedness’, are more likely to intervene in bullying. School connectedness allows children to develop a sense of responsibility and confidence which is likely to enhance their ability to intervene in the injustice of peer bullying. These results complement existing research on social bonding and connectedness, and its effect on social competence, internalization of norms and values and commitment to social/moral standards.

The study also highlights the significance of adaptive shame management skills in promoting bystander intervention. Children who accept shame/guilt and responsibility for a wrongdoing are more likely to intervene. By contrast, children who blame others for what went wrong are less likely to assist victims. It appears that adaptive ways to manage shame is a self-regulatory mechanism that encourages individuals to speak out against bullying. By building the capacity to manage shame adaptively, we can provide children with an emotional anchor for self-regulation which should reduce the incidence of bullying, on one hand, and empower bystanders to intervene on the other hand.

From a regulatory perspective bullies are often ‘hard targets’; they are tough nuts who resist (i) experiencing shame/guilt over a wrongdoing and (ii) social control to conform to social norms of behaviour. Bystanders may be considered softer targets as they are likely to be more easily moved by a sense of shame and responsibility than the hard targets whose emotional shell protects them from being ashamed/guilty (Braithwaite, 2001). Bystanders are also easily moved by moral reasoning about ethical behaviour and the importance of not bullying others. For these reasons, bystanders play a critical role in shaping anti-bullying cultures. They are the most probable agents of change and potential role models of collective responsibility for other students in school.

Past studies have shown that bystanders make up almost 85% of the school population (Craig & Pepler, 1995), which creates a powerful number of students who are aware that bullying is occurring but who are not necessarily aware of ways to be more helpful in these situations. They do not know what to do and do not have the necessary skills to intervene, and sometimes remain reluctant due to the fear of personal retribution. A dialogue within the school community to discuss how to engage bystanders in intervention can be an important first step. A discussion about what skills are desirable, and when and how to implement those skills, can also be an issue for discussion and training. However, whether these strategies will succeed, or should even be initiated (given that bystanders are putting themselves at some degree of risk), depends on teachers’ commitment to the programme and whether or not they appear credible in managing bullying situations. If teachers do not practise what they preach, students who witness bullying may assume that the teachers at their school either do not care enough to stop bullying or are unable to stop it.

The question of how to empower and safeguard bystanders is an important one. Bystanders who flee the scene of a bullying incident unknowingly play a role in encouraging bullying, and allow bullies to enjoy disproportionate freedom at the expense of others. Assuring safety for bystanders is, therefore, a priority for the individual and for the community. The answers to the above question remain ill-defined. The centre-pieces of the solution must include commitment to human rights, mutual respect, tolerance of difference and shared responsibility.

Teachers have taken a large part of the responsibility for communicating the harms perpetrated through bullying and other abuses, promoting an understanding of the many differences in human beliefs and cultures by taking part actively in teaching tolerance of such differences. By changing school culture and norms to reduce dominating ways of behaving and create tolerance of differences, an anti-bullying environment can be established where students will see bullying as unethical and be committed to resisting its occurrences. They will also view intervening in bullying as a collective responsibility, and fear of retaliation and embarrassment

among bystanders will be lessened by the visible support from all school personnel. However, having the 'right' ideas will not suffice without others in the school community playing a part, such as parents, regulatory bodies, school board and children themselves.

In conclusion, tackling school bullying requires 'whole-of-school' participation not only in the aftermath of a bullying incident but also before and during it. In this exercise, bystanders are important players because bullying is more common in playgrounds, peers witness bullying more frequently than teachers and they intervene significantly more often than teachers (11% of episodes vs. 4%). Admitting this reality and providing bystanders with the support they need is an immediate priority. Furthermore, recognizing that when bystanders intervene, bullying stops in less than 10 seconds almost 60% of the time, is an encouraging statistic for those who question the value of investing resources in children to help solve school bullying. The third statistic that is encouraging is that bystanders who intervene are more likely to do so in the future (Craig & Pepler, 1995). This suggests that children learn to intervene without doing harm to themselves. That said, the responsibility to intervene cannot be left to bystanders alone. They need to represent and be supported by a culture of tolerance of difference and unwavering support for mutual respect and human rights.

Acknowledgements

My thanks to Professor Valerie Braithwaite for her valuable contribution. Also thanks to Professor Ken Rigby and anonymous reviewers. The author was a visiting scholar in the Regulatory Institutions Network at the Australian National University, at the time of writing this article.

References

- Agnew, R. (1985). Social control theory and delinquency: A longitudinal test. *Criminology*, 23, 47–61.
- Ahmed, E. (2006). Understanding bullying from a shame management perspective: Findings from a three-year follow-up study. *British Journal of Educational and Child Psychology* [Special issue: *Youth Offending and Youth Justice*, edited by C. Lawrence, A. Miller, & N. Rylie], 23, 26–40.
- Ahmed, E., & Braithwaite, V. (2006). Shame management, forgiveness and reconciliation: Three key variables in reducing school bullying. *Journal of Social Issues* [Special issue: *Restorative Justice and Civil Society*, edited by B. Morrison, & E. Ahmed], 62, 345–368.
- Ahmed, E., Harris, N., Braithwaite, J., & Braithwaite, V. (2001). *Shame management through reintegration*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Batson, C.D., Early, S., & Salvarani, G. (1997). Perspective taking: Imagining how another feels versus imagining how you would feel. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 23, 751–759.
- Baumeister, R.F., & Leary, M.R. (1995). The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. *Psychological Bulletin*, 117, 497–529.
- Braithwaite, B. (1996). School engagement—Withdrawal scale. Life at School Survey: Child questionnaire (p. 11). Unpublished booklet.
- Braithwaite, J. (2001). *Restorative justice and responsive regulation*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Braithwaite, V., Ahmed, E., Morrison, B., & Reinhart, M. (2003). Researching the prospects for restorative justice practice in schools: The 'Life at School Survey' 1996–9. In L. Walgrave (ed.), *Repositioning the restorative justice: Restorative justice, criminal justice and social context* (pp. 169–190). UK: Willan Publishing.
- Cameron, L., & Thorsborne, M. (2001). Restorative justice and school discipline: Mutually exclusive? In J. Braithwaite, & H. Strang (eds.), *Restorative justice and civil society* (pp. 180–94). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Canberra Times (2007). Schoolyard justice: Teaching children to get on. 5 May, p. B9.
- Cialdini, R., Brown, S., Lewis, B., Luce, C., & Neuberg, S. (1997). Reinterpreting the empathy–altruism relationship: When one into one equals oneness. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 73, 481–494.
- Craig, W.M., & Pepler, D.J. (1995). Peer processes in bullying and victimization: An observational study. *Exceptionality Education Canada*, 5, 81–95.

- Eisenberg, M.E., Neumark-Sztainer, D., & Perry, C.L. (2003). Peer harassment, school connectedness, and academic achievement. *Journal of School Health, 73*, 311–316.
- Farrington, D.P. (1993). Understanding and preventing bullying. In M. Tonry & N. Morris (eds.), *Crime and justice: A review of research* (Vol. 17, pp. 381–458). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Finn, J.D., & Rock, D.A. (1997). Academic success among students at risk for school failure. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 82*, 221–234.
- Harris, N. (2001). Shaming and shame: Regulating drink-driving. In E. Ahmed, N. Harris, J. Braithwaite, & V. Braithwaite (eds.), *Shame management through reintegration* (pp. 73–210). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Hirschi, T. (1969). *Causes of delinquency*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Kaltiala-Heino, R., Rimpelä, M., Rantanen, P., & Rimpelä, R. (2000). Bullying at school—an indicator to detect adolescents at risk for mental disorders. *Journal of Adolescence, 23*, 661–674.
- Kikkawa, M. (1987). Teachers' opinions and treatments for bully/victim problems among students in junior and senior high schools: Results of a fact-finding survey. *Journal of Human Development, 23*, 25–30.
- Klicpera, C., & Klicpera, B. (1996). Die Situation von 'Tätern' und 'Opfern' aggressiver Handlungen in der Schule [The situation of bullies and victims of aggressive acts in school]. *Praxis der Kinderpsychologie und Kinderpsychiatrie, 45*, 2–9.
- Kumpulainen, K., & Rasanen, E. (2000). Children involved in bullying at elementary school age: Their psychiatric symptoms and deviance in adolescence. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 24*, 1567–1577.
- McNeely, C.A., Nonnemaker, J.M., & Blum, R.W. (2002). Promoting student connectedness to school: Evidence from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health. *Journal of School Health, 72*, 138–146.
- Mooney, A., Creeser, R., & Blatchford, P. (1991). Children's views on teasing and fighting in junior schools. *Educational Research, 33*, 103–112.
- Morrison, B. (2006). School bullying and restorative justice: Toward a theoretical understanding of the role of respect, pride and shame. *Journal of Social Issues, 62*, 371–392.
- Nansel, T.R., Overpeck, M., Pilla, R.S., Ruan, W.J., Simons-Morton, B., & Scheidt, P. (2001). Bullying behaviors among US youth: Prevalence and association with psychosocial adjustment. *Journal of the American Medical Association, 285*, 2094–2100.
- O'Connell, P., Pepler, D., & Craig, W. (1999). Peer involvement in bullying: Insights and challenges for intervention. *Journal of Adolescence, 22*, 437–452.
- Rigby, K., & Johnson, B. (2004). Retrieved 30 August 2008 from <http://www.education.unisa.edu.au/bullying/FocusOnBystanders.pdf>.
- Rigby, K., & McLaughlin, C. (2005). (eds.) Bullying, bystander behaviour and peer support in schools [Special issue]. *Pastoral care in education: The international journal of pastoral care and personal-social education, 23*, 2.
- Salmivalli, C. (1999). Participant role approach to school bullying: Implications for interventions. *Journal of Adolescence, 22*, 453–459.
- Schwartz, D. (2000). Subtypes of victims and aggressors in children's peer groups. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 28*, 181–192.
- Shields, A., & Cicchetti, D. (2001). Parental maltreatment and emotional dysregulation as risk factors for bullying and victimization in middle childhood. *Journal of Clinical Child Psychology, 30*, 349–363.
- Shin, H.H. (2006). Institutional safe space and shame management in workplace bullying. Doctoral Dissertation. The Australian National University.
- Staub, E. (2000). Preventing genocide: Activating bystanders, helping victims and the creation of caring. *Other Voices, 2*, February.
- Ttofi, M., & Farrington, D. (2008). Reintegrative shaming theory, moral emotions and bullying. *Aggressive Behavior, 34*, 352–368.
- Wolke, D., Woods, S., Schulz, H., & Stanford, K. (2001). Bullying and victimisation of primary school children in South England and South Germany: Prevalence and school factors. *British Journal of Psychology, 92*, 673–696.
- Ziegler, S., & Rosenstein-Manner, M. (1991). *Bullying at school: Toronto in an international context*. Toronto: Toronto Board of Education.