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An action inquiry into bullying, name calling and tolerance in a Sheffield primary school.

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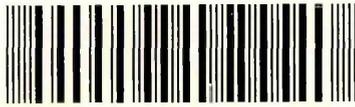
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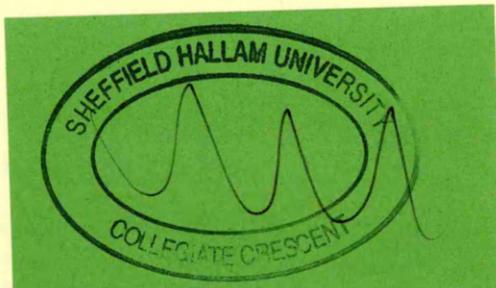
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An Action Inquiry into Bullying, Name
Calling and Tolerance in a Sheffield Primary
School.

Ian Jenkinson

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements of Sheffield Hallam University
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

June 1997

Collaborating Organisation:
Sheffield Local Education Authority.

"I hate it when people say horrible things
because it hurts my heart."

Martin Cates Aged 8

June 27th 1994



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The Headteacher, staff, parents, children of Baden Road Junior School whose contributions illuminated this inquiry particularly those colleagues who spent time validating the methods and the final study.

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CONTENTS.

1	Figures and Tables	
2	Information	
3	Abstract	
4	Introduction	
Chapter One:	The Law, Schools and Bullying	Page
	Summary	1
	Kevin's Case and Grounded Theory	2
	A Legislative Perspective on Bullying	7
	Recent Political and Legal Developments	21
Chapter Two:	The Literature Search	
	Summary	22
	Large Scale Surveys	23
	Contemporary Literature	25
	Definition of Bullying	28
	Development of Bullying in Children	32
	Starting School	36
	Name-calling, Tolerance and Attitudes	49
Chapter Three:	Bullying at Baden Road School until 1992	
	Summary	55
	The Management of Bullying until 1992	57
	Curriculum Development	57
	The 1992 Amalgamation	63
	Small Scale Research in 1989 and 1991	67
	The University of Sheffield Project	69
	Publicity, the Media and the Project	69
	Administration of the Sheffield Project	71
	The Main Interventions	75
	Monitoring the Interventions	77
	Results of the Sheffield Project	77
Chapter Four:	Methodology	
	Summary	85
	Positivist and Interpretative Answers	87
	Small Scale Surveys	89
	Case Study Methods	92
	Case Study Design	96
	Action Research Phase	100
	Organising the Methods and Reporting	103
	Validation	103
	Ethical Issues	105
	Long-term Developments	107
	Data Collection	108
	Questionnaires, Interviews, Peer Nomination	109
	Triangulation	123
	Concept Webbing	125
	Conclusion	128

	Page
Chapter Five: Case Study: Bullying at Baden Road School	
Summary	129
Baden Road Pupil Definition of Bullying	131
Bullies: Boys, Girls and Gangs	142
Forms of Bullying	153
Victims and Their Profile	159
Race	169
Places of Bullying	170
Supervision in Unstructured Time	171
The Sheffield Project: Raising Awareness	184
The Loss of Impetus post 1992	191
Failure to Implement Policy	192
Conclusions	197
Chapter Six: Name-calling and Toleration	
Summary	199
The Extent of Name-calling in School	201
The Transition from Teasing to Bullying	205
Bullies and Name-calling	212
Victims and Name-calling	213
The Words Used	216
Language Development and Name-calling	217
Language: An Indicator of Toleration	220
Conclusion	226
Chapter Seven: Action Research Phase	
Summary	228
Categorising Defamatory Words	230
Strategies for Victims	231
Working Directly with Victims and Bullies	236
Promoting Self-help	240
Adult Action	245
Improving the Interventions	249
Conclusions	254
Chapter Eight: Teachers, Bullying and Change	
Summary	256
From Unplanned to Planned Change	258
Management and the Issue of Bullying	262
The Anti-Bullying Policy Renewal	263
Roles and Responsibilities	265
Getting Bullying on the Agenda	267
Teachers as Bullies	269
Teachers, Bullying, Innovation and Change	273
Dissemination of Information	278
Further Research	283
Chapter Nine: Conclusions	
Summary of theories and main points	285
Recommendations	287
Appendices	
One to Fifteen	1

FIGURES.

Figure	Title	Page
1	Questionnaires	109
2	Analysis of peer nominations	122
3	Sample of peer nomination	122
4	J Smith's nomination by class	123
5	Peer nomination placing	123
6	Emergent categories	126
7	Gender findings	138
8	Categories of bullies and victims	142
9	Peer nomination against self-assessment	143
10	Peer nomination mean scores	144
11	Parents concerns about older and bigger bullies	147
12	Age of bully by gender	148
13	Bullies by gender	149
14	The class of the bully	149
15	Gangs	151
16	Physical bullying	154
17	Parents as witnesses of bullying	154
18	Parents as witnesses of non-physical bullying	156
19	Non-physical bullying	157
20	Most common attacks	158
21	Forms of bullying identified from true stories	159
22	Those victims made to cry by bullies	159
23	Clothes as a cause of bullying	162
24	Who was last told about being bullied	167
25	The proportion of school personnel being informed by victims	168
26	Places of bullying identified by children	170

Figure	Title	Page
27	What parents think is the best thing school can do to protect victims	182
28	Gender and cases of name-calling	202
29	Places of name-calling	203
30	Gender and name-calling	203
31	The age of the caller and the called (1)	204
32	The age of the caller and the called (2)	204
33	Age, gender and name-calling	205

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TABLES.

Table	Title	Page
1	The timetable connecting events and the management of bullying	57
2	A map of the organisation of policy making	60
3	The cyclical effect of reacting to bullying using crisis-management strategies	82
4	General case study model	98
5	The relationship between case study, theory, practice, evaluation and bullying in school	99
6	Action research model	101
7	Thesis plan	102
8	Data collection and the people involved	108
9	Interview plan based on McCormick and James (1984)	116
10	The triangulation process	124
11	The card indexing system mapped into the case study	127
12	A matrix to show the forms of bullying experienced by the victim	155
13	The places of bullying experienced by victims	171
14	A continuum for the perpetrators of name-calling	207
15	A continuum for the receivers of name-calling	207
16	A model of what happens when children call names in the play ground	209
17	The hypothesis connecting toleration with the assessment and responses of victims and bullies to name-calling	225
18	Categories developed from name-calling	230
19	The categories, names and suggestions	230
20	Names and fogs	232
21	An aid to monitoring name-calling and bullying	235
22	The promise and tell method	246
23	The 1991 - 1992 Bullying definition checklist	250

Table	Title	Page
24	The revised promise and tell model	253
25	The cyclical effect of the proactive management of bullying	261
26	Stages of policy making	268
27	From: Educational action research methodology	281
28	To: Educational action research method and dissemination	282

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Thesis Information. Source: Galton M. (1978)

School Name: Baden Road Junior School.

School Setting: Village/Suburban area in NW Sheffield.

School Size: Group 2, 220 children, 108 girls and 112 boys
7 full, 2 part-time teachers, 1 headteacher.
Amalgamated with infants in 1992

Researcher: Self Started October 1991. Finished December 1996

Status: Class teacher as researcher.

Training: Previous C.N.A.A. In-service work 1983-1991,
Sheffield City Polytechnic. B Ed Dip Ed M Ed

Target The school as a community.

Subject of focus: Bullying, name-calling and toleration.

Application: Policy development in school.
Help for victims and bullies

Central Aims: *To identify the cause and effects and types
of bullying in school.
*To explore the needs of the victims.
*To devise plans and implement strategies to
help reduce bullying.

Subsidiary Aims: *To examine name-calling linked with tolerance
*To explore the changes needed to implement
successfully an anti-bullying policy.
*To practise and improve inquiry techniques.

Methods of data collection Documentation, letters, diary notes, surveys,
children's writing, interviews, case studies,
unstructured observations, questionnaires,
peer nomination, INSET data and checklists.

Basis: Case Study and Action Research

Data Analysis: Analytic memoing, triangulation, indexing,
coding, concept webbing and interpreting.

Method: Document analysis, cross-referencing,
validation and literature survey.

Outcome: Interpretation of data to form the thesis.

Notes: All names including that of the school are
anonymous.
The teacher/researcher is a class teacher,
counsellor and carer for victims and bullies
and Personal/Social Education coordinator.
Directors of studies:
Professor Smith, University of Sheffield
Shirley Payne, Sheffield Hallam University.

ABSTRACT.

The Government does not intend to legislate against bullying in schools but the DfE supported and funded an anti-bullying project in Sheffield from 1991 until 1993. Since then, with less support from Local Education Authorities [LEAs] schools and governors are being left to deal with the problem. Despite the threat of legal proceedings and an increased number of claims against individual schools, some still do little or nothing to counter bullying. A recent claim by a victim led a school to pay him £30,000 damages but without liability. Experts agree that every school in Britain is affected in some way by bullying. A few teachers are bullies. In legal terms the authority of teachers to physically separate pupils who fight and bully is vague. Unless there is a dramatic change in the Government view, many more schools will succumb to legal claims about bullying. As yet, there is no case law.

Baden Road School was part of a Sheffield Project and results in 1992 indicated that bullying among pupils was getting worse. Unfortunately, bullying among pupils is usually covert and tends not to affect teachers in the same way that disruptive behaviour does. Despite the introduction of an anti-bullying policy little was done by the school to alter the trend. Curriculum has been at the forefront of planning and evaluation in school and the issue of bullying has failed to be reviewed. Teachers were already burdened trying to implement the 1991 National Curriculum orders when, with Government pressure to cut costs, the LEA closed a local primary school and class sizes increased by at least 10%. In the same year the junior school amalgamated with the infants to form Baden Road Primary School with a 3+ to 10+ age range and where the number more than doubled from 220 to over 500 pupils.

In a second attempt to persuade the school that something must be done about bullying, case study was a useful way to collect more evidence. While experts cannot agree on a standard definition of bullying, as children are the real experts of what happens, the pupils at Baden Road School found the task easy providing a basis for other data about bullying to be analysed. The case study then gave rise to action research which examined closely appropriate preventative and interventionist methods.

Name-calling emerged as the most common form of non-physical bullying in school. Language was found to be critical as a way by which children determine who is bullied and who is not and as a solution to bullying behaviour. While the language used by Baden Road pupils is not representative of any other school it served to demonstrate connections between teasing, bullying, toleration and their effect on pupils. A model hypothesis arose from the question of what determines offensive and tolerable name-calling.

The evidence suggests that Baden Road School needs to change to planned routine ways of preventing bullying and intervening in the cases which develop. First though, teachers have to believe that the issue of bullying needs reviewing and evaluating. The success of this study is in the effect it has on facilitating any changes which will promote further awareness, a permanent anti-bullying ethos and better uniform ways victims and bullies are helped in school. Teacher support, as in any school, is critical to the degree of success or failure of this initiative.

INTRODUCTION.

The teacher as researcher who conducted this inquiry in Baden Road Junior School has been teaching primary aged children for twenty-six years. A number of changes have affected his style of teaching and latterly, what he teaches. Bullying does occur at Baden Road School and since 1981 he has tried and modified ways to protect victims from school bullies. The bullying stopped but one or two bullies transferred their aggression to other pupils. Nevertheless, the overall effect was encouraging but no evidence was collected nor records kept to support the work.

It was not until 1989 when the teacher enrolled on an in-service, part-time M.Ed course at Sheffield City Polytechnic that bullying was researched more rigorously. The research revealed that a boy aged nine at Baden Road had been bullied throughout his school life. Bullying was hardly mentioned by the teachers until data was collected from them for the research. Even so, as the boy was in the teacher/researcher's class there was still no need to seriously involve other teachers.

Library searches revealed a severe shortage of literature on the subject. In 1989 the first book by Tattum and Lane, Bullying in Schools, was published by Trentham. At this time the teacher was unaware of the upsurge in public interest about bullying. Even by 1991 when the teacher/researcher decided to research bullying among a group of Y5 girls the literature was still devoid of relevant material. The study revealed that the girls had been

covertly intimidating each other for about three years and their previous Y3 and Y4 teachers knew nothing of the problems.

By 1992, publications indicated that the problem of bullying in British schools was extensive, more in some than others. Schools were being cited as the place where much bullying started but many seemed to be doing little about it. Tattum and Herbert (1990, p 1) assert:

"Bullying affects everyone; not just the bullies and victims. It also affects those other children who may witness violence and aggression and the distress of the victim. It may damage the atmosphere of a class and even the climate of a school."

Despite trials by teachers of anti-bullying strategies and the ratification by governors of a policy at Baden Road School in a 1992 University of Sheffield project, the director Prof Smith, reported to school the nature of any bullying but that its extent had worsened. Little was done by management to counter this thus nothing changed. The teacher/researcher was left wondering why.

Children and parents have a right to expect a school free from bullying and it is the duty of the school to attempt to provide it. This research is a response to this expectation and explores bullying and what needs to be done to bring about change which will protect pupils from bullies and what will make Baden Road school a safer place. Despite all the research work there are influences still which will constrain or promote an anti-bullying ethos in school. Other junior and primary schools suffering with similar problems should also benefit from this study.

CHAPTER ONE

THE LAW, SCHOOLS AND BULLYING.

Summary.

In 1981 Kevin, aged ten, was bullied at school. Before becoming a school-based researcher, the teacher did not realise that Kevin's case had started the grounded theory for this thesis. Corporal punishment was still legal in Britain and used by a few teachers as a legitimate way of bullying pupils until it was banned in State schools in 1982. Since then some teachers have found other ways to humiliate children particularly with name-calling. In tackling bullying teachers should consider their responsibilities as well as pupil behaviour.

Chapter One examines grounded theory and a legislative view which, in the event, determined why some teachers suddenly found it easier to confront the issue of bullying without it reflecting on them. Government response to bullying was late in coming after Elton (1989) failed to fully address the problem. Bullying is parallel with common assault and battery but there is no legal definition of bullying and no plans to legislate against it. However, the number of proceedings against schools and governors from plaintiffs who have suffered bullying is increasing.

The Education Reform Act (1988) involved major shifts in power from LEAs to schools making them legally responsible for a number of matters including the behaviour of pupils. Government advice is that governors and schools should respond to the problem of bullying. Although not the best reasons for doing so, litigation may force some schools on the grounds of accountability and self-defence. Recent legal and political moves may change this.

Kevin's Case and Grounded Theory.

During the summer term in 1981 at Baden Road School Kevin, a boy aged ten, was bullied by Edward another J4 boy. Their teacher knew nothing of this until Kevin's mother came into school upset and concerned for her son's welfare. She was frightened that the perpetrator might find out she had reported the matter and Edward would bully him for "snitching" [sic]. The teacher reassured her that he would speak with both separately and that the bully would not find out about her report. Thus the victim and the bully were dealt with separately. However, at that time the teacher was not certain how to broach the subject with Edward without divulging Kevin's name.

The teacher spoke with Kevin privately and made the same promise that if he explained Edward would not find out. For three months Edward had been calling him names, hitting and kicking him at opportunistic moments. He was very frightened when threatened by Edward to get him after school. Being in the same class and having to play in the same area made it difficult for Kevin to avoid Edward, more so when supervision by adults was minimal.

Although easier for Kevin to talk, the teacher, having made the promise was still uncertain how to approach Edward without making him suspicious that someone had told on him. The teacher's reputation relied on keeping Kevin safe. Against the impulse to physically punish Edward, it occurred to the teacher that he was less likely to suspect anything if he wasn't in trouble. A friendly meeting might even give Edward the opportunity to admit his behaviour and reveal more of what had happened.

Such a move was likely to trivialise his bullying behaviour and was incompatible with the strong notion that bullies should be punished. However, the loyalty to Kevin and his Mum superceded this inner conflict. To engage Edward in a private and relaxed conversation the teacher sat him down and asked him jokingly if he was a murderer? The teacher cannot say from where the idea emerged but then asked him if he was a thief and then an arsonist. Edward wanted to laugh but didn't know what an arsonist was. The teacher explained. Against these criminal offences to which Edward replied "no," the idea was, that by comparison, bullying as far as he was concerned, might seem innocuous.

However, Edward answered "yes" when asked if he had ever bullied anyone which freed the teacher to ask who and what he had done? Edward answered "Kevin." Relieved, the teacher thanked Edward and pointed out to him that it was he who had exposed his bullying behaviour towards Kevin and not the other way round. Provided the bullying stopped, said the teacher, nothing further would happen. He asked Edward's permission to approach and tell Kevin that he had stopped. Edward agreed.

In school the next day Kevin's Mum thanked the teacher and asked him how it was done. The teacher said that he had managed to get Edward to tell him which saved Kevin from any revenge attacks and that Edward had promised to stop. While Kevin became much happier the teacher was left wondering whether this could be done again if bullying emerged among other children.

At that time the teacher realised neither the implications of

Edward's talking nor that the rationale for the intervention could be interpreted as grounded theory, Glaser and Strauss (1967). In 1981 there was no intention to study in-depth the nature of bullying or the strategies to help victims and bullies. The work was an unstructured, practical way of helping them and "practice" meant no theory. While the teacher developed and modified his techniques there was no need of or identification with theory; generatively or tentatively. However, on reflection, grounded theory as interpreted by Wellington (1996 p 22) did play a vital role in that the theory generated within this action inquiry was in fact "grounded" in the 1980s work with victims and bullies. To claim grounded theory affected the work during the 1980s would be a falsification.

Theory generation emerged from in-service degree work at Sheffield City Polytechnic from 1983 until 1997 but not with bullying until 1989. Brine (1994, p 2) suggests grounded theory is an inductive approach to research and not a particular method. The research starts with a research question which accurately identifies the phenomenon to be studied; in this case from its claim to be an action inquiry. Without getting too bound by methodological issues, what is important is that the generation of tentative hypotheses stemmed from the data collection and its analysis. There was no question of anticipating outcomes about bullying simply to fit them to the emergent schema from the practical work done in the 1980s. An accurate description of this action inquiry would be the use of qualitative research to revise the techniques and examine the concepts related to them.

Concepts in themselves are not theories but they can interrelate to form explanatory theories as Bulmer (1979, p 37) recognises. Unknown to the teacher, Kevin's (op cit) case was the origin of the promise and tell technique. That which is reported in chapter seven is quite different from the original version but the principles of safe-guarding victims and using a no-blame approach are much the same. Grounded in theory, this thesis reports the structured phase from which emerged new ideas, several of which were set as hypotheses.

The broad nature of bullying behaviour meant that several hypotheses emerged about congruency, name-calling, its structure and language, the association with tolerance and the tentative suggestion that schools which reduce name-calling will see a commensurate reduction in bullying behaviour. If only it were this simple. Hammersley (1993, p 45) is concerned that such a process can appear packaged into methodological prescriptions.

Essentially, the research methods need to fit the research question in a way which best satisfies the inquiry. The 1981 - 1997 time-line [next page] shows how the early unstructured work was developed on a trial and error basis. There seemed no reason to involve other teachers. They probably had their own ways of dealing with bullies and victims. Provided the teacher considered colleagues, with some common sense he was free to try almost anything he wanted. The work was communicated through informal staffroom talk only. Little changed. Judging from the interest, bullying as an issue appeared unimportant but was dealt with as it arose. This is the whole-school baseline for the inquiry.

Bullying Time Line

Staff		Events
	<u>Unstructured</u>	
The teacher is not sure how to approach the bully but succeeds in getting the bully to tell by making the bullying insignificant.	-1981-	Kevin's mother is worried about her son being bullied and revenge attacks. The teacher promises that the bully will not find out.
The subject of bullying is dormant and is rarely talked about in the staffroom	-	No record is kept of the technique developments.
The new model is used only by the teacher independently of any other social development in school.	-	The promise technique is modified on a trial and error basis but becomes the grounded theory for future research.
	<u>Structured</u>	
Still no other staff are involved except through informal discussion.	-1989-	The first study of a boy aged nine who is found to be a provocative victim.
Staff agree to be part of University bullying project led by Prof P Smith	-1990-	Initial survey of pupils by University. Bullying policy developed. Secretary of State promises action
All staff involved in INSET and examine University interventions	-1991-	Univ. interview staff and some pupils. Girls bullying researched. Teacher starts Ph.D
Only the teacher/researcher trials the interventions.	-1992-	Final University survey suggests bullying worsening. More Ph.D data gathered. Schools amalgamate.
Bullying not a priority for new school but behaviour policy (without bullying) is introduced instead.	-	Bullying policy fails to be implemented. Ph.D data analysed.
Behaviour policy flourishes.	-	Promise and tell technique continues to be modified but is grounded in theory and monitored. Ph.D written. Victim/bully techniques continue in use.
Teachers still not involved and do not prioritise bullying.	-	
Bullying on School Development Plan but still not reviewed.	-1996-	Reporting continues and Ph.D is handed in.
	1997-	School inspected and no bullying found. Ph.D acknowledges this.

A Legislative Perspective on Bullying

Until 1982, corporal punishment was still legal but used sparingly at Baden Road School. For those teachers who resorted to its use, it was a professional rather than a legal matter. The rationale was to set an example to other pupils. According to Barrell (1958, p 156) there were three standards by which physical punishment was judged reasonable; retributive, a deterrent and reformative. Generally deprecated by teachers, mass corporal punishment was not unknown and physically punishing a whole class was not illegal. The law did not differentiate between boys and girls except that some local authorities required female teachers to cane or tawse girls.

However, Duckenfield (1984, p 1) claims that in reality, corporal punishment in many schools was seldom used if at all. The deterrent was in the knowledge that it could be used. In 1982, LEAs in Britain banned physical punishment in the state sector but the law was not changed. Doyle et al (1967, p 1) claimed the abolition of corporal punishment as the most dramatic and far-reaching change experienced by schools for many years. Threatened by the idea that pupils might cause disruption Duckenfield (1984) states the most immediate concern for teachers seemed to be to find alternative sanctions in the possibly misguided belief that once they were found things would go on as before.

Thomas (1986, p 15) found behavioural problems including bullying were now taking a disproportionate amount of teacher time to deal with because there was no quick remedy. Corporal punishment may

have stopped many pupils temporarily from misbehaving and/or bullying but there was disagreement among experts as to whether or not punitive discipline helped changed long-term behaviour. Peters (1966, p 276) suggests that the punitive discipline of children, particularly harsh physical punishment, is generally ineffective. Mellor (1991, p 101) points out it was difficult for teachers to provide a non-violent role-model for pupils when the method of punishment for serious offences was the cane or tawse. The message to pupils is that the powerful can dominate the subordinate and thus teaches bullies how to behave.

For Rogers (1991, pp 5 - 6) the abolition of corporal punishment in Britain's schools in the 1980s and the sudden interest in researching bullying among pupils was no accident. Besag (1989, p 110) claims the emergence in schools of the issue of bullying means teacher aggression can now be interpreted by pupils as violence and so offer a model for their own aggressive behaviour. Unable to resort to physical punishment some teachers now openly challenge bullying unhindered by hypocrisy. However, banning corporal punishment in Britain did not prevent other, equally damaging ways to 'discipline' pupils from being used. Tattum and Herbert (1990, p 1) suggest that adults including teachers and other staff can and do bully pupils. In some schools verbal humiliation by some teachers of some pupils replaced physical punishment as found by Macdonald's (1989, p 128) in his enquiry into the murder of Ahmed Iqbal Ullah at Burnage School, Manchester. Teachers who use intimidation, sarcasm, belittlement or harassment, state Roland and Munthe (1989, p 51), should themselves stop bullying if it is to be tackled among pupils.

Until the late 1980s bullying was rarely prioritised in British schools. It was ignored by the educational research community, teaching unions and national and local authorities. Tattum (1989, p 21) points out that many educators neglect the subject with bullying as

"the blindspot of teaching,"

claiming (p 11) that many dismiss it as a part of growing up, an inevitability of life. Besag (1989, p 5) reasons that uninformed professionals are insensitive to the problem and therefore carry out no research. There may be a reluctance on the part of schools and local authorities to admit to a problem of bullying lest others should see this as failure and incompetence.

Tattum (1989, p 22) claims that the Government initiated Elton Inquiry (1989) focussed investigations on disruptive behaviour and on the victimization of teachers but little about bullying. Elton could not deal effectively with bullying because he did not receive the relevant information as recognised by The Advisory Centre for Education, (A.C.E.) (1989, p 5). Many schools found it difficult to admit that children were bullying and being bullied. However, in devoting just four paragraphs to bullying Elton (1989 p 102) was criticised by A.C.E. for not seeking the views of children and ignoring their concerns. Elton concluded that whilst the problem appeared widespread it tended to be ignored by teachers but that schools needed to take firm action.

In the same year, Terril (1989, pp 4-5) in "The Listener," agreed with Roland and Munthe that Britain had one of the worst bullying problems in Europe. Tattum and Lane's book "Bullying in Schools"

was also published. They estimated that upwards of 25% of pupils in Britain were either bullying or being bullied, suggesting that at least until 1989, while the research community was beginning to identify a huge problem in schools, many teachers generally were still uninformed or unwilling to anything about bullying.

Morale in the teaching profession was already low following years of criticism by the Government and press over important issues including standards in education and the appraisal of teachers which, in the first instance, was planned to be used for hiring and firing them. Additional results about bullying in schools was tantamount to accepting that in some way teachers and the profession had failed yet again. Rather than seeing this new research about bullying as supportive of teachers and schools it could be perceived as critical of them.

In his speech to the Professional Association of Teachers 1990 annual conference, the Right Honourable Mr. John McGregor the then Secretary of State for Education had reported to Parliament on a wide range of action in response to the Elton (1989) report about discipline in schools. He claimed the Government was doing much to help support teachers announcing:

"Bullying is a particularly pernicious extension of ill-discipline in schools. It is wholly negative in its effect on behaviour and school attendance. To help tackle this difficult and often agonising problem my department has recently commissioned a major project on school bullying to which we are looking for the production of clear, practical advice to teachers who have to deal with bullying."

However, legislating against bullying in schools by an Act Of Parliament or by case law is another matter. Pyle (1996, p 1) claims that the disparate behaviours and situations which encompass bullying makes difficult the task of legislating against it by an Act of Parliament. The inability to clearly define bullying disables courts from comparing the behaviours of a specific case of bullying against existing case law of which presently there is none. It is the court's duty to apply the test of statute and common law to the facts of a particular case. Hard cases make bad law thus it is likely that liberal interpretations may ensue and bring any such law into disrepute. However, a sudden and overwhelming number of litigious claims may alone deter Parliament from legislating against bullying and suggests why the Government has not acted before. Lane (1989, p 96) suggests the closest legal term associated with bullying is

"threatening behaviour."

Bullying is not a recognised offence and cannot be reported as a civil or criminal complaint. Benn (1991, p 127) claims there is no specific police policy or statistics on bullying and has not been recognised as a major problem. The crime parallel to bullying is common assault. Technically, this is incorrect for assault applies only to those aggressive behaviours which cause mental distress while physical abuse is termed "battery."

Any direct interference with the person or liberty of another without lawful justification, state Marsh and Soulsby (1994, p 155) is actionable as a trespass to the person if he or she

believes that violence is about to be carried out, the actual intention of the wrongdoer being irrelevant. Language development may inhibit children from proving in court that they believed a threat was real. But, children do experience intended threats, one being to be beaten up after school. This can affect children considerably, debilitating them increasingly from concentrating on lessons as the time approaches for finishing school. Victims of this kind of threat are anxious to be away from school before their aggressor. The problem is exacerbated more so when both victim and bully are in the same class.

Physically striking or hitting constitutes battery provided the application is intended. The intentional physical harm of another is one aim of many bullies. In law the tort consists of a wilful act which is likely to, and actually does, cause physical harm to another. Marsh and Soulsby (1994, p 156) claim the aggression would need to be clearly without consent. Obviously bullying is without consent and some bullying situations are so serious that they sometimes cause physical injury. The difference between some serious forms of persistent bullying and what constitutes a common assault and battery is unclear.

Offensive name-calling can be considered bullying among children which in adult terms might constitute assault. Certain names used by children would be defamatory for adults but words alone are not sufficient. Marsh and Soulsby (1994 p 155) state that there must be some associated act or gesture. Many serious names called by children pertain to a person's family or sexuality which if directed at adults by adults would be considered harmful and

disreputable. Marsh and Soulsby (1994 p 158) assert that the test is whether, in consequence, right-thinking members of society shun or avoid that person, or regard him/her with feelings of ridicule, hatred or contempt. Bullies frequently use others in gangs to incur victim hatred, ridicule and contempt!

However, many children appear unaffected when name-calling is directed from one to another child. Even though some children may have been the victims of malicious name-calling many seem not to recognise or empathise when others are defamed and harmed. Stone (1979, p 83) suggests this requires development from signal significance to semantic significance. This suggests aggressive and overt behaviours attached to name-calling are more powerful indicators to third parties than the words used. Establishing primary children as witnesses that the reputation of another child is defamed would therefore be difficult to prove.

The problem is whether offence in itself constitutes harm. Weale (1985, p 22) claims that there is no uncontroversial definition of harm that can be used in a morally neutral way to adjudicate between competing claims. However, offence can be felt as keenly as other legally recognised harms such as assault, slander and libel. To rule out offensive name-calling, where the name-calling is offensive and intended to be so would be taking a restricted view about what validly counts as harm. The intended serious harm of a person is only a summary offence if it is termed assault or battery. In view of the potential despair which bullying can cause it seems strange that a legal action ultimately becomes a question of semantics. Cases of bullying are now being addressed

but dealt with in court under the tort of intent to commit assault and/or battery.

These legal uncertainties help neither teachers, pupils or parents. Elton (1989, p 83) noted that attitudes towards teachers and other providers of services seem to be changing. Legal action by parents against the disciplining of their children is now a regular feature in the US education system and is seen as a significant factor in limiting teachers' authority. Elton (1989, p 83) was disturbed by this trend because the UK often follow similar patterns to those of the USA, .

Litigation in Britain is steadily increasing with the number of civil actions started for negligence up by 80% in the five years between 1981 and 1986. False allegations by pupils of the use of corporal punishment by teachers against them have increased. Though the law still states that anyone including teachers acting in *loco parentis* may exercise reasonable physical control over a child, since the banning of corporal punishment, many teachers are reluctant to touch pupils even as a friendly gesture. This has coincided with the increased public attention given to child sexual abuse. A few teachers, more so from residential schools, have already been jailed resulting from such cases.

Unfortunately bullying of children in schools by teachers or pupils is not offered a similar kind of legal scrutiny. Without the support of a school policy and without a clear system of dealing with behaviour and bullying, it is difficult for teachers to know exactly what legally can be done. Pupils who do not stop

immediate incidences of pernicious bullying when told to do so compromise the teacher's authority. Incidences like these make the teacher's position untenable. Without support the likelihood of litigation from the families of victims is increased.

Litigation against schools, teachers and LEAs for failing to protect pupils from bullying through the civil tort of negligence has also increased. Parry (1994, p 12) claims that plaintiffs and their lawyers have applied to bullying the common law action of negligence against LEAs and their employees. Protection covers only those teachers who are members of a teaching union. It is proper that teaching unions, teachers and schools should expect legal clarity of their position. Elton (1989, p 83) expected to find the basis in law of teachers' authority over pupils clearly stated in an Act of Parliament and was concerned that it was not. This is unsatisfactory. Even though Elton (1989) recommended that the Secretary of State for Education should consider introducing legislation to clarify the legal basis of teachers' authority, nothing public has yet been done by any Government.

Elton (1989, p 84) suggests that legislation would clarify teacher authority on behaviour including bullying out of school, where pupils' conduct impinges on the school. However, Elton (op cit) did not explain how this behaviour might impinge on the school. The DfE. (1994, p 7) state that tackling bullying is a matter for individual schools to determine in the light of their own circumstances. Nor does Elton (op cit) refer to teachers' authority over bullying during school. It is presently easier, though not successful, to apportion blame and bring institutional

and/or personal lawsuits from victims of bullying than it is for the public or schools to file litigation against a bully.

Recent media attention has reported cases of bullying in schools involving legal claims against authorities and schools. As Parry (1994, p 12) reports, an unnamed woman sued Lothian Regional Council for £30,000 damages alleging negligence. She claimed that for three years the staff at the Royal High School, Edinburgh failed to protect her from bullying. However, the LEA had no duty of care to protect her. A few pupils even committed suicide, including Bamber whose note to her parents claimed she was being bullied at school. The LEA was not liable. Walker failed to win damages against Bolsover School, Derbyshire for failing to prevent persistent bullying which, she claimed, caused her post-traumatic stress. According to The Independent newspaper (10/04/94 p 22), the case was setting a legal precedent and other families were awaiting the outcome.

The three cases are fraught with legal difficulties. According to Parry (1994, p 13) judges will be very aware that their rulings will become new case law. While duration may be easy to assess, intensity and severity are not. In long-term cases attacks may be less intense and severe than others making damages difficult to assess. For cases of defamation to succeed there has to be some form of objective measure from which the damage can be estimated and judged. No such ruling can apply to primary children. Until the view of what constitutes harm is changed there will be little individuals can do to challenge the personal damage done to children as victims of name-calling.

Authorities including Besag (1989), Olweus (1995) and Roland and Munthe (1991) agree that even though bullying is essentially a covert anti-social activity, the threat of litigation may make bullying behaviour even more covert. The threats made to victims not to tell might become even more severe. Covertness would make evidence harder to establish. Second, bullying doesn't usually impinge upon the classroom making it easy for teachers to ignore. Pearce (1991, p 79) suggests that avoiding the issue simply leads to greater aggression and more frequent and serious bullying.

Clearly, school bullying will remain the responsibility of each school for the foreseeable future. The Education Reform Act (1988) legislated for the self-management of schools. Governors are directly responsible and accountable in law for the running of the school including the legal procedures and safeguards with respect to behaviour. Simultaneously, according to the National Curriculum (1989, 1991 and 1995) schools are required to set education within the context of the spiritual, moral, cultural, social, mental and physical development of pupils. The law demands that these dimensions are catered for but as yet are outside the remit of the National Curriculum.

Following Dr Carey, the Archbishop of Canterbury's 05/07/96 call for schools to be clear about the ethical values they transmit to pupils Shepherd, the former Secretary of State for Education and Employment said that the moral and spiritual needs of pupils would be reviewed that summer. This would mean yet another revision of the National Curriculum. Mocked in the editorial

comment of The Daily Telegraph (06/07/96 p 19), the move was claimed as the nationalisation of morality.

In a letter to the editor of The Daily Telegraph (06/07/96 p 19) Blaylock pleaded for teachers to have the time to fulfil these needs. Within a social, moral, cultural and spiritual framework governors should support time which deals with cases of bullying, its reduction and prevention and somehow promote an ethos where participants feel and experience positiveness. Olweus (1995 p 66) claims this implies fewer aggressive reactions and assertiveness applied by pupils in more socially acceptable ways. Every pupil has the right to feel safe in school without the fear of being bullied. Clearly, it is the legal responsibility of all school governors to defend this right.

Schools need to recognise, accept and prioritise the issues which are relevant their needs. Some schools might not. Other schools may have implemented integrated social plans while some may have separate anti-bullying, pastoral, equal opportunities, play and/or behaviour policies. These policies can be "dovetailed" into each other DfE (1994, p 10) as part of a school development plan (SDP) but the DfE (1994, p 7) cannot be prescriptive. The DES (1991, p 2) accepts that the changes confronting every school are many and pressing but must be managed in a professional and sensible way.

Parry (1994, p 12) suggests that with such a litigious future schools will be forced to take defensive measures to protect themselves. Unfortunately, accountability and the uncertainty of

litigation against schools and teachers appear not the best reason for policy making against bullying. If governors cannot see the important benefits of investing time to the development of an anti-bullying policy on spiritual, social, cultural and moral grounds then accountability or the fear of litigation are likely to be the other reasons.

This may be so but the question arises whether or not schools are being given sound advice. The DfE (1994, p 7) remind governors of schools of their responsibility to decide what action will be taken against bullying behaviour. The assumption here is that governors are asked to plan for and apply responses as bullying happens. Clearly, it is important that pupils, parents and teachers know and agree what will happen if bullying occurs but this in itself is insufficient. The notion of a summative response against bullying behaviour is disturbing. In this context it appears to subscribe to a punitive regime of what will happen if....., that governor decisions and policy making should deal centrally with pupils found guilty of bullying.

This is unsatisfactory. First, action taken against focusses on bullies when cases involve the need and care of victims. Second, a reactive system does not necessarily include preventative measures, the long term need to secure positive attitudes and morals which reject bullying. Olweus (1995, p.65) perceives the isolationist view of the reduction, elimination and prevention of bullying in schools as negativistic. Concern should include also the achievement of better peer relationships; conditions where

bullies and victims get along and function better in and out of the school setting.

School inspectors report on school academic and behavioural standards. Despite the need (Section 1 of the Education Reform Act 1988) for a balanced and broadly based curriculum which promotes the spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical well-being of pupils the DfE. (op cit) continue:

"Under the framework for inspection, Registered Inspectors will report on behaviour and discipline, including the views of pupils, parents, and teachers on the incidence of bullying and the schools' response."

Once more the DfE appear to be isolating incidences of bullying and the arrangements to deal with bullying linking it with behaviour and discipline rather than from the need to become an anti-bullying school. Surely with the DfE (op cit) stance, headteachers and governors will be encouraged to think that their role, through policy, is to combat bullying simply by applying retaliatory measures. Besag (1989) (p xii) recognises that to simply stop bullying is to leave the work half done, and to put other pupils at risk. What might guide schools better would be an adjunct which prompted headteachers and governors to engage in encouraging action in schools which would simultaneously develop

- 1 a wider approach to becoming an anti-bullying school to help reduce or eliminate bullying before it happens,
- 2 improve the quality of peer relationships,
- 3 deal with bullying proactively rather than reactively.

This confronts directly those schools which aim to solve cases of bullying as they happen and where teachers act unilaterally with their own solutions. However, four recent legal and political developments may now force many schools with some urgency to focus more closely and reflect on their management of behaviour, particularly bullying. Indeed, the developments compromise several of the issues introduced and discussed in this chapter.

Recent Political and Legal Developments.

1. Mrs Gillian Shephard, the former Secretary of State for Education and Employment endorsed a suggestion on Tuesday, 29/10/1996 that, despite Government policy, caning should be reinstated into British schools. The Sunday Telegraph (03/11/1996 p 1) reported growing backbench clamour for a free vote on the matter. 68% of a Gallop poll favoured corporal punishment in schools.
2. During the same week BBC television reported Childline, a charity which supports and helps children, is now receiving more calls than ever from pupils who have been bullied.
3. On Friday, 15/11/96 in an unprecedented legal action, £30,000 was awarded by insurers to Sebastian Sharp, a twenty year old who claimed that his life had been ruined by school bullies in the secondary school which failed to protect him. The Daily Telegraph (16/11/1996 p 1) reports that Mr Sharp's solicitor was preparing a further ten bullying claims against schools and other lawyers were handling similar cases.
4. The unnamed Lothian woman who three years ago failed to sue Lothian Regional Council for negligence over bullying she allegedly suffered at the Royal High school in Edinburgh recently won the first round of her legal battle. Lightfoot reports in The Daily Telegraph (16/11/1996 p 1) that the Court of Session recently dismissed the council's objection about its duties to the woman and said the case should go to a full hearing.

In view of these recent legal and political developments headteachers and governors in those schools which have yet to develop and implement an anti-bullying policy may now take heed though they should take care not to react to the problem.

CHAPTER TWO.

THE LITERATURE SEARCH.

Summary.

The subject of bullying was first highlighted in the 1970s from research studies by Olweus and Roland in Scandinavia. Britain lacked any reported research until the late 1980s. What emerged from Michelle Elliott's first study in 1984 of 4000 children showed that the problem of bullying was widespread in British schools but her work was never published. However, by 1989 a number of publications supported Elliott's view and more recent studies continue to suggest that the problem is still serious.

This literature search first explores the various definitions of bullying from a number of sources but as the subject is so broad not all authorities agree that it can be adequately defined. Despite this, as knowledge unfolds and understanding of the subject deepens so the definition of bullying has been progressively refined.

The search then investigates contemporary literature before examining the development in children of bullying behaviour. Paradoxically, even though many are concerned about bullying and much information is available, schools remain the catalyst where bullying behaviour emerges and can continue to develop. By age eleven the most common form of bullying is name-calling, yet little has been done to analyse this problem. Name-calling is not just a form of bullying but is also a process by which bullies rationalise their behaviour. Furthermore, name-calling might be an indicator of the tolerance levels experienced by schools.

Large Scale Surveys and Literature about bullying.

Research-based literature on bullying has stemmed from four main sources of which three are British;

- 1 the 1970s and 1980s work in Scandinavia by Olweus, Roland and their associates,
- 2 the work in Britain with 4000 children by Elliott (1984),
- 3 by Johnstone, Munn and Edwards for the Scottish Council for Research in Education (SCRE),
- 4 the Smith (1994) survey of 6,700 Sheffield pupils.

As director of the national child safety charitable organisation 'Kidscape,' Elliott (1991) had already studied 4000 children between 1984 and 1986 and claimed over one-third of them had been bullied. This was the first major piece of research to suggest that bullying was widespread in Britain but her work was not published. Aldam (1991, p 19) said her work created an upsurge in public interest and the Guardian newspaper (14/5/1991 p 7) reported that 68% of pupils were affected by bullying in one way or another. Kidscape produced a pack of case studies, advice, surveys, strategies for helping bullies and victims and contacts for help including a bullying phone line. Schools may have found Elliott's work useful but it had little impact on the Government and there was no subsequent national anti-bullying campaign.

Another five years passed before the Government supported and financed an anti-bullying project in Sheffield from 1991 until 1993. In 1994 the results of the Sheffield project (op cit) were published by the D.f.E along with an information pack and video

called "Bullying, don't suffer in silence" (1994) for schools to use. The package includes outcomes from the Playground project funded by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation and a training video from the Wolverhampton City and Safer Cities Projects. Even though the Government was supporting the Sheffield project, they decided as an interim measure to circulate free to schools the Scottish Pack from the Scottish Council for Research in Education pack by Johnstone, Munn and Edwards (1992) called Action Against Bullying. These, like the Kidscape publications, (Elliott op cit), were designed to help schools plan action against bullying.

Rather than to inform a general readership, the packs offer advice to governors, headteachers and senior staff and assist schools in developing an effective whole-school approach to bullying. Each advise schools to have an anti-bullying policy which promotes consistency and by using exemplars suggests what should be done to counter bullying. The clear message is that the impetus against bullying has to be a whole-school concern. The titles "Action Against Bullying" and "Bullying, don't suffer in silence" demonstrate the needs of schools to nurture a climate where bullying is an open subject and pupils know of a system where they can speak freely and safely.

Similarly, the periodicals, journals and unpublished works about bullying tend to specify one area of research to help those with a vested interest in tackling bullying. Pastoral Care, Child Education and Educational Research have reported and evaluated case studies of schools which have started the process of countering the problem. The Advisory Centre for Education (ACE)

(1990) produced a paper specifically designed to help governors manage bullying in their schools. In compliance with the 1986 and 1988 Education Reform Acts (op cit) governors are informed of their legal responsibilities and ACE (op cit) has provided them with a seventeen point 'bullying checklist.' Whether or not school governors have read this or acted upon its advice is unclear.

Contemporary Literature on Bullying in Schools.

While the 1870 Education Act made schooling freely available for children in Britain it only became compulsory after legislation in 1884. It was not until one hundred years later that the work of Elliott (op cit) on children's safety created some public interest in bullying. Before this, a literature search on bullying in Britain's schools would have been almost impossible. The few journal articles that there were, (Burk (1897), Crane (1971), McNamara (1975), Mills (1976), Lowenstein (1978) and Laslett (1982)) along with unpublished papers, had little effect. In fact, bullying was a problem hardly acknowledged.

Initially, when interest did emerge much of the work on bullying in Britain including Elliott's research remained unpublished. The 1987 Council for the Development of Cultural Cooperation (CDCC) Course/Seminar reported by O'Moore (1988, p 15) identified the paucity of large-scale research and lack of published research in the UK. Ironically, this too was never published but since 1989 a plethora of research interest and new literature about bullying in schools has emerged. The first book Bullying in Schools was

published by Trentham in 1989. Despite the work of Elliott, the authors, Tattum and Lane (1989, p 7) claimed their book as the first major work on bullying in schools saying:

"bullying is the most malicious and malevolent form of deviant behaviour widely practiced in our schools."

Strangely, Tattum and Lane never referred to Elliott's work or to the 'Kidscape' project. Paradoxically, Roland and Munthe (1989, foreword p 2) claim that without the tragic cases referred to by Elliott (op cit) Tattum and Lane's book (op cit) would not have received the extensive media coverage that it did.

Other reports and books emerged about bullying and discipline in British schools during 1989 including works by the Advisory Centre for Education (A.C.E.), Arora, Lane, Roland and Munthe, Stephenson and Smith and Elton. Roland and Munthe (1989, frwrd 4) cite the United Kingdom as particularly prone to bullying. Besag, Tattum and Lane and Roland are adamant that bullying to some degree affects all schools. Tattum and Herbert (1990, p 1) found that most educationalists agree that bullying in schools is widespread and persistent but concluded that the very people with the opportunity to do most about it in fact did very little.

Generally, books about bullying in schools; (Tattum and Lane (1989), Besag (1989), Roland and Munthe (1989), Elliott (1991) Stone (1993), Smith and Sharp (1994) and Olweus (1995)) provide a holistic perspective and agree unanimously that bullying in schools affects everyone. They attempt to understand the problems

of extent, form, frequency, duration, severity and intensity of bullying in schools and use surveys to estimate the scale of the problem nationally. The literature reflects a general problem for schools, more acute in some than others and broadly refers to;

- 1 The Scandinavian projects and international comparisons.
- 2 Research in Britain,
- 3 The definitions of bullying
- 4 Bully and victim typologies
- 5 The frequency, extent and forms of bullying in UK schools,
- 6 The causes and effects of bullying in UK schools
- 7 Age and gender differences
- 8 Case studies.
- 9 The solutions to bullying in UK schools
- 10 Advice for pupils, parents, families and teachers.

It would be inappropriate to explore these points in their entirety as it would take a disproportionate number of words from the issues of this limited thesis. Experts such as Besag (1989), Smith and Sharp (1994) and Olweus (1995) contend that the more schools do to counter the problem of bullying the more effective and successful interventions are likely to be. The more people of a school involved in coordinating, supporting and planning effective action to counter bullying the greater the likelihood of success.

Many of the texts will be referred to extensively later in the case study on bullying and during the examination of name-calling and toleration. However, the literature search first considers the definitions of bullying behaviour and then refers to and examines the development of aggressive behaviours in young children up to and including the age of eleven.

Definitions of Bullying .

Presently, there is no place in law for a definition of bullying. The precise boundaries of bullying are vague and have never been fully defined. Such disparate behaviours and situations make the task of defining bullying difficult, thus some authorities refuse on the grounds that it is too wide a subject. Besag (1989, p 9) points out that there is no one accepted definition of bullying, bullies or victims. Rogers (1991, p 6) strips away any analytical approach by saying that any child can be a bully and any child can be a victim. Whether the bullying is temporary, opportunistic and sporadic or persistent and longstanding, Rogers argues that bullies create victims and victims create bullies. In any case bullying should always be taken seriously and in reality, anyone who has to deal with it should be prepared and able to challenge all forms in any situation.

Some experts on bullying do support their work with a definition. As more is learnt about bullying they are becoming increasingly refined. Basically, each definition includes the idea of causing physical and mental distress. Elton, (1989, p 102) claims bullying as;

"both physical and psychological intimidation."

This definition appears broad, sparse, invokes little idea of child involvement and ignores the idea of deliberate intent.

Lane's (1989, p 96) definition does include intent stating:

"Bullying is any action or implied action such as threats or violence, intended to cause fear and distress."

Fights are surely intended to cause fear and distress but not all fighting is termed bullying. Smith and Sharp (1994, p 13) are adamant that it is not bullying when two children or young people of about the same strength have the odd fight or quarrel. Yet in Lane's (op cit) definition 'intended' appears reactive to any violence against a person. This implies for instance that police should not use truncheons in self-defence. If this criticism is to be avoided a definition of bullying needs to include evidence which suggests that the intention to cause fear and distress is wicked and perverse. This is made explicit by Tattum and Herbert (1990, p 3) who define bullying as;

"the wilful, conscious desire to hurt, threaten or frighten someone."

However, this definition does not include the idea that bullying can be long-standing and persistent. In the context of mobbing and generally accepted in Scandinavia, Roland's (1989, p 21) definition confirms the intention but he claims that bullying over time is a fairly stable kind of interaction between the bully agent and the helpless victim.

"Bullying is longstanding violence, physical or psychological, conducted by an individual or a group and directed against an individual who is not able to defend himself in the actual situation."

Tattum and Lane (1989, p 21) strongly emphasise the stability aspect. This is surprising as most authorities on bullying agree that while long-term interactions might be stable, as victims have no choice but to acquiesce, (King (1976, p 22), to the interaction, bullying over time has a destabilising effect upon them. The definition can also be criticised for being directed solely at boys. Bullying among girls, if to some extent different as Smith and Sharp (1994, p 6) recognise, has been found to be nearly as prolific and as insidious as bullying among boys.

Stephenson and Smith (1991, p 133) see bullying as an abuse of power in an unequal interaction. It is intended to and does cause distress. They argue that bullying does not necessarily have to be repeated as Roland's (op cit) definition implies. It is important if only to the victim that, if at all possible, a single incidence of bullying by one bully is stopped. The Smith and Sharp (1994, p 13) definition emphasise these points and emerged as a result of the Sheffield (op cit) project:

"We say a child or young person is being bullied, or picked on when another child or young person, or a group of children or young people, say nasty and unpleasant things to him or her. It is also bullying when a child or young person is hit, kicked, threatened, locked inside a room, sent nasty notes, when no one ever talks to them and things like that. These things can happen frequently and it is difficult for the child or the young person being bullied to defend himself or herself. It is also bullying when a child or young person is teased repeatedly in a nasty way.

Presumably the two age groups to which Smith and Sharp refer are the Key Stage 2 'children' and the Key Stage 3 'young people'

from the Sheffield project. At least this definition begins to distinguish between age and bullying. Bullying amongst children and young people may be different. Unfortunately the Smith and Sharp definition does not set apart and recognise as different the behaviours from each of the two age groups. This chapter later suggests that perhaps this is what ought to happen.

Since the early 1980s research by Roland and Olweus, three common characteristics conducive to bullying have emerged. Smith and Sharp (1994, p 7) and Olweus (1995, p 3) agree that bullying is;

- 1 **deliberately hurtful verbal, physical and/or psychological behaviour,**
- 2 **prolonged and repeated over a period of time,**
- 3 **wilfully perpetrated by the powerful whose actions dominate the powerless and penetrate their psyche.**

These suggest that form, extent, frequency, wilfulness, dominance and the effect of bullying on victims are major criteria in defining bullying. The overly long Smith and Sharp definition and the point by point view of Smith and Olweus (op cit) begin to reflect the inability of any one definition to expose every characteristic of bullying in a succinct and meaningful way.

If schools are to recognise and counter such behaviour, it is only sensible that they begin by distinguishing and accepting what is and what is not bullying behaviour. In line with the DfE. (1994, p 12) recommendation, everybody needs to know and agree what bullying is. In this respect schools have two alternatives; to consider and accept an authoritative definition or to develop

a self-styled one which suits the school. The latter has the advantages of promoting useful discussion, providing the opportunity for participation and identifying the range of opinions about bullying. This facilitates and encourages shared decision making and can promote the feeling of some ownership of the final outcome.

This cannot happen too early. There is no doubt that children as young as three or four have learnt how to bully. It is imperative that schools start the task of agreeing what bullying is and what should be done about it as children start school.

The development of bullying behaviour in pre-junior school children.

Relationships are the basis of social order and inextricably linked with behaviour, including bullying. If bullying is learnt rather than innate behaviour it follows that at some time the child has actively or passively experienced aggressive behaviour. Critical to their view of aggression is the variety, extent and frequency of aggressive behaviours with which they are in contact. In Peters' (1969 p 54) view children have to be initiated into forms and thoughts and behaviour, the rationale of which initially they cannot understand. Generally, aggressive behaviour is perceived by most adults as anti-social but this does not prevent many young children from becoming involved as aggressors or victims of aggression and can arise from a number of situations including television and family discord.

Besag (1989), Tattum and Lane (1989), Smith and Sharp (1994) and Olweus (1995) agree that one key factor which helps decide whether or not bullying behaviour will develop in a child is home-background. The developing cognitive, emotional, moral, and linguistic abilities are determined chiefly through lived experiences within the family. Unfortunately as Tattum and Herbert (1990, p 7) point out, some small children learn from their parents or from older siblings how to hurt and bully others. Elliott (1991, p 66) states:

"Young children are open to a compendium between nourishing interest and affection and being crippled psychologically by a steady downpour of psychic blows from significant others, weakening and distorting their self-concept."

Pearce (1991, p 78) identifies marital discord, depressive and irritable parents, large families, loss of one or other or both parents through death, divorce or prison and new babies as possible influences which can affect self-concept and create aggressive behaviour towards and by young children. Some parents fail entirely to teach their children **not** to be aggressive. Where adverse parental values, attitudes and practices exist, Casdagli et al (1990, p 10), many children learn aggressiveness by witnessing deliberate acts of aggression within their families and on television. The more these are experienced the more likely children begin to internalise and understand that aggressive behaviour is both appropriate and acceptable. Reinforcement, and partial reinforcement in particular, claims Stone (1979, p 24), is likely to be potent in the development of attitudes and social behaviour. Pearce (1991, p 74) classifies children who develop

these tendencies as aggressive bullies for they see little wrong in aggression.

Elliott (1991, p 66) recognises that learning the appropriateness and acceptability of behaviour is closely connected with the spiritual, moral, emotional, social and cultural development for which the family has first responsibility. Children cannot be left to find these connections for themselves. This does not necessarily mean that as these processes develop aggressive behaviour will decrease. What develops is what is perceived by the child, positively and negatively, as normal from their limited natural and immediately affective experiences.

Tattum and Lane (1989, p 33) state that it is difficult to say precisely when bullying begins in young children. At first they can be motivated to be aggressive through self-interest. Indeed, Besag (1989, p 81) points out that aggressive behaviour can be rewarding at this age. The dominant child keeps the snatched toy, gets the attention or makes the attacked child cry. Patterson (1967, p 80) claims that aggression at this stage can also be symbolic. Once the youngster snatches the toy and demonstrates and attains power and dominance over the weaker child, the toy is sometimes dropped. This is a dilemma. Aggressive behaviour which is intrinsically rewarding is likely to be more compelling a reason for continuing that behaviour than the external messages from adults who may object to it, even if the objection is aggressive. Such remedial action is likely to further reinforce in young children the idea that aggression is appropriate and acceptable. This strategy is one step towards bullying behaviour.

It may also have the effect of making the child's behaviour subversive and covert.

According to Tattum and Herbert (1990, p 7) some small children as young as three or four have learned that aggressive behaviour helps them get their own way but they may have learned too that creating fear in the victim is also a rewarding experience.

Olweus (1995, p 32) suggests that from an early age some children offer signals to others that they are worthless and insecure individuals who will not retaliate if attacked or insulted. It is the younger and weaker children who are most exposed and these, he claims, can be described as anxious or submissive types. In the case of boys, physical weakness, claims Olweus (1995, p 32), can make victims more vulnerable. The problem for young victims from Olweus' (1995, p 27) observation is that, unless stemmed, children who are bullied early in their life tend to be bullied when older.

These difficulties are compounded as aggressive young children may not at first deliberately intend to cause their victims physical injury or distress by psychological means. Rather than intending to hurt others, self-interest may prevent them from perceiving the effect on others of aggressive behaviour. By definition, if the hurt caused is not intended by young children who do not understand that their aggression affects others then they cannot be said to be bullying. Smith and Sharp (1994) and Olweus (1995) are emphatic that aggressive behaviour can only be termed bullying if the hurt caused to victims is intended. This stance is supported by Patterson (op cit) and Besag (op cit) who

name the hostile, power-assertive and impulsive behaviour of the young as aggression, not bullying.

Starting School.

Every child starts school with a milieu of previous experience of home, friends and other people. Cohen and Manion (1981, p 69) accept that there is no way of disentangling the countless environmental influences which determine life styles. Although each life style is uniquely different, borne of a blend of positive and negative experiences, children are drawn into one organisation with its own unique and intangible ethos. For both to succeed children need to adapt to school and schools need to accommodate the individual. However, so disparate are the values and attitudes of both that it is sometimes impossible to fulfil this obligation.

As mono-cultures, schools have the difficult task of pooling children with different values and attitudes to life, including aggression, and as such should attempt to provide an environment in which the security and safety of each child is paramount. As Cohen and Manion (1981, p 359) recognise, for the organisation to succeed, a child needs to adapt to the school and must choose whether s/he fulfils individual needs or the requirements attached to a given role. They claim significant personal adjustment is required in subordinating individual needs and norms against group requirements. However, to satisfy group needs may mean violating moral and personal values because the role demands are incompatible with personal needs.

This is further confounded by the hierarchical nature by which teachers and pupils have to co-exist. If the norm for a child's previous socialisation has been predominantly aggressive it is unlikely to change when the child starts school. Cohen and Manion (1981, p 359) suggest that to reduce role conflict with personal needs, structural arrangements can be organised by listing and prioritising classroom needs and sharing them with pupils. This may be called "participatory conformity," where conformity is agreed rather than imposed. This appears rather sophisticated particularly for younger children.

The learning of the norms which schools require of pupils can be made easier depending on the philosophies and practices in school. In one kind of school Dreeben (1977, p 324) identifies a central norm as one where pupils must learn to acknowledge that there are tasks that they must do alone. It is independence characterized by self-reliance, self-sufficiency and personal responsibility in handling tasks which, under different circumstances, the child could rightfully call upon others for help. Dreeben asserts that the norm of independence is learned within a pattern of classroom organisational practices and teacher/pupil actions which are designed to shape the child's experience.

The antithesis is Brookover's (1969, p 325) view of teachers as the controllers of the controlled. Waller (1932, p 325) goes further describing teacher-pupil relationships as a form of institutionalised dominance and subordination. The teacher's role is that of command and coerciveness and the pupil's role is

that of submission and compliance. Passive acceptance becomes a more desirable response to ideas than active criticism. This kind of school produces in some pupils a gradual and increasing non-conformity and gives reason and explanation to a number of deviances. It is the best kind of school for the bully to learn deviant behaviour and have this behaviour reinforced by adults who find fear and coercion their only means of pupil control.

Planned or unplanned, whichever model schools decide to introduce to children it can be assumed that the initiation into activities are intended to be worthwhile with an emphasis on the individual in a group experience. Naturally, the development and maintenance of good personal relationships among and between adults and children in school is desirable. Peters (1969, p 58) insists that teachers must be the exemplars in the social development of children. The main task for children in this development is the initiation into and accommodation of a inexhaustible multitude of variable and dynamic relationships.

Many schools expect also that, as they get older, pupils will gradually regulate behaviour independently. Peters (1969, p 197) claims that autonomy such as this implies the ability to determine and regulate one's own life by rules which one has accepted for oneself. Piaget (1969, p 197) has shown that such an attitude towards rules is generally impossible before the age of about seven years and Tattum and Herbert (1990, p 10) warn that without the chance for children to gain self-control and become socially able to negotiate and compromise then bullying behaviour is likely to continue to develop.

According to Rubin (1980, p 79) there is a strong and pervasive bias to form social relationships from which both positive and negative social structures emerge. Unfortunately, schools can be the catalyst where bullying regimes and patterns develop and flourish as Smith and Sharp (1994), Besag (1989), Elliott (1991), and Olweus (1995) recognise. Clearly, some children start school having experienced aggressive behaviour at home. From Frost's (op cit) experience as a headteacher, such behaviour is learnt early and can quickly transfer to school even on the first day. Even though many conflicts among young children are often brief and soon forgotten as Besag (1989, p 80) recognises, others can develop later into long-term victimisation. Of all the social skills and relationships which develop from early school days, bullying, claims Frost (op cit), is the most profoundly disturbing for those who experience the humiliation and shame.

A fifty year old writes anonymously how forty-five years earlier he was bullied unmercifully on his first day at school. He felt that the early attacks were because he was severely crossed-eyed and small for his age. The man was later bullied as he became more introvert and withdrawn. Olweus (1995, p 32) suggests that repeated harassment must considerably increase the anxiety, insecurity and negativism of themselves rendering the victim even weaker and less resolute than before. This can become an ever-worsening cyclical situation.

Frost (1991, p 31) found in her research that over half the pupils felt they had been bullied in their first two weeks in school. Children soon learn that their supervision in school

varies and is not always closely monitored. This inevitably leads to some experiences with each other and initiations into behaviours which, in terms of school ideology would be considered not worthwhile. But as Patterson (1967, p 80) observed, 85 per cent of children aged 5 - 7 years still find aggressive behaviour rewarding. This suggests that behaviour patterns which may have developed in some children before they start school have extended well into the first three years at school. This is supported by Manning's (1978, p 33) view that patterns of aggressive behaviour shown by individuals in the nursery school still tended to be present at seven and eight years of age. Frost (1991, p 31), found that 95% of pupils entering the junior school had been bullied. Compared with other research findings this figure appears high, which suggests that the feeder infant school has serious problems.

In line with other findings, Smith (1990, p 1) reported that 27% of older primary pupils involved in the Sheffield project were being bullied; higher than the overall South Yorkshire figure of 20%. From a sample of 700 children aged eleven, Newson and Newson (1984, p 8) found that 26 per cent of the mothers felt their child was being bullied at school, 4 per cent seriously and a further 22 per cent were being bullied in the streets. Elliott's (1986, p 11) figure was considerably higher. Her study of 4000 children concluded that approximately 38 per cent were being bullied with 8 per cent of boys and 2 per cent of girls affected chronically.

Elliott (1991, p 71) maintains that a significant number of aggressive children at some stage manage eventually to gain some control over their anti-social behaviour and can do reasonably well. Most children begin to differentiate for themselves what is and what is not appropriate and acceptable behaviour. Maccoby (1980, p 33) emphasises that a child needs to have reached an appropriate level of cognitive development involving understanding of self and of the feelings of others in order to be capable of carrying out an intentionally hurtful act. What regulates this is controversial. One reason may be in Stone's (1979, p 78) view that seven years is about the age when children are able to begin to think about actions which previously they could only carry out practically. This suggests that the developing ability to be reflective helps the child consider present behaviour in order to regulate future behaviour.

To begin to understand that bullying is inappropriate and unacceptable there needs to develop within the child a consciousness about the effects of aggressive behaviour upon others. As the standards set from their backgrounds are laden with the values unique to them from their experiences in their upbringing, appropriateness and acceptability are never the same for children. Peters (1969, p 76) suggests that the control and canalization of these experiences, while environmentally bound, have to be internalised for the regulation both of wants and of emotional reactions to natural objects and people. It is this regulation which enables children to begin to differentiate between appropriate and inappropriate behaviours and is one

determinant of intentionality; the deliberate infliction of hurt upon another.

For those children who don't entirely overcome their aggressive behaviour, bullying can become deliberate, provocative and calculated to hurt, more so, according to Macdonald (1989, p 267) where the realisation of intent becomes obvious to the bully in the effect it has on the victim. Intent is not a reason for nor a form of bullying. Tattum and Herbert (1990, p 11) distinguish intent by the motivation to premeditated and calculated behaviours designed initially to test, goad and challenge victims and finally overpower them. Intent is an integral part of the development and preparation in the psyche of the bully to determine what shall be done to victimise another person and to what level the aggression can progress and be most damaging. According to Besag (1989, p 4) bullies intend to cause distress for their own gratification or gain. Tattum and Herbert (1990, p 7) describe the motivation of bullies as getting pleasure from other youngsters' pain, fear and humiliation. It seems then that self-interest never entirely disappears from the psyche of the bully.

Kohlberg (1981, p 33) suggests that some children may have genuine difficulty in understanding the views of others and, being unable to empathize with the distress of their peers, regard their own teasing and taunting as just 'messaging about.' When challenged at school, bullies frequently claim their intent as playing or teasing, thus rationalising, if only to themselves, that their bullying behaviour is acceptable and appropriate.

These are ways in which bullies can persuade themselves that their aggression towards others is also harmless. Furthermore, this placing of a benevolent interpretation on their own anti-social behaviour is designed to convey to adults acceptable and reasonable behaviour.

Despite visible signs of victim distress, children at school frequently excuse their aggressive behaviour towards others by explaining "I was only playing Miss." This attempt to convince themselves and others that their behaviour is trivial is an avoidance strategy. While it may keep them out of trouble with adults, the self-denial may indicate a real and inner awareness of the inappropriateness and unacceptability of the behaviours. By their reasoning of playing, teasing or just messing about, bullies do not acknowledge to themselves the severity of their behaviour. While this pattern of excuse and self-fulfilling benevolence continues to influence the bully, albeit misguidedly, then it is likely that the bullying behaviour will continue to emerge. Even if a case of bullying is brought to a conclusion satisfactorily the likelihood is that the bully will transfer the behaviour to another unsuspecting victim. This can perpetuate itself throughout a bully's life in school unless there is some intervention which can alter the delusion.

Naturally, the earlier the bully realises that the explanation of playing, teasing or messing about is a delusion and in fact the behaviour seriously affects others the safer those others become. However, as has been suggested, this realisation is unlikely to occur in children before the age of seven. By then, many of the

group dynamics, influences and determinants of behaviour in children are schematically in place. If the proposal is accepted seven is about the age when the inappropriateness and unacceptability of bullying behaviour can be understood by children. Not until around seven can their deluded reasoning for doing be realised by them, it seems that junior schools have an important role in attempting to begin to change the pattern.

Applying the range of schemas and motives from self-interest to intentional, power-coercive bullying to a developmental continuum appears to place junior school children with the widest range of possible motives and intentions to bully. If Manning (op cit) is correct, "self-interest bullying" among younger junior pupils has the potential of emerging as "intended bullying" in upper junior groups. As pupils get older, the strategies and intentions developed by bullies to bully another are likely to become increasingly more sophisticated and correspondingly difficult to sort out. Unfortunately, many junior schools still appear impotent in preventing these developments.

This range has enormous implications for junior schools. Where the age of pupils ranges between seven to eleven years, a single approach to bullying behaviour by teachers may not best serve the phase. The literature search suggests that some younger children bully others for quite different reasons from older pupils. The development in some older children of the intention to bully may require different strategies to deal with bullying from the way cases among younger pupils are handled. The tendency of research, (Arora and Thompson (1987, p 9) and Smith (1990) and (1992)) has

been to focus on areas where the frequency, duration and extent is most severe, generally between ages nine and twelve. In this respect this thesis is much the same. Research has tended to focus on these pupils, perhaps because most are sufficiently able to answer questionnaires and give more detailed interviews. Their exposure to and experiences of bullying provide richer and deeper information and data.

From such research there are two clear statements to make about children at school and bullying. First, Olweus (1995, p 21) states categorically:

"The school is without doubt where most bullying occurs."

Overall, and it will be worse in some than others, schools appear to be failing the right of at least 25 per cent of pupils to feel safe and secure. Many schools appear impotent to change those pupils who enter school with a history of aggressive behaviours. For some 10 per cent of pupils, Smith (1990, p 10), who bully in schools, the early "innocent," unintended strategies can further develop into intentional and provocative bullying. In terms of frequency and intensity, instead of decreasing, in some schools they increase, peaking at around age eleven as Tattum and Lane (1989, p 29) demonstrate. Indeed, children who find themselves in schools where little or nothing is done to counter the problem and where the model of teaching is predominantly coercive, such a structure may actually encourage bullying.

Second, the most prolific and widespread form of bullying in schools is name-calling. From the responses of the 6,700 pupils about the forms and extent of bullying behaviour in schools Smith and Sharp (1994, p 16) of the Sheffield project state:

"Most of the bullying took the form of name-calling."

This is as far as Smith and Sharp (1994) take the subject. There is no analysis of when name-calling becomes bullying nor what effect name-calling has upon victims. Their assumption is that the pupils who nominated name-calling as bullying had found it to be sufficiently hurtful to warrant a response. Similarly, while Besag (1989, pp 43 - 45) understands just how widespread name-calling is she does not attempt to quantify its extent or frequency but acknowledges that it is a problem which is not confined just to children. Searches from the Internet (18/7/97) (21/7/97) (30/7/97) about name-calling produced nothing substantive.

The power of abusive name-calling should not be under-estimated. It is probably the most common strategy which bullies use to fulfil their motives for developing a rationale to bully and to continue bullying victims. It appears that labelling satisfies the needs of the bully and gives reason to further dehumanize the victim. This is of crucial concern to this thesis. As well as a form of bullying which hurts the psyche of a victim, name-calling also reduces the status of the victim to that of something worth bullying. Furthermore, it is proposed that name-calling is a major factor in the development of bullying behaviour which can

start as harmless teasing. Eventually, with persistent name-calling a bully internalizes schematically that a victim has indeed become what the label says s/he is. Nutbrown (1994, p 23) recognises the difficulties in interrupting and diverting schemas once in place. Little can be done about what a bully thinks of a victim. Only their actions can be reduced or stopped. Unless checked, repetitive name-calling is therefore likely to deepen the resolve to further bully a victim.

Besag (1989) (p 47) focuses mainly on racial name-calling, claiming that most labelling in society are those who are identified by their race as being different from the majority. This quiet erosion of identity and self-esteem by respectable whites, she points out, begins as early as four years of age. If Besag (1989, p 48) is correct that one of the most hurtful and damaging forms of racism is name-calling then it follows that other groups of people or individuals can be equally hurt and effected by its use. Cohn (1987, p 48) found that the hurt caused from name-calling had a longer-lasting effect on victims than physical bullying.

In the serious case at Burnage School, Manchester, when the bully Coulbourn killed the Asian pupil Ahmed, Macdonald (1989, p 45) concluded that Coulbourn had depersonalised Ahmed to the point where he viewed him as a thing, downgraded and fair game for bullying and ultimately for killing. Ahmed had become "a stupid Paki," (sic) not a person with feelings but "a stupid Paki." Macdonald (1989, p 45) claims that Ahmed lost all his identity as an individual. Coulbourn's motive was not to kill someone from

another race but to get revenge upon a child from a dispute created by racism. Killing Ahmed may not have been possible without the preliminary labelling which created his low, self-styled, self-perpetuated but misguided impression of Ahmed.

Although Macdonald (op cit) identified the effect of name-calling in the initial stages of the Ahmed killing, what is unclear generally is the role of casual and/or serious name-calling in the formative stages of a case of bullying. The suggestion is that the down-grading of a person through persistent name-calling frees a bully from moral obligations or social responsibilities to their victim. The bully can continue to exploit a victim without guilt or conscience. The literature so far read does not cater for this in any detail.

Racism aside, what is surprising is the scant attention paid to name-calling and its effect when used as a strategy for bullying. Perhaps Besag (1989, p 48) is right when she notes that name-calling is not taken seriously enough. But as Cohn recognises, if the effect can be so devastating one wonders why it has been ignored. Perhaps in our culture, name-calling is so prodigious a problem that many people choose to ignore it from a deep-seated knowing that it would be hypocritical not to. This applies to many groups including some teachers. It is reminiscent of the difficulties some teachers had in reconciling the use of excessive corporal punishment while at the same time admonishing pupils accused of bullying other pupils.

Macdonald (1989, p 128) reports how a member of staff from Burnage called pupils "spineless turds." While he denied telling a pupil he would kick the shit out of him, the teacher did admit to calling pupils "dickheads, shitheads and stupid bastards." For some reason this outcome was not investigated and while it appears a severe case it serves to show to what extremes a few teachers will go in order to humiliate, abuse and bully pupils but the extent of this in the UK is not clear. The lax attitude of some teachers at Burnage School to name-calling pupils appeared to exacerbate the school's problems. To some extent it seems that name-calling of some pupils by some teachers may have replaced the physical extremes of corporal punishments pre-1982.

Name-calling, tolerance and the effect on attitudes in schools.

Thomas (1986, p 3) claims that the rapport the staff has with the individual child is essential in moving towards a better school. Although this assumes that the rapport is positive, the attitudes and behaviours of teachers are important generative factors in the social ambience of schools. Besag (1989), Olweus (1995) and Smith and Sharpe (1994) identify particularly the importance of teacher attitudes towards bullying and to the general ethos which can nurture or prevent it.

The word "attitudes" is a generic term for a number of overt and covert social bearings of an individual, both psychological and sociological. While Cohen and Manion (1981, p 192) suggest body movements, gestures and posture may indicate attitudes, there are other, more intangible attitudes bound into personality which

effect behaviour. A more tangible way to examine attitudes in schools is to consider name-calling as an indicator which, in the respect of this case, is allied to tolerance.

Many of the general books including those by Besag (1989), Olweus (1995) and Smith and Sharpe (1994) link attitude generally with bullying but make little or no reference to toleration.

Relationships and attitudes are inextricably linked and, although intangible, affect the climate of a school. It is an accumulated effect of individual attitudes of a school population which bear on the way a school works. These are the cultural, social, spiritual and moral codes which, in the process of accountability deemed by the Education Reform Act (1988), are criteria in the inspection framework.

It is possible for an anti-bullying climate to exist within a class group but where the group norms are permanently oriented towards cooperation and tolerance. For instance, Cowie and Sharp (1992, p 89) suggest that the poor ethos of a class can be most effectively changed where the values of cooperation are promoted throughout the curriculum. Cooperation implies social tolerance. Walker (1989, p 109) states:

"...there is little value in "teaching" non-violence for one or two hours per week when the principles advocated are not put into practice on a day to day basis."

Tolerance is well documented by Peters (1969, p 109), King (1976), Rawl (1972, p 212) and Weale (1985, pp 16-34) as a

component of and connected with attitudes. Obvious as it may seem, the idea that intolerance is linked with bullying behaviour, particularly name-calling, is a point not well identified or scrutinized in the literature so far read. Only Macdonald (1989, p 166) links "tolerance" to any extent with bullying behaviour but refers singly to the Burnage inquiry.

Thomas (1986, p 1) notes increased intolerance and violence and less social cohesion in all recognised institutions such as the family, church and community and claims these have made schools a battlefield of conflicting ideologies and interests. He claims that toleration in schools is deteriorating. If this is so then the reverse holds true that intolerance in schools is increasing. If there is a connection between tolerance and the amount and severity of name-calling among pupils [and possibly teachers] then it follows that name-calling can be said to indicate the levels of tolerance shown by individuals in their inter-personal relationships. As the ethos of a school in part hinges upon relationships then the extent and nature of name-calling could be an indicator of the social, moral and cultural climate.

Thomas' view does not explore the complexities of toleration which Peters and Rawl et al., recognise nor identifies the schools or the individuals or groups who are generally becoming more intolerant. If, as King (1976, p 31) suggests, toleration is about self-restraint then levels cannot be assessed beyond individuals. What Thomas (op cit) seems concerned with is the sum total of those levels. This points to the collective identity and ethos of a school based upon individual contributions.

On this premise, people in successful schools accept individual differences between them which, for Weale (1985, p 16), is taken to imply social toleration. He claims that tolerance involves the acceptance of differences that really matter to the individual. A successful and tolerant school can accommodate and accept these differences and is reflected in the behaviours of its individual members. Rogers (1983, pp 167-168) perceives this as non-judgemental empathy, a genuineness to accept others as they are.

The problem with the term "toleration" as King (1976, p 155) points out is that tolerance reflects a genuine objection to a person or event. This is characterized by the self-restraint of the tolerator to accept what is to be tolerated and not challenge or attempt to change it. Even though there is some form of objection, self-restraint means not acting negatively against an agent. The toleration level and self-restraint shown by people depends upon the nature and seriousness of the objection to the agent in question. Self-restraint by an individual can be applied similarly to another individual and to an organisation.

It can also be self-restraint by a group. According to King (1976, p 155), the logic of a group imposing a restraint upon itself is simple. It cannot, he claims, be a case of group self-restraint but only individual restraint, where every member restrains him/herself. In reality, self-restraint waxes and wanes situationally. According to King (1976, p 115) intolerance consists initially of a negative judgement, assumption or assessment combined with some type of negative act. While individual children within a group may not conspire to create

communal intolerance of a child or a number of children, they do develop implicit understandings of what is and what is not acceptable to them and the group. The consequence of individual or group dislike or disapproval of another can be aggressive. Hence, even with a degree of self-restraint, acute uninhibited intolerance by some of another could be interpreted by those outside the influence of the situation as bullying behaviour.

For children, the rules which bind or disintegrate social groups are reflected in the behaviour with each other. Weale (1985, p 17) maintains that while there is a need for a common set of laws and customs in any society, they restrict the freedom that persons have to pursue their own way of life. Tolerance is the acceptance by others of the considerable personal moral, social, cultural, emotional and spiritual differences of an individual within a group. Conflict and disapproval might be judged by adults as inappropriate behaviour when in fact children may not have developed to a sufficient degree the capacity for self-restraint, hence, toleration. As King (1976, p 155) says:

"In every organisation or group it is understood that there is some behaviour which is encouraged and some which is frowned upon. Where behaviour is frowned upon, there are various ways in which such disapproval is expressed and normally with a view to inhibiting the behaviour in question....In general, where any social goal is agreed upon, it is equally understood that there will be various possible ways of realising it. And where social regulation has been infringed, there will be many ways of punishing those guilty of offence, but these are never regarded as equally acceptable, and some are positively excluded."

One way which children punish others who infringe their social regulations is to name-call them. It is direct, quick, generally effective and an immediate way of indicating child intolerance. The complex and varied social structures which give rise to intolerance and the associated name-calling appears widespread among many pupils in schools. However, by the very learning of the levels of toleration exhibited by others, pupils soon know who is likely to bully and who can be bullied. If this can be substantiated then it follows that the control and reduction of name-calling may be a significant step towards a solution to the problems of reducing and preventing bullying.

If by some adult intervention the level of social toleration in pupils can be improved there should be a corresponding decrease in name-calling. The suggestion is that schools which can reduce name-calling may in turn have an effect on the extent of bullying behaviour. Some schools might find it easier to admit that name-calling is the problem rather than bullying.

Improving tolerance and countering name-calling should simultaneously reduce bullying and provide a better climate in schools. This has whole school implications for policy making and the strategies for improving the quality of life in a school. Unfortunately, from the literature so far read, there is no evidence that tolerance and name-calling have been linked. Nor has anyone suggested a correlation between the reduction of bullying from a reduction in name-calling.

CHAPTER THREE.

THE WORK ON BULLYING IN SCHOOL UNTIL 1992.

Summary.

The increased power to schools has meant greater delegation of responsibilities from the governors to the headteacher. LMS also prompted changes in the management structure of most schools. As a result many responsibilities have devolved to teachers who generally coordinate the curriculum and the pastoral work in their schools and has developed at Baden Road School since 1983. The outcomes of staff meetings have not been formally monitored. As in all State schools, the introduction of the National Curriculum in 1989 involved implementing new statutory orders. Constancy in revising curriculum and repeatedly trying to implement changed Orders (1991 and 1995) meant that other important aspects of school life, including bullying, did not merit or get similar scrutiny.

Independent of the curriculum initiatives, a number of teachers researched issues concerning their practice as part of their in-service studies for degrees but none of it seemed effective beyond the individual teacher. Two action research studies by the teacher-researcher on bullying, one in 1989 of a boy and the other in 1991 about a group of girls, revealed severe problems. Although the other teachers knew of the research, neither study became the focus of attention beyond informal interest. Even a two year 1990 - 1992 school wide anti-bullying project organised and monitored by the University of Sheffield failed to help counter the problem of bullying.

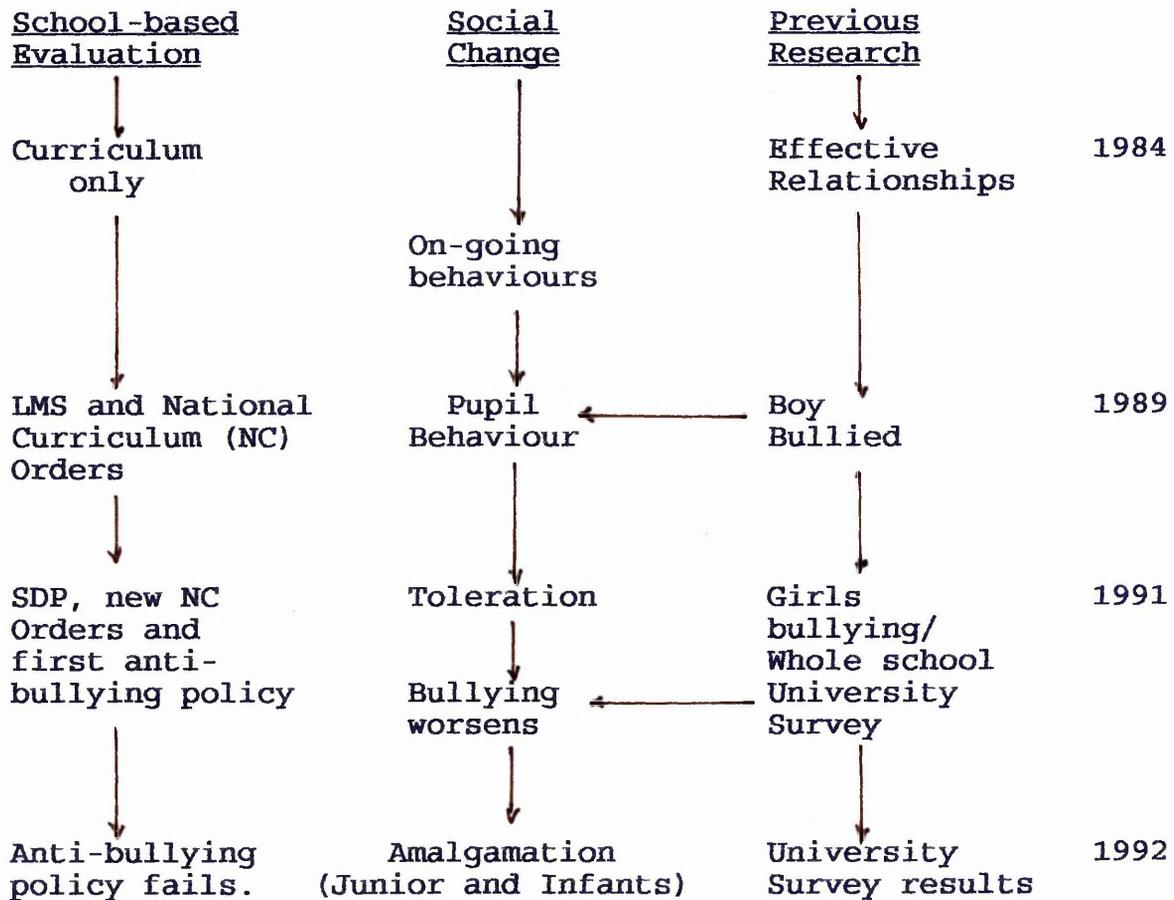
The results of the Sheffield Project revealed a worsening problem of bullying in the school. Name-calling was cited as the most common form to affect the school and the participant teachers in this case thought the same. Lunch time supervisors were helped in developing their role.

None of the three research initiatives appeared to bring about any significant changes to the social structure in school which was conducive to an anti-bullying regime. The continuing demand to implement revised statutory curriculum Orders meant that the results went unheeded by management and most teachers. The 1991 Baden Road anti-bullying policy was never implemented. The amalgamation of the adjoining infant and junior schools in 1992 meant a change to the management structure and all policies developed separately as two schools had to be re-adopted. The anti-bullying policy has yet to be reviewed. Some four years later, while bullying has been acknowledged by management as part of the school development plan (SDP), time has not yet been allocated for consultations to proceed. If permanent crisis-management of bullying in school is to be avoided then another attempt to implement a working policy has to be made based this time on strategies which are acceptable.

The Management of Bullying in School pre 1992.

Table one summarises the events in Baden Road School which, directly or indirectly, affected the management of bullying in school. Curriculum evaluation is well-established but the moral, social and cultural needs of pupils have not been monitored as thoroughly.

TABLE ONE. A timetable connecting events which had a bearing on the management of bullying at Baden Road School.



Curriculum development in Baden Road Primary School since 1983.

Mr Jackson was appointed headteacher at Baden Road School in 1983 and with the support of the governors was seconded for one term

to research into relationships in primary schools. The Sheffield L.E.A. report called The Development of Effective Relationships in the Primary School, (Thomas 1986), included contributions by Mr Jackson. He recognised that management style was an important influence towards a successful school. This is congruent with Besag's (1989, p 106) view that one of the most pervasive factors influencing the quality of life for all in a school is perhaps the style of management at all levels. This, she claims, is what enables the ideology of a school to be translated into effective practice. Mr Jackson advocated and practised a participatory and open approach to management in school and his research helped confirm that his management of relationships was congruent with his beliefs.

Mr Jackson takes a participatory role in evaluation meetings with the coordinator for a particular curriculum area as leader. The delegation of real authority to coordinate is crucial, suggest Landers and Myers (1984, p 132), if participatory decision making using a team approach is to be successful. In their role as coordinators, teachers plan and decide curriculum programmes based on current needs, priorities and, as they emerge, on the views of other teachers. While Mr Jackson has the power and right to veto those decisions on curriculum made by the teachers, he rarely does so. It is more a case of negotiation and re-negotiation which usually results in a decision by consensus or consent where teachers generally are willing to adapt to the collective wisdom.

Just as the teachers do, Mr Jackson may contribute ideas at any of the meetings. Even though the role of individuals, their participation, authority or influence varies from meeting to meeting, this process, he believes, also allows for participatory decision making and keeps teachers informed. However, while the participatory objective is real, (Conway (1984 p 213), such is the organisation of meetings that participation cannot be assumed. Nor can the effect or the perceived effect of individual contributions be measured against the final outcome. These fluctuate according to the status or the perceived status of each participant and their role within the organisation. Status can be hierarchical while Smith and Sandler (1974, p 214) indicate that perceived competence is a major determinant of status.

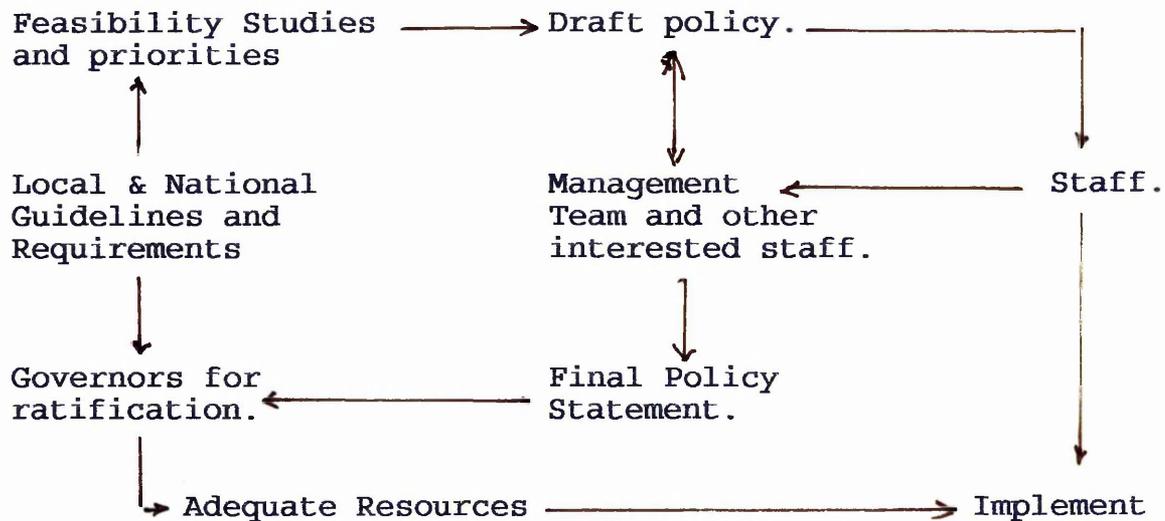
The curriculum evaluation meetings at Baden Road School involve;

1. the focus on and examination of existing practice and the identification of good primary practice in school with an emphasis on curriculum matters.
2. negotiated change where classroom practice can be improved or needs to be different,
3. recommendations which are grounded in consensus/consent,
4. implementing change in classroom practice and preparing to start another evaluation at staff meetings.
5. the review of previous curriculum evaluations.

Even though the changes brought about by the introduction of the Education Reform Act 1988 (op cit) made governors statutorily responsible and accountable for curriculum, behaviour etcetera, there was no reason to suggest why the curriculum meetings could

not continue as they had. While policy decisions ultimately are the responsibility of the governors, for many schools, policy development, particularly those related teaching and learning, are generally delegated to the headteacher. It is essential therefore that governors are confident that the decisions made and policies developed in school match statutory requirements. As a response to the Reform Act (op cit) Mr Jackson formed a management team in 1989 involving himself, the deputy and two "allowance B" teachers. **Table two** maps the position of the Management Team within the management structure of the school in relation to needs, staff, policy making and governors.

TABLE TWO: A Map Of The Organisation Of Policy Making At Baden Road Junior School



The weekly meetings were open to any member of the teaching staff. The group helped coordinators plan their curriculum evaluation programmes and check draft policies. The team also formulated those non-curricula policies delegated from the governors to the headteacher. The methods suggested by the D.E.S (1989) for the introduction and management of the National Curriculum (1989) (NC) appeared in line with the existing cyclical develop and review arrangement. The National Curriculum

core subjects of English, mathematics and science were given priority. Teachers used many of the weekly curriculum meetings to negotiate and share coverage of the programmes of study (POS) of each subject. The underlying stability and collegiate rapport of the staff in school meant that reaching a consensus or consent was easier to achieve. By December 1991 the teaching staff had developed and the Governors had ratified policies relating to;

1. Primary Science. 1989.
2. Mathematics. 1990.
3. English. 1990.
4. Technology. 1991.
5. Religious Education. 1991.
6. Anti-bullying as part of P.S.E. 1991. (App)

With the objective of participatory decision making there was a better chance that these would be converted into practice but there was no guarantee that this would happen. The extent to which policy recommendations were converted into classroom practice was not formally monitored. The DES (1989, p 15) recognises that after the work of audit and policy construction, it is easy for the head and senior staff to assume that an action plan, once agreed, will somehow look after itself. Mr Jackson points out (App 1, p 1) that although informal observations were made particularly by himself and the teacher who coordinated each programme much depended heavily upon;

1. individualized interpretations of the recommendations,
2. the commitment of teachers to implement changes which each regarded as professionally acceptable to them,
3. expectations of and unintended pressure from other staff,
4. time, finance and resources to support the changes.

What teachers agree to in principle and set into policy is not necessarily what they practise. At Baden Road this is left mainly to the professional integrity of individual teachers but Mr Jackson (1991, p 4) is confident that much of the policy criteria in school has been met. Yet the DES (1989, p 15) strongly assert that progress should be formally checked for each task against the success criteria associated with the target. Sustaining commitment is a key task for the head, senior staff and team leaders. If the conversion from policy to practice is to be fully realised then some formal way of monitoring policy implementation will need to be introduced in school.

While there is a collective obligation to implement the 1995 POS Orders, such are their numbers that individual teachers of Key Stage Two at Baden Road School agree informally that there is no way of converting into practice every single statement in the manner or depth they would wish. Like other schools, Baden Road has tried to implement three major changes to curriculum in 1989, 1991 and 1995. The cumulative demand to implement at once nine National Curriculum subjects is unrealistic and recognised as such by Dearing (1994) in his summary of the 1991 Curriculum Orders. It seems that Shepherd (op cit) is considering making the National Curriculum eleven in number with the introduction of national religious education and morality programmes.

For seven years now the main focus of evaluation meetings at Baden Road has revolved around the core curriculum. Even foundation subjects including physical education have remained unevaluated because of this. Though curriculum planning and

development should closely reflect policy, the pressures and difficulties in meeting these demands means that teachers continue to prioritise and focus mainly on curriculum content at the expense of other equally pressing matters.

To some extent National Curriculum demands have over-ridden the possibility to evaluate other equally important, wide-ranging issues including bullying. While the Baden Road Development Plan (App 2, p 1) identifies many concerns and key issues important to the school, teacher time in meetings is still bound by curriculum for the next two years. Although the present 1944 Education Act legislation binding schools to a religious programme of work might alter, the law does not require the same of their cultural, moral, and social development. Despite the crucial role these play in deciding some degree of success for schools and while not ignored at Baden Road School, as they are not connected with the National Curriculum they have suffered in terms of planning, policy making and curriculum development.

The 1992 Amalgamation into Baden Road Primary School of the adjoining infant and junior school and its effect on the management of bullying.

The problems of introducing an anti-bullying policy were exacerbated by the need in 1992 to amalgamate the junior school with the adjoining infant and nursery school to become Baden Road Primary School. Pressure had been applied to LEAs to reduce the number of schools and to make the remaining schools more cost effective in terms of pupil numbers and class sizes. During March 1992 the priority for everyone in school seemed to focus on

uncertainties about who the new headteacher would be and how individual roles of teachers might be affected. The transitional governing body formed from the two schools appointed Mr Jackson and then the two existing deputies. Elections were held to establish a new governing body. Responsibilities continued to fulfil the Education Reform Act 1988 but the school policies now needed to embrace children aged 3+ to 10+.

The number of pupils increased from 212 to 420 and the staff, including non-teaching personnel from 24 to 49. Baden Road effectively became a new school. The management team was re-organised to include members from the junior, infant and nursery department. This doubled its size from four to eight along with other teacher participants but the management model (op cit) remained the same. Excepting the dictats of statutory requirements the school now needed new policies.

The new school development plan developed by senior management allocated time to allow coordinators from each department to form curriculum policies for the school. The anti-bullying policy (1991) had been a junior school initiative and there was no corresponding infant or nursery policy to combine with it. This policy became void in 1992 and has not yet been renewed.

In the same year a local school closed and Baden Road Primary School accommodated and absorbed forty more pupils without any increase in staffing. Class sizes increased by an average 10% with one class up five pupils from 27 to 32 an increase of over 18%. The governors decided to limit class sizes to thirty two

pupils per class but in a recent case of appeal by a parent to the LEA, the ruling was overturned and a pupil was admitted to make one class size of 33. Schools in other local education authorities are experiencing far worse problems. Despite union objections, some primary classes have upwards of forty pupils.

Kruif (1989, p 54) recognises that bullying problems can be more easily hidden in large classes. However, there is a distinct lack of correlative evidence which links bullying with larger class sizes. This would need a large scale survey in different areas where schools have large numbers of pupils in their classes. Elton (1989, p 197) states that research into the effects of class size seems to have concentrated more on academic achievement than on behaviour, and there does not seem to be any clear consensus among researchers on whether small class sizes produce better results in either area. Mortimore (1988, p 197) found some association between smaller class sizes and better behaviour but the main weight of professional opinion against larger classes should not be ignored, claims Elton (1989, p 197). A reduction in class size would be an effective way of improving standards of classroom behaviour. Elton (op cit) concluded that he could not find a consensus on what constituted the optimum class size for this purpose.

Despite Elton's (op cit) doubts, the larger class sizes at Baden Road School does not help counter the possibility that bullying might increase because of it. Additionally there is no evidence which suggests that with the amalgamation of the infant and junior schools the issue of bullying will be higher on the

school's agenda. One way of circumventing the problem of time to evaluate but which addresses the problem of bullying has been through school-based research. In their reference to bullying, Smith and Sharp (1992, p 47) recognise that it is important to validate perceptions of success or failure so that we can continue to improve and to enhance our ideas and practice. It is only through rigorous and thorough evaluation that we can be sure that the progress we perceive is in fact what we intend.

However, this ideal is beset with problems. Research studies by teachers at Baden Road which fulfilled degree requirements appeared to have no clear impact on school. Between 1989 and 1991 four teachers from a staff of twelve gained degrees or higher qualifications as a result of researching into a variety of issues. They focussed more on individual pupils, classrooms, classes and on related issues such as classification, bullying, racial awareness et al. The only clues suggesting research work was being conducted was from the need to interview teachers or complete questionnaires.

The studies were independent of the major curriculum initiatives and were not formally recognised or reviewed in staff meetings. The low-key approach by the individual teachers who studied their practice meant it was difficult for others to know what results emanated from the research or to what extent it was transmitted into school for the benefit of others. Despite the variety of research designs for which degrees were gained, there was never a suggestion of a collective review of any of the research work. For their own reasons, the teacher-researchers rarely spoke of

results, even informally. As a result none of the issues arising from any of the research ever emerged as whole school reviews.

Small-scale research into bullying in school in 1989 and 1991.

The first piece of insider research into bullying in Baden Road School in 1989 involved independent classroom observations, interventions and the development of classroom strategies to help reduce the bullying and victimisation of a boy aged nine. He was ostracised and isolated and, due to poor social skills, his attempts to make friends were constantly rebuffed. Peers were clearly intolerant of his behaviours. There was an overwhelming disdain for him from all the children in his class who were otherwise outwardly pleasant. The research enquired of his strategies to cope, how others responded to him and to identify from the cycle of deteriorating behaviours what could be changed to help. This led to intensive counselling for the boy and his mother who, up until the research intervention, had not realised just how desperate the situation was for her son.

Another independent study about bullying in a group of Y5 girls led to a counselling programme for the bully. This dominant girl led a group of 'friends' to exhibit intolerant behaviour of one member who was isolated while others were favoured. Except the leader, girls in the group appeared to take turns at being ostracised and upset but identity with and allegiance to the group was strong. Group affiliation seemed more important than being hurt or scared of each other. Even during their ostracism it was as if the girls knew the isolation would be temporary.

Despite not knowing when, they were eventually reinstated into the group but all this meant was that the victim would re-join ranks to begin to isolate another member.

One feature was the ability of all the girls to keep covert the nature of the behaviour. Demoralised girls did not allow their immediate or long-term upset to become public. The behaviours remained undetected by the teaching fraternity for over three years. This secrecy probably extended to parents. It was only when a mother came into school concerned that her daughter was being bullied that the research started. Such codes of secrecy are recognised by authorities on bullying as a common feature of bullying behaviour but in this case neither the bully nor the victims typified other criteria. The academic abilities of the girls varied from average to very good and their backgrounds were stable with parents who were supportive of school.

Both cases offered solutions, recommended changes and developed hypotheses. However, despite the informal interest shown in the research by individual teachers there was no evidence which suggested an emerging consensus that bullying in school was a major problem or that it should lead to the development of an anti-bullying policy. Such an issue seemed over-shadowed by the seemingly endless task of understanding and implementing National Curriculum criteria. Teachers still used strategies to deal with bullying as it arose using methods according to their own experience of dealing with previous cases. Simply, bullying was managed in school as crises emerged.

Even a two year whole school anti-bullying project (1990 - 1992) regulated and monitored by the University of Sheffield made little impact on Baden Road School.

The 1990 - 1992 University of Sheffield research into bullying.

The Advisory Centre for Education, (A.C.E.) (1990, p 11) recognized the initiative of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (CGF) to stimulate public interest in bullying and advised schools and LEAs to take the problem seriously. In 1990 the CGF coopted a team from the University of Sheffield to inquire into bullying in schools. With LEA support the university advertised the project and from the responses chose a range of school types in various areas of Sheffield; 17 primary and 7 secondary. Baden Road School was one of these and consent was given by the headteacher and all the teachers agreed to participate. One primary school withdrew during the project.

Publicity, the Media and the Sheffield Project.

The remaining 23 schools were asked in the first instance whether or not they preferred publicity. The anti-bullying work at Baden Road was kept low-key. The headteacher allowed the project team to use Baden Road School provided there was no publicity. While parents were informed of their child's participation in the project, little else was mentioned to them. One parent mentioned INSET (App 10 p 6g) as a way to support and train teachers about bullying, suggesting teachers train to help them recognise it more easily. While Mr Jackson wanted parents to know, he did not

wish it generally known that the school was involved in the bullying project, particularly journalists and reporters.

National and local media reported generally about the progress of the project and about the anti-bullying initiatives in individual schools. Kay of the Sheffield Telegraph (5/4/91 p 10) reported that the project was the first real attempt nationally to combat bullying. Aldam for the Times Educational Supplement (12/4/91 p 19) described the project as

"the first step in a long awaited national initiative aimed at doing something about bullying in a coordinated way."

Media coverage by the BBC That's Life programme pursued the suicide of Katherine Bamber (op cit). Attention on bullying peaked again in 1992. According to Smith and Sharp (1994, p 4) the Sheffield project was midway through when, as a result of increased public interest, questions were asked in Parliament about what action the Government was taking to curb bullying in schools. With the scant attention given to bullying by Elton (op cit) and the unwillingness or inability to legislate against bullying, the Government (1991) supported the Sheffield project and granted £175,000 to fund the research from April 1991 until August 1993.

Newspapers continued to report on the progress of the project. Wright reported in The Daily Telegraph (28/11/92 p 9) the way one Sheffield primary school introduced play time activities and improved the playground environment to focus pupil attention away

from boredom and disruptive and aggressive behaviour towards more generative and cooperative play.

Administration of the project in schools.

The researchers kept external control of the age and number of participants, the techniques and analyses. The school agreed to accommodate and administer questionnaires and test classroom interventions. Responsibilities included coordinating and liaising with the agency, informing parents, room allocation, timetable changes and administering the surveys with pupils.

The aim was to assess the effectiveness of anti-bullying measures guided by a DFE-appointed steering committee, (DFE 1994, p 106). 6700 pupils in the project schools were questioned about bullying in November 1990. This survey revealed the extent of bullying and was reported to schools in April 1991. According to the DfE (1994, pp 9-15) the minimum schools were encouraged to do was to start work on a whole-school policy with five clear principles:

- 1 Extensive and thorough consultation with the school population including parents and Governors would precede the policy making.
- 2 The policy would include a clear definition of bullying.
- 3 The policy would address the issue of improving the climate of the school
- 4 The policy would be well communicated
- 5 The policy would be monitored to ensure effectiveness.

The DfE (1994, p 108) and the project team were anxious to ensure that the interventions tried by the project schools could be replicated by other schools, within normal budget and time restraints. Financial support for the project schools was kept to a minimum and the interventions designed to be affordable and achievable by any school. Teachers who trialed the interventions in their classroom incurred little costs on their schools. The main demand in school was on time.

All the Baden Road teachers were willing to and attended at least one anti-bullying intervention in-service training (INSET) session listed by the DfE (1994, p 109). This support was at no extra cost to Baden Road School for supply teacher cover. As the coordinator had a student teacher to teach his class, he taught each of the other classes one by one while those class teachers were studying the interventions at the university.

Schools chose and introduced the intervention/s which best suited their needs. In his 27/10/91 letter to the coordinator (overpage) the project leader Professor Peter Smith, thanked him and the staff of Baden Road for the valuable contribution to the project.



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DES SHEFFIELD BULLYING PROJECT

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Ms Yvette Ahmad, Dr Michael Boulton, Ms Louise Bowers, Dr Helen Cowie, Dr David Thompson
Project Secretary: Ms Sarah Barron ESRC Special Needs Project: Ms Irene Whitney
LEA liaison: Mr Martin Gazzard, Mr Don Pennock

Ian JENKINSON

Junior School

Sheffield

27th October 1991

Dear Ian,

Thankyou very much for sending in the final draft of your whole school policy. It is obvious that a great deal of work must have gone into its' preparation and it seems very thorough. Certainly, anyone reading it would be left with the clear impression of what bullying is, how the school feels about it and the high level of commitment within the school to doing something about it. The only suggestion we could come up with for possibly improving the policy as it stands would be perhaps to spell out a little more clearly what action should be taken by staff, pupils or parents should bullying or the suspicion of bullying arise. This would make sure that all staff, parents and pupils could be clear about what they can do about bullying as well as what they may expect the school to do about it. Perhaps a short statement towards the end, something of the lines of:

What YOU can do about bullying:

- STEP 1: DON'T IGNORE WHAT IS GOING ON
- STEP 2: TELL SOMEONE etc.

This may be more appropriate as an additional 'easy reference' sheet which could be attached to the policy and could be distributed to all parents, staff and pupils.

We would also like to take this opportunity to thank you for the support you are giving the project, not only via the work you are doing in school and the valuable contributions you and your staff have made to training sessions but in particular in the way you are being so helpful to the students who are piloting and carrying out the monitoring of the interventions for their dissertations. We really can't thank you enough for your co-operation in this area and we hope that this is not causing you too much inconvenience.

Looking forwards to seeing you again soon,

Yours sincerely

Peter Smith

Sonia Sharp

Even though Mr Jackson and every teacher from Baden Road School had attended at least one anti-bullying training session, time was not allocated afterwards for the formal dissemination and evaluation of the information to the rest of the teaching staff. There was no more than informal staffroom talk and any impetus to maintain a whole school approach involving all the teaching staff was quickly lost. This was confirmed by the teachers from the questionnaire and interview responses. All three acknowledged that everything about bullying has been informal and found out through informal conversation, staffroom talk or from children telling. One teacher commented that a mental note is made of what is said in the staff room and teachers act only if a child in their class is involved. It is all very open and left to everybody to find out. Well-established staff assume that everyone else will fit in and begin to find things out the same way. It is taken for granted that things will get done in certain ways and dealing with bullies and victims is one of them.

Though the Y5 pupils were regularly questionnaired about lunch time activities no teacher except the coordinator practiced the interventions with Y6 children. Consequently, their use in the classroom was limited to those interventions INSET sessions attended by the teacher/coordinator. Walker (1985, p 66) suggests that it is often the case that the problem or tasks commissioned are not those that most concern the person or people involved. As each teacher had attended the University for training it was disappointing for the coordinator that not more was done. It was only through informal staff room talk that two teachers commented that they had not found their INSET session inspiring or useful.

The Main Interventions at Baden Road School:

The coordinator used:

Quality Circles, (Cowie and Sharp, 1992, pp 90-95) with a class of 31, Y6 pupils.

Assertiveness training, (Arora 1989, p 125), with a victim.

To attempt to sort problems with pupils at lunch time the five supervisors were given training in managing their role. They agreed to attend with pay the Sheffield project INSET work in school devised for them which was coordinated by a member of the project team. Three meetings were held in school which, according to Smith and Sharp (1994 p 27), were designed to raise the status of lunch time supervisors, build on and improve relationships with pupils and improve provisions for play and lunch times.

The 12/3/92 minutes (App 3) record the supervisors main concerns which included the lack of communication of daily changes in school. There are decisions made during mornings which affect the same day conditions of work for supervisors. The change in routine often emerge from activities including teacher coordinated rehearsals and practices involving any number of pupils. Children change sittings or need to come into school. Unless there is some reliable system which communicates these changes to supervisors one way for them to find out is from the pupils. As pupils expect adults to know what is happening this situation cannot help raise the status of supervisors or build

respect. Yet the LEA guidelines clearly state that when on duty supervisors have the same authority as teachers.

Other supervisor concerns include the lack of respect from some pupils, football, wet breaks and the lack of activities for children to do. The DfE (1994, p 60) acknowledge the need for effective communication between supervisors and whoever is responsible for co-ordinating the school behaviour management system. The supervisors also requested more ideas of things for children to do, and as part of their INSET (App 3, p 2) developed a list of games for children to learn and play but they received no support in teaching them.

The basis of the project intervention was to improve supervisors' work with children which promoted the encouragement of positive behaviour, improving the quality of play and dealing with aggressive behaviour in the play ground. The project team adviser in school encouraged the supervisors also to use a prepared recording system for pupils who were disruptive. The records shown in (App 3, p 3) are the only times that a supervisor used the system. Despite recording three older boys stopping younger ones playing, the words used to describe the behaviours makes it appear that the supervisor avoided using the word bullying.

When the supervisors were invited with pay, to attend an informal workshop at the university only one supervisor took the option. Despite several weeks notice, the others refused on the grounds that they had shopping to do. The single attender found the workshop useful in meeting supervisors from other schools with

similar problems and then with help tried to forge solutions. However, the supervisor (App 1 p 7) felt she couldn't do much at Baden Road School without the support of the other four ladies.

Monitoring the Interventions.

- * For five consecutive days in each half-term a daily questionnaire provided information and monitored lunch-time behaviours of the Y5 pupils. Some of them were interviewed.
- * All the teachers were interviewed by university personnel about whether or not they had used the interventions. Their responses are not known.
- * One victim receiving assertiveness training was questioned and had progress monitored by an undergraduate team member.
- * An undergraduate team member monitored the Quality Circles intervention.
- * The Y6 class were visited by Cowie, Sharp, Smith and a DES team including inspectors from London who monitored several project schools.
- * The coordinator was interviewed about his perception of the project's progress by a graduate team member.
- * A specialist in the supervision of pupils at lunch time organised three meetings in school for the lunch time supervisors and monitored progress.

From the November 1990 pupil sample, two only of the original year groups, Y3 and Y4, were still in school by November 1992. These pupils had become Y5 and Y6 and the two new Y3 and Y4 classes became part of the 1992 survey. Despite these changes, the results compared changes in levels of bullying from 1990 to 1992 revealing the degree to which the interventions had or had not worked. This was related to some extent with the introduction into school of an anti-bullying policy. The DFE (1994, p 111)

acknowledge that some changes may have taken place in school outside the remit of the project over which there was no control.

Results of the Sheffield project.

Introduction.

According to the results of the Sheffield project, Smith's (1992) estimate is that of all the pupils 35.5% are affected in some way by bullying either as bully or victim. Insider research indicates a slightly higher figure where over one half of the boys, 52% (n = 113) and over one quarter of the girls, 28% (n = 97) at Baden Road School, an average 40% of pupils, are affected by bullying either as bully or victim. Hidden in these statistics are the lives of about 85 children all of whom as victims or bullies need help in one way or another.

Smith (1990, p 2) reported that 1800 pupils (27%) out of 6,700 were being bullied several times a week/once a week/sometimes. According to the Sheffield survey the incidence was higher than that for South Yorkshire (20%). Tattum and Herbert (1990, p 8), and Olweus (1978) estimate that between 10% and 25% of all children suffer some form of bullying during their school lives. The Advisory Centre for Education (A.C.E.) (1989, p 5), calculated that for Britain this is nearly 1.8 million children. The 1990 Sheffield survey shows a higher incidence of bullying than is generally agreed.

As Smith used a modified version of the Olweus questionnaire for pupils, the variations in the extent of bullying are likely to arise from geographical reasons. For example, Olweus's (op cit) estimate of between 10% and 15% is based on Scandinavian results while Smith's result of 27% is based upon children living in an English city. The South Yorkshire figure of 20% is likely to include children from rural areas. Whether or not bullying is more prevalent in cities than in rural areas of Britain is beyond the remit of this study.

For Baden Road the limited use of the interventions and/or the changes during the two years proved generally ineffective. The incidence of bullying had worsened. The 24% result for pupils (n = 151) bullied at Baden Road School in 1990 had by 1992 risen significantly to 29%. Name-calling was the most common form of bullying accounting for some 33% of all alleged bullying in school. This too was higher than the 1990 survey by some 4%. Smith (1990, p 7) suggests that children may not have realized name-calling as a form of bullying until later in the project which then revealed itself in the 1992 responses. The Smith (1992, p 1) survey revealed a 4.7% increase in the overall frequency of bullying in school. There was a 2.2% increase in those who were bullied most frequently but Smith did not identify the forms, intensity or duration of the bullying in these cases.

The second most common form, hitting, was some 14% behind at 18.4 per cent in 1990 but by 1992 this too had risen by 5% to 23.4 per cent. However, the number of those who said they had bullied fell during the same period from 8.6% to 6.3%. According to

Smith (1992 p 4) boys reported engaging in slightly more bullying than girls which was comparable with Smith's previous findings. This suggests that fewer bullies were bullying more victims. To add to the problem, Smith and Sharp (1992, pp 47 - 55) point out that the survey service results indicate that on average some 50% of pupils are not telling anyone of their bullying experiences. The number of pupils bullying or being bullied is probably worse than the Smith (op cit) figures indicate.

Yet, while the teachers agreed that most bullying occurred in unstructured time, their perceptions of the overall result of the project were positive. Although one teacher thought children were more intolerant, from their point of view since the project, children were generally treating each other better and playing more pleasantly. She had observed children helping each other and thought some would do the same if a child was being bullied. This was highlighted in Smith's (1992 p 10) survey. By 1992 nearly 19% of pupils claimed they would almost always stop other pupils bullying and a further 43% of pupils would sometimes stop others bullying, a cumulative total of 62%. This is a 20% improvement on the previous Smith (1990, p 8) figure of 50% of pupils in the school willing to intervene in bullying situations.

However, the number of pupils in school who claimed they had not been bullied in any way fell from 45 per cent in 1990 to 37.4 per cent in 1992. While this is disturbing, Smith (1992, p 15) suspects that action about bullying increases awareness and may actually lead to some pupils recognising and more readily reporting experiences such as name-calling as bullying. Asked if

they had bullied others, 57 pupils, 34 boys and 23 girls, said they had. This is 28% of the pupils but the question did not account for frequency, extent, severity or duration. Some may have been a single incident rather than repetitive bullying.

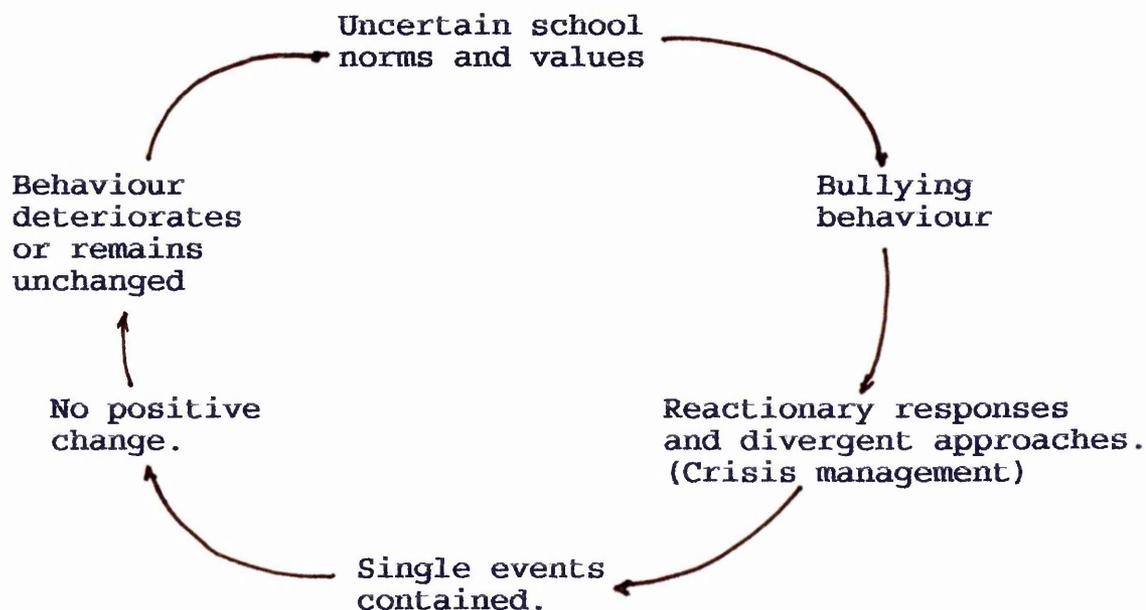
The nature and extent of bullying in this case study is based upon the premise that the problem of bullying at Baden Road in 1992 was worsening. Since then little has been done in school to change the trend. School generations have changed but the issue of bullying remains unevaluated. This lack of impetus in school of research-based work has implications for this study. If change at the school level is one rationale of this work then the effect must be felt beyond the classroom including changes in the receptiveness of some teachers to consider research evidence. Without further research it is difficult to know what effect research has had in school other than to raise awareness. There is no measure of this or of the opinions about degree-based research which others have done or how teachers respond generally to the use of evidence in meetings. How best school-based research can be converted into wider ranging practice is a matter teacher/ researchers need to contemplate and this is bound by management, collegiate relationships and putting policy into practice.

Where and when the organisation is failing and where and when it is succeeding to counter bullying is one rationale for this study. For instance, in the management of bullies by teachers the continuum may vary between;

- 1 reactive, punitive measures against bullies which do not account for the protection of the victim or generate a helping or caring ethos, and
- 2 proactive, rationalised and tested non-judgemental ways to ensure the bullying stops where both bully and victim are re-integrated into school and the case is monitored.

Stephenson and Smith (1989, p 50) found this sort of random approach in "high bullying schools." They (1989, p 54) also found that nearly half of teachers still considered physical punishment helpful in deterring bullies while others favoured counselling and other more empathic methods. In schools which cannot agree on an appropriate and uniform policy to deal with bullying will auger badly for pupils. Children become uncertain of the institutional norms and values and as a result behaviours can deteriorate. Cohen and Manion (1981, p 331) assert that school-based studies have shown that those schools with unclear values and systems promulgate a worsening effect. The following model shows the futility of using diverse and reactive responses:

TABLE THREE. The worsening cyclical effect of reacting to bullying behaviour using crisis-management strategies.



The cyclical nature of the model suggests that a reactionary approach to bullying is counter-productive. Volatile reactions to bullying by teachers, established as an unsatisfactory role-model may help stop bullying temporarily but it is likely to re-emerge, perhaps with other victims and in another form if there is no plan to tackle the problem. This form of management may contain and prevent single events of bullying but it does not tackle the central problem of a whole-school approach. Where teachers react individually to circumstance has to be identified as unplanned crisis management. Arora (1989,p 45) points out that teachers who deal situationally with bullying can use only crisis management interventions. These are likely to continue and, what is more, give attention mainly to boys' bullying. Crisis management of bullying in itself is a whole-school problem.

In summary the present position seems to be:

- 1 The Government does not intend to legislate against bullying but has supported research into the problem.
- 2 The shift of power to governors makes them statutorily responsible for behaviour in school.
- 3 The pressures to implement changing National Curriculum requirements meant many important issues were set aside.
- 4 The 1991 anti-bullying policy although ratified by governors failed to be implemented.
- 5 The amalgamation of the infant and junior schools means that the anti-bullying policy is presently void.
- 6 Due to the closure of a local school class sizes have since increased by an average of 10%.
- 7 Insider and outsider research has clearly shown that bullying occurs in school but has had little effect.

Until there is a whole school approach to policy development and implementation to counter bullying behaviour, situational crisis-management will continue to dominate the method of control. Strategies to deal with bullying will remain inconsistent. Another attempt has to be made to coordinate and implement a working anti-bullying policy. Review of the 1991 bullying policy in term 3 of 1996 school development plan (App 2 p 1) never transpired. Curriculum commitments to continue evaluating English took priority and there was just one review meeting for mathematics and science.

For this investigation to proceed it has to be assumed that bullying will one day be negotiated as a whole school issue for consideration. Methods will be needed which will generate not just interest, consent or agreement in principle but real change where teachers work as a team to structure and implement action leading to the prevention and reduction of bullying behaviour and the development and improvement of the interventions which help victims and bullies.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE METHODOLOGY.

Summary.

Like other primary schools, Baden Road suffers from cases of bullying. However, bullying is deeply emotive and over time emotions can easily distort perceptions of institutional reality. The teacher's work with bullies and victims during the 1980s had little effect upon the school even though more recently it has emerged as the grounded theory of this study. Nevertheless, if a clear view of reality is to be achieved then schools need to draw on evidence which shows this and requires an open agenda. As the Sheffield project demonstrated, one cannot predict what will emerge. Name-calling in school had not before been linked so strongly with bullying.

The social science answer to researching bullying has involved thousands of people in large commissioned surveys of schools and organised by outsiders. However, bullying does not always lend itself to such statistical scrutiny. Small-scale in-situ research inquiries are just as suited to interpreting bullying behaviour and this study attempts to reflect this. Evidence for the case needed credible and valid data. Establishing a reliable case in a single school is not easy and achieving correspondence between the views of the insider-researcher, the participants and reality went beyond simple data gathering. Additional methods including triangulation and card indexing were used to help this which, during the analysis, rendered the familiar strange. Along with results from the Sheffield project, relevant literature was used to support the emergent interpretation.

All social research is open to methodological criticism but case studies of an organisation from within produce particular difficulties. Institutional myopia and bias need to be minimised. Single-site studies cannot claim representativeness but alignment and comparisons with literature helped the balance. Even so, case study still appeared the best way to investigate because it used multiple methods of data collection including questionnaire, peer nomination and interview techniques. The resulting case study then supported the action research phase. Bell (1986) defines combined case study and action research as action inquiry.

It was important to involve the participants throughout the process. This not only kept people informed but helped validate the case as it progressed. By getting some of them to assess the case or parts therein, helped authenticate the data and make the study replicable, more reliable, credible and valid. Even so, the case still had limitations, not least being that the methods employed represented one of a number of different possible ways of dealing with the data. Other methods involved concept webbing and the organising and reporting of the thesis.

The researcher had to make sure Baden Road School was prepared for such open scrutiny. In the dual role as researcher, the teacher never compromised the wishes of the school nor favoured research at the expense of helping vulnerable pupils. Teachers and parents were also kept informed as the study progressed. These ethics were maintained throughout the study.

Positivist and interpretative answers to dealing with bullying.

Large-Scale Surveys about bullying.

There are various ways of assessing the nature and extent of bullying in schools. Each has advantages and disadvantages but none, as far as the researcher has read, have singled out name-calling for scrutiny. The literature tends to take a holistic view and to study the genericism of bullying behaviour augmented with case studies of individuals. The major task of the outsider-researcher, (in this case "outsider" refers to those researchers who work with schools, not in them), is to quantify the extent of bullying more so than it's nature within a school. But bullying is about people and about the tragic circumstances in which individuals find themselves. Studies on bullying should never lose sight of this.

McCormick and James (1984, p 166), claim that in social and educational theory the positivist emphasis on experimentation, quantification and generalisation can create an image of the individual as subject to predictability but this can constrain uniqueness. The approach uses standard research procedures to test hypotheses and assumes that the social world, like the natural world, has systems and laws to be investigated through experimentation and observation. The production and use of accurate correlational evidence establishes certain objective social facts and predictions which tend to explain individual action at the macro level.

As an aspect of human relationships, much of the research into bullying is relatively new and the knowledge accumulated so far has derived mainly from large scale studies. In the quest for knowledge, the pattern in the UK seems to have been to increase the sample size. Elliott (1984) researched a sample of 4000 children, Elton (1989) surveyed 4400 teachers and Smith (1991) questionnaired 6700 Sheffield pupils. According to Smith and Sharp (1994, p 2), the Sheffield survey (op cit), led by Smith (1991, p 12), is the largest to date in the UK. These tried to establish reliability, predictability and generalisability

The background to these large scale studies in Britain has been the research undertaken in Scandinavia since the 1970s. Compared with the Olweus survey of 140,000 Norwegian pupils, the UK surveys are small, but each confirm bullying to be a serious problem which occurs to some degree in all UK schools. The Sheffield survey used a modified version of a questionnaire produce by Dan Olweus (1991) for use in Scandinavia but changes were made to suit the British context and current word usage. Despite being so widespread and damaging to the ethos of schools, no large-scale research in Britain has yet chosen name-calling as a study in its own right.

Most commissioned research which engages in investigations in schools and about education comes mainly from institutions and organisations which have little to do with the every-day running of schools. Walker (1985, p 27) claims many areas of the social sciences, have, in effect, cut themselves off from worlds of practice by a series of boundaries. Scientific, statistical

designs, over which teachers have little control, can easily dominate and detract from what is a very human, emotional and dynamic organisation. This detachment can lead to information being given to schools which does not precisely match what schools need. While this is not applicable to the Sheffield project, Elton (op cit) is a prime example where the issue of bullying in schools, for whatever reason, was a missed opportunity.

As an aspect of human relationships, much of the research into bullying is relatively new and the knowledge accumulated so far has derived mainly from large-scale studies. Besag (1989, Intro xi) suggests that despite the growing, large-scale research being developed in Britain, rigorous statistical designs may not be the mode most suitable for the investigation of real bullying situations. Olweus (1995, p 66) suggests that to work precisely with the problems of a particular school it is essential to collect more detailed information about the specific situation at that school. Besag (1989, Intro xi) supports the use of small-scale, in-situ pieces of research carried out in individual schools or classrooms by practising teachers who know their pupils well.

Small-Scale Research about bullying.

Atkins (1984, p 1) notes that teachers are turning increasingly to small-scale research projects in an attempt to improve their understanding of the professional processes in which they are engaged. Walker (1985, p 183) argues for an interactive

relationship between researcher and subjects. This attachment increases the responsiveness of the researcher to the problems, issues and working conditions of the subjects. The position within the work place allows for work on the precise definition and formulation of the problem. The insider-researcher benefits from the ability to judge from knowledge of the circumstances and from existing and emerging evidence what best to do next and to judge what the institution can accommodate at any one time.

The differences between social science research and research by teachers include;

1. replacing detached large-scale generalisable research with intensive small-scale in-situ inquiries,
2. using the Kemmis (1982 p 196) action research model to accommodate dynamic and changing processes,
3. exploring the macro and micro aspects of the case with equal vigour and intensity,
4. setting aside relationships and institutional familiarity by using multiple methods of data collection,
5. formulating hypotheses as they emerge from the data rather than testing a framed hypothesis,
6. finding objectivity through analysis by using a variety of techniques appropriate to the types of data,
7. uses an interpretative model of investigation which illuminates and applies to real situations rather than the artificiality of experimental methods.

These differences stem from the fact that teachers as researchers are culturally bound by the organisation which they seek to investigate. Atkins (1984), Bell (1986) and Robinson (1984) see as part of the facilitation of heightened professionalism, the advantageous position of the teacher to evaluate from within what

is best to research. Atkins (1984, p 10) claims the over-riding criterion which should guide the selection of methodology - fitness for the research task in hand - is best decided by those who know most about the organisation and the problem.

Indeed, being involved with and privy to the tragic consequences of bullying in individual cases is very intense. Working with pupils who are bullies and victims demands more than the need to research and gather data. It offers a deep insight into their attitudes, problems and responses to bullying behaviour. This relies on sound, non-threatening teacher-pupil relationships, mutual understanding and the knowledge that whatever has happened the problem will be addressed. It is about the ability to help children progress from a very negative experience to a permanent positive outcome. It was from such close involvement that the teacher/researcher began to see a connection between the formative stages of cases of bullying, name-calling and tolerance.

This small survey of one school has implications for the research methods used. As well as being facts to be counted, explained or predicted, some social phenomena, including aspects of bullying, can be regarded also as actions that need interpretation in terms of motives and reasons. McCormick and James (1984, p 167) claim that the interpretative paradigm uses this understanding and seeks to discover the unique features and practicalities of a single case where understanding is regarded as more important than prediction. This was evident when toleration emerged as a key factor in bullying behaviour. Very little is written in the

literature which links bullying and tolerance. This aspect seems not to have been considered a part of name-calling by those involved with studying bullying.

CASE STUDY METHODS.

Rationale for using Case Study.

Bullying is the generic term for a number of very complex anti-social behaviours involving the personalities of two or more people in a number of convoluted situational interactions. In research terms, making sense of the variables required methods which could accommodate the predictable and the unpredictable and the specific as well as the generalisable. Case study helped link people with problems to the behaviours which affected them and the views of others about them.

Guba and Lincoln (1981, p 371) propose that case study can have multiple purposes. This case used quantitative and qualitative data from a 1992 whole school survey which included interview, questionnaire and peer nomination techniques. Statistics helped develop a general view of bullying in school at that time. Even though the 1990-1992 Sheffield project provided credible evidence of the extent of bullying, not much changed in school because of it. Case study focussed on those issues which, if needed, could be changed and improved.

The single case was an opportunity for critical, in-depth analysis of bullying in one school. Further justification for

case study is encapsulated in McCormick and James' (1984, pp 103-104) observation that many descriptions of school-based evaluations and based mainly on documentary evidence lack the richness and perhaps accuracy of in-depth case study. Analysis of the cases, questionnaires, interviews and nominations and the connections between them became the foci of this action inquiry about policy implementation, name-calling and tolerance.

Methodological problems for the insider-researcher.

This single-site inquiry about one school used information from parents, staff and children associated with the school but is acknowledged as myopic and did not assess generally what happens in other schools. Because the case was unique it was imperative, as Miles and Huberman (1984, p 21) point out, that a tightly framed, coordinated research design was implemented to prevent the study from becoming too easily devoid of context. Rigorous control over the data collection, analysis and reporting ensured the emerging evidence was sound and could then be linked with literature about bullying.

However, all social research methods are open to criticism and the case study of Baden Road School is no exception. Researching from within an organisation raises several dilemmas including the ability of teachers as researcher to focus objectively on an organisation while working within it. In the quest for scientific rigour outside researchers maintain a certain detachment so the data collection is tainted minimally with subjectivity and institutional bias. Walker (1985, p 182) suggests that in

conventional research the relationship between those who do research and those who are subject to its scrutiny is a question of minimising interference in order to maximize objectivity. There is no such neutrality for the insider-researcher and McCormick and James (1984, p 132) question whether teachers can detach themselves sufficiently from what has become familiar in order to subject it to scrutiny. Ethnographic techniques, they claim, are a major threat to the validity of quantitative and qualitative insider-research.

Institutionalisation can exaggerate differences between reality and perceptions of reality. The two are rarely the same and one objective of the insider-researcher was to use procedures which would narrow the gap between them. Having worked in the school for fifteen years and conditioned by long-term professional relationships, bias was likely to be strong. Subconscious efforts to fit the case to an existing schema would play a part. Guba and Lincoln (1983, p 377) point out, bias and errors of judgement in cases cannot easily be detected. To avoid this criticism the teacher/researcher used a variety of data and data gathering techniques and to avoid distorting the evidence analysed the data systematically. To some extent this would eliminate prejudices about the state of bullying in Baden Road School.

The most persuasive methods for the insider-researcher claim Webb et al. (1966, p 170) and Parlett and Hamilton (1972, p 170) evolve from multiple methods of data collection. This helps avoid the criticism of institutional myopia. However, McCormick and James (1983, p 176) claim that there is no absolute guarantee that the

data sources which purport to provide evidence concerning the same construct, in fact do so. As this case study was developed over several years it was important to keep together the data sets which represented particular phases.

Another problem was the methodological soundness of case study as a rigorous research paradigm. While naturalistic and allowing examination of process and context, Robinson (1984, p 10), case study raises strong methodological arguments about its propensity to be scientific or objectively useful. Case studies which are anecdotal, opportunistic and lack rigour do not help. This case design is not descriptive but exploratory and the interpretation is derived from systematic and rigorous analysis of data.

However, the case uses data from participants which, in itself, is judgemental and value laden. This is unavoidable but the case depended also on the interpretation of the writer and on the selection of information to be presented.

In research with participants as the subjects, interference from the need to gather data is inevitable. They become oriented to the issue and there is an increased and unavoidable awareness which, in effect, can be perceived as an intervention. Bassey (1990, p 37) argues that the very act of studying an existing situation is an intervention because something different from normal is happening. Outsider or insider-researcher status makes no difference to this and changes in subsequent responses are hard if not impossible to detect.

Objectivity was sought by developing, analysing and interpreting

a wide data-base which was representative of the school. What was a familiar setting was then rendered strange during rigorous data analysis. However, as a study of a single school, making the familiar strange ensured an impartial approach to the analysis. This was important for the case cannot claim representativeness and does not reflect what happens in other schools but only that one case may be similar to another. At this point in the text literature was used to supplement any similarities with other schools.

Case Study Design.

Having taken into account the advantages and disadvantages, case study still appeared the most appropriate empirical design. According to Bell (1985, p 177), case studies of schools is the exploration of an educational situation in which participants seek practical insight by unobtrusive means. Nisbett and Watts (1978, p 5) suggest that to achieve an accurate account, case study draws together different perspectives into one case. Case study also raises related issues which can portray the case, Stake (1975) and illuminate it, Parlett and Hamilton (1972), but does not in itself necessarily demonstrate or involve change.

This study scrutinized both bullying and name-calling from the same data sets at the same time with the exception of written stories about name-calling by a cohort of Y6 children. While described by Nisbett and Watt (1978, p 5) as a systematic investigation of a single instance, case study supported several phases of this study including:

- 1 The reconnaissance or situational overview of the macro aspects about bullying at Baden Road School during the 1991 - 1992 cohort.
- 2 The investigation of name-calling and allied micro aspects.
- 3 As a reporting mode for the action research phase as a process of planned and evaluated change in a sound, school based inquiry.

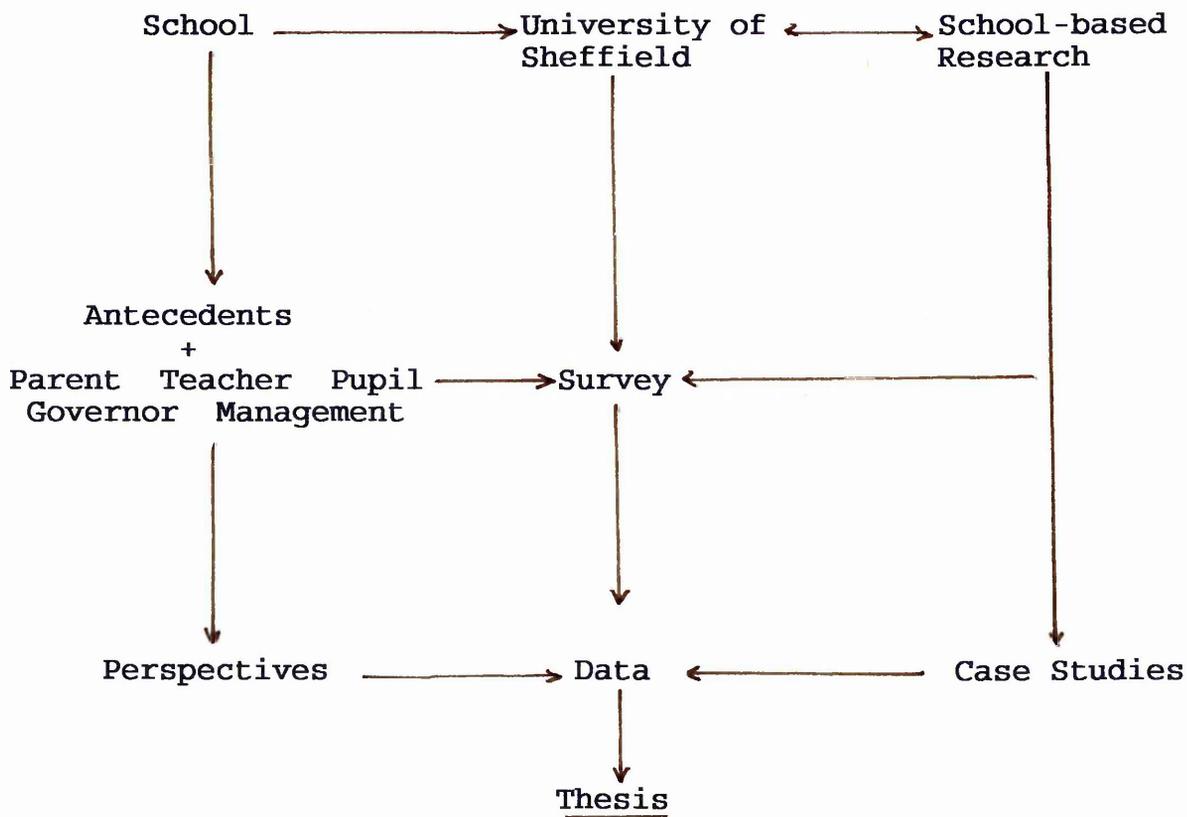
The situations and idiosyncratic characteristics of bully and victim make each case of bullying and name-calling uniquely different. There is no archetypal bully or victim and bullies are likely to perceive their behaviour differently from those who do not bully. Rogers (1991, p 2) argues that bullying is not an objective 'thing' and always open to scientific investigation. It is culturally created and best approached by cultural methods which deny the possibility of total objective analysis. Bullying is existential, Elliott (1991, Intro vi), but the emergence and subsequent study of bullying as an anti-social phenomenon has generally been regarded as definable and classifiable. In this sense case study was ideal and Denny (1978, p 370) defines it as:

"... an intensive or complete examination of a facet, an issue, or perhaps the event of a geographic setting over time."

Case study method characterized the events under investigation and appeared suited because it explored the responses to and the reasons for bullying and name-calling in school. According to Guba and Lincoln (1981, pp 371-372) case study bridges the gap between theory and practice and matches Denny's (op cit) model. In this case study theory emerged from practice; views of which emerged from the people involved with the school.

The following table shows the three main sources of data which were used to generate the case study about bullying; the people in school, previous school-based research into bullying and the results of the University of Sheffield 1991 and 1992 surveys.

TABLE FOUR. THE GENERAL CASE STUDY MODEL.



The Influence of Case Study in Researching Bullying In School.

The purpose of this Case Study is fourfold. It is to;

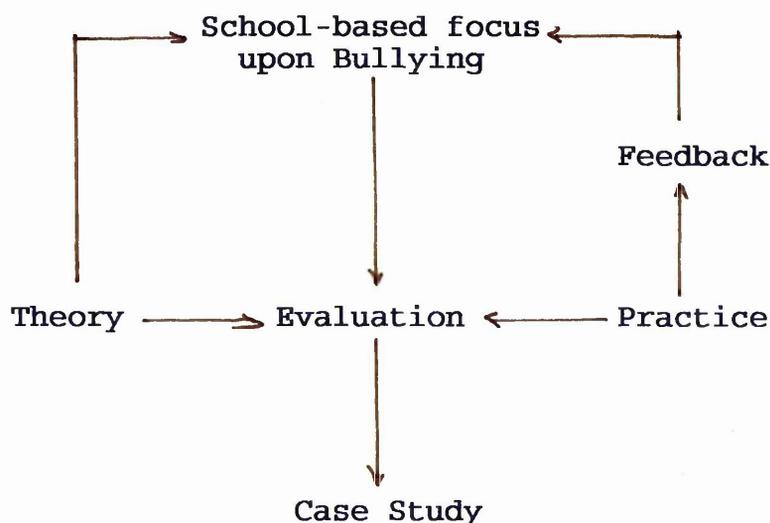
- 1 compare results with those of the Sheffield Project,
- 2 provide a more in-depth analysis of bullying in school,
- 3 identify and examine the issues and problems of bullying and name-calling in school in a non-judgemental way,
- 4 identify the areas most needing change.

Multiple case study methods including questionnaires and peer nomination identified potential bullies and victims unhindered by the unpleasantness of actual victimisation supported by previous insider and outsider research. The advantages of case study were;

- 1 involvement of as many participants as possible,
- 2 attachment of objectivity to a social problem,
- 3 to use a phenomenological construct to draw out issues,
- 4 a way of making sense of a problem.

From the case study emerged the issues and illuminated those problems and events normally missed using a single survey. For instance, while the Sheffield project highlighted name-calling as the most common form of bullying at Baden Road School, the survey did not analyse the causes or its effects on victims. The effect of case study simultaneously drew together the theory, and practice of the management of name-calling and bullying in school as mapped below.

TABLE FIVE. Model to show the relationship between Case Study, Theory, Practice, Evaluation and Bullying in school.



Foster, Arora and Thompson (1990, p 82) suggest that case studies in individual schools show that steady efforts over time yield positive results which is encouraging. As the rationale for this case was satisfactory there was no point in over-exposing it to further rigours of case study analysis. But case study also supported action research and the issues emanating from it. This provided responses which allowed the focus of the research to move as it progressed. The combination of case study and action research matches Bell's (1986) definition of action inquiry which seeks to apply change on an informed rather than an intuitive basis.

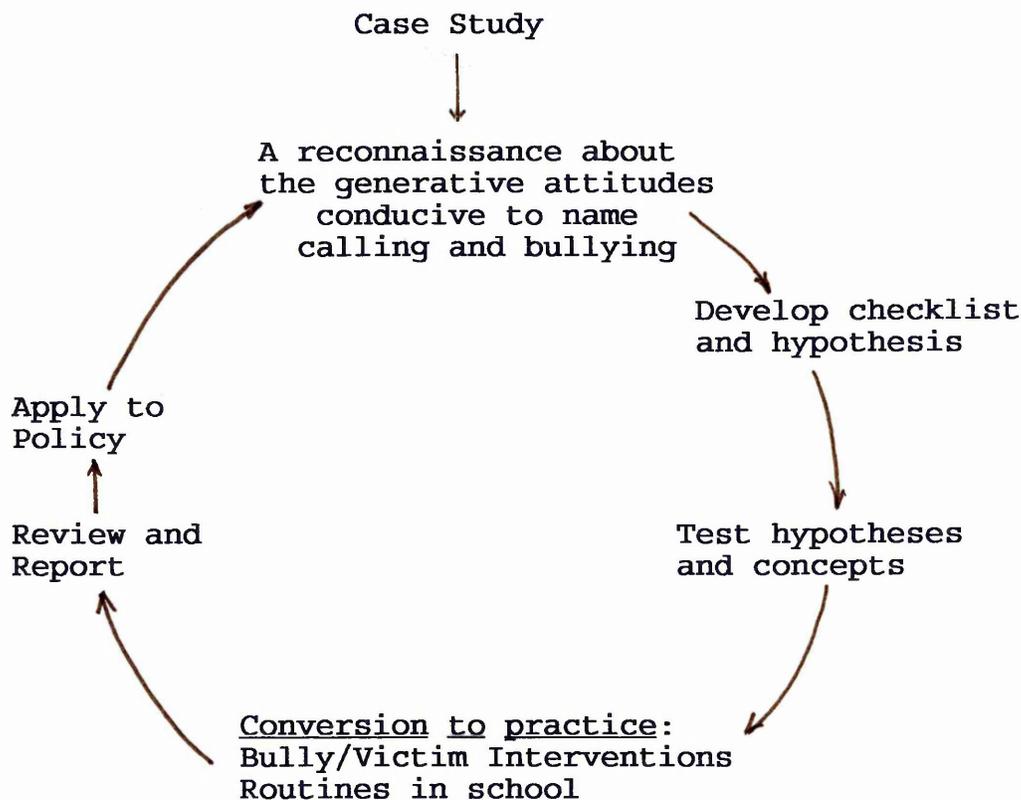
THE ACTION RESEARCH PHASE.

Action research is an interventionist approach and action researchers expect at least one significant change in practice. This research tests and analyses interventions in practice. These can be modified with on-going cycles as a way of improving the original case. McNiff (1988, p 4) asserts action research can be pitched at different levels of social and educational complexity from the total social concept to client centred development of the individual. By studying the school position and, at the same time, examining individual cases of bullying and victimisation this inquiry accommodated both.

Action research responded to the outcomes of the case study and where change in practice would help. In Bell's (1985, p 176) view it supplants numerical calculation by commonsense judgement and is uniquely educative as well as informative and provides both

the means and the right for practitioners to define what counts as educational knowledge. The action research model below follows the Baden Road cyclical management model and should be easier to implement in school practice as recognised by Mrs Jacques a Y6 teacher in her validation notes on the methods used(App 1 p 3).

TABLE SIX. The Action Research model:



The model shows the cyclical nature of the changes necessary in the whole school and ways to maintain it. Rather than just report case study findings, action research is an interventionist approach which challenges practice. The Kemmis (1982, p 196) cyclical model of Action Research was used to support a number of initiatives and was particularly useful in identifying discrete stages of this thesis. Each cycle responds to evidence from the

case study and its related literature. The following plan emerged from case study findings and shapes the rest of this thesis.

TABLE SEVEN

Thesis Plan

Case Study.

Chapter 5 An analysis of bullying in school including pupil and adult perceptions supported by individual case studies and the University of Sheffield survey results.

Action Research.

Chapter 6 Using pupil and adult perceptions in an analysis of name-calling and linking it with toleration from which a hypothesis will emerge.

Chapter 7 The action research phase for helping bullies and victims

Chapter 8 The future management of bullying in school. How not to make the same mistakes.

Chapter 9 Recommendations.

Nisbett's (1980, p 29) paradigm appeared congruent with the work with bullies and victims which has recurring change. The effect was fourfold. It;

- 1 investigated the effectiveness of strategies to help bullies and victims,
- 2 focussed closely on name-calling and toleration.
- 3 led to the formation of a hypothesis.
- 4 examined changes to the management of bullying which will help an anti-bullying school to emerge.

McCormick and James (1984, p 167) suggest that the shift from the positivist to the interpretative paradigm has also provided an

alternative for the hypothetico-deductive mode of theory generation. Instead of testing hypotheses, the interpretative model tends to a greater emphasis on hypothesis generation. The discovery and use of grounded theory, Glaser and Strauss (1967, p 167), is relatively more important to the interpretative model.

Organising the methods, the reporting and the appendices.

The following chapters were structured in the following way;

Case Study Phase.

Methods
Analysis
Findings
Interpretation.

Action Research Phase.

Development
Intervention
Findings
Recommendations.

Appendix material.

The appendix material used to support this case was in the first instance ordered as it was used.

Validation.

Parlett and Hamilton (1972, p 24) question the subjective nature of approaches to data collection, analysis and reporting. After all, they say, it is at the discretion of the researcher.

McCormick and James (1983, p 176) claim that ethnographic techniques are a major threat to the validity of qualitative research. Validation and verification are ways of countering these criticisms.

Robinson (1984, p 12) and McCormick and James (1984, p 174), identify three major validation processes; construct, internal and external. As this case does not seek to generalise to other cases it was not essential to consider using external validity. Construct validity refers to the need for correct and appropriate methods of examining a case. Using multiple methods of data collection and establishing a chain of evidence helped satisfy this. Internal validity was sought by using an indexing system of cards to develop conceptual frameworks for the case which is described later in this chapter.

It was important to establish some kind of correspondence between the contributions of the participants and the interpretations of the researcher. McCormick and James (1984, p 176) call this respondent validation and claim that in all research approaches, emphasis is placed on the validity and reliability of methods. It is empowered by replicability, which McCormick and James (1984, p 175) say is more difficult in educational research. Validation processes were used as a means of improving the reliability of the methodology, the data, its analysis and interpretation. As the study is ethnographic, participants could validate and authenticate data in which they were involved.

Participant validation was used during a 1992 parent workshop

when they responded to and verified the results of a parent questionnaire. This kind of validation also has the effect of reducing [but not eliminating] reactivity, the tendency of research to distort the reality that it seeks to investigate.

Where they could reasonably recognise its authenticity, different points in the case were validated by the participants. Validators who endorsed later stages of the study had to assume that the data sources they were working with, so far removed from the original field notes, were reliable but this had been covered by earlier validation processes. Bound by the ethic of anonymity, participant validators agreed to examine the methods used and read sections of the text. The teachers who were interviewed helped validate this study. Their notes helped reform the original case. They were:

<u>Validator</u>	<u>Position</u>	<u>Research area</u>
Mr Jackson, Parents	Headteacher	Management.
Mrs Jacques,	Workshop members	Parent questionnaire
Prof. Smith	Y6 Teacher	Case and data.
	Project Leader	1991 Policy

Excepting Professor Smith, all names including that of the school are anonymous. His letter to the teacher/researcher is on page 73 and all other validation notes can be found in Appendix One.

Professional ethics and applying research methods to bullying.

Bullying is a sensitive issue and schools may avoid recognising the problem. For some, openly admitting to it would be admitting to failure. Schools may fear the development of a reputation as

a "bullying school." If attention is drawn to the subject because of bullying the feeling of some management and staff is that the school's reputation will somehow worsen. Even though Elton (1989, p 279) obtained an 82% return from the 4,400 questionnaires sent to teachers in England and Wales, ACE (1989, p 5) claim that Elton received little evidence about bullying because schools found it difficult to admit that children were bullying and some pupils were being bullied.

By challenging name-calling, it is possible that bullying might be reduced in schools thus minimizing the risk of being labelled "a bullying school." Even so there is needed implicit support from the staff to support such change. If this case study was to succeed it was incumbent upon the teacher/researcher to keep staff informed as the inquiry progressed, achieved mainly through informal talk as the occasion arose for, as yet, time has not been allocated to formally review the matter.

During the study, teachers at Baden Road were asked questions which may have confronted their practice and professionalism. It was important for the researcher to ask sensitive questions of the teachers such as "Do you think teachers bully pupils?" but at the same time there was a responsibility to preserve long-term professional relationships. Assurances of confidentiality and anonymity in interviews et al helped.

Concerned that their child may be labelled a victim or bully many parents are anxious for bullying to stop. Victims are usually frightened that bullies might find out something is being done

and as a result will be bullied more severely for telling. Bullies often lie to extricate themselves from trouble. These concerns make difficult the task of combining research with real cases. Several cases (App 9) provided a rich source of evidence. Permission to use the data was obtained verbally from parents, bullies and the victims.

In dealing with a case of bullying the reality is that the teacher/researcher is simultaneously carer, counsellor, teacher and researcher. However, there is a strict order of priorities. Helping pupils with their problems is the primary aim. Research is secondary to this need and never interfered with the sessions with bullies and victims. Case reports were written and analysed after the helping sessions. Lateness enfeebles analysis, claim Miles and Huberman (1984, p 28) so it was important to write field notes as soon as possible after each case.

Long-term development of methods in the research activity.

Teachers as insiders are more able to monitor, long-term if necessary, the changes brought about by either the research activity itself or the consequences from it. In terms of bullying this is ideal. Teachers on permanent contract are in the position to follow-up cases more easily. The peer nomination results (App 8) and questionnaires of Y3 lasted nearly four years until the pupils left the school. The teacher/researcher adapted, modified and developed his research concurrently with practice; a principle difference in researching organisations by insiders as opposed to outsiders.

Data Collection.

The data was collected and analysed during the survey (op cit) of 6,700 pupils from twenty three Sheffield schools of which Baden Road was one. The Sheffield project relied on two methods of data gathering; questionnaire and interview. The data collected for this case involved fewer numbers overall but more groups of people from the school. On examining the 1991 School Development Plan (App 2, p 2) for Baden Road School, the anti-bullying policy appeared affective in influencing five main groups of people:

Pupils Staff Lunch time supervisors
Governors, Parents

Over 500 individual views were gathered and the sample appeared large enough to make the study reliable.

TABLE EIGHT The data collection and the people involved.

<u>Technique/Groups</u>	<u>Teacher</u>	<u>Pupil</u>	<u>Parent</u>	<u>+LS</u>	<u>Governor</u>	<u>Management</u>
peer nomination		*				
questionnaires	*	*	*		*	
documentation		*			*	*#
interviews	*	*	*	*		*
children's work		#				
case studies		*	*			
unstructured obs		*				
INSET data	*#		#	#		*
checklists		#				
Total sources:	4	8	4	2	2	4 = 24

* Case Study # Action Research + LS Lunch time Supervisors

Although the participants were afforded confidentiality and anonymity when completing questionnaires, response sheets from different data sets were coded so that if needed individual answers could be cross-checked.

Specific methods: Questionnaires, Interviews, Peer Nomination.

Questionnaires: Introduction.

With the help of Professor Peter Smith of the Sheffield anti-bullying project the Baden Road School questionnaires on bullying for teachers, pupils, parents and governors (App 4) were designed first with general and then with specific questions. Generated from previous research into bullying in school and from the Sheffield project, the questions ranged from acutely closed questions with "Yes" or "No" responses to the open ended type. This range allowed for the provision of factual information as well as opinion.

Questionnaires were adapted to suit the respondees and given to groups of people where their numbers were too great to interview. This included parents and children. Questionnaire responses could then be cross checked with other sources. 435 questionnaires were used and distributed as follows:

Figure 1	<u>Group</u>	<u>Questionnaires</u>
	Pupils	199
	Governors	12
	Teachers	9
	Parents	<u>215</u>
	Total	<u>435</u>

Limitations of the questionnaire technique.

It had to be assumed that any reported bullying was in fact bullying and not just single incidences of fights. The teacher/researcher had to rely on lay interpretations of behaviour as bullying, responses which were more likely to be intuitive than informed. Respondees reflected as far back as they wished. Reports of particularly bad bullying was likely to have been remembered by more than one person.

Whether or not those questionnaire responses providing factual information reported the same or different incidents of bullying was difficult to establish. For instance, many parents congregate at the same time on the pavement outside school to bring to and collect their children from school. This may have limited parent responses to end of day incidences. Duplicating the same incident from different accounts was likely to increase if the incident took place just before or just after school. Many cases related to playground incidences as children were leaving school. The likelihood is that some of these incidents reported as bullying may have been witnessed by one or more respondent but reported separately.

The only other ways parents could find out about bullying during the school day would be to listen to accounts from children or from witnessing bullying on occasional or regular visits to school, from hearsay and gossip or from having been informed by school of a case involving their child.

Nor was there any way of telling whether or not any parents collaborated with others in completing their questionnaires, the control of which was lost when the children took them home. Collaboration was more likely to occur in the twenty homes where two questionnaires were completed. Every return was sealed singly in the envelope provided and placed in a post box in school suggesting that confidentiality was maintained but this is not certain.

Method.

Pupil, Governor and Teacher Questionnaire Returns.

So that the data could be cross-referenced with other sources each pupil questionnaire was coded. Pupils completed theirs formally and compulsorily during curriculum time on Tuesday 31/03/92. Each class teacher administered the sessions and the teacher/researcher collected in 199 returns from the children attending that day.

There was a disappointing number of returns from two groups. Of 12 questionnaires sent to governors there was a nil return. Each of the nine teachers was given a questionnaire and three were returned, a 33% sample. Combined, those who would oversee and implement an anti-bullying policy, the governors and teachers, had a representative sample of 14% (n = 21) in this study. This was a disappointment to the teacher/researcher. Mrs Jacques (App 1, p 3) commented that she was surprised at the low return, but as Walker (1985, p 49) recognises, overly long

questionnaires can dissuade respondents from completing them. Perhaps eleven sides to complete was too much to expect of the teachers but as the survey was during the Sheffield project, when awareness of the issue of bullying was heightened, the teacher/researcher could have expected more from colleagues. May be they had forgotten, had little time, refused to complete them or were not interested in the subject.

The temptation was to request of all the governors and remaining 66% of teachers that they complete their questionnaires but this would have hidden an important aspect of the study's naturalistic qualities. As a favour it would have been simple to ask them again, receive more returns, group them as a significant return and discretely forget the dilemma. The teacher/researcher pondered over this for several months and decided eventually to use only the three returns to support triangulated data.

In hindsight their reasons for not completing the questionnaires should have been explored in order to better inform this study. However, doing so may have had a similar effect as a request and prompted some or all the teachers and governors to complete their questionnaire. Rather than approach the teachers and governors, the teacher/researcher decided to find out if they would relay their reasons to him for not doing so but none did.

Parent Questionnaire Returns.

On Wednesday 25th March 1992, 215 questionnaires were sent home [one for each child]. Friends of children absent that day took

questionnaires to their homes. No family had more than two siblings in school and the twenty families with two siblings received two questionnaires. By Friday, 3rd April 1992, 179 were returned sealed in the envelopes provided. Calculated from the 215 children in school this gave an 83.2% representative sample. Returns ranged from 71% to 93% per class but there was no significant difference between the number of questionnaires returned from parents of younger or older pupils or from classes where bullying might be more prevalent.

Even though confidentiality was assured to all questionnaire respondents, the overall response from the teachers and governors to complete their questionnaires appeared less keen than many parents. These parents seemed eager, if not anxious to complete their questionnaires all of which were returned within seven working days. Nothing can be said about whether or not pupils would have been so eager had they had an option to complete their questionnaires. Overall, those most affected by bullying, the parents and the children, were the ones most devoted to supplying information about it. This weighting of parent and pupil data obviously affected the case study. However, because much evidence existed in the results from the Sheffield project, closer cross-referencing could be achieved.

The Analysis of Questionnaire Data.

Data from the questionnaires (App 5) had first, second, third and fourth order analysis applied.

1st Order Analysis: Numerical and written information was collated as it arose from each question.

2nd Order Analysis: Categories emerged from collation of each question and the information grouped

3rd Order Analysis: Categories were put into a meaningful order.

- 1 Numerical data sorted highest to lowest
- 2 Written information was set into meaningful statements.

4th Order Analysis: The numerical and written information was combined to form paragraphs.

Quantitative information supported the written statements.

Interviews: Introduction.

To cross-check between methods the teacher/researcher decided to interview those teachers and governors (App 6) who had completed questionnaires but their lack of response wrecked this plan. Despite the possibility of weakening the study, in the event the teacher/researcher maintained the plan and interviewed the three teachers. Fortunately each was from a different year group which did help gather data from across the pupil age range.

Limitations of the Interview technique.

The poor response from teachers and governors in completing questionnaires was the main limit to the number of interviews which were held. This in turn limited the amount of data collected to that from three teachers. Despite busy schedules they took time to explore answers with each interview taking approximately twenty minutes. Rogers' (1983, p 120) perception of

the so-called "facts of history" which depend very largely on the current mood and temper of the culture was overcome by choosing times to interview which were quiet, when pupils were not present.

Walker (1985, p 110) sees one characteristic of the interview as structured by the truth holder but acknowledges the respondents freedom to lie. This was hardly possible as, for many years, the teacher/researcher has worked alongside the interviewees as colleagues. In addition, since 1984 the teachers at Baden Road had responded well to requests for interviews, informal talks, questionnaire completion and validation procedures for previous studies by the teacher/researcher (1984, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990 and 1991). Interviewing was a method familiar to them.

Method.

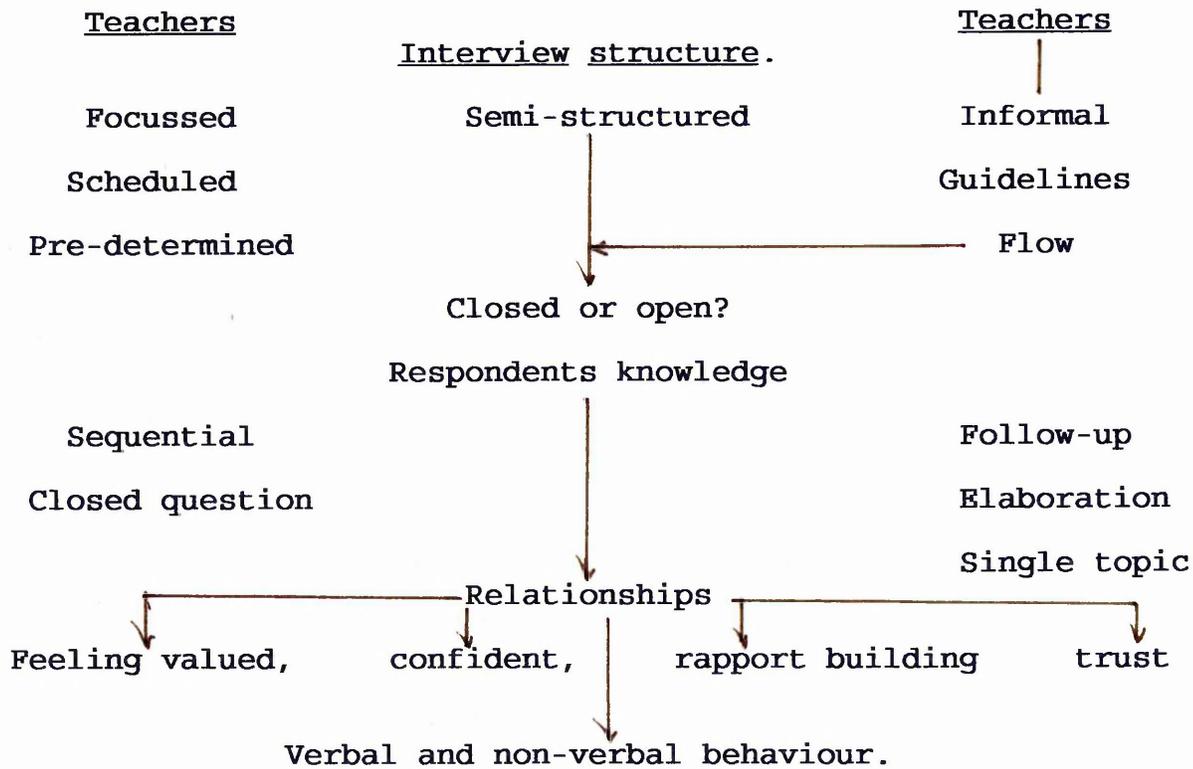
Based upon the methods of school-based interviews by McCormick and James (1984, pp 204 - 211), table nine below summarises the considerations made prior to the interviews and the steps taken to ensure that they were successful.

The route shown on the checklist shows the style of interviewing. As the teacher/researcher and the teachers were on the same staff there was more of a collegiate informality and understanding of the problems involved. Having an interview schedule (App 6) led to more in-depth responses which revolved around effective policies and the practicalities of implementing them. The

interviews then moved on to the issue of bullying among pupils and the sensitive issue of teachers as bullies as well as the general teacher relationship with pupils.

TABLE NINE

INTERVIEW PLAN.



The interview was designed also to find out from the teachers if any of their experiences as pupils involved bullying led to ways in which they dealt with bullying among pupils. The strategies teachers use to combat bullying were examined as was the importance of the communication of ideas among teachers.

All the interviewees said that they had found their interviews very interesting as validated by Mrs Jacques (App 1 p 3). To an extent the reflectivity of the interviewees, suggests Walker (1985, p 91), depends on the interviewer but as we were all part

of the same institutional processes, much of the questioning was of mutual benefit. The interview, as Walker (1985, p 91) also points out, hinges on the assumption that people are, to some degree, reflective about their own actions, or can be put into the position where they become so. The teacher interviewees had already completed a questionnaire but there were a number of sensitive issues such as teachers as bullies which were better said than written. For instance, one teacher (App 10 p 8) had refused to answer the questionnaire about teachers as bullies but when in interview she realised that the question was not directed at teachers working at Baden Road School the verbal answer appeared much more open.

The lunch time supervisors were interviewed about their role, relationships and problems but may have been alarmed by the use of tape recorders. Instead, as a record of their interview, they read and signed the script the day after the meeting. Samples of the teacher transcripts and the lunch time supervisor script are in appendix 7. Names are anonymous.

Analysis.

The three taped interviews were used along with the lunch time supervisor responses in the card indexing system (op cit) to create a meaningful and highly structured case study. Although the number of teacher interviews prevented the development of a representative sample, the information was used also to illuminate other material in the case study.

Interviewing and Counselling bullies and victims.

Interviewing formed part of the work with bullies and victims but this could be described more as counselling. To obtain qualities consistent with a naturalistic study, these took place during actual case events. What must be stated categorically is that the need to research never interfered with the need to help bullies and victims. No schedules were used except for field notes which were also part of the counselling programme. The sessions were spontaneous, occurring unexpectedly and naturally on any day during the pressures of working in a school. The teacher/researcher never knew when cases would arise and in this respect the research was unplanned. Time therefore had to be prioritised to best fit in with existing routines. This was sometimes difficult but not insurmountable. The sessions were as long as it took to draw conclusions to the satisfaction of the victims and bullies. This work is described in the case study.

Reports of cases were written afterwards but on the same day of each counselling session. The case studies were then supported with references from literature on bullying.

Peer Nomination.

Introduction.

Peer nomination was used in a non-threatening and safe way to identify the extent to which children perceived other pupils in their class as victims or bullies. This method identified

bullies and victims, revealed their number in school and could be cross checked with appropriate data from the Sheffield survey and from their questionnaires. Smith and Sharp (1994, p 12) claim that peer nominations are reliable in that one is pooling information from a number of informants and agreement between children has been found to be reasonably good. Peer nomination, suggest Boulton and Smith (1994, p 12), is a preferred method for case studies on bullying involving large groups of children.

Limitations.

The approach raises a variety of methodological issues not least of which is the meaning children attach to the words 'bully' and 'being bullied.' Arora and Thompson (1987, p 118) found agreement about the meaning of the word bullying across pupils aged 12 to 14 years. However, there appears a difference in perceptions of bullying and being bullied from children who are aged around seven and those who are eleven. Children's nominations did not indicate severity, intensity, form or duration.

Nominations were kept within the same age range on the assumption that each child in one class knew all the others. For instance, peer nomination did not account for children who may have just entered a class. Conversely children were not given the opportunity to nominate anyone from another class as victim or bully even if they felt they knew of one. However none asked to nominate anyone from a different class. What was hidden also was the number of bullies who bully more than one person, if not all at the same time.

The peer nomination could not detect whether a child nominated as a bully was one or a member of a gang who bullied another child or a number of children. As only single nominations with a similar mark [a cross] could be made against each child it was impossible to tell whether or not pupils nominated as bullies were members of gangs.

The teacher/researcher was concerned about the extent to which children who are being bullied feel able to report this, even through anonymous surveys. There is no conclusive way of comparing 'real' levels of bullying with reported levels. However, each peer nomination sheet was coded enabling responses to be checked against each child's coded questionnaire.

Despite these limitations the peer nominations were frequently used in school as a quick reference profile when cases of bullying arose. The Y3 nomination sheets lasted for four years until the pupils left at the end of Y6. One reference involved a child now aged twelve and at secondary school who was recently referred back to the teacher/researcher for help as a victim in June 1996. The teacher/researcher used the child's 1992 peer nomination with the parent to obtain an immediate profile.

Method.

To keep control of the explanation of peer nomination to the pupils each of the eight class teachers agreed that for approximately fifteen minutes the teacher/researcher would take their class. The classes were taken on Tuesday March 31st 1992

involving the 197 children present in school that day. Their ages ranged from seven to eleven years. Frost (1991, p 31) found in her research that children's time-scales tended to become confused. Instead of "monthly, weekly or daily" as used in the Sheffield survey, the terms "lot, often, little and never," were used and explained to the pupils.

Victim profile.

"Lot," meant children seemed upset most of the time and were unhappy because bullying had gone on a long time and that there might be a number of people bullying them.

"Often" meant they knew of pupils who had been bullied, possibly by different children and were sometimes upset.

"Little" meant pupils had occasionally been bullied, possibly just once or twice, which had then stopped.

"Never" meant behaviour which did not disturb a child.

Bully profile.

"Lot" meant that the person possibly bullied more than one child and had continued to pick on a child or different children.

"Often" meant that a pupil had bullied and upset others but didn't bully all the time.

"Little" meant pupils had bullied once or twice and stopped.

"Never" meant someone who is usually kind and does not upset others.

The scale was presented to the children and were asked to mark a cross against each child's name including absentees but not their own. Confidentiality and anonymity was assured and children worked alone taking about ten minutes to complete the task. All 197 children were encouraged to ask if they could not read any name but none did. None of the original nomination sheets are entered in the appendices as this would reveal true identities.

CLASS	<u>VICTIM</u>				<u>BULLY</u>			
	Lot	Often	Little	Never	Lot	Often	Little	Never
Name			X		Name			X
Name	X				Name	X		

The completed nomination sheets were collected before the children returned to their original places. Of 197 papers, two were spoiled as the seven year old children had incorrectly put several marks against a single name instead of one nomination. These children completed another sheet the next day.

Collectively the nominations identified individuals with the potential to bully or be bullied. The benefit of the coding system (op cit) meant that results from this process could be cross-referenced with questionnaire and case study details.

Figure 2 Analysis of the Peer Nomination Results.

The 197 pupils produced: 5,198 responses about bullying
 5,198 responses about being bullied.
 Total 10,396

To differentiate the four scales "never, little often and lot" each was given a tally score. As every child in school had indicated in an assembly that they had at least been called a nasty name "never" was scored one. "Little often and lot" were scored 2, 3 and 4 respectively. The following example shows the scoring and analysis for a fictional J Smith:

Figure 3 One Nomination by a child other than J Smith.

	<u>VICTIM</u>				<u>BULLY</u>			
	Lot	Often	Little	Never	Lot	Often	Little	Never
J Smith			X		J Smith			X

Figure 4 Sample Analysis of J Smith's Nomination by Class.

<u>VICTIM</u>				<u>BULLY</u>				
Score	4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1
	Lot	Often	Little	Never	Lot	Often	Little	Never
J Smith	//	/////	/////	////	J Smith	///	/////	/////
Tally:	2	8	9	4 (n = 23)	0	3	10	10
Mark	<u>x4</u>	<u>x3</u>	<u>x2</u>	<u>x1</u>	<u>x4</u>	<u>x3</u>	<u>x 2</u>	<u>x 1</u>
Scores	8	24	18	4	0	9	20	10
	8 + 24 + 18 + 4 = 54				0 + 9 + 20 + 10 = 39			
Mean Score:	54 : 23 = 2.35				Mean Score: 39 : 23 = 1.69			
J Smith Peer Nomination Victim Score	2.35				Peer Nomination Bully Score 1.69			

Figure 5 Peer Nomination placing for J Smith.

<u>VICTIM</u>				<u>BULLY</u>			
4	3	2	1	4	3	2	1
Lot	Often	Little	Never	Lot	Often	Little	Never
J Smith							
		2.35				1.69	

Reporting.

Responses were tallied onto class mastersheets providing more than just the identification of victims and bullies. As the overall mean for the school was 1.978 the score of 2.00 was designated as beginning to be serious. Children with a score of two or above had their name recorded, a list of boys and girls ranked as bully or victim in the order of frequency of nomination. A list of fictitious names but with the real scores for Y6 (App 8) has been forwarded for the purposes of the appendices.

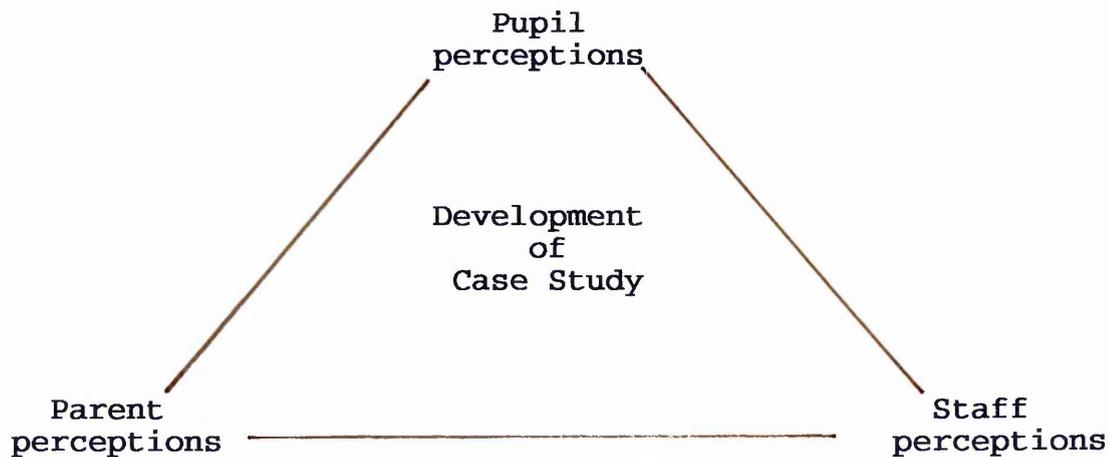
Triangulation of the data.

The questionnaires, interviews and peer nomination do not purport to provide information about the same construct but provide

information for triangulation, Bloor (1978, p 176), Patton (1980, p 32) and Walker (1985, p 82). According to McCormick and James (1984, p 175) triangulation is a validation procedure which cross-checks different kinds of data and helps draw interpretations from unstructured observations and individual case studies. It is a means of countering selective bias of a single view.

Of the different types of multiple methods identified by Denzin (1970, p 13) data triangulation was most commonly used in this study although single-site references have also been used particularly from the teacher perspective. Methodologically, as Robinson (1984) and Walker (1985) point out, there is no objection to the use of literature as one point of reference.

TABLE TEN. **The Triangulation Process.**



This triangulation model helped determine the nature of bullying in Baden Road Junior School. These three general triangulation points are interchangeable with references from the Sheffield anti-bullying project, school documentation and literature. Robinson (1984, p 15) warns that choosing to use two or more methods may not itself achieve triangulation. The point is to

avoid the risk that stems from the reliance on a single kind of data. It is the integration of different data sets and to make their findings inter-relate which validates triangulation. However, as Parlett and Hamilton (1972, p 24) suggest in order to illuminate particular points, references can be made from data which does not triangulate.

Concept Webbing, Thesis Construction and Content.

Concept webbing helped design and plan the content of the thesis and mental constructs gave it its form. Miles and Huberman (1984, p 2) suggest that a conceptual framework of what is to be highlighted should emerge empirically from the data. The reduction of data to cards re-emerged as inter-connecting issues. Five hundred and thirteen cards were then grouped the headings of which created the basis of the case study text. Bell (op cit) and Miles and Huberman (1984, p 21) assert that conceptualizing discrete events and behaviours makes the researcher more selective and better organised with vast amounts of analysed data.

These webs also focussed on the action research, giving a plan of action for the most appropriate activities stemming from the case study. Along with strategies for policy implementation, issues including name-calling and tolerance emerged from the concept webbing technique.

The investigation then began to draw together issues in the inquiry to the point of developing hypotheses.

Card Indexing.

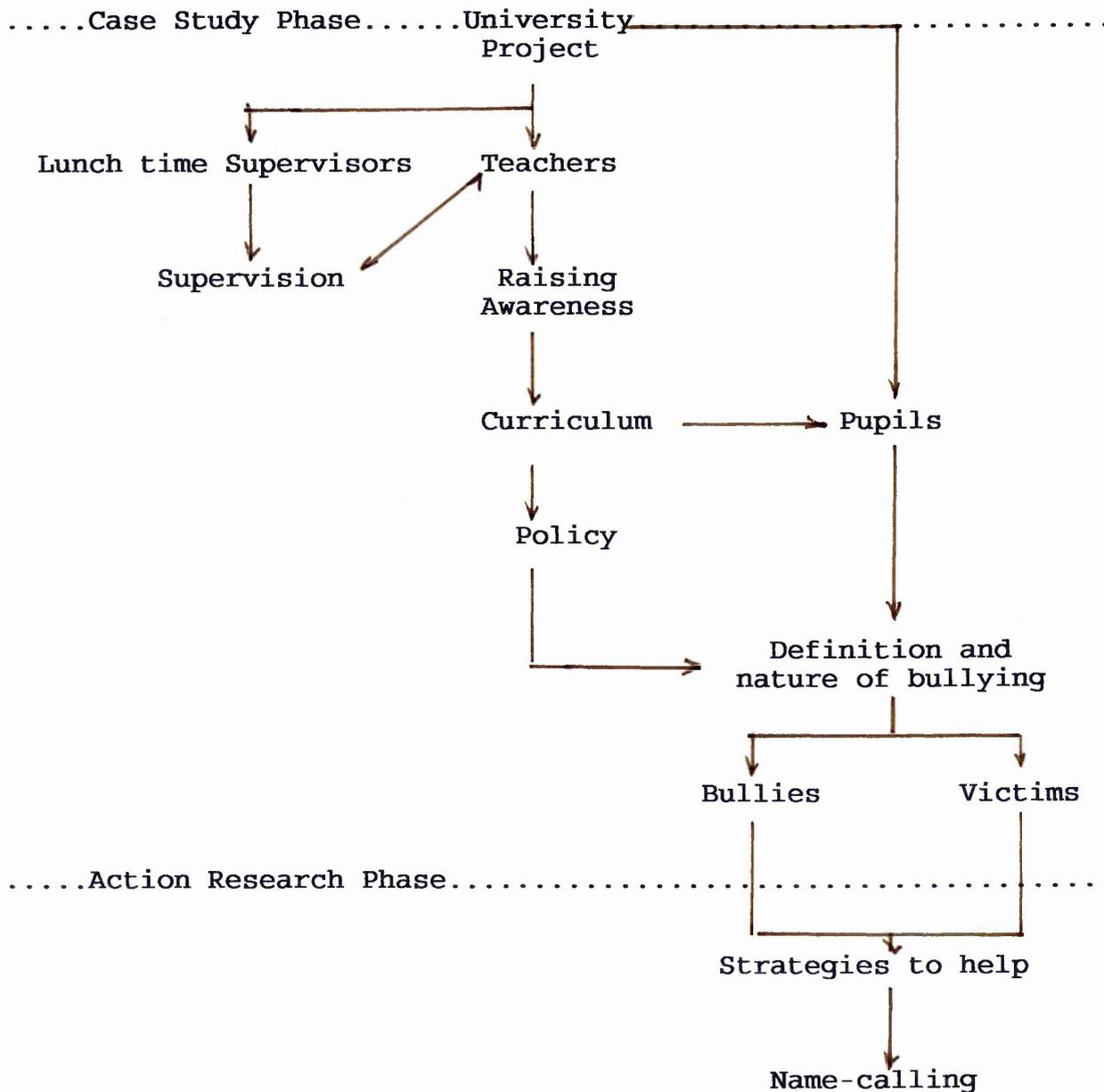
As lunch time supervisors and teachers are the people in most contact with pupils in school the teacher/researcher decided that they should be the two groups to use in the card indexing system. Separate keywords and phrases were written on the 513 cards, categorised and then sorted into key issues. Miles and Huberman (1984, p 2) suggest that a conceptual framework of what is to be highlighted should emerge empirically from the data. The card indexing of data from interviews and questionnaires from teachers and lunch time supervisors created the following categories and ordered according to the frequency by which they occurred on the cards which have been saved but not submitted:

<u>Figure 6</u>	<u>Emergent Categories</u>	<u>No of Cards</u>
1	Pupils	74
2	Strategies for dealing with bullying	70
3	Teachers	68
4	Supervision	60
5	Policy	52
6	Raising Awareness	39
7	Bullies	30
8	Sheffield Project	19
9	Name-Calling	19
10	The Nature of Bullying	15
11	Victims	15
12	Lunch time Supervisors	14
13	Parents	13
14	Curriculum	13
15	Definition	<u>12</u>
	Total:	<u>513</u>

Miles and Huberman (1984, p 21) and Stone and Harris (1984, p 25) acknowledge that data reduction and coding activities lose the context of the original data. However, when the cards were put into categories the meaning re-emerged. Mrs Jacques (App 1, p 3)

scrutinized this process to ensure the cards first related back to the data and then forward to the categories. The cards were then mapped out into a plan which Mrs Jacques (App 1, p 3) found sensible. The case study and the action research phases were accommodated in this process:

TABLE ELEVEN. A map of the indexing system which determined the form of the case study and action research phases.



The following case study and action research phase are based upon this map.

Conclusion.

The methodology used was only one of several possible ways of dealing with the data. Shipman (1981, frwd xi) forewarns that techniques used in the social sciences are never completely reliable. On several occasions the raw data was reduced to single words on cards during the processes of analysis prior to the formation of the concepts and the hypothesis. The fact that so many cards automatically and naturally fitted the categories validated the activity. Another instance was when data was reduced to numbers which eventually re-emerged as significant quantitative evidence. Shipman (1981, frwd xii) questions the sufficiency of detail on the way evidence is produced. This case report attempts to dispel Shipman's doubts.

CHAPTER FIVE.
A CASE STUDY OF BULLYING
AT
BADEN ROAD JUNIOR SCHOOL.

Summary.

The Sheffield Project played a significant role in raising awareness about bullying at Baden Road Primary School. Part of the development of an anti-bullying policy was to generate a school definition of bullying, sections of which were used to support the development of this case study.

Using the card index plan (page 127), the nature of bullying at Baden Road was examined. This involved the scrutiny of pupil numbers, ages, classes, gender and whether or not they bullied in gangs. The case study examined also the physical and non-physical forms of bullying. Victims were identified as defenceless, smaller and weaker than or different from their bullies but this was found not always to be the case. There was strong evidence that the playground was the place where bullying took place. Despite being an all-white school, race was cited as a cause of bullying and formed part of the case.

Lunch time was a significant part of the school day where pupil behaviour was reported to be poor. Even though all the lunch time supervisors participated in the Sheffield project they found problems at lunch time on the yard continued to be more or less the same. While teachers appeared satisfied with their

supervisory role, there were problems as children went home after school and duty supervision was then extended to cover this time.

At least the Sheffield project involved all the teachers and pupils at some time and helped raise awareness. There was a limited but increased use of the curriculum to counter the problem when the subject of bullying could be addressed in non-threatening and proactive ways. This too failed to become routine in the school. Even the project director was concerned that once the project was over there was no way to assess summatively the after-effect. The ultimate demise of much of the work done to counter bullying was the complete failure in school to implement the 1991 anti-bullying policy. In the first instance this had been seen to be a most promising development. It failed, principally because teachers were trying to implement too many other policies at the same time. The amalgamation in 1992 of the adjoining infant school worsened the chances of any kind of implementation for the time being.

The Baden Road School Pupil Definition of Bullying.

In working towards a consensus on the meaning of bullying, all project schools were encouraged to adopt a definition. For Baden Road a definition proved a useful part both in the development of the anti-bullying policy (App 14) and in context with the proposed aims of this case study and the examination of strategies to counter bullying.

There was no evidence from the literature which suggested that data from children had been used by experts on bullying to develop their definitions. With the exception of the Smith and Sharp (1994) results of the Sheffield project, definitions of bullying appear to have been conceptualized and composed by adults providing adult meanings and connotations. The definitions cited in chapter two have qualities cognizant to bullying but may have missed aspects which children might view differently. Anyway, adults may not always be the best people to decide and say what bullying is.

One Baden Road teacher acknowledged that bullying is subversive and covert because of the consequences of getting into trouble. Blatchford and Cresser (1990, p 164) observe that bullying is a covert practice and recognise that it takes place generally away from adults who rarely see it. Children learn not to bully in front of them. One teacher observed that the little bullying teachers do see is often not the whole story, only a culmination of events. This makes difficult their task of defining precisely the nature of bullying in school.

Yet, from the plethora of data provided by the pupils it seems they know what is happening at Baden Road. Stephenson and Smith (1989, p 164) claim that children have a uniquely informed view of what goes on, are the experts of what happens and have the most up-to-date knowledge. This pupil awareness can be usefully employed by a school to find out the most recent information. Roland and Munthe (1989, p 117) raise the methodological soundness of finding the meaning children attach to the word "bullying." It reflects those sub-cultures to which the children are exposed. According to Elton (op cit), Lane (op cit) and Tattum and Herbert (op cit), another advantage of asking children to define bullying provides a phenomenological perspective, giving specific insights which a general definition might miss.

Getting pupils to define bullying would also help the teacher/researcher establish in his own mind the extent and nature of bullying at Baden Road School and build part of the case study. Data from a definition could be analysed and where appropriate, triangulated with other sources from pupils, parents, teachers, non-teaching staff and from the Sheffield survey results to provide a unique but representative view of bullying in school.

However, a system and an ethos was needed in a school which would allow this to happen. Children would need to feel comfortable that their responses would not be used against them and teachers would need to feel receptive to using pupils' ideas. This had been achieved once already with the nature by which the Sheffield project had been introduced by teachers to pupils and opened the subject of bullying in a non-threatening way.

Combined with levels of pupil ability, generally recognised by the school as above average, the pupils were able to contribute satisfactorily to a survey "I think bullying is..." which led to a pupil definition of bullying. Held in the familiar setting of classrooms, the survey was confidential, non-threatening, informal and out of context with any bullying situation.

Limitations.

The "I think bullying is....." survey of pupils aged 7 - 11 years depended on their ability to process three main inter-related functions. It was difficult to determine whether any differences in the responses of the older and younger pupils were due to one or a combination of the following;

- 1 longevity and exposure to and experiences of bullying,
- 2 age and the developing concepts of bullying,
- 3 reporting abilities,

First, the activity assumed that, at the time of writing, children had ideas about bullying first hand as victim, witness, or bystander or second-hand through hearsay. Without exhaustive social studies of the individual relationships of each child in the school it would be hard to tell which or any number of these induced the responses. It was impossible to tell whether the responses were limited to specific behaviours in specific groups. If so, they would be restricted to the age group in which the children played. Nor was it possible to know whether or not the responses were wider observations of general bullying behaviours

in other age groups. It seems then that the longer pupils are in school the greater the knowledge and experience of the repertoire of bullying behaviours emerges. Once learnt, pupils then have a choice whether or not to respond likewise with other children.

Second, the activity assumed that the behaviours cited were in fact related conceptually to bullying behaviour and not just to the culmination of a number of single incidences from different children at different times. Smith and Sharp (1994, p 13) emphasise that aggressive and violent behaviour between two people is not always bullying. It is only bullying if it is an unequal interaction. At what point primary children develop sufficiently, if at all, to recognise this complexity is not obvious. The term "bullying" is the classification of a behaviour or a number of behaviours, each with motives and intentions designed to harm and set within certain social situations. Increased power is felt each time the behaviour is repeated.

To contribute individual ideas to the collective term "bullying" assumed an ability to memorize, classify, categorise, make sense of and differentiate behaviours which on some occasions might be termed bullying when at other times they might not. Pupil responses to the idea "I think bullying is...." depended on their ability to discern these differences and required some degree of cognitive development which, according to Piaget (1969, p 197) is closely linked with age. Without this capacity some children, particularly the younger ones aged around seven years, may have perceived bullying as a single form of aggression, a name to a behaviour rather than the multifaceted concern it is.

Third, the activity depended upon language development, each child having the most appropriate terms to make sense of and the ability to write and explain the word "bullying." At the point of analysis, there was no way of knowing if the pupils had used the correct terminology to express what they really wished to say. Equally, there was no way of knowing if pupils had avoided writing what they thought they knew to be bullying but could not express it because of linguistic inabilities in terms of limited vocabulary, writing skills and/or spelling deficiencies.

Method.

The wording "I think bullying is...." on a slip of paper was given to the 203 pupils present on Friday March 20th 1992 for them to complete the sentence. This enabled opinions and/or perceptions of bullying behaviour to emerge. There was no preparation time or chance for the children to discuss the activity and influence each other. It was to be as naturalistic as possible. Except for absentees, all the pupils had completed the extensive 1990 Smith bullying questionnaire the previous November. There was no way of knowing whether or not this had any effect on their responses some four months later.

The concern over linguistic ability proved unfounded. Teachers reported that no child refused or had difficulty in writing their thoughts although limited vocabulary may have been a problem for younger children or for the less able. Teachers reported that they tended to take more time and wrote less but all the children described at least two behaviours. No child expressed a view

suggesting bullying to be acceptable or appropriate behaviour. No opinion focussed on or expressed a view about individual victims or bullies nor revealed cases of bullying or victimisation. This was a measure of how successful the intervention was in focussing the children's attention on defining bullying and giving opinions about it. Every piece of information provided was used.

Analysis of the pupil responses.

The information was tallied and the results ranked according to frequency. The most prolific number of responses related to bullying was name-calling then hitting and so on. Definitions outnumbered opinions by a ratio of 3 : 1 which were tallied and ranked in the same way. Any differences in behaviours would be determined by age, experience, language and cognitive development and revealed in the written responses. These differences did indeed reveal contrasting data which had an immediate effect on creating a pupil definition of bullying.

Analysed collectively, many similarities existed between the children's and authoritative definitions. However, the responses from the younger pupils aged 7 - 9 years were so significantly different from those of the older pupils aged 9 - 11 years that two definitions of bullying were developed. The younger pupils had responded mainly with overt behaviours while the older pupils included more indirect forms of bullying as perceived by experts such as Smith and Sharp (op cit) and Olweus (op cit). Their responses were grouped similarly, the definitions emerging as one

for the lower juniors (7-9 years) and one for the upper juniors (9-11 years). The 1991 definitions were:

LOWER SCHOOL DEFINITION. (7 - 9 years)

Bullying is when boys or girls kick, hit, fight and hurt, call names, upset feelings or make cry someone who is defenceless, smaller or younger than themselves.

Longevity, a greater general ability, awareness and command of English to describe the behaviours which can exhibit more sophistication meant that many older children expressed succinctly more varied feelings and views about bullying.

UPPER SCHOOL DEFINITION. (9 - 11 years)

Bullying is when a cowardly individual or gang act tough on the yard and for no reason at all call names, hit, fight, tease, kick, pick on and upset the feelings, make cry and hurt, physically or mentally, someone who is younger, smaller, weaker, afraid or different because of clothes, weight or colour to make them feel inferior.

Other criteria were mentioned by less than six children from a year group (three from each of two classes.) In a class of thirty pupils this averaged 10%. Anything less was considered to be unrepresentative. Nevertheless, these responses were still ranked. [Bold shows responses from the older pupils only.]

Bullies say nasty things, beat up, demand things or money, smack, thump, push down, isolate, torment, tell on, threaten, spread rumours, pester, force, nip, make fun of, pull hair, scratch, spit, bite, hide or take things, interfere with a game and pull faces.

The individual opinions, analysed in the same way as the definitions generated the following statement that bullies are

nasty, horrible, cruel, evil, naughty and mean. Some upper school pupils identified bullies as acting tough and cowardice. Other than this, there was no distinction by age of the opinions and from their comments all pupils thought bullying to be morally unacceptable. However, this seemed hypocritical coming from the minority of those pupils who do bully. Out of context and away from bullying situations, some may not see their behaviour as bullying while for others it may be due to the lack of seriousness they place upon their behaviour.

When the definition slips were sorted into gender responses of the 98 girls and 105 boys, further analysis revealed that bullies tended to see bullying in others rather than in themselves. Analysed and ranked by frequency in the same way as the school definitions, the gender definitions were as follows:

BOYS' DEFINITION OF BULLYING.

Bullying is a cowardly gang of boys or girls or individuals who on the yard for no reason call names, pick on, fight, kick, tease, hit, hurt and make cry individuals who are coloured or smaller, weaker or younger than themselves.

GIRLS' DEFINITION OF BULLYING.

Bullying is when a gang of boys or girls or individuals act tough and fight, pick on, call names, kick, hit, or tease and upset the feelings, physically or mentally those who are defenceless, smaller, younger or afraid because of clothes, weight and colour.

Figure 7 Gender Findings.

- * The most common form of bullying nominated by the girls (37%) (n=98) was "fighting."
- * The most common form of bullying nominated by the boys (40%) (n=105) was "name calling."

The second most common form which both boys and girls thought of as bullying was "picked on." My diary (10. 1. '91.) notes that "picked on" is synonymous with bullying but does not represent any particular form. In a group meeting, the Y5 and Y6 girls verbally agreed the order as fighting, teasing, calling names, pushing around, or threatening to tell tales. The Y5 and Y6 boys said it meant firstly calling names, saying nasty things and hitting.

The responses to "picked on" were consistent with the findings from the gender definitions. The girls described "picked on" as fighting before any other response. The boys described "picked on" as name-calling before any other response.

These results appear at odds with established research findings. Authorities including Besag (1989, p 15) and Tattum and Herbert (1990, p 9) agree that boys bully in a direct way and are more violent and destructive in their bullying than girls. Girls favour more indirect modes of malicious gossip, exclusion and isolation. One explanation for the differences at Baden Road may be that their perception of bullying fitted more from what they had observed as witnesses from the other gender than from their own experience. Another possibility might extend from the notion of children not admitting to nor taking responsibility for their own behaviours by shifting the blame onto the other sex. According to Macdonald (1989, p 43) this diluted, diffused and decreased sense of individual responsibility leads to fewer guilt feeling in bullies. Whether or not these explanations hold true for other schools is unclear.

The gender variations raise the question of ownership. It is as if many pupils want the social freedom to ostracise and bully but refuse to accept the responsibility for their behaviour. One teacher pointed out (App 10 p 14) that what they do to others isn't seen as bullying but what is done to them, is. Rawl (1971, p 423) points out that the principle of responsibility to self resembles a principle of right; the claims of the self at different times are to be so adjusted that the self at each time can affirm the plan that has been and is being followed. He claims this principle does not exclude hardship and suffering.

Main Findings.

The Baden Road School definitions have three principle features:

- 1 Bullying involves people in a social setting as boys or girls as individuals or in gangs.
- 2 Bullying includes many forms which can upset people physically or mentally.
- 3 Victims are vulnerable pupils.

These reflected similarly with many of the later authoritative definitions of Olweus and Smith and Sharp (op cit). The dissemination of these categories (op cit) into discrete sections and cross-checked with literature and data from other sources forms the bulk of the remainder of this case study. References denoted by * are from the older pupil definition only.

- 1 Bullies - Boys, Girls and *Gangs.
- 2 Forms - Physical and mental.
- 3 Victims - Their profile, *differences and *race
- 4 *Places - Play ground.

Similarities and differences between the pupil and authoritative definitions of bullying.

There were many similarities between authoritative definitions, Smith and Olweus (op cit) and the emergent definition from the pupils at Baden Road School, particularly about forms of bullying and ideas about victims. The pupils did not acknowledge that bullying can be prolonged and repeated over a period of time and suggests perhaps that much of the bullying at Baden Road may be temporary and opportunist and not long-term. The period of time over which pupils have been bullied in the cases cited in this study (App 9) range between two years and a few minutes. Daniel and Paul found themselves bullied over two years. Daniel was bullied by the same boy but Paul was bullied by many children. Roger had been bullied for a few months while John found himself bullied within a few minutes. Except in John's case, specific attacks varied in forms, intensity and duration.

No pupil considered bullying to be deliberate but differentiated between individual bullies and gangs whereas Elton, Lane, Tattum and Herbert and Roland (op cit) in their definitions did not. The younger pupils considered only individual boys and girls as bullies. It was the older pupils who considered gangs as well as individuals. However, none of the case studies of bullying in school had victims citing gangs as a cause for concern. While gangs are a cultural and social phenomenon they did not emerge significantly as a real threat in school nor from the data which will be examined later in this chapter.

1 Bullies: Boys, girls and gangs.

Smith (op cit) estimated that 6.3% of pupils at Baden Road School were bullies. This represents 14 of the 215 children in school. According to the peer nomination results the figure is higher at 23 pupils or 11% (n = 215), 19 boys and 4 girls. The higher peer nomination figures may well be due to an increased awareness and realisation in pupils of a wider range of forms of bullying inspired by the Sheffield project. Peer nomination results reveal that four times as many boys bully than girls, a higher ratio than other research findings. According to Besag (1989, p 15), the ratio is nearer three to one but as bullying behaviour of girls tends to be more covert it could be that the incidence among girls is higher than is presently assumed.

These figures are confused by the bully/victim category found in the peer nominations. This was unexpected as there was no such category identified from the results of the Sheffield project. The percentage of those pupils nominated by peers (op cit) as bullies with a mean score of 2.00 or above emerged as three categories.

Figure 8 Categories of bullies and victims (n = 210)

Category	Boys	Boys (n = 113)	Girls	Girls (n = 97)	Total	Pupils (n = 210)
1 Bullies only	19	16.8%	4	4.1%	23	11%
2 Bully/Victims	17	15.0%	3	3.1%	20	9%
3 Victims only	23	20.4%	20	20.6%	43	20%
[4 Below 2.00	54	47.8%	70	72.2%	124	60%]

The 17% (n = 113) of boys who bully rises to 32% (n = 113) if the bully and bully/victim totals are combined and for girls from 4% (n = 97) to 7%. The bully only figures of 17% boys and 4% girls averages at 10.5%. This is still higher than the Smith (op cit) survey quote of 6.3% of pupils who bully others.

To check the accuracy of the peer nomination figures, those pupils whose individual peer nomination scores exceeded 2 were referenced against their perception of self as bully or victim from their questionnaires with the following correlations:

Figure 9 Peer nominations checked against self-assessment.

Y3		Y4		Y5		Y6	
Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
58%	75%	61%	63%	71%	100%	78%	92%

Overall, 75% of pupils agreed independently that they were the victim or bully when compared with the peer nomination results. The 25% which did not compare were split evenly between those pupils denying being a victim and denying being a bully.

Comparing gender differences, the girls own views against those of the peer nomination appear more congruent at 83% than do the boys at 67%. This suggests that girls are more likely to realise that they are a bully or a victim than are boys.

What is also clear is that the older the child the greater the ability to recognise and accept the position as victim or bully. Compared with the nomination results, 64% of younger pupils aged

between seven and nine years seemed able to identify themselves as bully or victim while some 85% of the older pupils, nine to eleven years of age seemed able to do likewise.

Combining the two results, older primary girls seem more likely to recognise themselves as victims or bullies than any other group of children in junior schools thus achieving greater congruency, Rogers (1983 p, 158). This position may put them in a better position to suppress information likely to condemn them.

Younger junior boys are least likely to identify their behaviour as bullying or realise that they are being bullied and because of it may be more open in admitting behaviours perceived by others as bullying. Perhaps some seven to nine year old boys do not recognise that their behaviour can be classed as bullying. This tends to agree with points in the literature search and may give an early and tentative explanation as to why more boys bully and are bullied than girls at Baden Road School. Figure 10 below shows also that apart from victims, boys' mean nomination scores were slightly higher than the girls' which are consistently below the mean thus boys' bullying was nominated as more serious.

Figure 10 Whole School Peer Nomination Mean Scores. (n = 210)

	Bullies		Victims		Bully/Victims [As bully and victim]		Below 2		
Boys	(19)	2.36	(23)	2.23	(17)	2.30	2.30	(54)	1.77
Girls	(4)	2.16	(20)	2.24	(3)	2.09	2.25	(70)	1.65
Mean		2.24		2.235		2.20	2.28		1.71

Hidden in these means are eight children whose scores are above 3.00, 2 girls as victims and 6 boys as bullies. They were given

counselling because of the nominations. Furthermore, as Smith (op cit) did not identify the bully/victim category makes his results anomalous when compared with peer nominations.

Provocative victims as bullies.

For some time this category has been well recognised by experts such as Besag (1989, pp 14 - 15) and Stephenson and Smith (1987, p 13) who estimate that 6% of bullies are also victims. The Baden Road figure seems higher but does not account for extent or severity. Olweus (1978, p 14) found a further 18% of those who were bullied occasionally, in turn bullied others. Stephenson and Smith (1989, p 14) found bully/victims to be less popular with their peers than the main group of bullies. As the Baden Road group of bully/victims is nearly as great as bullies alone, it is surprising that Smith (op cit) did not identify bully/victims in the Sheffield survey.

In one case, Paul (App 9 pp 1 - 16) found himself ostracised and isolated in both structured and unstructured time and he reacted aggressively. Consequently his peer relationships progressively worsened the older he became. There had been incidents in Y4 one of which involved his PE kit being flushed down a toilet by a boy and urged on by other boys to do so. By Y5, the class seemed alienated against him. The hate generated extended to other children fearing social ostracism should they be seen playing with, sitting by, helping or partnering Paul. From research into his case in 1989 the teacher concluded that he was in a cycle of deteriorating relationships. While the class may have held some

responsibility for Paul's demise, he frequently taunted, teased and name-called them. He gained attention from his peers by irritating them during lessons with his off-task behaviours. Groups then rebuffed Paul who retaliated with spurious behaviour which, in turn, created poorer behaviour towards him. Olweus (1995, p 33) classifies these anxious and aggressive children as provocative victims and found it not uncommon for such behaviour to result in mass negative reaction.

Different children responded to him with different severity. Girls tended to ignore him but boys were generally more direct in their intransigence particularly when at play. Paul was never allowed to play with his peers so he pretended, running up and down on the sidelines of a game almost as if he was the hero. Apparently able to ignore his plight, Paul drew more attention by lying to teachers about the behaviour of other children towards him. Despite above average academic attainments, he persisted in taunting and lying which further disenfranchised him from others. The cyclical effect of one behaviour upon another makes the task of dealing with such cases quite different from other bullying. Olweus (1995, p 33) acknowledges such social dynamics differ in part from problems with passive victims. It is more a question of identifying where in the cycle of deteriorating relationships it is most appropriate to intervene.

Bullies who are older and bigger than their victims.

Many bullies were perceived by nine parents to be bigger and older than their victims and considered to be the worst form of

bullying because they get pleasure in choosing to bully smaller, weaker and/or younger children. One example was given of older boys fighting a younger boy coming out of school and another where a younger boy's face was smacked by older boys. One reason for bullying by older children was given as trusting them to be responsible who then show they cannot be.

In quantitative terms, though not representative, figure 11 illuminates the distribution through the school years of the parents concerned about older and bigger pupils bullying younger ones but is not indicative of any actual bullying in school.

Figure 11 Parent concerns about older and bigger bullies. (n =179)

<u>OLDER/BIGGER</u>	<u>Y3</u>	<u>Y4</u>	<u>Y5</u>	<u>Y6</u>
Parent responses	1 2% (n = 44)	4 9% (n = 46)	3 6% (n = 49)	1 2% (n = 40)

The expectation that parents of younger pupils in school would be more concerned about bullying by older pupils is confounded by these responses. There are no findings to explain this.

The perception of older, bigger pupils bullying younger, smaller children does not always hold true. The cases cited in this study (App 9) reveal the situation to be complicated by the fact that some victims are bullied by children the same age and older. Of the eight cases cited;

- 4 victims were bullied by children the same age
- 2 victims were bullied by older children
- 2 victims were bullied by both older and same age child

There is evidence which suggests that a few bullies are younger than their victims as shown in the pupil questionnaire results:

Figure 12 **The age of the bully by gender** (n = 199)

Boys	Older	Same Age	Younger	
Y3	14	1	1	
Y4	9	8		
Y5	7	6		
Y6	<u>1</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>2</u>	
	<u>31</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>2</u>	59 boys
Girls	Older	Same Age	Younger	
Y3	9	3	1	
Y4	2	9		
Y5	12	10		
Y6	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>1</u>	
	<u>29</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>2</u>	62 girls
Total	60	57	4	121 pupils

The number of girl bullies here seems remarkably high and is exceptional from other findings. However, according to these figures, bullies similarly tend to bully victims who are younger or the same age. For those who bully younger children the age difference is not clear and probably varies. Olweus (1987, p 16) generalises that bullies are more active in the last year of primary [and secondary school], presumably because of their position to dominate younger children. This is shown more in the boys' results than the girls, where 14, Y3 boys report being bullied by older children as opposed to 1, Y6 pupil. Overall, the youngest children in school [Y3 and Y4] account for 57% of the total number of pupils who claimed to be bullied by older children. The exceptionally high Y5 girls' figure of 12 dampens the overall trend. General findings about the Year 5 were positive but there are no findings to explain this.

In 3% of the responses the bully was younger than the victim.

According to the pupil questionnaire, boys tend to bully boys and girls but mostly other boys whereas girls bully other girls almost exclusively, matching Besag's (1989, p 15) findings.

Figure 13 Bullies by gender. (n = 199)

Pupil	Victim	
	Boy	Girl
Bully	Boy	57
	Girl	2
		28
		38

When asked if the bully was from the same or another class, pupil results showed that 56% were from different classes.

Figure 14 The class of the bully. (n = 199)

	Same class	Different class
Boys	22	35
Girls	<u>29</u>	<u>29</u>
	<u>51</u>	<u>64</u>

If half of the bullies previously cited are older then at least half the cases of bullies from different classes can be said to be from an older year group rather than the parallel class, with Y6 pupils, the oldest pupils in school, as the exception. Three out of the eight cases cited involved victims and bullies from the same class. There is no finding which indicates that the severity or frequency of bullying for those victims in the same class as the bully is any different from those who are not.

Daniel appears to have been bullied most prolifically by a boy in his class who used nine different forms but of all the cases cited, the duration of his victimisation was the most prolonged. He reported being bullied in unstructured time and in the classroom. As reported in (App 9 p 21) John would take things like pencils and felt tipped pens without asking and during lessons treated Daniel as a servant. He was made to fetch things for John from other pupils. For some time Daniel thought that by doing these jobs, John would become a friend but his treatment got worse. John made plans and spread rumours about Daniel and had the ability to make other pupils in the class laugh at him, making him feel isolated. He was offered fights and threatened to be beaten up after school. Even though the fights never took place it had the effect of keeping Daniel frightened for days. Daniel was always pleased to be out of school before John.

Here, the concern is that bullies who are in the same class as the victim have greater opportunity to bully simply because of the time and proximity of being in the same classroom. This is a dilemma. The class teacher was unaware of the bullying until Daniel's mother came into school and reported it. How teachers maintain a heightened awareness that significant bullying can occur and continue in the classroom has a bearing on the whole ethos of the classroom and questions the development of mutual trust between teacher and pupil. Alex was similarly treated by Richard (App 9 p 36) but the class teacher became aware when she noticed he looked scared. Her observation was confirmed when Alex approached her, concerned about Richard's general poor behaviour and more specifically about threats against him. Even

then, Richard continued to harass Alex threatening to get him after school and beat him up for snitching [sic].

Bullies in gangs.

29 (16%) of parents (App 10 p 1) commented that gangs forming to bully another was the worst form of bullying but made no mention of gang size. They thought taking sides after arguments or name-calling led to the formation of rival gangs which spilled over and developed into the bullying of one child. Tattum and Herbert (1990, p 9) point out that people who may not begin as bullies may join bullying gangs and many bullies try to involve other children in their activities.

Gangs constitute two or more children who pick on one child for no reason especially when the bully is egged on by mates. Their ages were not studied. One parent thought gangs formed in the classroom when children were left in groups. Another described gangs as "pack mentality" where children followed the strongest. However, these citations were unsubstantiated.

As an indicator of the strength of feeling about gangs but not necessarily reflective situationally on Baden Road School, several parents offered the following with as their perception of the worst form of bullying.

Figure 15	<u>GANGS</u>	<u>Y3</u>	<u>Y4</u>	<u>Y5</u>	<u>Y6</u>	(n = 179)
Number of parents	6	9	9	5		
	14%	20%	14%	12%		
	(n = 44)	(n = 46)	(n = 49)	(n = 40)		

These 29 parents appeared worried by the threat of gangs at Baden Road School particularly at play and lunch times. The citations identified victims who were inadequate, unusual, mis-placed, loners or unable to defend themselves. Seven parents specified cases of which five involved gangs hitting younger pupils after school. If this be true, the extent of ganging after school will need some kind of intervention.

If the number of cases of ganging dealt with by the school is an indicator then the parent perceptions of its frequency appear mostly unfounded. Teachers have dealt with very few cases. Whether or not this is because gangs have not been seen to be bullying is unclear. The numbers engaged in opportunist ganging usually means it is easily seen. However, the gang which bullied Paul in the toilets was not seen. The class teacher was informed of this by other children.

There has been one other case (App 9 pp 43 - 47) of a gang dealt with during school time in the last six years. Five, Y6 girls covertly split their friendship after an argument. Two befriended and played with several Y3 girls. The other three identified this new allegiance, did not like it and started intimidating the Y3 girls over a number of play times, calling them lesbians. They also prevented them from playing as they wished. The case came to light only when a mother of one Y3 girls came in to school to inform the head that her daughter had asked what a lesbian was.

However, 36 pupils identified gangs bullying, one from Y3/4 and 35 from Y5/6. The views of parents, pupils and teachers appear at odds with each other. Some parents and pupils think there is more ganging than do the participant teachers. More data will need collecting if the extent of ganging is to be measured more accurately, particularly if more action is needed.

2 Forms of bullying.

In defining bullying the pupils focussed mainly on the forms. Olweus (1978, p 30) divided forms of bullying into two broad but distinct categories; aggression which is direct or indirect. The analysis of the pupil definitions revealed not only differences in the levels of sophistication between the views of the younger and older pupils but similar distinctions about forms of bullying. Some older pupils, particularly those aged ten and eleven years, showed greater awareness and understanding of the different physical and non-physical forms of bullying.

Physical, direct forms of bullying.

By its nature, all physical bullying is direct. Explicit forms of physical bullying such as kicking, hitting and fighting dominated the younger pupils' perceptions of what constituted bullying. Younger pupils continued to describe the more overt behaviours including **beating up, smacking, thumping, making fun of, pushing down, pestering, forcing, nipping, scratching, pulling hair, spitting and biting.** These forms were but a part of the older

pupils ideas. The pupil questionnaire results (App 11 p 1) showed a similar pattern when pupils were asked what bullies do:

Figure 16 Physical Bullying (n = 199)

Form	Boys			Girls			Overall total
	Y3/4	Y5/6	Total	Y3/4	Y5/6	Total	
*Hitting	43	32	= 75	28	27	= 55	130
Kicking	48	12	= 60	20	16	= 36	96
Pushing	3	6	= 9	2	4	= 6	15
Fights	5	6	= 11	2	0	= 2	13

*Hitting includes thumping and punching. Other forms cited were being nipped, smacked, bitten, tripped and having hair pulled. Hitting accounted for 40% of all the responses involving physical bullying and only the pupil questionnaire results identified hitting as the most common form of bullying. There was no gender distinction.

Apart from making fun of, nipping and biting these forms were cited by parents (App 10 p 3) as bullying they had witnessed. Most observations occurred as parents waited for their children.

Figure 17 Parents as witnesses of physical bullying. (n = 179)

Physical cases	No. of Parents
*Hitting	10
includes thumps	10
*Hitting	10
Kicking	10
Pushing	10
Pick on	10
Fighting	9
Pulling	2
Taking things	2
Total	<u>53</u> of 89 reported incidences

It is impossible to determine if these physical forms cited by parents were bullying or single instances of fights. Nor do the

figures indicate whether or not one or more of the physical forms were used in an attack. Smith (1990 and 1992) identified hitting as the most common form of physical bullying accounting for nearly 20% of all forms. How many of these incidences involve intentional and repeated attacks and how many are single and opportunistic incidences remains uncertain. Evidence cannot replace the variable intensities or the duration of attacks which victims experience as the following matrix shows.

TABLE TWELVE A matrix to show the forms of bullying experienced by victims. (App 9)

Name/ Form	Dan	#James	Paul	Roger	Alex	Y3G'ls	Emma	Y6Boy
Hitting								
Kicking								
Fights								
Pushing	*		*	*	*			
Name-call	*		*	*	*	*	*	*
Teasing	*				*	*		*
Threats	*			*	*			
Stop play	*	*	*					
Forced	*		*				*	
Rumours	*			*		*		
Isolated	*		*					
Demands	*							
Bully:	Boy *Y5S		Boys Y56S0	Boys Y67S0	Boy Y5S	Girls Y60	Boy Y60	Boys Y6S

* The Y5/6 year groups are not necessarily from the same cohort.
S = Same age O = Older

James (App 9 pp 56 - 59) did not see himself bullied although he was stopped playing.

Every victim received counselling. Significantly, none of the cases of bullying (App 9) reveal any form of serious physical attack. Four involve some pushing but according to the victims this was not particularly serious. Of the 30 instances of various forms of bullying used against victims, 90% were non-contact. The 10% of contact bullying proved inconsequential to the victims compared with the hurt and trauma caused by name-calling.

Non-physical direct and indirect bullying.

Although non-contact, some forms of bullying such as name-calling and tormenting are by their nature direct and influence victims first hand. Other non-physical forms such as malicious gossip and spreading rumours such as those Daniel experienced are affective but indirect. The most common forms cited by the the older pupils were name-calling and teasing. Even though forms of bullying were not asked for specifically from teachers, two cited name-calling and teasing as the most common forms. The parents who claimed to have witnessed bullying reported the following;

Figure 18 Parents as witnesses to non-physical bullying (n = 179)

Non-physical cases	No. of parents (App 10 p 3)
Name-calling	4
Teasing	3
Ridiculed	3
Threatening	2
Chasing	<u>1</u>
	Total <u>13</u> of 89 reported incidences

The remaining incidences not accounted for include;

- 10 described as picked on,
- 7 described as gangs and
- 6 described as older against younger.

spreading rumours. None of these are cited by parents in any of the 89 incidences they claimed as bullying.

Despite being ranked fifth by the younger children, name-calling was the most common form of bullying cited by the pupils of Baden Road School in their definition activity. 107 of 203 responses, 52% of the total were about name-calling. Smith and Sharp (1994, p 16) found that most bullying reported by pupils in the 1990 survey of the 23 Sheffield schools took the form of name-calling. Fontaine (1991, p 22) reports that of all the telephone calls to ChildLine (sic) from state and public school pupils, the highest proportion (28.5%) concerned name-calling of three kinds including unspecified, physical differences and name-calling by ex-friends.

Taking into account that other direct but non-physical bullying is more covert than physical the possibility arises that name-calling in school is as prolific if not more so than hitting. Of the cases of bullying cited, name-calling was the most common form which the victims endured. Moreover, when pupils were asked in the questionnaire to describe the most common attacks (App 11 p 6) they revealed name-calling as the most common form.

Figure 20 **The most common attacks on pupils.** (n = 199)

Form/Pupils	Boys	Girls	Total
Name-calling	15	17	32
Hitting	18	11	29
Kicking	13	7	20

These were the only forms accounted for by all four year groups. A different pattern emerged when the children were asked to write short but true stories about being bullied. (App 11 pp 8 - 9). As some had not been bullied they did not write one.

Figure 21 Forms of bullying identified from true stories (n = 64)

Form	Frequency from true stories
Hitting	37
Name-calling	32
Kicking	29

There was no significant difference between the stories written by younger and older pupils. The great majority were about direct forms of bullying. Indirect forms tended to emerge from the older pupils who wrote of belongings being pinched. Fifty six pupils (App 11, p 7) said they had been made to cry because of bullying.

Figure 22 Recognition of the hurt caused by bullying. (n = 199)

	Boys	Girls	Total
Made cry	27	29	56

3 Victims and their profile.

Who had cried? The younger pupils' definition provided a victim profile as **defenceless, smaller or younger**. Many older pupils reflected a wider understanding by adding those victims who were **weaker or were seen as somehow different**. Victims in the Smith survey accounted for nearly 30% of pupils and higher than the 20% of pupils who found themselves nominated as victims. However, if

this total is combined with the bully/victim category then the total rises to 30%, exactly the same as the Smith survey. The gender distribution of victim status finds boys also more likely to be victims than girls. This is congruent with the Smith 1992 survey where 34% of boys (n = 114) and 25% of girls (n = 98) were said to have been bullied most frequently. This compares favourably with the peer nomination results where 35% of boys (n = 113) and 24% of girls (n = 97) were nominated as victims.

Defenceless, smaller, younger and weaker victims.

The perception that victims are younger is not always the case as was demonstrated earlier in this chapter. Nor is it true that victims are smaller than the bullies. Half the cases cited in this study had victims who were the same size or bigger than the bully. Daniel (op cit) was bigger than John but Alex (op cit) was the same size as Richard. Tattum and Herbert (1991 p 21) point out that contrary to popular belief, bullied victims don't always differ much from other children.

In the same way the notion of victims being weaker than bullies is surely drawn from the reverse position; that the bully has the potential to over-power the victim. It is accepted generally by Tattum and Herbert (1991, p 21) and Olweus (1995, p 32) that victims are weaker than their persecutors. Olweus (1995 p 32) found that passive and submissive children offer signals to others that they are worthless and insecure individuals who will not retaliate if attacked or insulted. He describes these children as anxious or submissive, combined with [in the case of

boys] physical weakness. There is no evidence to suggest that the physical strength of a bully has been tested against that of their victims. Until such time, the teacher/researcher believes that it is the perception of strength and not actual strength which determines a victim's view of the bully.

However, Tattum and Lane (1989, p 35) suggest victims are weak, passive and socially ineffective; anxious, insecure and lacking in self-confidence; and unpopular with other children. Boulton and Smith (1994 p, 7) found that at junior school, victims of bullying tended to be lower on several measures of self-esteem. Furthermore, Olweus (1995, p 32) recognises that repeated harassment must considerably increase the anxiety, insecurity and negativism of themselves. This was highlighted in the case of the fifty year old man (op cit p 39) whose problems started on his first day at school.

In many of the cases cited in this study the personality and character of many victims fitted these criteria. From initial observations Daniel (App 9, p 19) was described as unassuming, quiet and well-behaved but rather timid and submissive to other boys' demands. He had been bullied by John for several years. Roger too had been noted for his low self-esteem when he wasn't chosen for the football team. He cried and sobbed that he was no good at anything, no one loved him and he might as well kill himself. Alex (op cit) was very scared of Richard as was Emma of Alan (App 9) giving the bullies the air of superiority of strength without having to prove it.

However, observations of the victims' demeanour since their bullying stopped showed that their self-esteem had much improved. Daniel's class teacher reports that he has more self-confidence and looks happier and healthier. There hasn't been any tears this term like there were last term. A student teacher with the Y5 class reports Daniel being very active and ready to answer questions in class. His Mum was finding Daniel much happier and he was finding it easier to approach people. According to Daniel he has used his assertiveness training skills (App 9 pp 23 - 24) and has found that they work. Like Daniel, Alex and the others found their negativism existed temporarily while being bullied. Alex is now much more confident, particularly now the bully has been excluded permanently.

Differences in victims.

Many older pupils reported these differences as "clothes, weight or colour," indicating a knowledge of who is likely to become a victim and revealed an emerging ability to judge others by their deviances from perceived norms. The participant teachers agreed unanimously that children who are physically different or over-react get bullied. Ten parents cited clothes only as a cause of bullying and thought this the worst form:

Figure 23 Clothes as a cause of bullying. (n = 179)

<u>DIFFERENCES</u>	<u>Y3</u>	<u>Y4</u>	<u>Y5</u>	<u>Y6</u>
	0	1	3	6
	0%	2%	5%	14%
	(n = 44)	(n = 46)	(n = 49)	(n = 40)

The greatest concern for 12% of parents (App 10, pp 4 - 5) involved top brand names, clothes and fashions. Shell suits and trainers were highlighted as 'trendy' clothes whilst Reebok and Puma brand names were identified as fashionable. Children from families who did not or could not wear top brand names, designer clothes and shoes appeared to be picked on and teased. These victims were from economically poorer families and had to 'stick up' [sic] for themselves. Children wearing clothes that were considered not in fashion by the other children would be more likely to be picked on than for any other reason. Whether these pupils were victimised by pupils who had top brand names, designer clothes and shoes is not clear. One parent commented that children always want what the other child's got and a lot of parents can't afford them. Envy was put as a root cause of friction when a child has something a bully covets. This included toys as well as clothes.

Being different included being a little overweight. One parent said we cannot all be a perfect size and some children cannot enjoy sweets like other children because of putting on weight. Over-sized children were thought of as possible victims but this, according to one parent, did not exclude smaller, frail looking children as were those who might be quiet and not good at mixing with other children. Another parent thought picking on children with deformities the worst form of bullying. Other differences included not fitting in with the norm because of intelligence, physical appearance or defects, wearing glasses, children who look different and the amount of pocket money different children receive.

Extremes in academic ability and being bullied in school caused concern for six parents. Four of the six thought being bright, when children do really well and 'brainier' than his or her peers could result in bullying. What forms of bullying resulted was not clear. One parent suggested that children might resort to calling bright children 'swats'. Two parents considered the possibility that academically poorer children too may be casualties of bullying. Again the forms of bullying to which these children are exposed was not made clear.

Children who wore spectacles were also likely to be teased as were those who had misaligned front teeth, wore a teeth brace or were picked on for their size. This form of bullying was one of a number used by John to bully Daniel (App 9, p 20) who was repeatedly called specky four eyes because he wore glasses and goofy because his front teeth slightly protruded. Daniel feared that the regularity by which he was being called these names would make them into nick-names and he began to see these features as weaknesses. The greatest effect was that he felt different and isolated.

The study of girls bullying at Baden Road School (op cit) revealed that girls too resorted to using differences as a way of belittling victims. A mother reported that one girl had been bullying her daughter Amy and her friend Kim about their new clothes and hair styles. Distressed by the torment Amy was refusing to wear her new clothes again for fear of being harassed. As in Daniel's case this way of bullying was just one of a number of forms used to bully Amy.

It is not essential that picking out differences is a strategy which bullies have to rely on initially. Some victims already feel vulnerable and weaker by their differences. Daniel began to see his features as weaknesses. It seems that John sensed this and further humiliated and belittled him by persistently and repeatedly calling Daniel dickhead. Bullies appear to identify and choose a vulnerable feature of the victim to maximize their effect. While Daniel's looks were unavoidable Amy had an element of choice over her clothes yet both were victimised in similar ways.

Since the first book in Britain by Tattum and Lane (1989), ideas about some aspects of bullying are already changing. For example, authorities including Tattum and Lane (1989, p 35), Tattum and Herbert (1990, p 1) and Casdagli and Gobey (1990, p 9) give credence to the idea that differences in physical characteristics such as the ones cited by parents and in the two cases is a cause of bullying. Tattum and Herbert (1990, p 1) claim that bullying is at its most insidious when it focusses on vulnerable children who are regarded as different.

A tentative suggestion emerging from the upper school definition is a possible link between name-calling and the appearance of the victim. Some older pupils identified clothes, colour and weight as possible differences which can be picked out for ostracism. Olweus (op cit) and Besag (1989, p 45) doubt whether bullying children seek out those who have a stigma, mark or other noticeable feature. Besag (op cit) suspects that victims are chosen for reasons other than obvious physical features such as

obesity or poor coordination, but once identified the features become part of the attack.

More recently Olweus (1995, p 30) has questioned this hypothesis. He asserts that external deviation such as obesity, hair colour or the wearing of spectacles is not necessarily a cause of bullying behaviour. Olweus' (op cit) study found victims to have no more deviations than a control group of boys who were not bullied. The only external deviation that differentiated the groups was physical strength. Olweus does not state whether this physical strength was tested. His research points to all those children with externally deviant characteristics who are not bullied. Yet upwards of 75% of the control group had at least one external deviation. In one way or another nearly everyone has some characteristic which a bully could use detrimentally. Olweus concludes that a bully will probably pick out an external deviation but this does not mean it is the root cause of the bullying but could be part of a wider, calculated victimisation.

In Daniel and Amy's cases their differences (App 9) were one of a number of ways in which they were bullied and found the disparaging remarks about their appearance extremely disturbing. It is doubtful the two would have been bullied in this way any earlier in their school lives. Both were Y5 pupils, at a time when the level of sophistication in the strategies by which bullies attack their victims is becoming more complicated with a corresponding increase in the repertoire of behaviours exhibited. Over time it is likely that a number of names were used by their bullies to find the most effective defamatory term.

When the children were asked whom they had told about being bullied, of 122 children who responded, 59% said they had not told a teacher suggesting that children at Baden Road School were more likely to tell someone at home that they were being bullied than at school. However, when they were asked if they had told anyone at home 54% said they had while 46% said they had not. To check this the same question was asked later in a slightly different form. This included whether or not the bullying continued or stopped.

Figure 24 Who did you last tell about being bullied. (n = 133)

<u>TOLD</u>	<u>The bullying stopped</u>				<u>The bullying did not stop</u>		
	<u>All</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Total</u>
Mum	47	15	9	24	14	9	23
Dad	26	3	3	6	11	9	20
Teachers	19	3	5	8	7	4	11
Lunch sup.	15	1	3	4	3	8	11
No one	11				5	6	11
Friend	6		4	4	2		2
Broth/Sis	3	1		1		2	2
Nan-nan	2					2	2
Head	2	1		1	1		1
Deputy	1				1		1
Dog	<u>1</u>					<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
	<u>133</u>	<u>024</u>	<u>024</u>	<u>048</u>	<u>044</u>	<u>041</u>	<u>085</u>

The most significant outcome from this figure is that 64% of the pupils who say they told someone about being bullied found that the bullying did not stop. This is indicative of the poor

support adults give these pupils from both home and school. The 78 pupils who say they inform relatives including parents, brothers, sisters and grandparents accounts for 59% of the total (n = 133). The 36 responses which inform staff including teachers, lunch time supervisors, head and deputy accounts for 27% (n = 133). While the number telling someone at home about being bullied remains constant, the proportion telling teachers has fallen. This reduction is because the other few (18) have not told anyone, told their friends and one girl even told her dog. Telling someone at home about being bullied still seems favourable for boys and girls than telling someone at school.

Initially, those who are willing to tell someone at school about being bullied seem to favour telling teachers. Believing victims is the first essential step teachers can take but many accounts appear trivial to teachers despite the probability that to the pupil their concern is real and serious. This frequently happens with stories of name-calling where children are told by teachers either to ignore it or play in a different place from the perpetrator. Leaving children to think that nothing has been done to help them trivialises name-calling as if no harm has been done and condones the verbal attack. As a result, many children tend not to tell teachers at all.

Figure 25 The proportion of personnel to be informed.

	No	in school	Prop.	Number of responses	Prop.
Teachers	9		(56.25%)	19	(53%)
Lunch sup.	5		(31.25%)	15	(42%)
Deputy	1		(6.25%)	1	(2.5%)
Head	1		(6.25%)	1	(2.5%)

From this perspective pupils respond in school according to the number of people there to help them. It is not a case of one group of adults being more significant than another.

Realistically, staff cannot intervene in every situation which is revealed to them by children. Like any member of society, children have rights to justice but the system would be saturated if every concern was dealt with deeply and seriously. There may be twelve to fifteen minor incidences reported to teachers during any one fifteen minute play time. They can range from reported swearing to finding glass. Not all reports need an intervention, merely an acknowledgement and reply. The danger is that some threatening situations may be under-estimated and wrongly judged by teachers as trivial. The solution is to continue listening carefully to pupil accounts but not to judge the account too early, for bullying might be involved.

Race.

During the 1991 - 1992 cohort, Baden Road was effectively an "all-white" school with just two pupils of different ethnic origin. In the pupil definition, racial bullying had a minority response of 3% (n = 203) from Y6 pupils at Baden Road School. Perhaps this awareness reflected a greater level of social sophistication as well as the possibility that the two ethnic minority pupils suffered from bullying behaviour. Smith and Sharp (1994, p 104) report that several schools in the project found that the book, *The Heartstone Odyssey* helped support teachers in their work on racial issues but did not include Baden Road.

In a school study about racism, Jenkinson (1989, p 5) identified a general lack of awareness but felt there was an dormant potential in some pupils to be racist. The lack of response to the interventions on racism in the school-based research appeared contrary to the general heightened level of awareness of racism in Britain as suggested by the Swann report (1985, pp 232-235). The report found that white pupils from all-white schools had difficulties later on in coming to terms with racial integration. Troyna and Hatcher (1992, p 104) claim that most black pupils experience racial harassment in mainly white primary schools.

Despite legislation which stated that schools should have an anti-racist policy in place by April 1995 there is no such policy in Baden Road School. The number of pupils of different ethnic origin has increased to five and there is no reason which changes the suggestion that the potential for racial bullying is still dormant in the school.

4 Places.

According to the pupils, of 151 responses, 75 (50%) said the play ground was the place where most bullying happens. The following table emphasises this:

Figure 26 Places of bullying in school identified by children.

Place	Total responses
Play ground	75
Toilets	19
Outside school	12
Classroom	11
Dining room	9
Corridor	7

There were 36 responses which described other places (19) including, home, field, cloakroom, library and away from school. Three places were unspecified. Parents, pupils, teachers and the school council identified the play ground as the place at lunch time where most bullying took place. Smith and Sharp (1994, p 16) concluded from the Sheffield project that the majority of bullying reported by junior/middle school pupils occurred in the play ground.

TABLE THIRTEEN The places of bullying experienced by victims.

Name/ Place	Dan	#James	Paul	Roger	Alex	Y3G'ls	Emma	Y6Boy
Out of school				*			*	
Classroom	*		*		*			*
Corridor								
Toilets			*					
Dining room								
Play ground	*	*	*		*	*	*	
Field								

Six victims out of the eight cases revealed the play ground to be the place where they were bullied most frequently.

Supervision of pupils by lunch time supervisors in unstructured time.

The five lunch time supervisors (App 7 pp 7 - 8) endorsed this view but suggested two sets of problems existed, one for inside during wet weather and another for outside but not necessarily involving bullying. It seems other schools suffer with similar problems. Kingston of the Guardian Education (03/05/94 p 3), reports that in some schools the lunch break can be the most volatile time in the primary school day. Yet it is unlikely that

the supervisors had training about behaviour management techniques. Most, if not all LEAs including Sheffield provide guidelines for lunch time supervisors (App 3 pp 4 - 7). However, there is no guarantee that supervisors use the advice given.

Evidence from the surveys for this case study (op cit) at Baden Road increasingly focussed attention on pupil poor behaviour involving much name-calling and aggression at lunch time. After all, 23% of the child's day is spent in unstructured time. Of this 63% accounts for time spent indoor or outdoor during lunch hour, where supervision decreases substantially with the increase in the numbers of pupils.

At lunch time two supervisors help serve lunches on two dining room sittings while the pupils are supervised by the headteacher on one sitting and the deputy head on the second. A supervisor oversees the corridors leaving two others to maintain control for about 30 minutes of approximately one hundred pupils not at lunch in both play grounds or on the field during summer. There is a changeover half-way through the one hour lunch break. For the last few minutes before the afternoon session at one-o'clock there are four supervisors to oversee all the children while one remains indoors to supervise the ground floor corridors.

Lunch time supervision and wet weather supervision.

Despite acknowledging that most children play games or read quietly when indoors at lunch time, supervisors claim that every class has at least one disruptive child. Children call names,

provoke and tease each other which sometimes lead to classroom brawls and the most common disruption, shouting. Difficulties arise as the five supervisors need to patrol eight classes, sometimes leaving classes for some minutes with no supervision. Problems in one class means other classes go unsupervised for even longer. Some children are cheeky and slow-time [sic] the supervisors but they did not report any occasion of indoor bullying. Kingston (op cit) found indoor lunch breaks particularly harrowing for supervisors yet none of the cases of bullying at Baden Road (App 9) or pupil or parent questionnaire (App 5) responses cited supervisors and classroom bullying during wet weather at lunch time, but this is not to say that it never happens.

Outdoor supervision at lunch time.

Outside, the problems change. While girls are acknowledged by the supervisors to bicker, their problems were more easily solved and different from boys which supervisors find harder to manage. The main complaint against boys is still centred on football when they argue about rules, are rude and defiant and shout back at supervisors. They claim boys argue mainly over football which, because of the boys' determination, are difficult to contain and stop. These arguments sometimes develop into fights. The lunch time supervisors agreed that sometimes gangs do gather round and taunt and encourage fights at Baden Road School. They claim boys fight two or three times per week and older boys sometimes need two supervisors to intervene if the fighting is to be halted. In such circumstances it follows that gangs will sometimes form.

What is more, field days, when children have more room to play, just spread the problems. Yet, while gangs may be of concern there is little evidence which suggests they form with the deliberate intent to bully. The fights are not necessarily bullying and the supervisors never cited bullying as a lunch time problem either in their interview or during the INSET phase of the project.

One intervention from the INSET for supervisors was to provide more equipment for children to play with. Items such as bean bags, skipping ropes, quoits, balls and hoops were provided for outdoor play during February 1992. However, during this time, one unstructured observation revealed pupils were throwing bean bags and quoits at each other, but even though nothing was done to stop them, the supervisor felt that they were misbehaving. The next day the same thing happened among the same children but a different supervisor interpreted their behaviour as playing. Boulton (1992, p 139) asserts that one major problem for supervisors is the difficult interpretation of play which can look superficially similar to true aggression. To the casual observer, he claims, there does appear to be relatively little difference between playful and aggressive fighting.

The DfE (1994, p 63) answer to this is for supervisors to watch for the differences. In play fights children are usually smiling, making mock blows, taking turns to chase and do so in the open. True aggression, claim the DfE, usually involves unhappy looks or anger, children backing away from dominant aggressors. Yet the authority guidelines (App 3, p 7) for lunch time supervisors make

no such distinctions. Supervisors are advised to deal with the most important things like bullying or rudeness but on the same page are told that older pupils tend to get resentful if they think they are being ordered about.

The introduction of play ground equipment soon faltered. The supervisors were left to organise children to collect in the equipment but it was not checked. As no one would agree to take responsibility for checking in the equipment, it was all lost within two weeks and not replaced. The decision to release old equipment from physical education resources came from teachers. One might have expected some sort of support for the supervisors in the management of the same.

From the long list of suggested games (App 3 p 2), the few that were learnt and played by children were the ones the supervisors had taught. The dilemma over equipment and games was unfortunate as other project schools which chose the play ground intervention involving similar steps found it to be very successful. Schools lunch time supervisors played an important role in these project schools. Wright reports in the Daily Telegraph (28/11/92, p 9) that one project school believing boredom as the principle cause of bullying developed games for children to play. The deputy headteacher commented that since the games were introduced for children to play during breaks and lunch times, instances of bullying in the school have been significantly reduced.

The lunch time supervisors at Baden Road are still anxious about behaviour particularly over retributions from pupils should they

be reported for poor behaviour. Consequently the supervisors tend to ignore a number of behaviours with the result that some pupils feel they are worth taunting. The supervisors cited around six particularly disruptive pupils whose occasional cheekiness, swearing and answering back caused them the most persistent and serious problems. There are arrogant types who will not apologise if rude and show a lack of respect by treating supervisors like servants. Some pupils walk away when challenged by lunch time supervisors.

Despite recognising that, in many cases, confronting pupils was counter-productive, their solutions to problems were first to shout, send disruptive pupils to stand away from the conflict, to stand them outside the heads room or to see him. They considered the head did support them when he kept them in, recorded names, isolated disruptive pupils and sometimes gave them lines. While the supervisors know the head teacher might record names, they still resist using this particular strategy themselves. Even though the head claims to have tried many strategies to encourage lunch time supervisors to work together in a consistent way, disparate interpretations by supervisors of children's behaviour continue to destabilise any chance of a uniform approach to their management of pupils.

A year after the Sheffield project at the May 1993 (App 13, p 1) pupil/teacher council meeting of sixteen pupils and a teacher, council members agreed unanimously that bullying took place most frequently on the yard at play times but especially at lunch time. Children were frequently cheeky and rude to supervisors

and did not treat them with respect. Asked why they thought some children were rude, council suggested that lunch time supervisors couldn't do anything to stop them. If council members are right and bullying does takes place at lunch time then it seems the supervisors either do not see the behaviour, and if they do, despite their INSET, seem not to recognise it as bullying behaviour or refused to do anything about it.

Furthermore, the three participant teachers (App 10, p 7) who cited the play ground as the place for bullying to occur added that lunch time is when bullying happens most. Though bullying may be kept covert and away from supervisors and teachers, supervisors seem to ignore it. Elliott (1991, p 80) and Besag (1989, p 113) agree that this strategy is counter productive. Effective supervision involves among others the observation and containment of aggressive behaviour when it occurs. The participant teachers think that the five lunch time supervisors need support and that teachers do try to help them. According to the teachers the supervisors need to alter their approach to their job as in many respects, despite their presence, children remain unsupervised.

However, there was no occasion when supervisors (App 3) said they had agreed with anyone on how to observe or what constituted good or poor behaviour therefore the chance that each would treat the same behaviour differently was high. Perhaps a more effective way of continuing INSET for supervisors would be on observation techniques and to develop a consensus over what is and what is not bullying behaviour. Agreeing on a standard or code of pupil

behaviour would help begin to achieve a uniformity of approach to dealing with them. Who would coordinate this, what time could be afforded and who would monitor progress remains unclear but is the responsibility of school management to sort.

Raising the status of lunch time supervisors needs extending to parents. When asked what victims should do as ways of avoiding bullies only 2 of 242 responses from parents (App 10 p 6a) (0.8%) thought they should approach lunch time supervisors. Some parents thought inadequate and insufficient supervision at lunch times gave bullies the opportunity to bully as strict classroom supervision was released to a more relaxed one allowing bullies to practise their skills. This suggests a parent perception of passive pupils in the classroom but active outside. Supervisors have to deal with both the transitional and the situational behaviours. Combined with the lack of authority and respect from pupils it is becoming clearer why lunch time is a focus for some unruly and disruptive behaviour. The number of incidences and frequency of bullying behaviour at lunch time is still somewhat vague.

But this parent perception now involved teachers and was a comment on the social structure of the school. Seven parents considered that rigid and restricted behaviour in class might lead to frustration at play time and particularly at lunch time because supervisors don't have as much authority as the teachers. Some parents thought this lack of supervision and authority at lunch time allowed rowdy behaviour to develop into bullying.

Supervision of pupils by teachers in unstructured time.

Education (03/02/95 p 7), reports that in some primary schools play time involving the entire school is being abolished as teachers strive to cope with a rise in the numbers of children suffering severe emotional and behavioural problems. Instead, play is allowed separately for each class so that incidents of unruly behaviour were kept to a minimum. This has the effect of increasing the ability of personnel to supervise fewer numbers but for those who are not disruptive, the intervention lowers their opportunity for social interaction with others.

Unruly and disruptive behaviour is not synonymous with bullying. A confidential 29/09/95 report from the coordinator on a ten year old Y6 boy who was subsequently excluded permanently from Baden Road School had written of him by his class teacher:

"His aggression, verbal abuse and threatening behaviour towards pupils and adults since his arrival into the school in November 1994 has, and, from my assessment will continue to cause disruption. Children's learning is destabilised and, in unstructured time where his behaviours create tension, he nurtures and encourages unpredictable and uncharacteristic behaviours in other pupils."

Yet from the evidence supporting his exclusion only 12 of the 200 recorded disruptive behaviours were on the play ground. These included occasions when he was rude to supervisors, was observed fighting and inciting others to fight, playing unacceptably, swearing and defiant with teachers. Bullying was cited once. Despite the low number of recorded play ground behaviours

supervision became almost impossible. By September 1995 a teacher who had taught at the school for seventeen years was recorded in the report as saying that for the first time she felt she had lost control while out on the yard.

The participant teachers suggested that when less supervised, freedom for a few pupils is synonymous with a lack of self control. These children develop a confrontational moral code on the play ground that runs counter to the spirit of cooperation and toleration which teachers strive to encourage in the classroom. Kirkman of the Times Educational Supplement, (05/07/91 p 11) maintains that this is common in many primary schools.

With the lunch time situation unchanged it is likely that a number of disruptive behaviours, possibly involving bullying went unobserved and unrecorded. The implication is that unruly and disruptive behaviour which directly or indirectly involves and affects other pupils is likely to create further disruption among more pupils particularly if supervision is not properly managed. However, disruption must not be confused with bullying.

Pupils whose behaviours have temporarily deteriorated are dealt with by the duty teacher. The position is such that if play ground behaviour deteriorated management would respond but there has never been the need. A clear example of this occurred when, after observations from teachers of poor behaviour on the playground as pupils went home, supervision duties were extended to home time as well.

The routine is for two teachers to supervise up to 215 pupils each on one of two play grounds before school, during the morning break of fifteen minutes and the afternoon break of ten minutes. As children are free to play on which ever yard suits so numbers vary for supervision by each teacher. The number of duties is divided evenly between the teachers numbering two each per week.

Olweus (1995, p 26) asserts that sufficient number of adults should be present during break times if staff are willing or prepared to be on duty and to intervene in bullying situations. With the exception of lunch time supervision, Olweus' assertion over teacher choice in the matter is somewhat flawed. Teachers at Baden Road School are not in a position to choose whether or not they supervise a break time duty. The number on duty is based on needs and the rota is the responsibility of senior management.

For the majority of children at Baden Road School play time is an enjoyable occasion. Smith (1990 p 1) found that about half of the pupils reported that they enjoy play time while two thirds report having many friends, figures which are higher than findings for the South Yorkshire region. On most days teachers observe good, cooperative behaviour between pupils. On these occasions pupils do not complain to teachers of mistreatment from other children. There are exceptions but these are in the minority.

When parents were asked what they thought could be most done to protect victims the two most significant solutions involved teachers and supervision. The results were as follows:

Figure 27 What parents think is the best thing school can do to protect victims?

	<u>Y3</u>	<u>Y4</u>	<u>Y5</u>	<u>Y6</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Teachers	17	14	13	13	57
Supervision	7	8	12	7	34
Bullies	8	7	8	8	31
Victim talk	8	4	4	3	19
Parents	0	4	2	1	7
Policy	5	0	0	0	5
Don't know	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>
	<u>45</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>156</u>

Of the 156 responses 91 of them, some 58%, were directed at teachers and supervision at play and lunch times. The 57 parent comments about teachers were linked with supervision. 34 parents, agreed solely that children must be more closely supervised. Teachers, they claimed should keep eyes and ears open [sic], and observe and closely monitor situations at lunch times and play times and if needed intervene early and act promptly. One parent thought that no matter how much supervision there was, bullying would never be stopped.

Olweus (1995, p 25) found a clear negative association between relative teacher density during break and the number of bully/victim problems. The greater the number of teachers pro-rata with the number of supervised pupils the lower the levels of bullying problems in the school. While teachers are aware of unruliness, disruption and bullying and deal with them as they arise, the problems seem not to warrant an increase in the number of teachers on duty, otherwise management would surely have intervened.

Yet many parents perceive pupil unstructured time as unruly and where bullying behaviour occurs. One parent volunteered to help supervise play time. Other parents commented that extra teachers on duty would provide more control and more areas could be seen including the toilets and dining room. In this respect the school play grounds are not easy to observe. There are areas which cannot be seen at the same time by one supervisor. Besag (1989, p 104) maintains that a well-designed school can have benefits not only in helping prevent bullying but in preventing vandalism and theft as well. One solution to those areas which cannot be seen is to disallow pupils from playing in those areas. Most cooperate and respect the demand made.

Another parent thought there should be less talking, more action. Observations should extend to keeping a watch for loners, the children who play alone rather than in groups and staff and lunch time supervisors should know if a child is regularly upset or is always quiet. Prevention is better than cure and knowing teachers should be aware when bullying is happening. Pupils should know that teachers are vigilant and that if bullying occurs the victim will have someone to whom they can go. Should bullying occur then believing the victim and acting quickly upon the information would help whilst supervision was maintained by others.

Removing bullies early should help protect vulnerable children. Isolating bullies was one strategy strongly recommended by the three participant teachers. Even if teachers manage to stop bullies at school one parent maintained that bullies would wait until after school.

While teachers and management appear satisfied with their present routine supervision and the overall behaviour of pupils the lunch time supervisors are still experiencing difficulties. They need more support but with a willingness from them to learn new skills and practices which should help improve their effectiveness and approach. The effect of their training during the Sheffield project appeared minimal. The headteacher has tried several strategies to help them change their practice but the supervisors have retained and maintained their traditional approach.

From their comments, parents would have the school believe that there is a lot of bullying at lunch time while teachers suggest it is minimal. The question arises as to who is misinformed. May be teachers rarely observe bullying because it is kept covert (op cit) by pupils. Yet their observations of what is happening appear more penetrating than those of the supervisors. Many parents simply do not see what happens at lunch time. Much information about lunch time behaviour comes from what children say to them. Perhaps pupil perceptions of bullying are brought to the level of single incidences of fights, kicking and name-calling and the cumulative effect is lots of peevish incidents which eventually aggravate and upset children.

The Sheffield Project and Raising Awareness.

Paradoxically, Smith's (op cit) report of a worsening extent of bullying at Baden Road School was, in one sense, positive. He suspects that the rise in the extent of reported bullying problems was most likely caused by a heightened awareness of the subject. This is in accord with the three participant teachers

who maintain that the main effect of the project was to raise awareness. By how much each individual was affected is impossible to say. It is the cumulative effect on people of making the subject open. The teachers claim the project made pupils more aware of bullying and the subject was more frequently discussed albeit informally. It is hoped that this awareness has made it easier for pupils to talk more to teachers about bullying and victims have more people to turn to.

While teacher participation is limited to three in this case study nearly $\frac{1}{3}$, 32% (n = 179) of parents indicated the teachers had a role in raising awareness to protect victims of bullying in school but this is not representative of the Sheffield project nor of what happened in school. However, parents claimed raising awareness with the whole school would communicate to pupils the subject of bullying outside the framework of punishment and retribution. The DfE (1994, p 11) suggest that raising awareness about bullying in schools helps individuals to understand the problem. It can provide a forum for people to discuss and debate their perceptions of it. Several parents claimed that if it was done in an encouraging and empathic way with lots of positive talk, children would be able to relate to one another in better ways and promote better relationships. Frequent talks about being caring, thoughtful to each other and tolerant of others who may be different should help children learn eventually that bullying is unacceptable.

School could only do more if they knew the bullies and victims. The majority of the 32% of parents felt teachers should talk and

discuss generally with pupils about bullying and specifically with victims to ensure that they will be supported. One parent suggested that there will always be one bully in school but children do not have to tolerate bullying and discussions could be centred on helping prevent it.

Twelve parents (App 10, p 6c) suggested that at regular intervals discussions amongst children and teachers in assemblies and classrooms should focus on the subject. By explaining to the whole school in assembly and then separately in classes that bullying is wrong, children can be taught about dealing with bullies and encouraged to be strong and stand up to them. Several assemblies were planned in school with bullying as the central theme. This framework enabled classroom activities to emerge where advice could be given to help victims. Several parents suggested using role play and "concerted drama programmes" to model bullying situations enabling them to be later discussed. Others parents suggested involving the community police in assemblies and classrooms, the showing of videos and taking children on visits to hospitals to promote in pupils greater tolerance, empathy and understanding.

Raising awareness through the curriculum.

Several parents suggested that the teaching approach would enable children to be aware of the feelings of others, become aware that victimised pupils are afraid, encourage children to ask questions and keep the communication open. Regular discussions should encourage victims to come forward and talk to a teacher which

should let pupils know also that no stigma is attached to telling adults about being bullied. Gaining their confidence takes time and pupils should be reassured that incidents of bullying can be reported without reprisals. Offering confidential advice by someone who is always at hand to listen and help should help victims build confidence to cope when confronted by a bully. Teachers should also ensure that victims have plenty of friends to whom they can talk and play with. Moral support by peers is important - victims often seem to be loners although two parents suggested isolating victims for their own protection from bullies and other children.

Personal experiences or observed behaviours of others around school are often reflected in drama when children can respond to problems central to them. Casdagli (1990, p 11) claims that drama touches the feelings by exploring situations. Pupils feel safer which helps break the conspiracy of silence. A C E. (1989) encourage classroom practice which promotes inter-dependency; the break up of cliques and the enrolment of peer group pressure through group need. Drama can serve peer groups by making the covert, overt. When dramatised sketches are analysed by children the futility of bullying can be explored and realised. Analysis is crucial. The drama becomes the vehicle upon which debate is generated and truths can follow. It is, of necessity, a gentle but very powerful process.

The children's role play and drama about bullying helps promote positive, unconditional self and mutual regard, is fun and non-threatening. Yet, simultaneously, opportunities arise which

explore the more serious, covert side to bullying among children. Moreover, Nutbrown (1990) suggests children apply to events their own preferred language schema which develops sequentially. The Piagetian perspective of the need to verbalise to internalise at this 'concrete operational' stage becomes plausible when the children's language is heard in context with their role play. Children frequently imitate teachers and parents though as aggressive authoritarians! However, verbalising is one overt behaviour which confirms to others and re-affirms for oneself the internalised thought processes, which the teacher/researcher believes is a crucial factor in the resolution of bullying behaviour in most children aged nine to eleven.

Drama matches the National Curriculum in English to individual needs and abilities. One need is to promote positive social attitudes, not only in the classroom but in unstructured times. Furthermore, drama provides the opportunity for children to use the curriculum to grasp responsibility for their own actions. This helps them to communicate to each other their preparedness to accept as theirs behaviours which they may have exhibited. Previous research in school suggests that some children do not recognize their responsibilities to each other and this problem needs to be addressed.

Cass (1989) suggests bullying can be a negative way a person tries to communicate painful feelings. Drama communicates these feelings positively because they are out of context. Peer teaching and interactive cooperation become integral components of the role play. The Northampton "Learning to be Strong"

programme includes role play drama about conflicts such as bullying to help youngsters change and become more assertive. According to Dean (1991) the children developed clear images about bullies, learned how to say "NO" and thus avoid problems. Similarly, according to Roland and Munthe (1989) role play is a major part of the Kidscape (op cit) programme in assertiveness training for youngsters. Teaching assertiveness, not aggression or passiveness, appears to be a common focus of victim training.

Bullying drama work can be based upon the assertiveness training and ideas developed from the DfE University of Sheffield Project intervention programme and has to date proved very successful. However, this method in drama might serve to strengthen strategically the potential bully and is therefore now undertaken with small groups or individuals in need of such training.

The book 'Mr O'Brien' by Prudence Andrew raises issues about bullying related directly to children's experiences of poverty and disability as the cause of bullying. The resultant bullying by peers and older boys of a girl and a boy aged about ten raises issues of sensitivity, empathy and respect for others. It helps children realise that others may be different through no fault of their own.

Research activities have an effect on raising awareness assert Smith and Sharp (1994, p 100) but only if they are followed up in a meaningful way. Keeping the subject open includes canvassing views, promoting pupil surveys, highlighting it by questionnaire and discussion. Any good suggestions could be implemented from

these but would need to be in line with the school policy. The DfE (1994, p 39) point out that the Sheffield project found that the curriculum approach was most effective where it was one element of, and a complement to, a whole-school anti-bullying policy.

The three participant teachers (App 10, p 13) were unanimous that an anti-bullying policy was necessary with a defined set of guidelines for consistency to know what course of action to take and the strategies to manage bullying behaviour. All three agreed that to reduce bullying the teachers need to work together as a team. One teacher advocated a policy with specific guidelines but sufficiently flexible to allow teachers freedom to deal with cases independently because not every situation can be prescribed for.

To be effective, they claimed, the policy (App 14) would then need to be discussed with teachers, parents and pupils. However, Smith and Sharp (1994, p 65) strongly advocate that policy awareness with teachers, parents and pupils is a formative consultative process, a precursor to the development of the policy. As bullying is a whole school problem then anti-bullying policy development should include the whole school population including governors and non-teaching staff. Unfortunately, while awareness of bullying in school was at its highest, the anti-bullying policy was already becoming ineffective.

The loss of impetus as an anti-bullying school post 1992.

Not long after the project finished, the school and classroom activities concerning bullying diminished. What is more, apart from the offer of expensive follow-up courses, contact was lost between Baden Road School and the University. Smith and Sharp (1994, p 81) admit that the Sheffield Project had little chance to monitor how schools implemented their anti-bullying policies. Smith and Sharp (1994, p 82) state:

"We just do not know how short-term the effects of either the Norwegian interventions or our own are likely to be."

Such information is also lacking from the Olweus (1991, p 81) evaluation of the Bergen Project. Roland's (1993, p 82) research demonstrated that the effects of an anti-bullying initiative can, if unsupported, be short-lived. This is a serious dilemma for outsider-researchers. Whatever advice emanated from the Norwegian and Sheffield research into bullying little appeared done to follow-up cases. According to the DfE (1994, p 112) all schools made progress on developing a policy but only eight of the twenty-three schools could be said to have made good progress in establishing and implementing a whole-school policy by the time of the second survey. Schools varied considerably in how much effort they put into the interventions. Schools that did well made sure the issue was high on the agenda and consulted widely.

It is impossible to determine the effectiveness nationally of the DfE project material, Bullying, don't suffer in silence. The

initiative could be successful only if schools responded by applying the recommendations but this was self-regulatory. The TES 12/4/91 (p 19) reported Alan Howarth (1991, p 19), the then Schools Minister as saying:

"I hope that it, [the project], will eventually help all schools to cope with this difficult problem wherever it arises."

While his statement supports schools in their efforts to counter bullying Howarth indicates clearly that the problem is for schools to solve and that the Government does not intend to legislate against it.

It is imperative therefore that schools ensure a permanent system is in place where bullying remains a high profile issue without the thrust of real bullying as the root cause. Several parents (op cit) perceived this raising of awareness as policy induced.

The failure at Baden Road School to implement the 1991 anti-bullying policy.

Prior to 1989 no research had been constructed at Baden Road School which supported the notion that there was any bullying. Opinions were formed from informal teacher talk mainly from reported crises involving fights or bullying. The general feeling was that because children were becoming less tolerant, behaviours which could be interpreted as bullying were on the increase, confirming Thomas' (op cit) suspicions. This intuitive

perception seemed a stronger determinant for action than evidence from any research, including the University of Sheffield survey.

Developing an anti-bullying policy (op cit) for school had not before been considered. This was requested of Mr Jackson and the teachers by the teacher who had researched bullying in the school in 1989 and 1991. The University of Sheffield survey which had highlighted bullying problems amongst pupils suggested that participating schools should develop a whole-school policy. At Baden Road this was interpreted as a policy for the whole school not necessarily developed by the whole school.

At the time when awareness of the project was high, creating the anti-bullying policy was not part of the school development plan and was not identified as essential by the management team nor the teachers. Despite the 1989 and 1991 insider-research into bullying and initial results from the Sheffield project which were disseminated to staff, nothing happened which indicated any urgency to develop one. The headteacher, Mr Jackson (App 1 p 5) found that the teachers didn't prioritise the issue of bullying. In curriculum development, the management consultative phases (op cit) usually involve teachers, some expert help, the headteacher and ultimately, the governors. Consulting pupils, parents, and non-teaching staff about policy making was foreign and not considered necessary by the PSE coordinator who wrote the policy. This by-passed important sections of the process model. It was an additional intervention written and expected to be implemented parallel with the existing policies.

In hindsight, this was a mistake. The coordinator seriously misjudged the importance of the role of teachers, pupils and parents whose views should have helped formulate an anti-bullying policy. As they were to be central to its implementation they should have been party to its development. However, nothing was done by management to rectify this thus important consultative phases were missed. The team took one session of a regular management meeting to consider the written policy, did not modify it and passed it for governors to see and ratify. Having processed six curriculum policies since 1989 (op cit), the anti-bullying policy was the first not to be modified in any way.

The 1991 anti-bullying policy had also been approved in October 1991 by Professor Peter Smith, director of the bullying project. In his letter (page 73) he points out the great deal of work had gone into its preparation. However, he advised that the policy should give more clear indications of what action staff should take to counter bullying. Smith suggested some easy steps for teachers to follow and that this should be an attached reference sheet to the policy. It is obvious Professor Smith was not aware of the inadequate provision made for wider consultation during the development of the policy nor of the lack of interest in trying out any of the project interventions in school.

In the same year schools were required to implement the 1991 National Curriculum Orders. This meant modifications to the curriculum policies and appropriate changes in practice even though schools had had only two years to make sense of and implement the previous orders. It changed the priorities and re-

determined the order in which the policy making was to proceed in school. Once again the core subjects became the focus of management and staff meetings. As suggested earlier, this increased the pressure on teachers and schools to plan and implement the new 1991 National Curriculum Orders.

To reduce this pressure and to speed its implementation before the Sheffield project ended in 1992, the anti-bullying policy was distributed to staff without the opportunity for feedback or INSET. The teachers did not formally discuss the policy before or after it was finished. Time was the major factor in deciding to circumvent the existing management structure in order to introduce the bullying policy as a working document for teachers.

All three participant teachers (App 10, p 11) have read the 1991 anti-bullying policy and found it acceptable and well thought out. In line with Smith's (op cit) point, one teacher thought that the policy did not include guidelines or what action to take with bullies. Another teacher thought that the policy ought to provide more guidelines for the care of victims. For two teachers the policy did not offer any solutions and should. The third thought the aims of the policy (App 14 p 1) of being calm, quiet, collected and making work for pupils interesting were too ideal. Nevertheless, they all said that to achieve consistency with all staff it would have been useful to talk about the policy and it would work better if teachers had more time to put the policy into effect, for instance to counsel pupils. One teacher thought the policy had not made any difference.

From the coordinators point of view, writing the 1991 anti-bullying policy does not seem to have made any difference. Since then one teacher admitted saying she had read the policy, filed it but cannot remember what is written in it. Unless we have a meeting it [the policy] just gets shelved. And even if a meeting brings everyone's thoughts together, we get a few sheets, read them and think yes, yes, yes, nothing contradictory and that's it, its gone and we go on in almost the same way as before. What really happens is that teachers not interested in the subject switch off [sic] after meetings, pop the policy into a file, shelve it and carry on. As one of the teachers said (App 7p 2) there's no problem with the policy, its just actually time. Another teacher (App 7, p 13) commented:

"...You read it through and think, 'oh yes,' and the next thing comes along and you haven't had time to digest anything and act on it before the next policy comes along."

All three teachers (App 10, p 13) were unanimous in stating that time is the main obstacle to implementing policies. It's saturation trying to take stock of all that is going on at the same time said one teacher. With the present school development plan teachers appear to have two choices. They either concentrate on one policy and implement it successfully, leave the rest and get left behind or, struggle on with the proliferation of incoming policies and do their best to try and implement them. Eventually individual choice emerges of what can and what cannot be implemented. But as one teacher concluded: (App 7, p 23)

"We don't have to put the other one [bullying policy] into practice because it is not in the classroom as such, it's more outside."

Despite these problems, according to Smith (1992 p 15) all the different assessment measures indicated positive change even though some schools, including Baden Road, failed to implement an anti-bullying policy. Some schools scored better than others when the effects of the interventions were measured by Smith and Sharp (1994, pp 39 - 55). In the final summary the DFE (1994, p 115) reported that the project team found bullying decreased most when schools were most active in countering the problem. Simply, the schools with the best achievement put in most effort.

Even though Baden Road has a defunct 1991 anti-bullying policy, any success in countering bullying or in the methods of helping bullies and victims is not policy induced. This was despite the careful development for the policy of a clear school-based definition of bullying. This was one of the criteria for success to help combat bullying set by the Sheffield project. It was pre-supposed that a definition produced by pupils would help save teachers the time in developing one themselves. In the event, it made no difference at all.

Conclusions from the Case Study Phase.

The research activities helped raise pupil awareness of bullying. The different responses of younger and older pupils served to remind one of the substantial developments in bullying behaviour onwards from the age of seven. Older pupils showed a greater

sophistication and awareness of issues about bullying including race and gangs yet neither of these problems triangulated satisfactorily with other data. Differences in responses from boys and girls questioned their ability to take responsibility for their own behaviour, a problem which will need addressing. Despite the Sheffield project and the insider surveys on bullying;

- * Supervisors are still experiencing difficulties in dealing with pupil behaviour at lunch time.
- * Since the introduction of after school duties for teachers, they consider their supervision to be adequate.
- * The 1991 anti-bullying policy failed to be implemented.
- * Any action against bullying is not policy induced.
- * Overall, action taken against bullying is as it happens, a crisis management strategy.

The strongest triangulated evidence which emerged from the Sheffield project, the three participating teachers, the pupil definitions, the pupil questionnaire and the victims of bullying was:

- * Name-calling is the most common form of bullying which occurs at Baden Road School.
- * The play ground is the place where most name-calling takes place.

According to the experts including Besag (1989), Smith and Sharp (1994) and Olweus (1995) this is common in many British primary schools, yet they consider name-calling to be under-researched.

CHAPTER SIX.

NAME-CALLING AND TOLERATION.

Summary.

With the emergent and increasing importance attached to name-calling in school it was natural that this be examined. The extent of name-calling, the places it occurs and the age and gender of the callers and the receivers were analysed. Inter-linked is the notion of teasing. A continuum was developed between harmless teasing and harmful bullying which accommodated the intentions of the caller and the interpretation of the receiver.

A discussion with Y6 children led to the development of a model which represented a situational analysis of name-calling in school. Extrapolated from this were the antecedents to name-calling, the bullies, victims and the words used. The teacher/researcher makes no apology for citing words which reflect the sub-culture in school.

The list of defamatory words led to the examination of name-calling in the context of the general development of language. There is serious concern about the cultural development of negativistic and destructive language, particularly as there appears little or no corresponding vocabulary for children to counter the trend.

As language develops so too does temperament. One contributory factor to temperament is tolerance. Name-calling can be considered an overt way which people exhibit different levels of tolerance. This notion led to the development of a model which hypothesised the link between them. The teacher/researcher concluded that the hypothesis was viable and had important implications for the management of bullying in schools.

The extent of name-calling in Baden Road School.

The problem of name-calling appeared so endemic in school the teacher/researcher decided that it should be further examined in the belief that to reduce name-calling is an alternative and viable way for schools to reduce bullying.

When the Baden Road pupils were asked in what way they had been bullied the Smith (1990, p 5) survey revealed name-calling to be the most common category. Of all pupils, 32.9% claimed they had been called nasty names. Yet no intervention offered by the Sheffield project team was directed solely at helping solve name-calling in schools. While other authors including Besag (1989), Smith and Sharp (1994) and Tattum and Herbert (1991) acknowledge that there is a problem, the solutions become embedded into those provided for bullying generally.

Name-calling was cited most commonly by Baden Road pupils in the survey which led to the definitions of bullying. According to the questionnaire (op cit) results, name-calling was the most common form of non-physical bullying and second only to hitting. In every case of bullying dealt with in the last three years, name-calling has been nominated by victims to be the form which has caused them most concern. Every child in school has called or been called names. In 1994, two years after the Sheffield project finished, every child in a school assembly that day revealed that they had called and been called names of some kind. In the same cohort, all 58, Y6 children, 34 boys and 24 girls,

wrote 64 true stories of cases (App 12) involving them in name-calling. All confirmed they had called and been called names.

Figure 28 Gender and cases of name-calling (n = 64)

16 (25%) of the cases involved girls only
36 (56%) of the cases involved boys only
12 (19%) of the cases involved boys and girls.

Of the incidences reported in the parent questionnaire, name-calling was cited on six out of 89 occasions just under 7% and seemingly unimportant. Name-calling is less overt than many physical forms of bullying. Unless within hearing distance, name-calling is almost undetectable. Body movement and facial expression may give clues that verbal abuse is occurring. It was only when parents were asked about their experiences at school as victims of bullying (App 10 p 6e) did they begin to recognize name-calling as significant.

Two of the three teachers cited name-calling as the most common form of bullying, stating it was most common on the playground at play time and lunch time. Simply by its omission from the 1991 anti-bullying policy (App 14), name-calling at that time could not have been considered by the teacher/researcher as serious. In view of the evidence from the case study, name-calling should be considered for inclusion into the next anti-bullying policy.

The places where name-calling in school takes place.

The teachers' observations were confirmed by the Y6 pupils in their stories (App 12 p 2). According to the stories (App 12 p 4)

49% of all name-calling takes place during the school day. Of this fraction, 80% was reported to take place in unstructured time.

Figure 29 **Places of Name Calling.** (n = 54)

- 22 (11 girls/11 boys) stories about the play ground.
- 2 stories about going home after school
- 1 story about sports day on the field.
- 29 place unspecified

Overall, the figures suggest that 40% of all name-calling at any time among the children of Baden Road Primary School takes place on the playground within 50 minutes play during breaks. Of the 25 stories which cited a place where name-calling was common, 88% occurred on the play ground and appears equally as common among girls and boys. Ten of the eleven cases involved boys playing football on the play ground. Lunch time supervisors (op cit) cite football as a continuing problem. A further nine boys' stories involved the game as well but didn't state a time or place.

One teacher pointed out informally that lots of children are bothered by small peevish acts done to them every day, more than by obvious bullies. Whether friendly in nature or not, according to the Y6 children boys tend to name-call boys and girls tend to name-call girls. According to the Y6 stories, of the 77 name-calling situations cited there were;

Figure 30 **Gender and name-calling.** (n = 77)

- 39 (52%) where Y6 boys name-called Y6 boys.
- 34 (45%) where Y6 girls name-called Y6 girls.
- 2 (1.5%) where Y6 boys name-called Y6 girls.
- 2 (1.5%) where Y6 girls name-called Y6 boys.

There appears very little interaction in name-calling between sexes of the same age. This may be explained through single sex friendship groups common among children of this age. When it came to older pupils name-calling younger pupils a pattern emerged very similar to the gender matrix (op cit) of bullying which showed that girls tend to bully girls but boys tended to bully both boys and girls. Two sources show this from the stories.

Figure 31 The age of the caller and the called.(1) (n = 30)
Source: Peers mentioned in stories.

19/30 (63%) involved same age children
9/30 (30%) involved older children calling younger.
2/30 (7%) involved younger children calling older.

Figure 32 The age of the caller and the called.(2) (n = 117)
Source: Names called and to whom.

77/117 (66%) involved same age children
27/117 (23%) involved older children calling younger.
13/117 (11%) involved younger children calling older.

These two results correlate closely (63% and 66%) suggesting that children tend to name-call others of the same age. The result for those name-called by older pupils varies between 23% and 30%. The results of younger pupils name-calling older pupils varies between 7% and 11%. Mrs Jacques (App 1 p 6) was interested to know more about the plight of the "called" in this sort of case

These figures confound the perception of some parents (op cit) that bullies are older and bigger than their victims. Simply, peers at school are more likely to play with each other than children from different year groups and that much name-calling between them is during this time.

What is more, those in the same age group who call names divides almost evenly between boys and girls. In his inquiry, Macdonald (1989, p 268) too found no gender difference in name-calling. The frequencies for the following table were obtained from the actual names children used against each other.

Figure 33 **Age, gender and name-calling.** (n = 117)

<u>Called Caller</u>	Same		Younger		Older	
	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl
Boys	39	2	7	15	5	0
Girls	2	34	0	5	0	8

This corroborates the earlier point that girls mainly name-call other girls and boys name-call mainly boys but girls as well.

The transitions from teasing and name-calling to bullying.

Much name-calling is claimed by pupils as teasing. While teachers recognise that children can tease and be teased and call and be called names, no teacher said they had witnessed name-calling as bullying. One teacher reported children complaining when upset, teased, tormented and called names. All the participant teachers (App 10 p 10) recognised that teachers do trivialize some play situations. Macdonald (1989, p 266) warns that teachers' responses to pupils complaints about teasing and bullying can become an effective commentary on the school ethos. Children soon learn who is taken seriously by teachers and who is regarded as a nuisance and troublemaker.

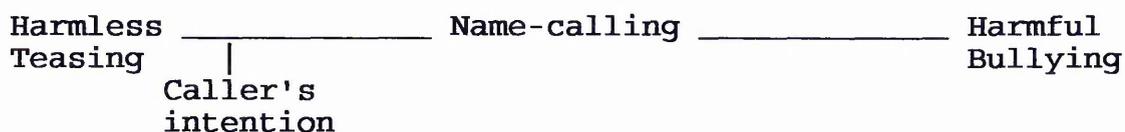
Besag (1989, p 82) is certain that children aged seven to eleven years have a clear understanding of how to taunt and tease others. Children need to learn that teasing can be harmless with no need to complain but that persistent and intentional teasing can graduate into bullying. What causes the transition from teasing to bullying is situational and dependent on a number of inter-related factors. These include the temperament and status of the caller and the called, the intention, severity and intensity by which the name-calling is applied.

Pearce (1991, p 70) considers important the overlap between teasing and bullying because teasing is acceptable but bullying is not. Of concern to Mrs Jacques (App 1 p 6) is that inoffensive teasing by one person could be perceived as bullying by another. How children about teasing and when it becomes bullying is unclear. Macdonald (1989. p 165) asserts that it does not require a great leap to move from name-calling to violence, particularly for boys looking for a target for their aggression. Toms in the Independent On Sunday Arts Review (20/10/96 p 6) reports that children call Childline saying that what starts as name-calling can develop into an ugly cycle of violence. In some cases the provocation and jibes become remorseless.

The idea of teasing becoming provocative bullying provided the opportunity to consider the transition as a continuum. There is no objective way in which to find a particular point along the continuum where teasing can turn to bullying. This is subject to the momentary situations in which the teasing takes place. For the perpetrator there is no degree of certainty what level of

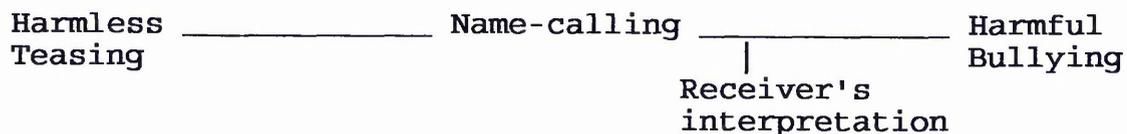
anxiety it will cause the victim. Every person has his or her own personal continuum. Personal relationships are founded to some extent on searching for predictabilities and tolerance levels. For example, a name-caller may intend this:

TABLE FOURTEEN A continuum for the perpetrator of name-calling.



At this stage the caller does not know what response, if any, the receiver is going to make. It is as if the caller is assessing momentarily the reaction. With this intention the caller can possibly expect a friend to laugh or retort in a similar way. However, the caller cannot be certain. Even friends may interpret the intention differently and give an unpredictable response.

TABLE FIFTEEN A continuum for the receiver of name-calling.



However, as the individual cases studies (App 9) show, name-calling can be intended to hurt. The difference between intention and interpretation in this hypothetical case can lead to bullying. In Daniel's (op cit) case John persisted in call him nasty names, frequently calling him "dickhead" but Daniel didn't dare do anything about it. John later dismissed this describing his intent as teasing. Whether or not John really did think he was teasing is unclear. Some perpetrators frequently interpret their behaviour benevolently and dismiss it as teasing while the receiver may interpret the intent differently and more seriously.

Name-calling among friends during play, is usually momentary, opportunist and innocuous. The Y6 stories (App 12 p 12) confirm that much name-calling is inconsequential and ends as quickly as it starts. Of the 41 instances cited as the ways name-calling ended, 27 of them (66%) finished with no effect. This outcome suggests the initial intent was teasing. The remaining 14 (36%) incidences were stopped by adults or the perpetrators got into trouble with teachers. In just one case the receiver was threatened with a gang.

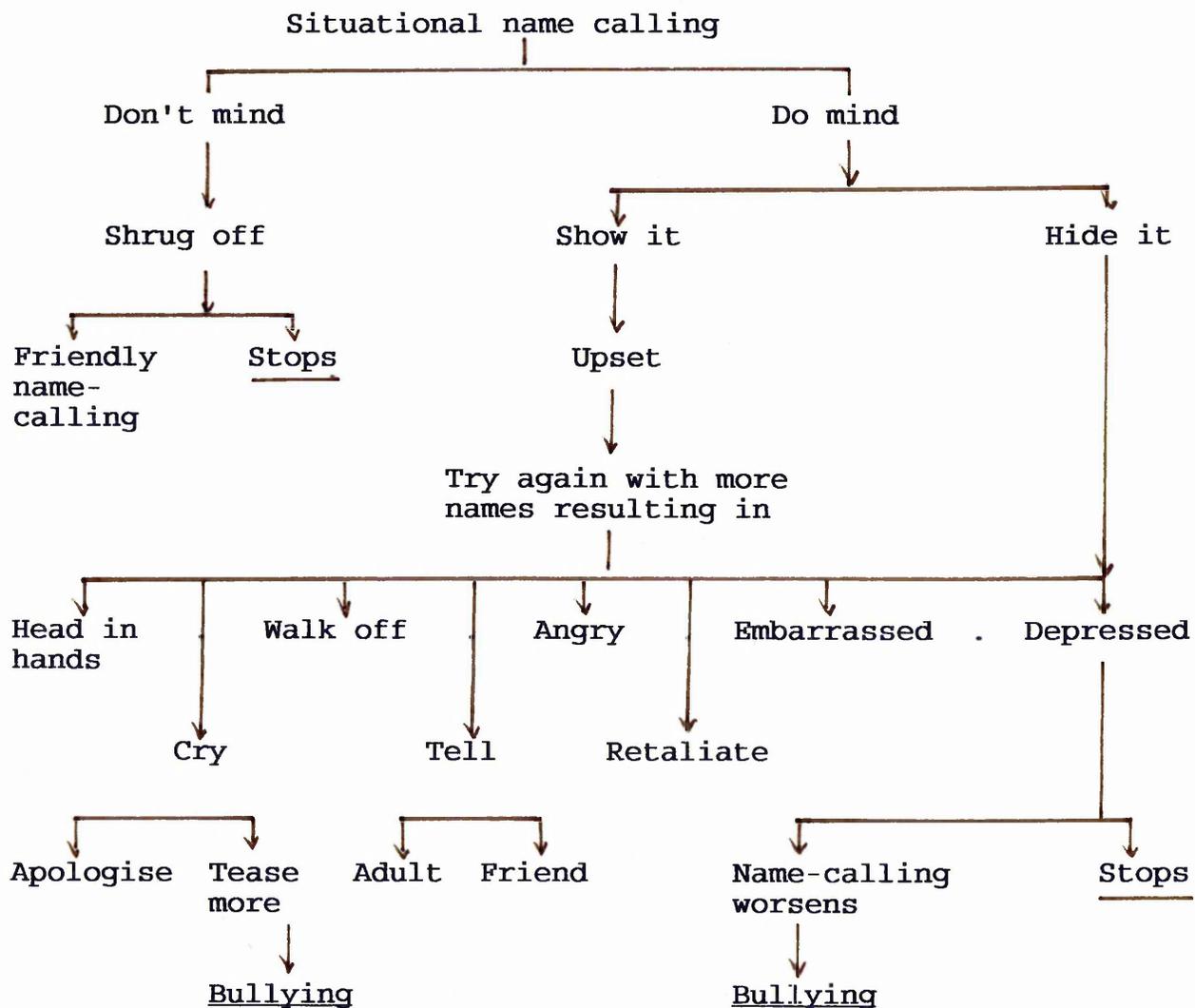
Like bullying, teasing is situational and the temperaments and emotions which span opportunist banter through to extensive and long-lasting persecution makes every case of name-calling unique. Over time and with increased sophistication, children develop a knowledge of who can accept banter and be teased and who can be bullied. It is the ability of children to differentiate between the two which seems pivotal to teasing and bullying. How this is learnt without first testing it on others is unclear. This suggests that a small amount of banter, harmless teasing and name-calling is an essential prerequisite to the stability and enjoyment of peer relationships.

Unfortunately the same kind of name-calling bandied among friends can easily subside to the form which denigrates, humiliates and persecutes others. Although some children may know the difference between teasing and bullying, peer expectation to conform and to continue teasing may make it difficult for some to extricate themselves from potentially serious situations. Less aggressive pupils can be drawn into taunting and teasing victims which

Tattum and Herbert (1990, p 1) claim can quickly change into mob bullying. Macdonald (1989, p 266) claims that little is known about the way in which teasing and bullying in school are patterned and structured. Most people have assumed that because they are so widespread and frequent that little can be done.

When Y6 pupils were asked what happens when children are called names on the play ground, the teacher/researcher tried to make sense of their ideas by drawing them onto the chalkboard. The pupils agreed unanimously that this framework made sense and all understood and agreed with the principles.

TABLE SIXTEEN A model of what happens when children call names on the play ground.



The model goes part way to satisfying Macdonald's (op cit) need of a pattern and structure. It applies to both boys and girls and suggests that name-calling seems to test the tolerance levels of others. The transition into bullying appears to focus first on whether or not the victim is affected.

Limitations.

The model does not account for the severity of name-calling, the meaning which different children attach to the same name, the frequency by which children are called names or to the number of situations which allow name-calling to emerge. These seem to increase and intensify the more the victim is injured by them. In these respects name-calling is much the same as bullying. The feeling of power bullies derive from bullying encourages them to seek more power which in turn can lead to more serious bullying. The model suggests four groups:

- 1 The antecedents - the events and situations from which name-calling emerges.
- 2 The caller - the relationship with the receiver and the intentions behind the name-calling.
- 3 The receiver - the relationship with the caller and the responses to the name-calling.
- 4 The words used - their cultural meaning and severity of delivery which can lead to bullying.

1 The antecedents.

In name-calling the caller decides whether the event antecedent to the call warrants a term or not. The causes of name-calling within events are too numerous to list. Some name-calling may be

a spontaneous reaction to an event, the nature of which determines the seriousness of the word used and the severity of its delivery. The event can be momentary, casual, friendly and unstructured from which harmless banter emerges.

Alternatively, serious name calling may have persisted for a long time. Some name-calling may evolve from joining in with or from copying others, partly explaining the evolution of nick-names. Some may be habitual and vindictive. Exposure to direct and hostile name-calling becomes bullying. Name-calling can also be indirect where the caller looks for confirmation from others that the victim is what they are said to be. In these circumstances the words used are designed to offend and harm.

The second consideration the caller makes is who is being called; a friend, an enemy, a peer, a stranger who may be the same age, older or younger. Whoever is called, name-calling is controlled by the caller independently but in different circumstances may be influenced by friends, family and teachers. In most cases, different names are likely to be used with different audiences.

Some teachers call names of pupils and pupils have their own names for teachers. Besag (1989, p 141) suggests that jokes and nicknames used by teachers may seem witty and humorous in class but be picked up and used *ad nauseam* (sic) or exaggerated cruelly in the play ground. Gangs may nurture and encourage name-calling but the final and ultimate decision to do so is an individual matter. Whether the caller will accept and take responsibility is quite different. Analysis of the responses from the definition

activity suggests that many boys in Baden Road School thought name-calling was a girls' problem and ironically, many girls thought name-calling a boys' problem.

2 Bullies and name-calling.

The model suggests most name-calling starts inoffensively but some children may be overtly intolerant of certain words and not of others. Children soon learn to avoid name-calling those who seem stronger and who respond more aggressively to particular words. While boys are more likely to use physical means to stop others calling names, girls generally use ostracism and isolation. The resultant power achieved by the receiver may reverse the roles and lead to taunts of the caller. This may not be the only cause of bullying but with the learning about others which comes from name-calling, it is likely to be a contributor to a worsening situation.

Roland and Munthe (1989, p 69) assert that name-calling justifies the behaviour, giving bullies what they perceive as legitimate reasons to victimise others. It is an illusion which downgrades the bully's view of the victim who becomes worthless and deserves to be harassed. Experts such as Olweus (1995 p, 43) and Besag (1989, p 43) view name-calling as a recognised form of bullying which bullies use to change their perception of the victim, and, by trial and error decide which names have most effect in hurting the victim. The label becomes the excuse to bully. It can bolster a bully's self-esteem and convince him/her that the victim is worth bullying. The three participant teachers recognised the

sense of power, satisfaction and enjoyment which bullies can get from their actions. In the most serious cases victims are virtually dehumanized.

Besag (1989, p 43) view is that name-calling often draws upon non-human names such as wimp, pig and bitch which is an effective way of dehumanizing victims. Race is another opportunity for the bully to downgrade others. Macdonald (1989, p 45) cites Coulbourn who depersonalised Amhed as "a Paki worth killing." According to Besag (1989, p 43), the effect of dehumanization is to assuage the bully of any guilt and gives self-credence and permission for the process to continue. Besag claims this may be a contributory factor in the escalation of some incidents of bullying to a dangerous level. Whether it be racial, personal, animal or a combination, name-calling instigates and remains at the core of such attacks.

3 Victims and name-calling.

The same name can be used which is sometimes harmless and at other times hurtful. This depends on the situation in which the receiver finds him/herself in. If repeated enough some names can become threatening as in Daniel's case in (App 9, pp 17- 30). Hargreaves (1967 p 46) identifies four conditions which determine whether or not the child accepts the labelling; its frequency, whether or not the victim perceives as significant the position of the caller, support for the caller from the group and whether or not the calling has been done publicly.

From the model (p 209) the effect of name-calling upon the victim appears two-fold. Some children appear unaffected by name-calling. They can either shrug it off or hide any effect. If the effect is hidden it can mean the victim is hurt and depressed but doesn't show it. Mr Jacques (App 1 p 6) thought it would be interesting to follow the long-term development of self-esteem in victims over a number of years. According to the Y6 children, (op cit) for those apparently unaffected the name-calling stops or decreases. What makes some children less vulnerable than others to name-calling will need further investigation.

What is clear is the persistent way in which children continue to name-call, more so if the victim is visibly hurt. In discussions about the model, the Y6 pupils agreed unanimously that a child hurt in one form or another by name-calling or exhibits weak intolerance is likely to be singled out for further abuse. The sensitivities, the meaning and importance victims place upon jibes appear crucial determinants to the development of serious name-calling as recognised by Lemert (1967, pp 45-46). Yet the Y6 pupils concluded that it is the receiver who is responsible for the outcome of name-calling and not the caller. It appears to be the receiver's fault if name-calling progressively worsens. It is as if children expect each other to be strong and able to withstand taunts and those who are perceived as relatively weak are at fault for being weak and are thus singled out.

Persistent and serious name-calling can have two simultaneous effects and different victims respond in different ways. First is the hurt caused to the victims from the humiliation of being

called names. Paul (App 9 pp 1 - 16) exacerbated his situation by further teasing and lying about others. Alex was so scared that he told a teacher about the name-calling and threats. Amy responded by not wearing the clothes she had been taunted about. Roger became depressed. Emma (App 9 p 48) had told her Mum about Alan taunting her during the holidays but the taunting continued in school so she then told a teacher. Daniel didn't know what to do. For some time he thought that by doing nothing, the intense name-calling would subside naturally.

Second, the effect of persistent and repeated name-calling can mean that the receiver accepts the label as theirs and the responsibility for it. Victims can begin to believe they are what the bully says even though what is said is blatant lying. Barron of The Independent On Sunday (14/07/1991 p 44) reports on her daughter Laura, who, when told by her bully she was spotty, ugly and boring, no matter how untrue it was, believed it. This developed into a phobia as Laura had applied 'a grin and bear it' approach which didn't work. She began to have out of character tantrums and hysteria. Going to school was out of the question. Even after psychiatric help Laura did not go back to school.

According to Hargreaves (op cit) the target can conform so the label cannot apply but why should victims have to do this in the first place? There is something wrong when a large group of Y6 children consider a deteriorating cycle of name-calling to be the responsibility of the victim rather than the caller. This point questions the validity of the model. If accurate, the focus turns to and questions those values and morals pupils inherit which

allow them to think that the fault lies with the persecuted. The Y6 pupils insisted this was the case and were resistant to any change to their model as were later cohorts who were asked.

4 The words used.

There appears to be three sets of words used to defame peers:

- 1 Words which boys use
- 2 Words which girls use
- 3 Words which both boys and girls use.

The analysis is not representative of any other school. The words children use cannot be disguised. Some will not be found in a dictionary. Nick-names have not been used. The lists are from the initials used for words in the Y6 stories (App 12 p 8) and from the cases (App 9) and reflect a sub-culture which exists in school among older pupils and are listed in order of commonality.

Words commonly used at Baden Road School:

Boys to boys:

Fuck off Bastard
Dickhead Spanner
Knobhead Wanker
Gay Spaz
Tramp Piss off
Fat Ugly
Condom Hate you
Idiot You shit
Fat Goofy
Ugly Titch
Shithead Prat
Knobby Cry baby
Gingernut Twat
Fat Bastard
Faggot

Girls to girls:

Slag
Pig
Bastard
Fucker
Fat cow
Fat slob
Idiot
Cry baby
Wagger
Baby
Dweb
Tart
Little shit
Spanner
Smelly
Rubbish
Wimp
Lesbian

Girls and boys:

Fuck
Bastard
Fat
Idiot
Cry baby
Shit
Spanner

These lists serve to show the range of words which children have learned to use in the variety of situations which they meet both in and out of Baden Road School. Just as revealing are the words which are not there, particularly racial taunts as explained, but this will be different in some schools. The words in each list does not indicate that one group is any worse than another nor that any one word is any more serious than any another.

Language development and name-calling.

Macnamara (1984, p 2) recognises that, among others, in attempts to dehumanize victims many animal names have become synonymous with name-calling. In psychology the most common way people find out about the meaning of a word in one way or another is under the heading "association." He argues (p 7) that young children experience objects and their names simultaneously. Name-calling words go beyond this basic framework as they are an adaptation of many real words and out of the context for which they were originally intended.

If Macnamara's (op cit) interpretation is to be accepted then the association in name-calling must be somewhat different. Words do not necessarily elicit observable responses thus association can be internal and unobservable. However, name-calling by its nature is designed to draw overt responses. It is the interpretation which receivers make of name-calling and the resultant variety of overt responses which children seem to first seize upon. The greater the effect the more likely the word is repeated.

By using such words young children quickly learn also that there is usually an associated response from adults and children. While the response from adults might be different, nevertheless, the response is in itself a reward simply because it draws attention. Besag (1989 p 45) sees this as a process of action and reaction. Appropriateness and acceptability are determined chiefly by the environment and the milieu of experiences which envelops the growing child. Hence many names are specifically local and acceptable such as the word "crap."

Macnamara (1984, p 29) further suggests that children as young as eighteen months are able to distinguish between common and proper names. They seem to have grasped semantic differences and to have noted linguistic correlates, namely the presence or the absence of the article. From this age, meaning can guide the child to useful linguistic distinctions without the use of syntax. Many words used in name-calling need little or no syntactical development. In momentary interactions such as playing there is sufficient meaning gathered from saying a single word;

Spaz	Wanker
Bastard	Condom
Twat	Bitch
Cow	Dickhead

What is more, simple mono-syllabic words such as "cow and fuck" means that they are relatively easy to say. Two thirds of the listed words are mono-syllabic. It is not surprising then that the bank of words used by ten and eleven year old children is so extensive. Many words too need only second-person inference:

You twat	You're gay
You idiot	You're queer
You fucker	You're ugly
You pisspot	

To examine the derivative of each word or group of words is futile. Many are used to elicit quite different responses. Some name-calling can produce pleasure when said as a joke or in play. Some can produce anger, jealousy, annoyance or embarrassment, depression or retaliatory action but each intention, nuance and interpretation of name-calling needs to be learnt.

What is disturbing is the lack of antonymous words to counter the damaging effect which defamatory words can have. There seem to be no words which are similarly second person which act as satisfactory antonyms. Supervisors, several teachers, the headteacher and 12 parents attended a 1992 parent workshop on bullying. They were asked to think of ten defamatory words which children use. They found this simple and were then asked to think of complimentary words which children might use. There were none. There are words associated with intelligence, accomplishment or clothes which compliment a person indirectly. Although children do support each other in other ways, seemingly, there is no word children use naturally which is directly complimentary. MacNeill (App 15) supports the use of compliments as a strategy for adults to use and raise the self-esteem of pupils in need. She suggest an example which clearly indicates to the child that the message is for the receiver.

"You are kind - I saw you helping Jane."

Such direct compliments are useful for adults but it appears not the style of language commonly used by children. On the contrary most if not all comments on others are defamatory and direct;

Language as an overt indicator of tolerance.

The development of defamatory language in children seems to start in some as early as eighteen months and what emerges is linked to their upbringing. For some, name-calling and verbal abuse are commonplace but it encourages negativism, a less appreciative and vague view of the distinction between freedom of thought and freedom of action. Mills (1969, p 199) claims the right to the former is absolute, the right to the latter conditional upon the possible harm done to others. If name-calling is seen as an expression of thought which is harmful to others then it follows that the freedom of action to name call others should be limited. If this limit is applied early enough then the moral distinction eventually becomes clearer to the child.

Children need to learn as early as possible that tolerance and respect cannot be separated from power, rights and responsibility but with poor role models and little guidance, all too frequently they are left to find these out for themselves. One parent said:

"Children crudely experiment with power-relationships and bullying is the result."

Goffman (1968, p 44) suggests that we have ready-made templates in which to fit our new experiences and determine our levels of

tolerance. Weale (1985 p 18) claims that individual differences should involve important moral concerns. To be tolerant means the acceptance of differences that really matter to the individual. However, the sheer volume of abusive name-calling which impinges on most peoples lives in one situation or another makes the task of trying to reduce it almost impossible. It would be unrealistic to suggest that it can be stopped entirely.

Children use name-calling in the normal hub-bub of every day life. As suggested earlier, those who can accept name-calling and remain unaffected seem left alone but it may continue in an inoffensive way. These children can be said to tolerate name-calling. One teacher believes more secure and confident children can take it. Those who tolerate name-calling and manage to hide their feelings may become momentarily depressed by an attack but keep their dignity intact. Generally, abuse in these cases will probably not get worse or may even stop. It is like a test of an individual's level of toleration in a variety of social settings. This is a learning process with which Mrs Jacques (App 1 p 6) agrees. It stands to reason that without some banter and name-calling, children do not learn about that part of the temperament in others which indicates their tolerance.

The disrespect emanating from serious name-calling can be an infringement of the right to be treated with dignity. Yet many children grow up in families where name-calling proliferates. In these circumstances it is difficult for children with immature minds to understand the meaning and importance of dignity and respect in a tolerant society. On the contrary, they learn that

name-calling combines disrespect with a pursuit of power, perhaps innocent of the fact that it is destructive rather than supportive. Name-calling can reflect and magnify intolerance. Progressively, bullies become intolerant of slight differences in their victims. This is illustrated in Daniel's case (op cit) and of children who are taunted because they are different. Bullying demonstrates intolerance by the power bullies use to force their victims to conform to their whims and wishes.

What complicates the structure is the small group of victims of bullying who tease and provoke to draw the antagonism of others. Olweus (op cit) and Besag (1989, p 14) suggest that provocative victims are quick to complain if others retaliate. In Paul's case (op cit), his antagonistic teasing of others led them to ostracise and isolate him which in turn degenerated into more provocation. Their intolerance was matched by Paul's inability to understand this. He considered his behaviour to be funny and a joke but others collectively saw it as irritating and frustrating.

Unfortunately, as Smith and Sharp (1994, p 2) accept, there will always be power relationships in social groups by virtue of size, strength or ability, force of personality, recognised hierarchy or sheer numbers. The exact nature of that power is set into a cultural and social context but because adult rights and power are more clearly legislated for, children are disadvantaged from the start. They have neither the rights nor the awareness of rights that adults have. Adults need not tolerate theft, bodily assault or defamation and if it happens they may rightly seek

legal redress. Chapter One suggests, children are not afforded the same kind of legal protection.

Besag (1989, p 42) claims that vulnerable individuals, nations, and communities have always been bullied by the more powerful it seems hypocritical of those adults who spurn bullying amongst children but use similar tactics to get what they want. It seems that for some, bullying is immoral only when it suits. Smith and Sharp (1994, p 2) recognise that bullying can occur in many social groups with clear power relationships and low supervision including the armed forces, the workplace, prisons and schools. Sadly, because they are young, children are vulnerable and are only beginning to learn about the variety of the nuances and interpretations which name-calling demands. Problems arise when power embodied in the sub-culture surrounding children in school is abused and allowed to flourish. For teachers to do nothing is tacit acceptance of the status quo.

Horton and Mendus (1985, p 113) claim that identifying a range of conduct which should be tolerated needs some uncontroversial way of distinguishing those actions and practices which are harmful from those which are not. This is bound by the norms and values which schools expect and the amount of adjustment pupils have to make to conform. Some bullies consider their behaviour within this range of conduct. Others appear to behave regardless of conformity and without thought of the harm done to others.

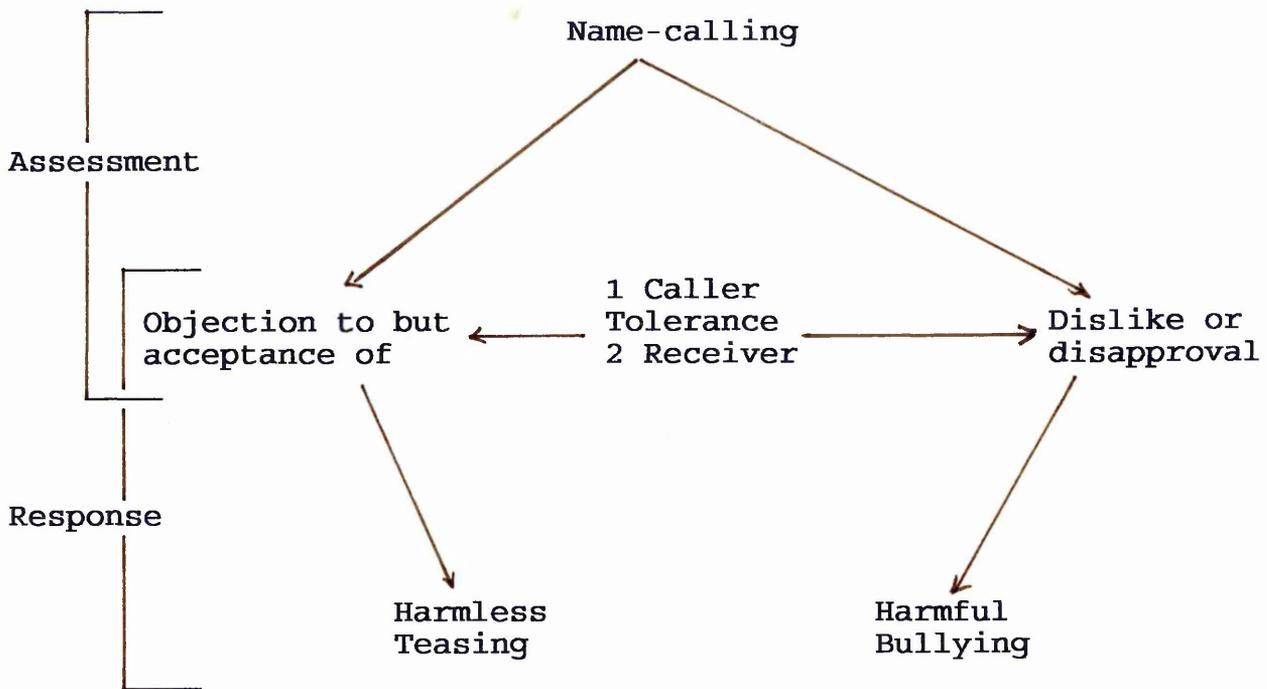
This disregard supports Kings (1976, p 115) view of intolerance which consists initially of a negative judgement, assumption or

assessment combined with some negative act. But disliking or disapproving by acting in a manner that is negative constitutes only one type of intolerance. Another is the dislike or disapproval of the views of others. King's view of intolerance involving a negative act appears to match the intolerance which boys can demonstrate and the second the kind of ostracism and isolation which girls tend to use. Girls generally seem more affected by being disliked and disapproved of. The participant teachers suggested that girls somehow know the sensitive spots of other girls and what upsets them.

Disliking and disapproving are not the same. According to King (1976, p 116) dislike is conceived emotionally while disapproval is conceived reflectively. It is easy for disapproval to slip into mere dislike. However, dislike does not give adequate grounds for consequential negative acts. Hence bullies have to find reason for their behaviour which is irrational rather than rational. King claims (1976, p 117) no such act of intolerance is justifiable if spurred merely from dislike.

Tolerance involves the disapproval of an idea conjoined with its acceptance. Objection to but acceptance of is quite different from dislike and disapproval in as much that the outcomes are different. Disapproval and dislike can lead to a negative act, the kind of negative act which bullies might exhibit. Name-calling may reflect an objection but without the consequence of a negative act, hence toleration. This is demonstrated in the next model which takes into account and combines and revises the earlier continuum model of harmless teasing and harmful bullying.

TABLE SEVENTEEN The hypothesis connecting toleration and name-calling and the assessment and responses of bullies and victims.



The model shows the relationship between harmless and harmful name-calling, the associated continuum of toleration and the resultant effects. This applies to both boys and girls. If the hypothesis (op cit) is accepted, the model suggests that it is only when name-calling in schools becomes uncontrolled that bullying behaviour emerges. Name-calling can be interpreted as an indicator of the tolerance levels pupils apply to each other. Furthermore, from the frequency and severity of name-calling amongst pupils schools can reflect upon the ethos which has led to the situation in the first place.

This implies that schools which can control and reduce name-calling will not only improve the ethos but simultaneously reduce bullying behaviour. This will help to improve the ethos still further. Reversal of a name-calling trend in primary schools might be simply to insist that children always refer to each

other by first names. It would be difficult for any person on first-name terms with others to start and bully them.

It is incumbent upon schools to help children develop good habits with ranges which are acceptable to the school which Mrs Jacques (App 1 p 6) considers important. Furthermore, personal and social education in schools should be used to consider with pupils the social, moral, and cultural implications, to point out the dangers of name-calling and the ease by which it can translate quickly into bullying. However, this brings back the problem of impetus, priorities, time and how teachers can implement such a programme with the existing National Curriculum demands for mainly pure academia. Whether or not the recent publication [30/10/96] of the Government proposal for moral education in state schools satisfies the needs of the majority is yet to be tested. If or how the Government intend to fit this into the existing curriculum is still unclear.

Conclusions.

Much name-calling is inconsequential but it seems that if a victim succumbs to banter and teasing then this will be perceived by some others as weakness. Any name-calling is then likely to worsen. From the Y6 pupil perspective responsibility for this seems to rest with the victim and not the perpetrator. Victims can be picked out and labelled by bullies in two senses as one who is weak and one who can become what the label infers. By then the victim is worth bullying.

Without the need for syntax defamatory language can be learnt from a very early age. By age eleven it is likely that many children have developed an extensive vocabulary of abusive words. It is then a matter of choice whether or not to use them to undermine the dignity of others. What is more, there is little or no complimentary language to counteract the trend of abusive name-calling.

It seems then that name-calling among children contributes to their learning about power, rights, respect and toleration. Name-calling is a way of testing and finding levels of toleration in others. From the literature so far read the teacher/researcher believes that the link between name-calling, toleration and bullying have not before been made.

Name-calling among pupils may be the root problem for schools and not bullying. If schools consider name-calling to be an indicator of social tolerance then this could be evaluated as part of the social, moral and cultural programme. This new approach to name-calling has implications for schools in the way victims are helped. It is important to develop the most effective strategies and techniques which will best serve them and the bullies.

CHAPTER SEVEN

BULLYING AT BADEN ROAD PRIMARY SCHOOL.

THE ACTION RESEARCH PHASE.

Summary.

The list of defamatory words used by many Baden Road children were categorised, an idea used by Macdonald (1989) when he developed categories from name-calling among secondary pupils. The categorisation meant that single suggestions could be developed to help teachers talk to victims about name-calling.

Despite the failure in school to implement the 1991 anti-bullying policy the work with bullies and victims continued. In the belief that verbal abuse is a principle cause of bullying behaviour, the teacher/researcher developed several techniques to counter this. The work started a number of years before bullying emerged as a public social issue. Analysis of the techniques matched the philosophies of experts on bullying but not their methods. The technique named as the "promise and tell" method supports victims then bullies. The techniques were constructed into a model which gave a step-like nature to the strategies which teachers would be able to use proactively to help pupils in need of support.

As name-calling has been established as a major issue, solutions which focus on helping victims of name-calling and bullying were examined including fogging, the broken record technique and other self-explanatory strategies. The definitions of bullying were used also to develop a checklist of forms of bullying which could help victims and bullies describe the aggressive behaviours used in their cases. This, in turn, redefined the step model.

As a result, several improvements to the techniques were made. Yet untried by other teachers, the checklist saves time, gives a fuller and more accurate account of events and allows information from victims and bullies to be cross-checked. Not only did name-calling emerge as the most common form of bullying in school but information from the checklists from a number of cases revealed that of all the forms of bullying victims endured, verbal abuse was the most upsetting and was the form they most wanted stopping.

While verbal abuse may be the cause of much bullying, the ability to verbalise what has happened appears important to the solution. The teacher/researcher concluded that by helping bullies of primary age find the confidence to talk about their behaviour towards a victim helped them realise the seriousness of their behaviour. This sort of interaction works only if the bully feels safe. After using the promise and tell method effective post-case monitoring revealed that no matter how serious the bullying, it stopped in every case. Furthermore, this was achieved without the use of any kind of sanction against any bully.

<u>Category</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Suggestions to help victims.</u>
Your strength:	Wimp, Cry baby Mummy's boy Baby	Remember: Victims think bullies are stronger but this is a perception. The victim is probably as strong as anyone else.
Your size:	Titch Puny Fat Fat bastard Fat cow Fat slob	Remember: Not all small people are bullied. The bully has picked on this. Reinforce the victim's size is perfectly normal.
Against you as a person:	Bastard Bogey boy Posh Haemorrhoid Pile Tramp Ugly Smelly Shithead/Shit Hate you	Remember: Bullies are trying to pass on their problems to the victim. Bullies are probably jealous and don't know how to be kind. Reinforce that the victim does not smell.
Appearances:	Any visible difference	Differences don't matter.
Your Family:	Someone close is dead Someone close is having sex. Someone close is abnormal Other lies about the family.	Remember: A bully has to show off in front of others. Much empathy needed from teacher.
Your Sexuality:	Gay, Queer, Dick feeler, Dickhead, Knobhead Wanker Condom Lesbian Knobby	Remember: Bullies will try to find any way to bring down their victim. The insults are not true.
Animals:	Pig Cow Cat Dog Rat Bitch	Remember: If bullies cannot find anything about victims they will resort to using animals to insult them.

Fogging as a strategy for victims of verbal abuse.

MacNeill (App 15, p 11) suggests fogging is a way of helping victims cope with name-calling. It gives them something to say back without upsetting anyone. If they are called names, calling

If it works the name-calling will stop. If not then victims need help in choosing a different fog or another strategy to stop it.

Broken Record.

Victims say clearly what they want or what they don't want to happen and keep repeating it until they are satisfied. Children unknowingly use this strategy frequently to get what they want from adults but rarely to protect themselves. Why not is unclear.

"I don't lend out my felt pens."

"I just need to finish this."

"You've broken my pen and you'll need to replace it."

Mrs Jacques (App 1 p 6) commented how she uses broken record effectively with pupils. The most major limitation is the time involved for teachers to teach these strategies. The second problem is whether to teach whole classes or individual victims. Assertiveness training is what potential bullies do not need.

Getting help.

If the name-calling gets too serious victims should be encouraged to seek help from adults. When other children see it is snitching [sic] it is useful to teach the victim fogs to assert themselves. Assertiveness training with Daniel (App 9 pp 23 - 26) shows how effective it can be. He became much happier and more contented.

Yet as the curriculum section in the case study suggests, there are ways to tackle the issue with whole classes. Long-term they

provide victims with strategies before they need to ask for help. When parents were asked what advice they would give victims to avoid bullies the teacher/researcher compiled a list from the responses. The strategies are self-evident from the list and can be used similarly with name-calling. Teachers should use the strategy they feel is best. Although Mrs Jacques (App 1 p 6) has used different ones at different times, she didn't realise that there were so many strategies to help victims.

- * Ignore it and carry on doing what the victims wants to do.
- * Concentrate on looking at someone else or doing something else.
- * Avoid contact with those who might hurt you.
- * Be assertive. [Will need training]
- * Stay with friends
- * Don't react or get angry or frightened.
- * Feign bravery.
- * Make a joke of what has been said. [Fogging]
- * Walk away.
- * Distract the caller with something completely different.
- * Self-talk: Through the voice in our head we often put ourselves down. Remember, it's better and more relaxing to think good things of yourself. Victims of bullying can be encouraged to think like this.
- * Reminders: "I have rights (and responsibilities) like anybody else."
"I'm allowed to make genuine mistakes. So what!"
"That looks good."
"I did that well."
"I did my best."
"I couldn't do much better."
"I feel wobbly but I did well."

It is sometimes useful to develop a profile with victims of the places where name-calling or bullying is most affective. Victims give themselves a non-standard score on a scale of 0 to 5, nought being no danger and five very dangerous. As remedial work continues revisit and score again to help victims see whether or not improvements have been made. The following list may help:

TABLE TWENTY ONE An aid to monitoring name-calling and bullying.

<u>Situation</u>	<u>* Score</u>	<u>Words and times.</u>
Near your home		
Playing out at home		
Football in the street		
Playing in the next street		
Playing at someone elses house		
Riding bikes		
Play fighting		
Playing other sports		
On the bus		
During school holidays		
Walking around the district		
In school at play time		
On the playground		
On the field		
In the classroom		
Dining room		
On corridors		
Toilets		
Changing rooms		
Other		
Other		
Other		

- Score 0 No danger ever
 1 Danger unlikely
 2 A little dangerous
 3 Moderately dangerous
 4 Dangerous
 5 Very dangerous

By adding the scores each time an overall picture is developed of safe and dangerous places and the extent of the attacks.

Working directly with victims and bullies.

The 1991 anti-bullying policy still remains unevaluated by the Baden Road teachers. By 1996 it seems the issue is still not a whole school priority as shown in the list of immediate issues developed by senior management (App 2, p 3). The opportunity might arise as a part of the PSE evaluation for the 1996-1997 cohort but this is in the pupil section of the school development plan (App 2 p 4). Traditionally, curriculum has taken precedence over other issues. This is something which senior management recognise and a revision of the plan should follow but will occur after the completion of this study. Since the curriculum line of needs has had whole school priority at the expense of other equally important matters, it is unlikely that bullying will be prioritised within the next academic year.

In the meantime independent work went on with helping bullies and victims. In one respect this was advantageous for it gave the teacher/researcher the opportunity to further develop, apply and test techniques with victims and bullies. In another respect this was unsatisfactory because the developments had not yet reached the stage where other teachers were able to use them.

by the time children involved in bullying have been identified they can be profoundly disturbed. Tearful victims often agonise over being hurt and about telling for fear of further bullying. Many victims endure mental torment more so than physical pain. The feeling of panic, vulnerability, insecurity, belittlement, fear and the shame of having no control over their personal

rights can be overwhelming. They can be confused and bewildered, not understanding the reasons bullies have victimised them.

If they say they have been bullied, victims need to be believed on every occasion. Whether or not it is true is not for the teacher to judge but to find out. Victims frequently relay to teachers not that they are being bullied but the one form which is disturbing them. This can lead teachers to think that what is happening to the victim is not serious. It is not surprising then that results from the pupil questionnaire (op cit) revealed that only one quarter of pupils tell teachers about being bullied. Seriousness often emerges only as cases are dealt with or from information from parents, in which case pupils need a clear message from schools that if they feel they are being bullied they must say they are being bullied and that teachers will help them. Any success for victims is determined chiefly by the ethos in which telling is acceptable and the way in which teachers subsequently respond.

In schools where punishment for bullies is routine, the fear of trouble and the consequences encourages many bullies to lie. Smith and Sharp (1994, p 203) are adamant that punitive measures are bound to fail since they simply reinforce the values of the hierarchy and dominance through power. Punishment, they claim, may also put the victim at risk of revenge attacks. Getting children who bully to tell what they have done is a major obstacle for teachers and often counter to the sub-cultural spirit that children who tell teachers are snitches [sic].

Since 1981 the teacher/researcher has practiced and developed techniques of working with bullies which involves no punishment, helps reduce the trauma and saves time in sorting one story from another. Generally, the younger the child the more confused the stories can become. For teachers, cross-referencing the accounts of children can also be confusing. Sifting lies from truth, developing chronological order from non-chronological accounts and making sense of the seriousness are all time consuming. Phillips of The Independent (09/05/1991) reports how a teacher spent between four and five hours persuading some kids [sic] to tell him that they had some money taken from them. Having dealt with it there was still no guarantee the bullying would stop.

Called the promise and tell method, the techniques to be discussed were developed to overcome this and to save time but as research was not the purpose no record of the method was kept. The teacher started and developed the work unilaterally in 1981, eight years before the issue of bullying in schools was highlighted publicly. Any comparisons between expert interventions and the work of the Baden Road teacher/researcher are therefore purely accidental. Research into bullying at Baden Road School in 1989 and 1991 (op cit) records the methods used and cases in this study (App 9) document the interventions.

The methods were not adapted from any expert trials such as those carried out by Pikas (1994, pp 195 -197) in his method of shared concern. Using his approach, Pikas differentiates two types of bullying; by individuals and mobs, the Scandinavian term which is synonymous in Britain with gangs. Baden Road School suffers

minimally from gangs which deliberately set out to bully. Ganging does occur but as the case of the Y6 girls shows (op cit) this is opportunistic and circumstantial, children happen to be there together at the time. The teacher/researcher has no finding which suggests that a gang has planned collectively to set out deliberately with the intention to bully a child. The Pikas method of shared concern therefore hardly applies.

The direct method employed by Pikas with single bullies is to tell the bully firmly and authoritatively that the bullying must stop. He claims this works best with children below the age of nine years. As all but one of the cases cited in this study are with children over the age of nine then this method does not much apply either. However, many of the philosophies behind the Pikas methods are closely aligned with those of the teacher/researcher.

Although simple and quick to apply, the Pikas method does not take into account the interests of the victims. The priority for the teacher/researcher was in the interests and safety of the victim. This is a fundamental break from the Pikas method and from the traditional method of focussing on, dealing with and the sanctioning of bullies. It is more akin to the no blame approach developed by Maines and Robinson (1992 p 203). They recommend that the adult take the risk of letting the bullied pupil speak in their own words of the suffering they have experienced. The teacher then relays this to the class because the impact of the adult speaking on behalf of the bullied is very powerful. This should involve active members, hangers-on and the colluders.

Maines and Robinson (op cit) argue that the majority will respond

in a kind and helpful way sufficient to change and stop the bullying even though some of the group might remain indifferent.

This is a risk which the teacher/researcher is not prepared to take. In his experience the one overwhelming factor which victims mull over and bullies thrive on is the fear of telling. Many victims will not tell because of the threat of retaliatory action by the bully. The 1991 study on girls' bullying (op cit) records girls pleading with parents not to come into school in case the others find out. There is an overwhelming sense of relief when victims at Baden Road are told that in no circumstances will bullies find out that they have told a teacher.

Promoting self-help with victims and bullies.

Like the Pikas and Maines and Robinson approaches, the promise and tell method involves finding solutions without apportioning blame. But, the needs of victims and bullies are quite different. While the Pikas (op cit) method of shared concern focusses on the bully the Maines and Robinson (op cit) no blame approach focusses on the victim. The principle feature of the promise and tell model is that it serves both victim and bully. The interventions are enabling processes which provide opportunities for victims and bullies to talk. Nutbrown (1994, p 6) points out that if children are obliging enough to tell us what they are thinking, then parents, teachers and other educators are in a better position to help them.

The method involves interactions first between victim and teacher

and then between bully and teacher. Telling about the events becomes safe and non-judgemental. Costing nothing but time and effort, the process focusses mainly on the interests and protection of the victim. Victims' anxieties are replaced with confidence, the certainty of help and an unqualified reassurances that the bully will not find out therefore cannot take steps to get the victim for telling.

Victims need to know quickly that they are safe and help is at hand. They frequently need catharsism, empathy and sympathy; reassurances of their safety and the redevelopment of status and confidence. Macdonald (1989, p 99) claims victims should be guaranteed sufficient protect against harassment. Victimized pupils must trust that adults both want and are able to give them protection. Victims need to feel that they can fully reintegrate safely into the school. Helping them in these ways generates also a closer, more trusting pupil-teacher relationship. The promise and tell method deals first with the interests of the victims, (App 9 p 15, 22, 32, 37, 48) and in five ways.

- a) to help victims overcome an attack and raise self-esteem
- b) to promise absolute confidentiality and that it is perfectly safe and reasonable to tell,
- c) the promise and reinforcement to the victim that the bully will never find out,
- d) the promise that the bully will not seek retribution,
- e) reintegrate them back safely into school.

It is important to respond quickly to cases but before initial inquiries take place but it is important to achieve the right

setting. Usually one session is sufficient and the atmosphere needs to be calm and non-threatening, away from the usual bustle of school life. The approach is gentle and it is important for both teacher and victim to be sitting and to have a box of tissues ready.

A significant step in helping bullies at Baden Road School overcome their problem has been to develop strategies which enables them to talk about their behaviour face-to-face with a teachers. To provide this opportunity teachers need to support the bully by being reassuring and non-judgemental. Bullies need to feel in a position in which it is safe to tell. No punitive sanction is applied in the first instance, providing the bullying stops.

One main advantage of getting bullies to talk is to protect their victims. Macdonald (1989, p 98) recognises that many victims have been threatened should they tell on bullies. The promise and tell methods starts by getting bullies to identify their victim during an informal survey. The bully who identifies the victim first is unlikely to seek retribution against them and retaliate. This is reinforced by the fact that the bully has not been in trouble. Indeed, bullies who have used the promise and tell techniques appear relieved that they have had the chance to tell someone about their problem but they must first feel safe to do so.

Bullies able to explain their behaviour are more likely to stop bullying than those who don't. The very act of talking means that there has to be understanding prior of what is to be said.

Stone (1979, p 65) claims it is not unreasonable to look upon language as the agent which transmutes the experience of the individual and the species into internal representations of that experience. It follows then that if bullies are to talk about their actions they must first reflect on their behaviour, sort their thoughts and internalise them, understand and make sense of how it will be said before saying it. Bullies in this position are more likely to realise themselves, albeit gradually, that the cumulative effect of their behaviours upon a person is bullying. It is this self-realisation process emergent from within bullies which the teacher/researcher believes is one crucial key solution to their problems.

It is well-established that not all children realise that their aggressive behaviour can be bullying. There are many behaviours which, in some situations cannot be called bullying when in others they can. Being told so does not necessarily rationalise this for them. Mrs Jacques (App 1 p 6) admits she frequently does all the talking while culprits stand still and seem not to listen. With the promise and tell technique the process remains child-centred throughout. The verbalising process not only enables bullies to realise what they have done but helps them retain responsibility for the behaviour. It is when bullies understand for themselves they have bullied that the bullying is more likely to stop.

Unless the bully is a provocative victim (op cit), responsibility for stopping the bullying remains entirely the domain of the bully. Bullies need to retain responsibility for their behaviour.

This important as bullies need to be able to face and confront themselves with the fact that their behaviour is inappropriate and unacceptable. Rather than being told by teachers about their bullying, they are given the opportunity to reflect and realise the seriousness of their behaviours for themselves. To counter those who still consider that bullies should be punished, employing non-threatening strategies to help bullies talk about the bullying ensured several key solutions.

- a) Bullies do not feel threatened by the need to explain their bullying behaviour to a teacher because,
- b) in the first instance the bully does not suspect that s/he is to be encouraged to talk about bullying,
- c) meetings are informal and non-threatening and the teacher knows the victim's version but under no circumstances divulges this,
- d) the conversation on bullying develops from a different starting point, a survey of friendships and making bullying an open subject which gets the bully first to admit who they have bullied. A class list will help. Start by asking about friends before concentrating on what problems exist,
- e) the bully is thanked for telling and promising that they will not be getting into trouble. Get the bully to tell what they have done and any other details is then made easier,
- f) reinforce that the bullying must stop,
- g) reinforcing with the bully that s/he had told protects the victims from being accused of snitching [sic] and retaliatory action,
- h) the teacher can now safely speak with the victim,
- i) reminding the bully that s/he has not been in trouble again protects the victim and the situation can be recorded and monitored.

When asked informally about their situation, victims all reported (App 9 p 16, 26, 35, 51) that the bullying stopped.

In presenting the promise and tell intervention model it is important to summarise the pre-conditions. These are as important as the model itself.

Preparatory Adult Action.

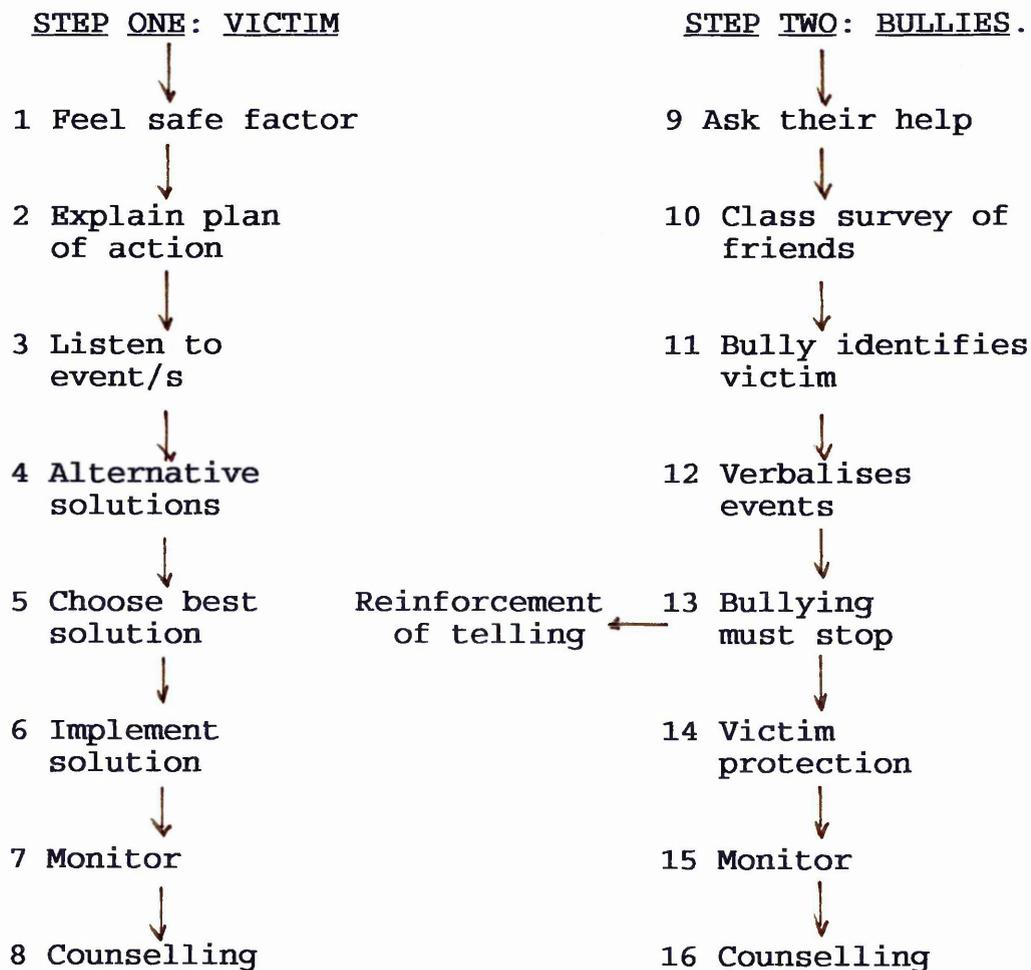
- 1 Cases are dealt with calmly and confidently,
- 2 The teacher can gain the confidence of both victim and bully.
- 3 Help for victims comes first.
- 4 That promises are made and kept.
- 5 The bully is dealt with entirely separately.
- 6 The bully never knows that a victim has explained events already.
- 7 There is no element of threat or judgement
- 8 Each case is monitored afterwards.
- 9 For one occasion only the bullying does not include involving parents.

The following model addresses the problem of helping victims and dealing with bullies in a way which protects victims completely from revenge attacks by bullies. The model is child-centred and allows the victim to tell. The bully's explanations mean that s/he can accept responsibility for the attacks. This key process prevents further bullying and reintegrates the victim and bully back into the social ambience of the school.

Structurally and procedurally, the intervention steps are clearly demarcated making the techniques easily transferable for other teachers to use. Provided teachers can agree to the pre-conditions, any teacher, without extensive training, should be

able to use the strategies. However, because of management problems of time this has not been tried at Baden Road School.

TABLE TWENTY TWO THE PROMISE AND TELL MODEL.



Advantages of using the model appear to be:

- 1 The victim is made to feel safe.
- 2 Adult relationship with bully and victim is maintained.
- 3 There is no punishment. (Provided the bullying stops.)
- 4 There is a greater chance of getting accurate accounts from victims.
- 5 There is a greater chances of getting more accounts from bullies.
- 6 The verbalisation from bullies enables them to begin to accept and reinforce responsibility and ownership for their behaviour.

- 7 Both bully and victim are clear of what is to happen next.
- 8 The process is non-threatening and non-judgemental
- 9 Monitoring is informal
- 10 Minimal stress for all participants
- 11 There are real solutions for victims and bullies
- 12 Parents need only be involved if the bullying continues.

Limitations.

- 1 Difficulty in convincing those who consider that first-time bullies should be punished.
- 2 Needs a quick response within other priorities.
- 3 Thread easily broken if other school events take over.
- 4 Maintaining secrecy for a victim in a busy school.
- 5 Difficulty in getting exact consistency of application.

With these techniques victims are fully protected and bullies at Baden Road School are able to retain dignity, despite what they have done. More importantly they retain responsibility of their behaviour without the threat of punitive sanctions. Cases take less time to deal with and prevent further bullying of the victim the informal measure of which arose summatively from monitoring cases all of which seemed to stop. The teacher/researcher believes any teacher can use the techniques with minimal training and at no cost to the school. This is an advantage over the Pikas method which, according to Smith and Sharp (1994, p 194), teachers and pupils need specialised training.

The promise and tell technique worked in every case to stop the bullying. In all but one of the cases the bully stopped bullying and was not found to have bullied anyone else. (The exception was

John who having stopped bullying Daniel went on to bully another child after he transferred to secondary school.) The danger that some bullies may become indifferent to the technique but over the years this has proved not to be so.

In many cases bullies had attacked the victims on more than one occasion but victims usually recalled only the last one. One key development arose from the observation that victims could not remember much about previous attacks. For some years victims and bullies involved in the promise and tell method had to rely on memory to describe to the teacher what had happened. Where the bullying was long-standing it was even more difficult for victims and bullies to recall and recount the details.

What is more, bullies frequently attacked their victim using more than one form of bullying. Victims could remember only a few of these forms and consequently their descriptions were often vague and muddled. It took intense concentration and a great deal of questioning to sort out what victims were trying to say in terms of the chronology of events and what forms had upset them most. Using the promise and tell techniques removes some of these confusions, but not entirely. A system was needed which might help victims sort out what had happened to them.

The purpose of the pupil definition of bullying to focus the anti-bullying policy was not lost and proved worthwhile in another area of the work on bullying. This was not planned for and arose wholly out of previously developed practice with victims and bullies over the last fifteen years.

About two years after the definitions had been added to the bullying policy the teacher/researcher realised that all 34 forms which applied to Baden Road were already listed and prioritised therein. Often in traumatic circumstances the teacher/researcher had expected pupils to clearly remember any number of these. The idea emerged of a list of behaviours which could be used to support victims and bullies during their counselling sessions. The forms described in the pupil definitions were developed into a checklist system for victims and bullies to use. Space was given to include a column for victims and bullies to prioritise behaviours which they found the most disturbing. In order to gather a clearer picture of events comments could be written with each form. As wide as the teacher/ researcher has read, this development is unique in the work with victims and bullies.

Improving the intervention as a direct result of the definitions.

By ranking and listing the behaviours from the definitions in the same order, the likelihood was that victims and bullies could use the list to recall in more detail what had happened. Victims could also prioritise which for them were the most severe forms. This would generate even clearer insights into cases. The problem was that victims might exaggerate their case by adding to the list behaviours which had not been used against them. This would need careful observations of victims as they responded to the lists. However, evidence could be drawn from a case by cross-referencing the list of the victim with that of the bully. Appendix 9, page 17 shows how the list was used to help determine the characteristics of Daniel's case from his point of view.

TABLE TWENTY THREE 1991-1992 BULLYING DEFINITION CHECKLIST.

Child's name..... Class..... Date.....

(Check Priorities):	No.	Notes
Name calling		
Hit		
Fighting		
Teased		
Kicked		
Picked-on		
Upset		
Made cry		
Physically hurt		
Said nasty things		
Beaten up		
Demanded belongings		
Demanded money		
Smacked		
Thumped		
Pushed down		
(Pulled)		
Isolated		
Tormented		
Told Tales		
Threatened		
Spread rumours		
Pestered		
Forced		
Nipped		
Made fun of		
Pulled hair		
Scratched		
Spat at		
Bitten		
Hidden belongings		
Interfered in play		
Pulled faces		
Made to do		

The word "bullying" has been omitted from the checklist to avoid reminding victims of their problem and to maintain the confidence of the bully. The system assumes that victims and bullies would be prepared to use the checklist.

The problem was that there was no comparative study to help test its reliability. The success rate depended on the ability of the teacher/researcher to gain the confidence of the victims and bullies in separate interviews and get them to talk openly about their cases. This required the continued use of non-judgemental and non-threatening proactive strategies. In emotional and disturbing crises among pupils it is important that teachers maintain control and display authoritativeness.

The findings from using a checklist system.

- 1 It informs bullies and victims of the behaviours which could be involved as bullying.
- 2 It is easy to watch for responses of victims and bullies as each behaviour is recalled by them.
- 3 Using the list is no more time consuming than trying to understand and make sense of verbal stories.
- 4 The list is systematic and avoids long, drawn-out stories.
- 5 The lists help victims remember more of what has happened, particularly if the bullying has been long-term.
- 6 Victims can prioritise behaviours to which they were most sensitive and by which they were most affected .
- 7 By getting bullies to take part in a survey is a non-threatening way of getting them to talk more about their behaviour.
- 8 By dealing separately with victims and bullies the lists could then be cross-checked to form a more accurate portrayal.
- 9 A clearer picture emerges of the sequence of events.

- 10 No punishment is involved.
- 11 Notes can be made as the participants recall the events
- 12 Note taking about cases is kept to a minimum.
- 13 The list provides a useful record for school.
- 14 The list can be used for research purposes.
- 15 Any teacher can use it.
- 16 The checklist is another step which helps teachers remain proactive.

The disadvantages of using a checklist system.

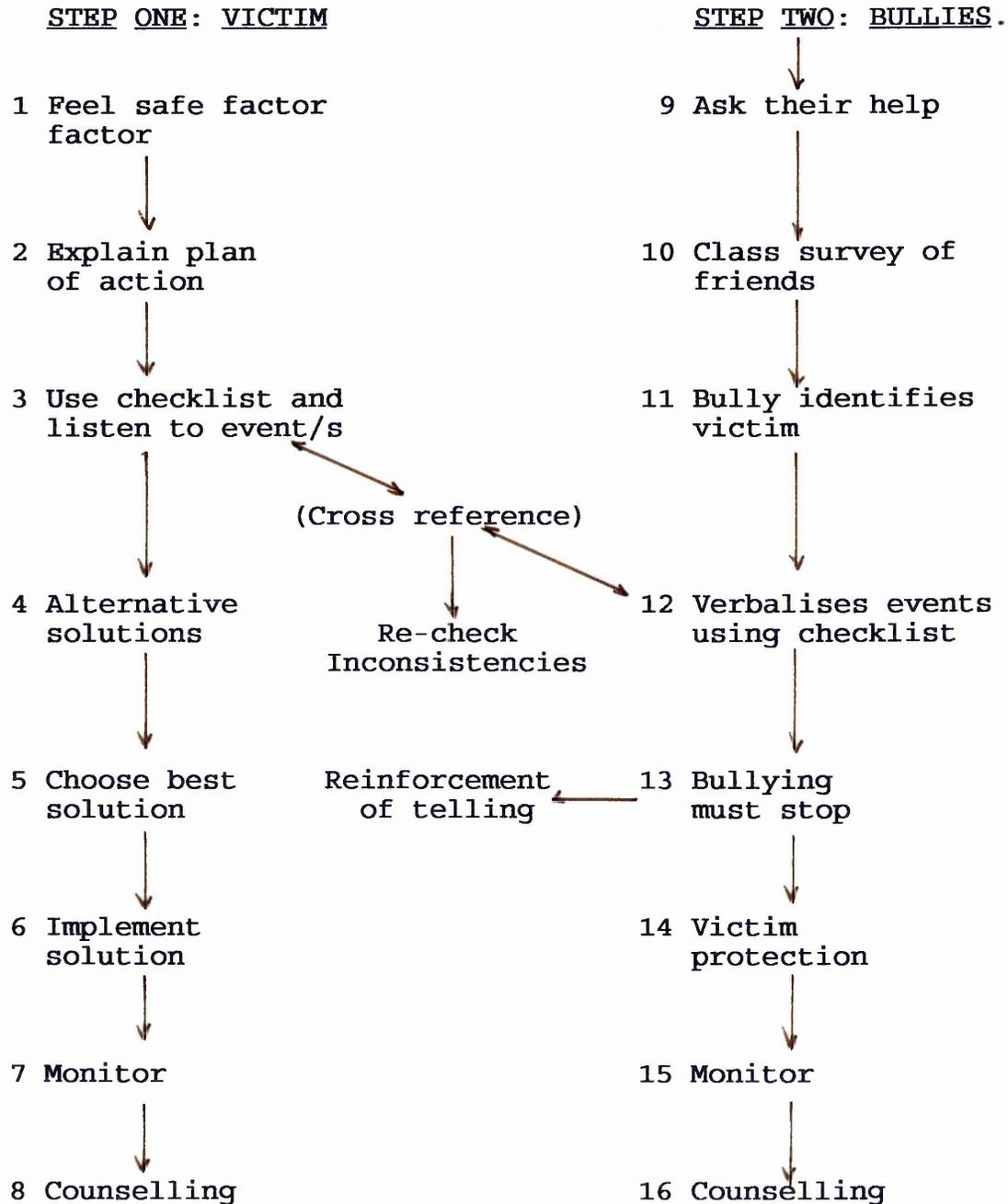
- 1 Victims might exaggerate what has happened to them.
- 2 The list might miss important aspects which victims may wish to relate.
- 3 Bullies would have difficulty in disproving what victims had said.
- 4 Bullies would be inclined not to divulge every behaviour.
- 5 There is no evidence that a checklist for bullies and victims has been tested for reliability on a large scale.
- 6 Not all teachers agree on a non-threatening, non-judgemental and proactive approach to the problem of bullying.

The checklist has not been used other than with Baden Road Junior School pupils. It is doubtful whether the reflections of children under the age of seven or thereabouts would be sufficiently reliable to warrant the use of such a checklist. The advantages seem to confirm that a checklist system is useful in helping older primary bullies and victims recall more precisely what has happened. In the teacher/researcher's experiences of using the checklist, more information is gathered in less time.

The list also provides teachers with another step in the promise and tell technique to help solve cases of bullying. Now that

accounts of events can be cross-checked means a revision to the promise and tell model:

TABLE TWENTY FOUR THE REVISED PROMISE AND TELL MODEL.



Should bullying occur then at least this model can help prevent teachers from reacting to bullying in a way which is counter to the aim. As with other initiatives on bullying this model and the

checklist system will only become effective if time is allocated for the teachers in school to examine them. Even then there is no guarantee that the systems will be accepted.

A new impetus for the approach emerged on two occasions after informal staff-room talk when two teachers asked to observe the promise and tell method because the pupils were from their class. The promise and tell intervention was so successful that the presence of another teacher did not prevent victims and bullies from telling. The observer was drawn into the confidentiality. Afterwards both teachers commented how gentle the process was. One teacher continues to attend promise and tell sessions and is impressed by the way bullies retain responsibility and their dignity. Mrs Jacques (App 1 p 6) comments how effective she thinks the promise and tell method is. She states:

"Everyone remains calm. There has been enough trouble as it is without teachers adding to the trauma. If only we all used the same kind of counselling to help bullies and victims and behaviour generally the school would benefit considerably."

Conclusions.

The checklists so far used (App 9 p 17) reveal name-calling to be the form most disturbing to victims. When victims nominated the behaviour that concerned them most every victim prioritised name-calling either first or second. This is the form which makes victims of bullying at Baden Road Primary School feel hurt, most awkward and least able to manage. It is the form for which they asked immediate help.

The teacher/researcher concern is how to get this implemented into Baden Road School. It is difficult to argue against the idea of a school which aims to make children feel happy, secure and contented in a calm, quiet and purposeful environment. The care and safety of pupils is central to and consistent with maximised learning opportunities. To a great extent the efficacy is reliant upon the ethos in which bullying and the attitudes towards it plays a major role. Realistically, not all bullying is going to be eliminated entirely. Children are going to continue to come from backgrounds which endorse aggression.

While other teachers dealt with bullying as they saw fit, the result was that these teachers began referring pupils to the teacher/researcher to deal with cases as they arose. This was an opportunity to further practice and adjust and re-adjust the techniques with even more cases. When the teacher/researcher became coordinator for personal and social development in 1993 even more cases were passed to him. However, the underlying concern was not of being over-burdened with cases but with compromising the aim to develop a consistent, whole school approach to dealing with victims and bullies.

So what is the resistance to change? What is preventing the school from openly acknowledging that the evidence gathered from three insider and one outsider research programmes that bullying is a problem in school? Other teachers should be given the opportunity to try the methods and evaluate them. Unless there is a dramatic change in priorities the whole school situation will continue to remain stagnant.

CHAPTER EIGHT.

TEACHERS, BULLYING AND THE MANAGEMENT OF CHANGE.

Summary.

All the developments from the action research and name-calling chapters will only be meaningful if they are to some extent transformed into school practice. Which models become routine is dependent on a number of inter-related issues. Their strength of purpose and relevance to teachers will determine by degrees their success or failure in becoming routine practice.

Presently, without any kind of agreed consensus the limited views provided by the participant teachers are disparate. While some are consistent with those proposed by the teacher/researcher there are a number of issues which conflict. In particular is the way teachers perceive the way bullies should be dealt with. Pupils are encouraged to be responsible for their behaviour. The promise and tell method should help teachers be proactive with those children who are irresponsible and bully others. However, this will occur only with the support of management and the teachers.

Critical to the adoption of any initiative about bullying in schools is the way teachers behave towards pupils. It is counter-productive if teachers claim that bullying is abhorrent when, in fact pupils are feeling that their treatment is less than fair. The issue of teachers as bullies is confronted. This was based on the professional relationship between the teacher/researcher and colleagues in open and frank discussions.

The introduction of any of the proposed models and strategies is based wholly on change from unplanned to planned interventions. No other Baden Road teacher has yet tried the promise and tell method which can be considered to be innovative. However, innovation does not necessarily result in change to practice. The status quo is an attractive and non-confrontational option and resistance to change is legitimate if present practice is perceived to be functioning appropriately. The rejection of innovative ideas is a real choice. Getting teachers with differing professional persuasions to agree unanimously and to act multilaterally is difficult. Furthermore, this thesis suggests that a review of bullying needs more than work with bullies and victims, it requires change in the wider social, cultural and curriculum contexts.

The final problems concern the dissemination of information. The first is at the school level. It has been well-recognised that teachers are extremely busy implementing other policies in accordance with National Curriculum requirements. Through no fault of their own, other equally important matters including bullying are having to wait.

Getting the information herein to other teachers beyond Baden Road is also problematic. Being a classroom teacher with all the constraints which that involves means a limitation on its wider dissemination including publishing. The final contribution suggests a change to the present Kemmis action research cycle to show as an expectation the dissemination of information of school-based, insider research, which is so severely lacking.

From unplanned to planned change.

When teachers engage in talk which is anecdotal and emotive, Watkins (07/03/1996) suggests they unwittingly distort reality. Comments can easily be made which disaffiliates the situation from the real problem, exempt them from responsibility and can condone poor behaviour with comments like:

"he's always like that,"
"we've come to expect such behaviour,"
"they're that sort of person,"
"she'll always be the same,"
"it's their age,"
"they come from a difficult neighbourhood,"

This diverts attention away from the contributions schools should be making. Watkins (op cit) maintains the effect is to lower teacher morale, doesn't provide a real answer and can disempower any collective urge to bring about change.

Presently teachers in school deal with bullying in the way they individually see fit. Steps are taken to control bullying by dealing with it as it arises. This was described earlier as a form of crisis management without any positive outcome. One participant teacher (App 7, p 15) pointed out that the same thing happens again and again and there are no solutions put forward to solve bullying behaviour.

Even putting policy solutions forward was seen as problematic. One teacher commented that it was not possible to prescribe what to do with bullies and victims except on the merits of each case.

There are so many aspects to bullying, she said, that each case requires its own solutions and can only be prescribed for in general terms.

All three agreed that bullies and victims should be provided with strategies to help them cope but their suggestions varied considerably. They agreed that positive strategies to help victims should be comforting, supportive, sensitive and empathic. One teacher emphasised the importance of believing the victim. Listening to them, raising self-esteem, getting support from friends, avoiding the bully, keeping a low profile and ignoring the bully were suggested. Mr Jackson (App 1 p 4) suggests teachers should keep an open mind in most cases.

They agreed too that bullies are likely to get more attention than a victim. The feeling was that bullies should be forced to admit and apologise to their victims before isolating them. One teacher thought that counselling for the bully and involving parents would also help solve the problem while another sent home a behaviour record book. Two of the three teachers said that parents should be kept informed if a child was bullied but one thought they should be involved only if the victim was hurt. However, as one teacher (App 7, p 18) pointed out:

"We have not communicated the strategies to each other."

One teacher thought bullying wasn't treated seriously enough while another considered there was room for improvement in handling bullying.

When communication is minimal the approach is inconsistent and victims suffer because of it. Difficulties arise when individuals think their unilateral practice is acceptable but that is at the expense of group practice. Had it not been for the research paradigm this criticism would have applied to the teacher/researcher. The main task now is to merge change which reflects the evidence found about bullying. This cannot be done without the cooperation and support of the teachers. Any change cannot be imposed if it is to match the open and participatory style which Mr Jackson (op cit) advocates.

Finding time to share the practice with other teachers in school has been one of the major obstacles to the development of a whole-school approach towards bullying. However, the three participant teachers were unanimous in agreeing that a consistent approach with clear steps, guidelines and strategies to help bullies and victims would help. Minimising bullying, they said, (App 10) needed a definition and a whole-school agreement not to ignore bullying. Mr Jackson (App 1 p 4) reminds the teacher/researcher that the home/school partnership document now elicits that agreement. How effective this is in preventing bullying in school would need investigating further.

The conclusions developed from this research are facilitators of change which are drawn from evidence rather than intuition. These conflict with the views of the participant teachers particularly over the strategies to help bullies. It should not be assumed that the teachers will accept all the evidence. Such is the bulk of material that a better way forward may be to fragment the

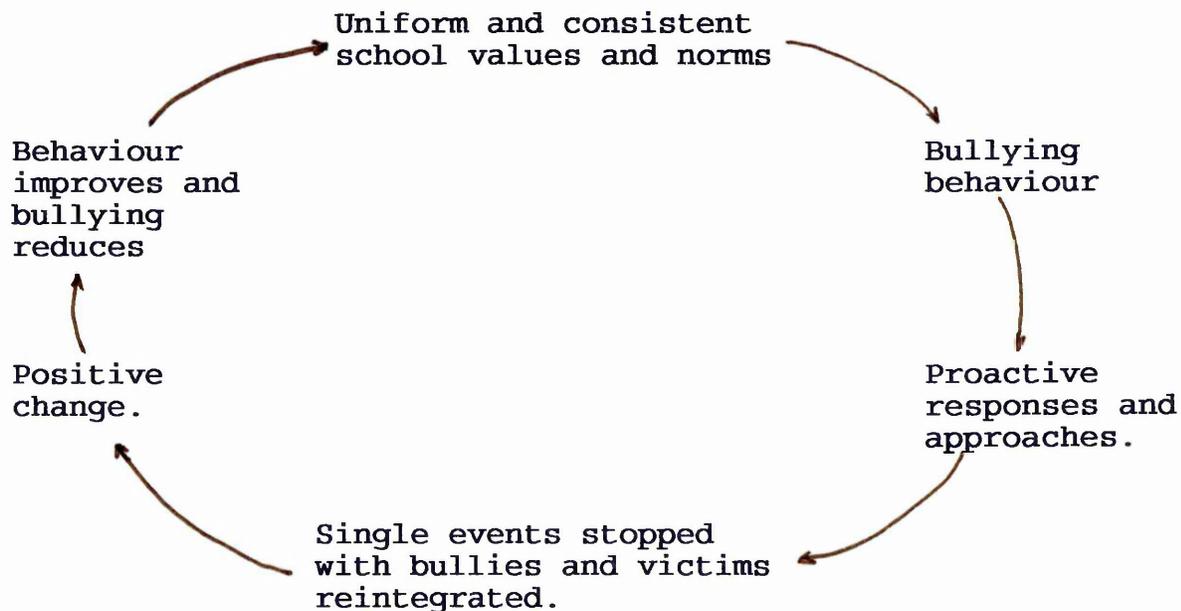
issue and, for example, start by re-defining bullying.

Additionally, many of the teachers in school are very experienced and have found ways of handling situations which work for them.

To have these shared would be another important step forward.

In promoting the promise and tell method one advantage is its step-like nature which allows teachers to be proactive. Knowing what next to do with pupil behavioural problems helps teachers from over-reacting, particularly with bullies. Bullying can be emotive and powerful feelings of anger and frustration can easily overtake the calmness which is so important for the promise and tell approach. The checklist system and list of strategies to deal with both name-calling and bullying among pupils should further enable teachers to plan and work with them assertively and authoritatively. This moves the previous non-effective reactionary model (p 82) and crisis management of bullying to a proactive model with improved change and eventual routinization.

TABLE TWENTY FIVE **The cyclical effect with proactive management of bullying.**



Mr Jackson (App 1 p 4) questions whether the model can work to eliminate bullying. It is presently at a theoretical stage and yet to be introduced to the teachers. The model is more positive and empowering and clearly shows the improvements which can be made provided staff work together in a uniform and consistent way. Implementing this model is a long-term objective which implies that improvements to the ethos of the school will emerge. Other advantages of applying the model to practice include:

- 1 Enables adults to be proactive.
- 2 Decision making is more authoritative.
- 3 Consistent for adults and pupils
- 4 Easy to understand and follow.
- 5 Will fit an existing positive school ethos.
- 6 Recording events is minimal.

Management and the issue of bullying.

Besag (1989, p 96) identifies three main pre-requisites for the creation of a successful anti-bullying policy.

- 1 Recognition; that there is a problem.
- 2 Openness; the creation of an open atmosphere in school
- 3 Ownership; involvement in the formulation giving a vested interest in its success.

In helping schools accommodate the changes brought about by the Education Reform Act (1988), the DES (1989, pp 4-5) clearly promote cyclical development for all the planning in schools involving audits, consultation and evaluation. The DES suggest "a new partnership" between governors and teachers indicating a general move towards the participatory style of management which affects the organisation and its ethos.

This is a cycle of recognition, investigation, consultation, implementation, evaluation and modification. Implicit within this structure is a style of management in schools which will allow this to happen. Clearly, not all schools are managed in the same way. Outside experts on bullying cannot assume a participatory and open style of management with planning and evaluation processes which lead cyclically to planned change. This tends to oversimplify the problems related to change. Collective change is the sum total of the changes each individual is prepared to make in obtaining an agreed goal. The group is the agent for change. What is sad is that the style of management at Baden Road School is congruent with cyclical development and on this basis the 1991 anti-bullying policy should have succeeded. Mr Jackson (App 1 p 5) is adamant that the failure was due in the main to problems brought about by the 1992 amalgamation (op cit) of the infant and junior schools.

The Anti-Bullying Policy and the need for a renewed impetus.

A new initiative is needed which will re-assess, re-develop and administer more carefully an improved policy with better chances in the future of becoming routine practice in school. The term "practice" in this case is threefold:

- 1 It is about Management practice; the capacity of teachers to acknowledge and accept that there is a whole-school problem requiring a team solution which successfully transmits policy into practice.
- 2 It is about the need to develop the knowledge, professional skills and proactive approaches which deal uniformly, directly, sensitively and consistently with bullies and victims. This practice should administer effectively to their short-term and long-term needs.

3 It is about practices which create an ambiance in school; an anti-bullying climate where pupils as well as teachers and parents are mutually bound in a positive cultural model and moral framework in structured and unstructured time.

Mr Jackson (App 1 p 4) feels that these are already in place. However, regenerating the issue of bullying with reference to the curriculum, attitudes and play, as they were during the Sheffield project, should affect everyone during structured and unstructured pupil time. Mr Jackson (App 1 p 4) points out that the present behaviour policy does just this. If this can be done with a behaviour policy why does it not happen specifically for bullying? After all, the ultimate aim is to convert an anti-bullying policy into an anti-bullying school. Without such a framework, and while different teachers react in different ways, a child who breaks the understanding knows that what happens next is negotiable. Bullies and disruptive children develop expert reasons which can sideline the real issue and avoid the problem.

Yet Mr Jackson (App 1 p 5) reveals that in consultation with the eighteen teachers to prioritise needs only the teacher/researcher identified bullying as a high priority. Five thought bullying to be a low priority. Mr Jackson states:

"That's the problem with "democracy." (sic) Not everyone agrees with you."

In view of the evidence presented in this case, Mr Jackson's point goes to re-affirm the problem of disassociation, that because much bullying tends not to influence the classroom, teachers tend not do anything about it until cases arise.

Negotiating whole-school involvement will mean developing a commitment to identifying needs and the importance of an anti-bullying school before attempting a draft policy. This means getting a clear understanding of the implications should the issue be avoided and the benefits to the school of implementing change. The DfE (1994, p 11) contend that unless everyone in the school has discussed and understood the problem of bullying and come to a consensus view about what is good and bad practice in relation to it, it is unlikely that any system for tackling bullying behaviour will be effectively implemented. Elliott (1991, p 65) claims there is absolutely no doubt that teachers hold the key to the successful prevention and treatment of bullying.

Roles and responsibilities.

In dealing with bullying it is important to think about the authority structure of a school. The 'arm' of any authority structure, claim Katz and Kahn (1966, p 326) is its system of rewards and punishments. The legitimate use of that system rests upon the majority's acceptance of the differing degrees of power attached to the various positions of the personnel. Dealing with bullying at the management level "power" in the bureaucratic sense is likely to be counter-productive. Even in the initiating structure model, Yukl (1991 p 259), the concept of rewards and punishments is propositional upon the assumed power of those able to decide on which rewards and punishments to use and when to apply them.

It seems sensible to perceive schools as communities where members feel that their contributions are important which rely on authority rather than power. Provided everyone concerned is party to and responsible for their development, rewards and punishment can be agreed. The responsibility is to develop clear and simple rules which everybody understands and a system of consequences; both rewards and punishments which are perceived by the greater majority as fair, provided they are applied consistently. Given the opportunity to make real choices, pupils of junior age are individuals capable of making intelligent choices about the rules which affect them. Mr Jackson (App 1 p 4) identifies the role of the school council (App 13) in developing this sense of community and belonging. Having a sense of ownership with the certainty of what the consequences will be, pupils are more likely to observe the rules. If as a team, teachers raise their expectations, children will match their behaviours to meet them. It is only then that a school can start to become an anti-bullying school supported by an anti-bullying policy.

School must take responsibility for developing clear and simple rules which are outlined in a bullying policy. While not every eventuality can be catered in the policy, bullying behaviour should be clearly disseminated to pupils as inappropriate and unacceptable. Any rules need transmitting for pupils to learn. They are wasted hidden in a policy. Children can only follow rules which they understand. This in turn allows pupils to take responsibility, it empowers them with choice. If pupils choose to bully [or mis-behave in other ways] then others, including pupils will not cooperate or condone the behaviour by doing

nothing. If the rules are understood to be part of an automatic, non-negotiable system, a child who breaks the rules has chosen the consequences. It will also become acceptable to tell.

These are whole-school preventative measures and may be counter to the spirit of the promise and tell method which is supportive. Mr Jackson (App 1 p 4) links this too with behaviours other than bullying. Having to use strategies to help bullies and victims means that there is a problem in the first place. The strength of this whole-school approach lies not in the severity of punishment. It has been suggested already that punitive action dissuades bullies from talking. Its power is in the clarity and consistency of understanding for everyone about behaviour and the consequences. School-based policy should provide the uniform framework balanced between the needs of the school to reduce bullying and the needs of bullies and victims.

Getting the issue of bullying on the agenda.

Bullying is just one of a number of sixty or seventy planned initiatives to implement in addition to the new 1995 Curriculum Orders. The management of planning in school is in the same position as it was in 1991. Curriculum issues still dominate the time given for review and evaluation and the senior management team decided bullying was part of the pupil development section (App 2 p 1). But now, instead of a one year plan, the school development plan (App 2) is now a three year plan and, for the first time includes bullying. However, Mr Jackson (App 1 p 5) points out that the vast majority of agenda priorities are

determined by members of staff after full consultation (re participatory management.) At the same time, whole-school planning and staff meetings are still geared to reviewing curriculum. The non-priority by the teachers given to bullying (op cit) and its place in the development plan exempts it from becoming a whole-school issue. To get bullying at this level onto the present agenda appears to be at least one year hence. Otherwise any initiative for change will become an additional intervention as it was in 1991.

This is now even less likely since an inspection team declared that there is no bullying in the school. As has been reported in chapter one this is simply not true. To maintain an impetus, management might consider using a checklist developed to monitor the progress of policy making to complete the cycle. This will have several advantages including;

- 1 keeping a check on individual policy development,
- 2 taking policy making into a full cycle,
- 3 closer monitoring by management of practice.

The policy making checklist has been designed by the teacher/ researcher to provide an overview of policy making for managers and management teams of schools.

The checklist for management in policy making.

TABLE TWENTY SIX STAGES OF POLICY MAKING

		<u>Audit</u>	<u>Planning</u>	<u>Implement</u>	<u>Review</u>
<u>Policy</u>	<u>Date</u>				

For this checklist to be effective, the role and responsibilities for monitoring policy implementation must be clear. Management is responsible for monitoring the implementation of issues other than curriculum. Presently in school, curriculum coordinators are expected increasingly to monitor the implementation by teachers of subject policy into classroom practice. It is then incumbent upon the management to gather the evidence which shows that this is actually happening. Without systematic monitoring of policy implementation, seen as vital by Mr Jackson (App 1 p 4) schools cannot be sure that policy is being translated into practice. The complete failure to implement the 1991 Baden Road anti-bullying policy is testament to this. However, Mr Jackson (App 1 p 4) disagrees with this and refers again to the problems brought about by the 1992 school amalgamation.

Not all bullying is dealt with at this level. It is often in unpredictable circumstances where decisions are made in situ by those who respond. How teachers and supervisors deal with school bullying reflects on the authority of those charged with it.

Teachers as bullies.

Basically, teachers are the mediating authority between the school and the pupil. What teachers do is critical to the degrees of success or failure of authority. It has been recognised that teachers are a major role model for children. How teachers behave is fundamental to the way children respond.

It is well documented in chapter 1 of this study that in order to control them some teachers abuse this power and bully pupils. Teachers who single out pupils for harsh, punitive abuse accentuate the problem in various ways. Macdonald (1989, p 127) concluded that if force dominates the way students and teachers relate to each other it is highly likely that it will also become the prevalent tone in relationships between students. Second, when harassed by teachers, pupils have little chance to redress the problem which can lead to a disdain for school life. If nothing is done to help, another effect can emerge as a silent hatred of the teacher. Third, Macdonald (1989, p 127) observed that teachers who dominate provide a strong role model for potential bullies particularly if it is an all boys school.

Responding to bullying behaviour is particularly difficult for children but especially so if the bully happens to be a teacher. The coercive sort of power applied to pupils by adults in schools is almost reflective of the kind bullies apply to victims. Besag (1989, p 27) concedes that most definitions of bullying involve the idea of an uneven distribution of power, with the powerful bully confirming domination over the powerless victim. This includes social power. Wachtel (1973, p 28) proposes that bullies attempt and choose to demonstrate their dominance over victims where they may best be observed by their peers. McClelland (1975, p 28) suggests this is a socialized power where the motive is to strongly influence the group. Included in bullying behaviour is the evidence of the need for two forms of personalized power. There is the "power over" which gives the bully the feeling of

winning and there is the resulting and continuing licence to use power-oriented techniques to dominate a person.

For those schools whose authority is based on power-coercive strategies, McCormick and James (1984, p 27), the dilemma is twofold. First, there is the problem of reinforcement, the parallel behaviour model of teachers upon which bullies recognise and align their own power. Sadly, over time, a cognitive change seems to occur in bullies who begin to believe that their actions are warranted. Perhaps this is also true of teacher behaviours towards pupils. Besag (1989, p 107) believes that teachers are models for the young who note details of attitude and behaviour and respond accordingly.

The second problem is that this has a direct effect upon pupil-teacher relationships. A strong, stable, positive pupil-teacher relationship based on mutual trust, respect and empathy, Rogers (1983, pp 170 - 172), is a better pre-requisite for the young to seek help than one which is based on dominance and fear. Victims of bullying, already vulnerable and exposed, can begin to believe that they deserve the attacks. Their ability to ask for help in school is based on effective communication, (Pikas 1987, p 115). It is likely that a victim of bullying has been threatened by the bully not to tell. Under this threat many victims remain silent. Smith and Sharp (1994), Tattum and Lane (1989) and Besag (1989) recognise that a victim is even less likely to approach teachers in schools where coercive control is the model. This can give pupils, particularly less assertive pupils, the impression of aloof, unfriendly and unapproachable teachers.

There is no evidence of outside agencies asking school children in open questionnaires if their teachers bully them. However, this case is an exception. The dual role of teacher as researcher afforded the opportunity to discuss informally with colleagues the controversial issue of teachers as bullies. When asked directly if teachers bullied one participant teacher refused to answer any questions about it. However, another participant teacher (App 7, pp 3 - 4) from Baden Road said:

"Yes, unwittingly sometimes. I'm sure we do. I mean looking back at it I can think of a teacher that bullied me and I'm sure I've done the same thing. I know I'm wrong to do it but you don't think about it until afterwards. What you've said or done could be mis-read or mis-understood by a child that has seen us. A child wouldn't call it bullying but it probably is."

The third pointed out that coercion is a necessary part of teaching, to make children learn but we have to stop ourselves from bullying them. Teachers don't bully pupils consciously but pressure is applied and sometimes this is demonstrated when teachers shout at pupils. One said that there is no satisfaction in shouting at children. If a teacher has good reason to shout and has thought it out it is not intended to bully. The problem is one of reaction. However, as many teachers know, shouting at children can be spontaneous and not thought out.

The dilemma is not what teachers do but how pupils interpret the behaviour. There is bullying as teachers see it and bullying as pupils perceive it. The two are not necessarily the same. One teacher thought that some children definitely see some teachers

as bullies. Children can feel they are being bullied without actually calling it bullying. But, primary children tend not to consider intent but judge bullies by the forms they use. There was no evidence from the case data which suggested that any teacher at Baden Road School deliberately and intentionally set out to bully pupils. This though does not prevent pupils from viewing some teacher behaviour differently. However, in the wider field, such as the work done by Macdonald (op cit), there is good reason to believe that some teachers do still abuse children beyond that which is reasonably expected to keep order and in the pursuit of better standards. It must be acknowledged here though that with a curriculum which is relevant, purposeful and meaningful to pupils many of the aggressive measures taken by teachers to discipline pupils would disappear.

Teachers, bullying, innovation and change.

Assuming this stance to be right and proper, some teachers would need to reflect upon their curriculum delivery as well as their child management practices. Whether the change would be innovatory depends upon present practice. Naturally, teachers whose practice is closely in accord with what is to be suggested will find the transition easier. Conversely, where experience conflicts, partly or wholly with the nature of the changes, those teachers will require some creativeness. For the latter it may be innovatory. Hoyle (1980, p 28) argues that innovation and change are bound up with reversing the usual trends. It is individuals who are creative. If a school is to adopt responsible

ideas from individuals and make collective sense of them then a flexible but accountable structure must exist to support this.

Even assuming that an innovation is appropriate, resistance to change can be a real problem. Those teachers whose traditions merit continuing in the way they always have done find difficulty in accommodating changes which other teachers seem to find easy. In the end the staff need to believe in the innovation if it is to succeed. Hence any internal, non-statutory innovation cannot be imposed. Change in practice is more likely to succeed when the group works collaboratively for it is the group which is the agent of change. In the end, it is the proportion of individuals who believe in and consent to try an innovation and then to make it routine which indicates its success.

The teachers' interest and conviction in this case is seen at two levels. There are short-term changes including regenerating interest, defining bullying and trying the promise and tell method with victims and bullies. There are long-term changes which will affect curriculum, the medium by which interest and knowledge can be maintained. There are changes to pupil-teacher relationships which improve the chances that the school will become a telling school. Presently, as the case study suggests, children are more likely to tell someone at home about being bullied at school than they are a teacher.

Some teachers in school are willing to research their practice rigorously in attempts to improve it. This is evident from the four members of staff from ten who have recently taken In-Service

degree courses. Walker (1985, p 3) maintains that as teaching has become more professionalised and the management of educational organisations more systematized, so 'research' has increasingly become something that teachers are expected to include in their repertoire of skills. The needs are usually in relation to an immediate concern for the teacher. Teachers, claims Walker (1985 p 4) do not need the expertise of a social scientist to review curriculum, evaluate practice, analyse the management structure, interpret and assess documentation or make effective use of outside resources.

These teachers would fit Hoyle's (op cit) classification of the extended professional who works in a broader educational context, evaluating and assessing practice introspectively and changing working practices according to theory as well as practice. Applied to bullying, these teachers would expect to monitor, modify and change and improve practice building a repertoire of strategies grounded in theory.

This notion is beset with problems least of which is the enormity of the task in persuading many teachers that research helps practice. Research at Baden Road School has not yet made any significant impact upon the management structure or planning in school. Now that the problem of bullying at Baden Road School has some theory to underpin preventative and interventionist measures, the implementation of policy by teachers into practice now stands a better chance of acceptance. However, this practice would need to be encapsulated as part of a whole-school anti-bullying regime.

Whether the restricted professional would accept this depends upon a number of factors including style of management, mutual collegiate responsibilities and cooperation. Experts seem to assume teachers are reflective practitioners and keen to change whatever needs changing. It should not be assumed that all school-based research leads to change and that a teacher will become a better teacher by it. There are factors in schools other than research which can facilitate or constrain change.

There is formal teacher appraisal, the aim of which in Sheffield is the development of teacher knowledge and skills. Mr Jackson (App 1 p 5) points out that this was piloted and evaluated by the Cambridge Institute for Education, the CIE (1989) which reported the results to the National Steering Group, the NSG in 1989. Despite a National Union of Teachers (NUT, 1989) dispute and an Advisory Conciliation and Arbitration Service (ACAS, 1986) intervention, teacher appraisal has become an expectation even though it is under-funded as Mr Jackson (App 1 p 5) points out. More recently in 1996, Woodhead, the Chief Inspector has argued that appraisal isn't working because the process is too secretive and there is little evidence that practice is improving by it. Mr Jackson (App 1 p 4) re-emphasises his view that the under-funding is the primary cause of any failure in teacher appraisal.

Change to professional practice comes also from experience, INSET and from a consensus within school. Hoyle (1980, p 29) recognises that teachers perceive their professional boundaries differently. Those teachers not seeking to extend their professionalism restrict teaching to classroom-based experience where changes in

practice are less likely. Unencumbered by theory and not given to comparing work with that of others, the restricted professional is classed by Hoyle (op cit) as inventive but within the context of the classroom. In this context bullying would be dealt with independently and intuitively using situational analysis as the means to a solution. This would not satisfy a whole-school approach and inconsistencies in the management of bullying could most likely confuse staff and pupils.

While Hoyle's model disentangles a complex structure it does illuminate the dichotomy. His classification shows that with encouragement and support, teachers can evaluate, assess and change practice using research. The reality is more complex. Teachers do evaluate and assess practice but do not always provide tangible evidence to support this. With minimal or no research, unwritten cumulative findings where teachers negotiate and agree can be a basis of change. Intuitive deduction, mutual agreements among colleagues and verbal situational analysis become the precursor to many subsequent but subtle developments in teaching which go entirely unrecorded.

Reflective practice allows colleagues to judge the status quo and assimilate innovation about practice but does not necessarily accommodate change. It can have no consequences at all, can make minor changes to practice and for primary teachers is probably limited to the year group in which they teach. Evidence for this is based mainly on experience, intuition and the responsiveness of the pupils present in that particular year group. It is change as a response to localised conditions from within each teacher's

classroom. With increasing pressures on teachers and schools to manage their own affairs, this is probably a very common approach to the development of smaller changes to practice.

For those who effectively research their practice, Hoyles' (op cit) classification does not suggest ways for teachers to implement change. Change is notoriously complex. The 1989, 1991 and 1995 National Curriculum Orders gave teachers no option but to change by degrees curriculum content. Within the statutory curriculum requirements change is only negotiable in terms of the interpretation of a prescribed knowledge base. The Orders (op cit) in no way affect how teachers should teach. Bullying is an issue which can effect the way teachers teach and children learn. Macdonald (op cit) found that several teachers at Burnage School bullied their pupils in one form or another. Teachers as bullies is perhaps the most sensitive issue of all. There is no point in challenging bullying among pupils with the slightest hint of hypocrisy about it among teachers.

The dissemination of information.

There are two final problems to solve. First is the problem of how to disseminate the evidence from this thesis to teachers without impinging too deeply on the professional demands already made on them. The teacher/researcher believes the promise and tell approach including the behaviour checklist system of helping bullies and victims provides the strategies necessary for the teachers of Baden Road School to challenge the issue confidently and authoritatively and actually saves time.

If this case is to have any chance of acceptance it will need a coordinating by management for the teachers. The participant teachers were strongly in favour of this. Additionally, teachers should recognise that name-calling among pupils may be an indicator of their tolerance. Reducing name-calling in school by means other than punitive sanctions should improve the ethos and at the same time reduce bullying behaviour. Ironically, should this happen then there will be little use for the promise and tell method of dealing with bullies and victims. The reduction of bullying in school is a problem in itself, for how does one maintain awareness of something which has become less evident?

The second problem is one of wider dissemination to teachers generally. There are few published accounts of evaluations carried out by teachers, particularly with respect to follow-up activities according to McCormick and James (1984, p 101). A few case-studies are emerging in Britain, including the Ford Teaching Project (1975), the Cambridge Project (1981) and Holt (1981). However, Stenhouse (1982, p 140) points out that many school-based case studies and evaluations are available as degree theses and dissertations but they are not easily accessible to those with an interest in them. McCormick and James (1984, p 104) are concerned that there are so few published accounts of school evaluations for other schools to use.

Guba and Lincoln (1981, preface six) assert that the failure to use evaluation findings has assumed the proportions of a national (USA) scandal. They suggest such failure is laid in ignorance, laziness or political sidestepping by responsible decision

makers. Another explanation of this failure simply shows the poverty of traditional evaluations, which are likely to fail precisely because they do not begin with the concerns and issues of their actual audience. They produce information which is perhaps significant but does not generate truly worthwhile knowledge. This case attempts to counter this criticism simply because bullying is a whole-school problem.

There is also the problem of a time lag between the presentation of research results and when the schools needs to know. With so many pressing issues to be considered in schools, the research of a problem or issue would need careful planning where results coincided with the planned initiative. As in this case, larger tightly-framed school-based research projects can take years to complete. In this respect the forward planning in schools promoted by the use of a development plan might prove useful to future research projects.

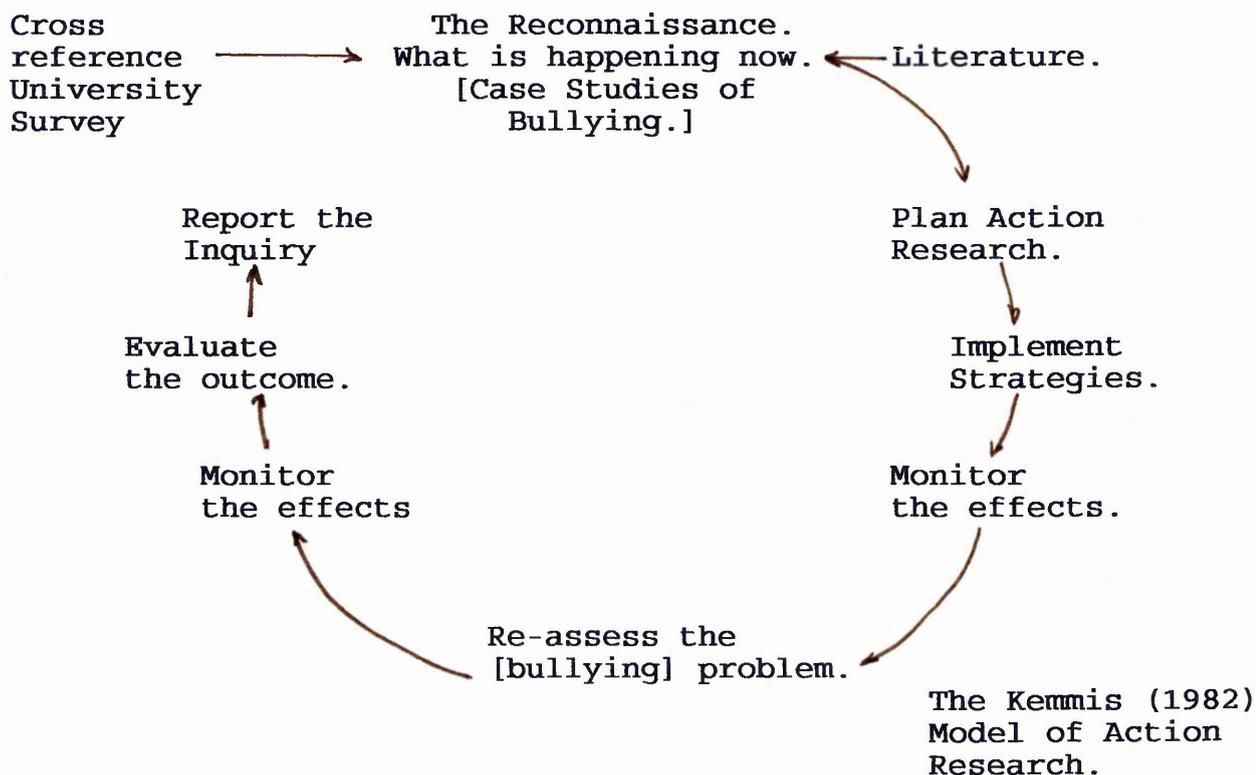
Walker (1985, p 10) claims it is crucial that part of the research responsibility is to identify the audience on a continuum from the writer to mainstream publishing. Even though Mellor (1991, p 93) advises that caution must be used in making general assumptions from findings when the sample is small, one aim is that this thesis will become accessible to a wider audience. The practical suggestions have been designed by a teacher for teachers and in this respect should be transferable and useful particularly to primary schools and teachers engaged in tackling bullying.

Although this is a single- site study it should be relevant to those in school including the headteacher, governors, parents and staff of Baden Road School. Other audiences will include

- 1 examiners in fulfilment of this Ph.D. thesis,
- 2 other schools involved in a similar process.

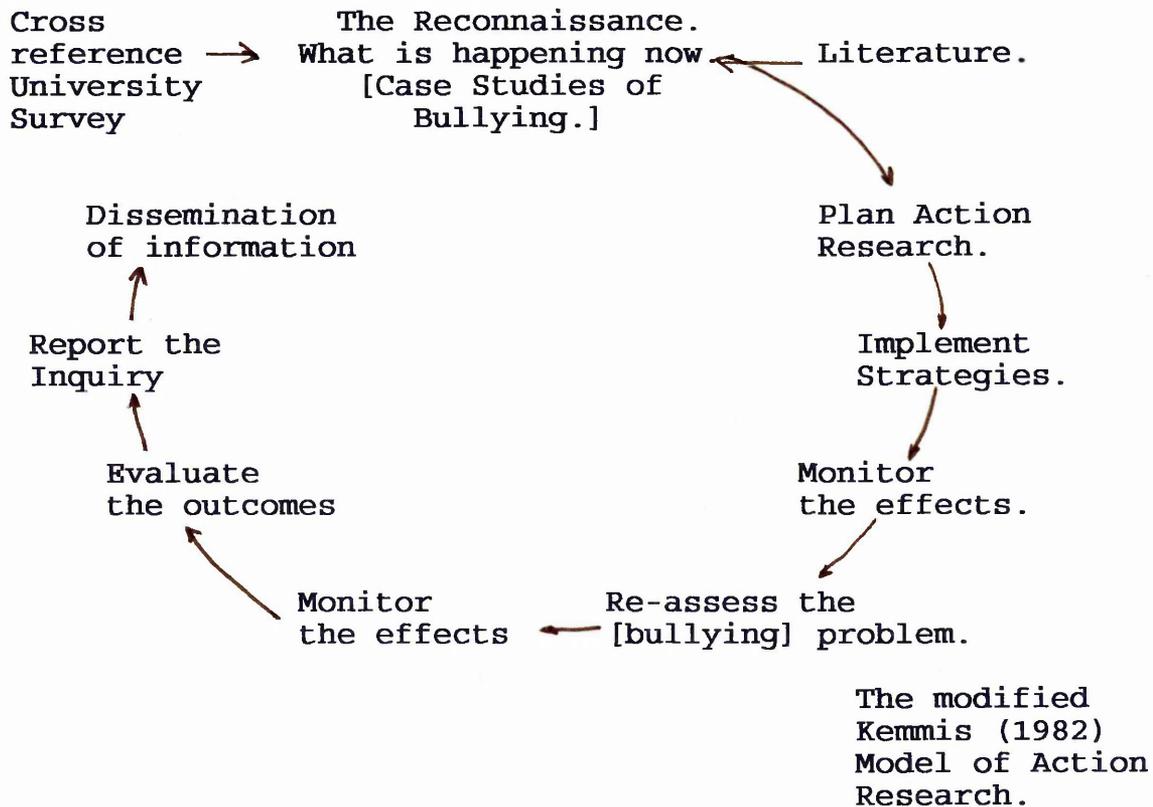
The thesis should not simply be used as a post-graduate academic paper. It should be an agent for change. Appropriate articles from this case could prove useful to other schools about management strategies, implementation of an anti-bullying policy and/or bully/victim management. The present Kemmis (1982, p 196) research cycle does not include dissemination of information:

TABLE TWENTY SEVEN FROM: EDUCATIONAL ACTION RESEARCH METHOD.



Modifying the Kemmis model would raise the expectation of teacher researchers to share relevant findings. This could be at the micro-level of in-school meetings and workshops with colleagues and at a more general level within the profession.

TABLE TWENTY NINE TO: EDUCATIONAL ACTION RESEARCH METHOD AND DISSEMINATION.



At the macro-level one would be exploring the possibilities of publishing. This is flawed with the same problems of time, though if time has been devoted to the investigation then it follows that time can be given to publishing. In the event, publishing would be aimed at a specific audience rather than a general readership. The difficulty, as Walker (1985, p 10) identifies, is to revise the style of presentation and format used for dissertation purposes into a generally acceptable form.

Authorities, advocates and facilitators of school-based research have yet to address these problems with their students.

The rhetoric is easy; to say that knowledge will be shared with colleagues in other schools is flippant. It is difficult enough for teachers to escape the professional responsibilities which occupy so much time in teaching, learning through INSET, pupil-teacher relationships and classroom management. Secondly, this institutionalisation prevents teachers from knowing precisely which schools would benefit. The general and practical nature of the strategies and models provided in this thesis should at least make this more probable.

Further Research.

Emanating from this thesis were a number of issues which would be better served with further research. The Kemmis model (op cit) may well be a useful research design for some of them. Inquiries could include:

- 1 When bullying is examined, which has the greater effect on schools and teachers; outsider or insider research?
- 2 More insider-research into bullying in schools.
- 3 Seeking correlative evidence which may connect bullying with larger class sizes.
- 4 Further research into bullying which may be a direct consequence of the formation of gangs at Baden Road School.
- 5 The transition from teasing to bullying.

- 6 How children learn to differentiate between teasing and bullying.
- 7 Finding out whether in reality bullies are physically stronger than their victims or whether it is a perception developed by the victims which gives the bully a psychological advantage.
- 8 Tests of the physical strength of bullies compared with that of non-bullies.
- 9 What makes some children more vulnerable than others to name-calling?
- 10 A large-scale national survey of name-calling and its effects on the ethos of schools.
- 11 The possibility of a relationship between the names used to downgrade victims and the other forms of bullying then used to over-power them.
- 12 Further research into the effect of name-calling on victims.
- 13 The effectiveness of the home/school partnership and bullying.
- 14 Further research in a number of primary schools willing to use the promise and tell technique combined with use of the checklist system and to monitor their effectiveness.
- 15 Further action research to identify even better strategies to help victims and bullies.
- 16 Developing strategies which help younger children who bully and are bullied.
- 17 Identification of the best methods by which lunch time supervisors can learn and use behaviour management techniques.
- 18 Teachers as bullies.

SUMMARY OF THE MAJOR POINTS.

The theories within this thesis emerged from an investigation into bullying and name-calling at Baden Road Primary School. The teacher/researcher believes that during the course of the inquiry the following points have been substantiated. Those in bold are theoretical. In summary these are:

Child Development and Bullying Behaviour.

1. The term "bullying" can apply only to those whose cognitive development allows them to understand and be aware of intent.
- 2 Many children do not think that their aggressive behaviour can be bullying but see it as a problem which emerges from others

Language and Bullying.

3. Without to need for syntactical development combined with mono-syllabic form makes many defamatory words easy for very young children to learn.
4. There are no corresponding positive antonyms to match and counter the use by children of negative defamatory language.
5. Language used by bullies plays a major role in the creation of and solutions to bullying behaviour.
6. There is a structure which junior children use to determine whether or not a child called names is later bullied.
7. While most name-calling is inoffensive, according to children, the demise of a child because of it is the responsibility of the victim.
8. During name-calling it is the difference between the intention of the caller and the interpretation of the called which causes much bullying to emerge.
9. Of all the forms of bullying, name-calling is the most common with which children find most difficulty in coming to terms.

Tolerance.

10. There is a direct link between name-calling, toleration and bullying.
11. Name-calling can be interpreted as an indicator of the level of toleration which people display.
12. The assessment of and response to name-calling among children can centre on tolerance.

Schools and Teachers.

13. As role models, whenever teachers generally use power-coercive strategies to control pupils a sense of hypocrisy will prevail and create rather than reduce much bullying among pupils.
14. The control of bullying by schools which continue to use crisis-management strategies will be unable to start to solve the problem.
15. Like disruptive behaviour, if bullying behaviour is to be minimised, schools need to organise a system where responsibility for the behaviour remain with the perpetrator.
16. Unlike many other school policies, an anti-bullying policy will succeed only if the people it effects, namely parents, pupils and teachers are party to its development.
17. A participatory style of management combined with a cyclical approach to the investigation of issues is well suited to the development and planning among teachers of approaches which counter bullying behaviour.
18. Bullying behaviour can be minimised in schools provided sound, proactive and uniform preventative and interventionist measures are in place.
19. Provided appropriate strategies are used by teachers, victims can be made safe from further bullying.
20. Schools which reduce name-calling will see a commensurate reduction in bullying behaviour.

RECOMMENDATIONS .

The following recommendations are based upon the inquiry into bullying, name-calling and their management at Baden Road Primary School. The recommendations are single-spaced and typed in bold.

The Government's Role.

Legislating against bullying can proceed more easily only if the term can be defined. Experts differ on whether or not bullying can be defined. Those that do subscribe to different definitions and persist that the term is vague and has no boundaries will confound any moves by Government to find legal solutions.

Experts on bullying should work carefully to produce an agreed definition.

The Government appear to have no intention of legislating against bullying but many of the associated behaviours correspond closely with those which constitute common assault and battery.

The Government should consider merging the term bullying with common assault and battery.

Parents and victims of bullying seeking legal redress against bullies should do so by focussing on common assault and battery.

Since the implementation of the Education Act 1988 schools are now responsible for the behaviour of their pupils including those who bully. Presently, LEAs have little power to intervene. Without such power they can offer little support to schools but are expected increasingly to finance and support pupils permanently excluded for such behaviour as disruption and bullying.

The Government should seek to reintroduce those powers to LEAs where, as an additional step, services can support teachers with strategies and facilities to help disruptive pupils, particularly bullies.

Through public and media pressure the Government sponsored a large-scale survey about bullying in some Sheffield primary and secondary schools. A 1994 DfE publication for schools followed but the advice was for schools to work against bullying. This can encourage a reactive response by teachers to the problem.

In future the Government should advise schools to promote anti-bullying ethics and positive solutions to any bullying which exists.

Since 1994, little has been done to evaluate the success of the publication (op cit).

Recognising that once finished, outsider surveys of schools have the tendency to lose impetus, the Government should now seek information about the 1990 - 1992 Sheffield project's influence nationally.

Litigation against teachers is increasing, some as a result of abusing pupils. Many teachers are now not willing to compromise their legal position by stopping pupils physically as a result of aggressive behaviour. There are occasions when the only way to deal with cases of fights and bullying is by separating the culprit from the victim; but with what authority?

The Government should seek to clarify the authority of the teacher.

The Role of the School and Governors.

Schools which believe that pupils can look after themselves are failing all those children who through no fault of their own are vulnerable to bullying. It is not failure for schools to accept that there might be a problem.

Schools that do nothing to counter bullying because they believe pupils should be able to stand up for themselves, should reconsider their position.

Schools which do nothing about bullying because of the fear of developing a reputation as 'a bullying school,' and pretend that bullying is not a problem are misguided. Most parents want their children to be happy and contented at school and prefer to see that something is being done to protect them from bullying.

Schools should recognise that their reputations in the community are more likely to be positive when preventative action is seen to be taken and interventions are there to solve problems.

Crisis management where bullying is dealt with by teachers unilaterally may temporarily halt single cases of bullying but will not prevent bullying from happening in the future. Such diverse methods confuse pupils and parents, fail to address the real problems and cannot begin to identify the root causes. In these circumstances, the extent of bullying tends to escalate.

Schools should recognise that bullying dealt with by teachers unilaterally in an ad-hoc way is crisis-management and as a system is unsatisfactory.

If crisis-management of bullying is inadequate it follows that schools should have an agreed system to counter it.

Every school should seek to prioritise and give adequate time to the development and implementation of an anti-bullying policy.

Pupils and parents are likely to have perspectives on bullying which vary from those of teachers. Information from them can make a valuable contribution to policy development. An effective system is one in which people contribute to its development and seek to make sure that it is successful.

In the development of an anti-bullying policy, it is incumbent upon management to provide the resources including time for the collation of material from the different perspectives of those likely to be affected by such a policy.

Agreed aims which are easy to understand and simple to follow which can be put into practice should be part of an anti-bullying policy. The policy should include a definition appropriate to the school as well as ways of prevention and intervention.

An anti-bullying policy should include:

- 1 A definition of bullying
- 2 Ways of reducing name-calling.
- 3 Ways in which the whole school can prevent bullying.
- 4 Agreed interventions to manage victims and bullies.

In preventing bullying, schools first needs to accept that as children come from a variety of home backgrounds, some of which endorse aggressive behaviour, there is likely to be at least one incoming bully. By giving pupils real choices from an early age schools can encourage pupils to be responsible for their own behaviour.

Management and teachers should not under-estimate the age at which bullying behaviour first occurs and should be aware of the potential for bullying as children start school.

Schools should adopt ways [perhaps those described in chapter eight] where children are empowered with responsibility for their own behaviour.

The issue of bullying can be adapted to the curriculum in many ways and dealt with out of context from real cases of bullying in a non-threatening, informative and enjoyable way. To introduce and maintain the impetus, schools should seek to plan ways of including the issue of bullying for different levels of sophistication in assemblies, mathematical surveys, drama, speaking and listening, poetry, literature, personal and social education and topics such as 'Myself.'

Schools should seek within the National Curriculum framework to plan and implement a series of progressively sophisticated activities which become routine, dedicated to raising awareness of bullying among pupils and shows it to be unacceptable, inappropriate and unwarranted behaviour.

With such a commitment bullying becomes an open subject. Eventually pupils can recognise the behaviour during unstructured time and bullies therefore can no longer hide their bullying from others. One recognised form is name-calling. In addition, if, as chapter six suggests, name-calling is an integral part of the complex development of bullying behaviour schools should consider developing strategies which will reduce it to a minimum.

Schools are strongly advised to introduce as routine the development of awareness about the damage name-calling can do to individuals and its effect on others. Pupils should be encouraged to use proper names to refer to each other in person.

In the event that some bullying occurs, 'telling' becomes morally acceptable and school should then seek to use appropriate interventions with victims and bullies.

Anti-bullying strategies will work effectively only if teachers agree to use a uniform intervention for the particular age group. Teachers who know what next to do avoid reacting to perpetrators and can deal with situations more calmly and proactively. For the reasons stated in chapter seven, the teacher/researcher believes the 'promise and tell' method is a system which can be usefully employed to help those Key Stage Two pupils aged seven to eleven years who are victims or bullies. The important outcomes are;

- 1 to rejuvenate the victim's self-esteem,
- 2 to give absolute assurances that bullies will not find out that the victim has told,
- 3 that the method is used for getting bullies to talk
- 4 that the checklist system is used to help victims [first] and bullies [second] sort out, sequence and prioritise the events.
- 5 that both victim and bully retain dignity and are then fully reintegrated back into the school and classroom.

Schools which consider adopting the promise and tell method should first agree that sanctions in the first instance are inappropriate.

This maintains a caring ethos, a calm school and a role model for teachers which is counter to the behaviour exhibited by bullies.

The Coordinator's Role.

In the coordination of the review and evaluation of bullying in school good communication and liaison with the participants is critical. As the ethos of a school is affected by bullying then everyone in school needs to be involved, but this makes the task more difficult.

Coordinators should first negotiate a reasonable time in which to collect and collate relevant material from the participants.

In negotiating time, plans should be made when teachers can review the present position and practice, consider other ideas and agree upon an action plan and has more chance of acceptance particularly by those who may have ignored the problem in the past. Further time should be allocated to examine two sets of strategies, those which prevent bullying in school and those which intervene with bullies and victims.

The coordinator should negotiate time when teachers can consider and agree upon the most appropriate preventative and interventionist methods and then find ways to monitor their implementation.

The Teacher's Role.

The intention of some teachers might be to coerce pupils towards

a goal but the pupil perception of that coercion might be quite different. Teachers who use power-coercive strategies to teach and discipline pupils tend to display intolerance and can hardly expect children then to behave tolerantly. In this case teachers should examine carefully the purposefulness, meaningfulness, relevance and delivery of the curriculum to which their pupils are exposed. Pupils interested in what they are doing usually behave well.

Teachers should recognise that their behaviour is a role model to pupils, refrain from using any kind of swearing, abusive or defamatory language in front of or towards pupils and should if necessary, review the delivery of curriculum as a practical way of improving behaviour.

While teachers might consider labelling a pupil in front of others inoffensive there is no way of assessing the sensitivities of the target pupil or the subsequent responses of other pupils. Invariably the act bolsters the position of the teacher among the group but downgrades the pupil. Unable to avoid the situation there is little pupils can do but hide their real feelings. As some children may be vulnerable to name-calling from other pupils already, the seriousness of the names used can become magnified and can escalate into persistent name-calling and bullying.

Teachers should refrain from using any word or phrase towards pupils likely to give other pupils the excuse and reason to make fun of them.

Teachers should use only the legitimate first and last names of pupils and should encourage pupils to do likewise of each other.

While much name-calling among pupils is inconsequential, nevertheless, if they complain, teachers should continue to listen carefully to what pupils have to say. Instances of name-calling among pupils could be the formative stages of bullying behaviour or even be part of a case of bullying.

Teachers should be aware that what may appear as trivial name-calling in the first instance may develop into or may be part of a more serious threat of bullying.

Non-teaching staff.

Non-teaching staff including lunch time supervisors need to be seen as members of the same team as teachers. In particular, the role of supervisors is important in ensuring lunch times are safe for all pupils. Only if they understand to some degree the play and activities of young children can they begin to supervise them consistently and appropriately.

All lunch time supervisors should be trained in child management strategies and taught techniques which help prevent and alleviate confrontational situations among pupils. A sound anti-bullying policy means teachers and all non-teaching staff are involved in implementing it.

Schools which adopt these recommendations and where the staff work uniformly, consistently and with authority are more likely to reduce bullying and make them safer places for pupils. The teacher/researcher believes that children who are contented, happy and secure in the knowledge that they can come to school and work in a calm, purposeful environment, free from the risk of being bullied, are more responsive and develop appropriate social skills simultaneously with improved academic learning outcomes.

Baden Road School Up-date. June 1997

It seems now that Baden Road School is no longer in need of any of these recommendations! A finding from a recent April 1997 inspection of the school states:

"There is no bullying in the school."

Fallacious! Using the promise and tell technique, cases of bullying were dealt with by the teacher/researcher prior to the inspection and have been since. More accurately the report should have stated that there was no bullying found during the week of the inspection. How the "official" inspectorate view of bullying will be used by the senior management of Baden Road School is open to conjecture. Sadly, while some bullying behaviour will continue to emerge in school, a whole-school review of the issue now seems even more unlikely. When will "bullying" reach the agenda?

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APPENDICES

This qualitative study produced a significant amount of data and analysed material. It would be inappropriate to submit all this. While the material specific to the argument is submitted, the remaining data is available upon request.

Appendix One	Validation Notes
Appendix Two	School Development Plans
Appendix Three	Lunch Time Supervisors Information
Appendix Four	Questionnaire Master Copies
Appendix Five	Completed Questionnaire Samples
Appendix Six	Interview Schedule
Appendix Seven	Interview Samples
Appendix Eight	Peer Nomination Sample
Appendix Nine	Pupil Case Studies
Appendix Ten	Parent and Teacher Questionnaire Results
Appendix Eleven	Pupil Questionnaire Results
Appendix Twelve	Y6 True Story Analysis
Appendix Thirteen	Pupil Council Meeting Minutes
Appendix Fourteen	The 1991 Anti-bullying Policy
Appendix Fifteen	Strategies for Help: Enid MacNeill

APPENDIX ONE

Validation Notes.

As this case was a single-site study it was important for the credibility of the case that participants were involved not only as people from which data was gathered but integrated into the development of this inquiry through to the final report.

a) Evaluation includes examining existing practice throughout the school (including resources)

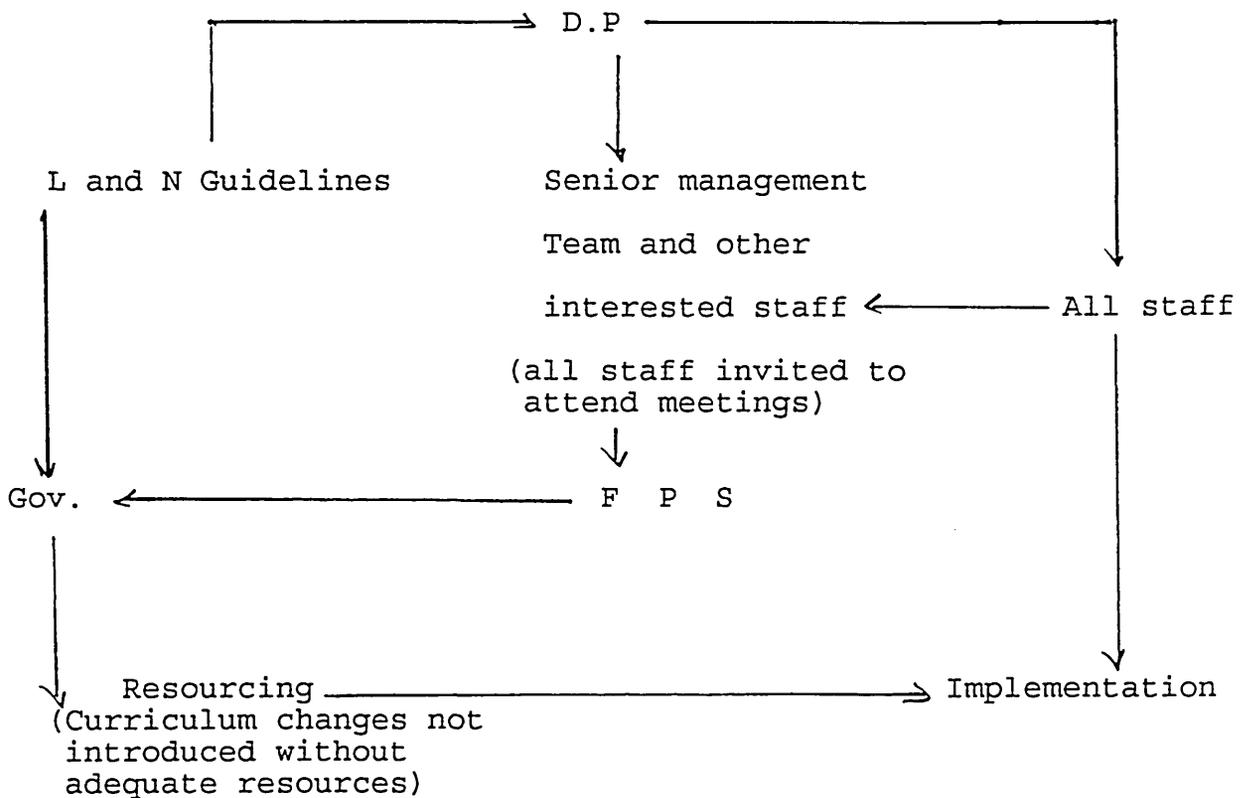
b) changes may not be formally monitored (as stated) but informal observations made particularly by the headteacher and teacher responsible for implementation (eg IJ and JD re science)

I would suggest: expectations of and unintended pressure from other staff.

All teachers were invited to attend meetings- never intended as an exclusive group. Some did depending on the subject under discussion.

Teachers were afforded the opportunity to be directly involved with the meetings.

I would suggest this table



The process:

Management present its findings/recommendations to all staff for full and open discussion

Finalise and make policy statement, in the light of comments, observations etc, following staff discussion.

Present to full staff for final acceptance

Present to governors - for their comments, observations (and eventual acceptance)

Provide copy for staff and governors

Technology?

Bullying to be part of PSE policy

".....classroom practice." This is an issue which remains to be addressed. In addition, there is no satisfactory means of evaluating success in terms of continuity and progression and monitoring children (satisfactorily) against N.C. requirements.

Mr Jackson

Headteacher.

Notes about the methods used to develop the case study.

I confirm that the following notes were generated from work with the data and its analysis.

Signed ... D. Jacques

Mrs Jacques Y6 class teacher.

I read several of the questionnaires from pupils, teachers and parents and can confirm that the data from these was used in the analysed material. I am surprised that so few teachers filled in their questionnaires.

I also read the transcript of the interview I had with Ian which was interesting.

Baden Road curriculum evaluation is of a cyclical nature and I can see this work on bullying fitting a similar pattern.

I was particularly interested in the method of indexing. All the groups of cards I looked at seemed to be in the right set. I then found these fitted sensibly into the case study.

Although I cannot remember exactly when, I do remember the days when we were asked to get children to do surveys about bullying.

TES : HEADTEACHER

- 7 1. How do you know that no other teacher has yet tried the "promise and tell method"? In their own way I would suggest that they have, possibly without knowing it! I certainly have adopted such an approach on many occasions though I hadn't necessarily realised I was adopting a particular strategy. *Later.*
- 8 2. It depends from which perspective things are viewed and when the teacher was asked (App7, p15). Was the reference to "bullying" or "behaviour"?
- 9 3. Ref to believing victim. Rather simplistic I think. Certainly one should not dis-believe them. But aren't a fair percentage of victims actually bullies themselves? Perhaps it would be better to keep an open mind in most cases.
- 0 4. I would suggest that a whole school agreement does exist and that it is implicit within the behaviour policy and the Home-School Partnership documents which were introduced following amalgamation in 1992. *This is post data-collection.*
- 2 5. I could produce a model which would (theoretically at least) eliminate bullying! The big question is would it work?!
- 3 6. Ref to fact that the 1991 anti-bullying policy should have succeeded. The fact that the policy failed to be fully implemented is, I would argue, in no way attributable to the style of management. That has been consistent throughout for many years. It was due to a consideration yet to be referred to in this particular section, amalgamation. The entire cyclic process was thrown into considerable disruption as "old" policies had to be abandoned/amalgamated/put on hold, in order to manage the more urgent needs of amalgamation as well as other changes which you do refer to e.g. National Curriculum changes. Another important point to remember is, that while it is relatively easy to write a policy, it is quite another thing to implement it, and, as I recall, the opportunity never really presented itself to discuss "bullying" as a whole staff. In fact, I'm not actually sure that it was on the agenda at that time (other than our/your involvement with the Bullying Project) and even if it was it was not perceived as a top priority by the vast majority of staff. Perhaps though, it does to a certain extent validate the point that policies are more successfully introduced if all staff are directly involved in the whole of the process.
- 73 7. Ref to the need for a renewed impetus. To which "school" do you refer? The "old" Junior one or the "new" amalgamated one? Remember, your perception of things is from Y6/older juniors. There may well be a very different point of view from the Early Years people! I would also very strongly suggest (and hope!) that the points 1 to 3 are (accepted and) in place.
- 74 8. Ref to first para. Again I find this paragraph very closely related to the behaviour structure. Wouldn't it be fair to acknowledge the existence of that policy which to a large extent superseded the Bullying Policy and incorporated many of the fundamental principles in this paragraph. Yet again I would question whether what you are advocating is more applicable to "behaviour" than "Bullying". I would have thought that each bully had to be dealt with individually if the "promise and tell" strategy you advocated at the beginning is to be effective. If things are not negotiable for the child what have they to gain by "telling"?!
- 275 9. Ref to feeling valued. I thought our management style did just that! Again is it "behaviour" or "bullying" you're referring to? Also what about the contribution of the School Council in recognising the valuable contribution that children make in such areas?
- 276 10. Ref second para. Actually you're making exactly the point I was making earlier (8). Such measures may also be counter to the ethos of the school. But here again, doesn't the behaviour

policy do much of what you are suggesting?

11. Ref to Pupil Dev. Actually, so do the LEA! The other, and more serious point though, is that the vast majority of agenda priorities are determined by members of staff after full consultation (re participatory management). Out of 18 staff consulted this year I think I'm right in remembering that you were the only one to identify bullying as a high priority! In fact about 5 thought it to be a low priority. That's the problem with "democracy". Not everyone agrees with you!!

12. Ref to systematic monitoring. I would agree entirely that systematic monitoring is vital to ensure that policy is translated into practice. However I would totally disagree that the "complete failure to implement the Bladen Road anti-bullying policy is testament to this." I would strongly contest that it was due almost entirely to the amalgamation of the two schools in September 1992. Besides the stress involved and the uncertainties at the time (which were considerable) one has to remember that in effect a new school was being created. A new school with new expectations, a new ethos and a new head! There was also the need to create a new and shared culture and this could only be achieved by the direct involvement of all concerned. Certainly the one thing that had to be avoided at all costs was the feeling of "a take-over". I believed then, and I still believe now, that the only way to achieve this was through a cyclic process of participatory management rather than the imposition of existing policies. Negotiation and consultation were the key to a successful amalgamation. Unfortunately "Bullying" did not appear high on the agenda. Other concerns took priority and as a result the work on bullying had to be put on hold. Whilst curriculum policies could be relatively easily "amalgamated" (some being written for the second or third time remember because of the changes to the National Curriculum) in most other cases it was necessary to start from scratch with a totally new and hastily written School Development Plan. As a result other priorities dictated and unfortunately the work on bullying assumed less attention and particularly so as many of the deep concerns that members of staff had, were addressed by the very successful Behaviour Policy.

13. I could write a thesis about Appraisal myself! Without going into too much detail I would respectfully suggest that you are entering very dangerous educational waters with this particular paragraph! To begin with, do you mean appraisal of practice or teacher appraisal. The two are certainly not the same. There are those who would argue that teacher appraisal is not an expectation but an under-funded imposition with a hidden - well actually not so well hidden in some camps!! - agenda. If ever there was an example of the wrong way to introduce an initiative then appraisal must be it. Certainly Chris Woodhead is right. Appraisal is not working. But when it is linked to "performance pay", the quality of teaching and the dismissal of so called "poor" teachers then I hardly find that surprising! Add to that the fact that the NSG estimated in 1989 that appraisal would need a funding budget of approximately £45 m and in the first year it received (I think) £16m then, basically "y' gets what y' pays for!" For the last four years it has not received any additional funding!! Hardly a surprise, therefore that "there is little evidence that practice is improving by it"

Notes from Mrs Jacques.

Y6 Class teacher
22nd November 1996

I confirm that I have read chapters six and seven of Ian's thesis and make the following points.

- P 209 "negative and destructive long.....trend"
Very very true, accurate and an important point.
- P 214 Young children calling older - would be very interested to know more about "the called" in this sort of case.
- P 216 2nd paragraph 3rd line "What may.....unclear."
This point is very relevant and of concern to me.
- P 224 "Depressed" - very important in children long-term in their development of self-esteem and interesting to follow in years to come.
- P 231 Last year two boys received similar name-calling from same children - I tolerated - I didn't - fits in with 2nd paragraph - I would go along with that.
- P 236 2nd paragraph. As a teacher I feel this is extremely important.
- P 243 I use broken record with pupils.
- P 244 I didn't realise there were so many strategies and recognise those I have used with children at different times.
- P 253 So frequently I do all the talking while children stand still and just listen. I'm not even sure they're doing that.
- P 265 I was one of the teachers who has seen how effective Ian's method is. Everyone is calm. There has been enough trouble as it is without teachers adding to the trauma. If only we all used the same kind of counselling to help bullies and victims. Behaviour in school would benefit considerably.

Signed.....D. Jacques.....

APPENDIX TWO

The School Development Plans

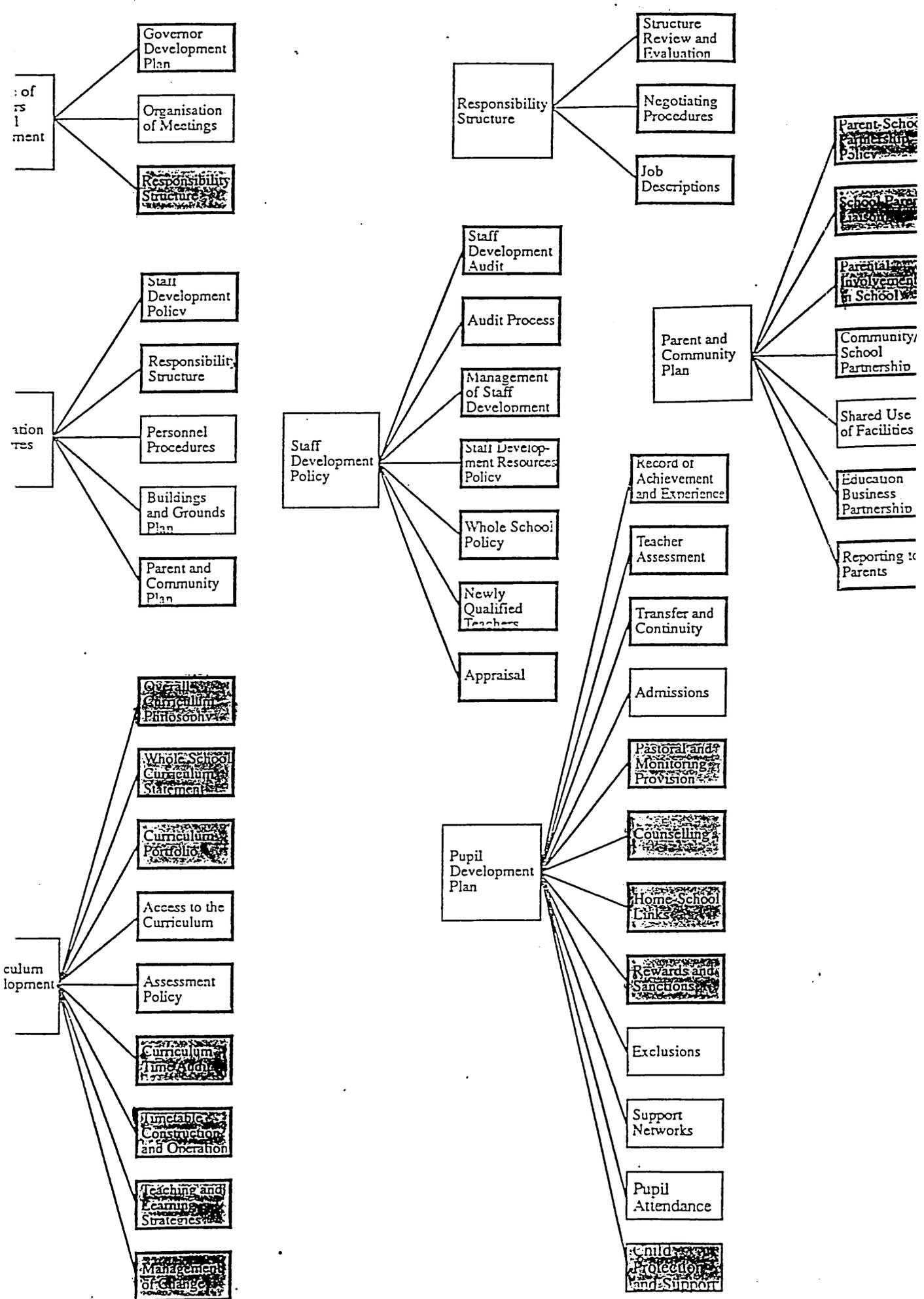
These plans show what school decided should be the criteria and when they should be examined. As the schedule is already running late, management has recognised that the plans are over-loaded and should be modified.

Unfortunately, bullying still remains in the pupil section. Traditionally, Baden Road teachers have been committed to evaluating curriculum as shown on the top row of the plan. While this is an essential commitment there are other equally important considerations to be made from elsewhere in the plan. These need planning.

With regard to the 1995 - 1996 plan the time has already passed and the review of the bullying policy did not take place.

SCHOOL DEVELOPMENT PLANNING

	YEAR 1 (1995-96)			1996-9
	TERM 1	TERM 2	TERM 3	TERM
Curriculum	← ENGLISH → ← I.T. REVIEW (INSET) → ← RAPP PROJECT → ← EARLY YEARS CURRICULUM →		* PLANNING, REVIEW and EVALUATION	← R.E. →
Dev.	← ASSESSMENT MODERATION } ENGLISH → ← SCHOOL PERFORMANCE (M.G. PYRAMID PROJECT) → ← PRAE (EARLY YEARS) → ← RECORD KEEPING →		← MATHS SCIENCE → ← REVIEW BEHAVIOUR BULLYING POLICY →	← DEVELOP PORTFOLIO → ← P.S.E. →
Q.	← CONSOLIDATE SEN PROVISION DEVELOPED TO DATE → ← UPDATE PROCEDURE & CODE OF PRACTICE → ← ADDITIONAL RESOURCES IN ENGLISH INTO CLASSES IN ORDER TO HELP STAFF PROVIDE ADEQUATE DIFFERENTIATION → ← LINK SEN INTO BEHAVIOUR POLICY + DEVELOP LINKS WITH EXTERNAL AGENCIES →		← REVIEW (IN LIGHT OF BUDGET) AND FINANCES / STAFFING PROVISION PER →	← ADDITIONAL RESOURCES →
Resources	← CURRICULUM RESOURCES : DEVELOPMENTAL - ENGLISH MAINTENANCE - IT and AS REQ'D. → ← EARLY YEARS RESOURCES : EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS - NURSERY / REC LINK → (INSET) ORGANISATION OF WHERE TO STORE + DISTRIBUTION OF EFFECTIVELY / EFFICIENTLY USE (INSET) STAFF : RESPONSIBILITIES + ROLE OF SUBJECT CO-ORDINATORS			← R.E. (DEVELOP) (INSET) →
Dev.	← { TEACHING QUALITY : CONSIDER STRATEGIES (S.M.G.?) FOR DEVELOPING AND IMPROVING TEACHER EFFECTIVENESS (+ PUPIL LEARNING) } → (INSET) TEACHER EFFECTIVENESS (+ PUPIL LEARNING)		← PLANNING.. → ← .. REVIEW and EVALUATION →	← QUALITY A → ← APPRAISAL : CONTINUE AS FINANCES PERMIT → (INSET : RE DEVELOPMENT)
Parent, Community Governors	EST. GOV'S COMMUNICATIONS SUB-COMMITTEE + BEHAVIOUR SUB COMMITTEE PRODUCE PROSPECTUS PRODUCE POLICIES FOR L.O.A. + BAD WEATHER PREPARE FOR ANNUAL MEETING REVIEW CODE OF DRESS VOL FINANCES - SPENDING! PARENTS NEWSLETTER SOCIAL FUND - RAISING EVENTS, IMPROVE + CHRISTMAS SERVICES	BUDGET 95/96 TO COMPLETE PREPARE 96/97 SPENDING PLANS POSSIBLE 'BIDS' TO COUNCIL, WEATHER SOCIAL EVENTS TO ARRANGE PARENTS' EVENINGS TO REVIEW PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN SCHOOL TO REVIEW SUMMER FAIRCE TO PLAN	PAY POLICY TO PRODUCE SUMMER FAIRCE SPORTS EVENT INVOLVEMENT IN PRAE	
Buildings and Grounds	REVIEW SECURITY + UPDATE ALARM SYSTEM COMPLETE 42 EXTENSION RE-NEGOTIATE GROUNDS CONTRACT REVIEW USE OF BUILDINGS REPLACE 45 LIGHTING RENOVATE BOYS' TOILETS (INF.) COMPLETE MINOR IMPROVEMENTS RE-LOCATE DRINKING FOUNT. REORGANISE STORES + MED RM.	REVIEW PLAYGROUND SAFETY RENOVATE CHALKBOARDS INSTALL VERT. BLINDS RESTORE INF. GARDEN CONSIDER OUTDOOR FACILITIES FOR CHILDREN	RENOVATE PAVING SLABS AND WALKWAYS REVIEW NEW ARRANGEMENTS FOR CHILDREN'S DRINKING FACILITIES DIRECTIONAL (AND OTHER) SIGNS TO INSTALL	CONSIDER INSTALLING HANDRAIL TO INF. WA RE-ORGANISE INFAN AND MODIFY AS NEC
Finance				



School Devel Plan.
to complete for next 3 years
look at where we are?

Curriculum

Policies, schemes, resources
Monitoring, evaluation of learning & teaching.

~~Monitoring policies~~
Inspector's issues

Curriculum Coordinators: Time to do it.
Subject Coordinators

Communications in School

1. Meetings
 2. Feedback to people who aren't at the meeting
- Use of C.P.A.

Quality Assurance

Display Policy. 3.

Typed Contract

School Reports.

Assessment.

Evaluation

Criteria for Success

Value for Money.

PLU WSET.

Get updated typed
1996-1997 SDP

APPENDIX THREE

Lunch time Supervisor Information

Minutes of the 12/03/1992 meeting in which the lunch time supervisors listed there concerns to a member of the Sheffield Project team.

A supervisor has signed the minute [anonymously] to validate its accuracy.

BADEN ROAD

12. 3. 92.

LUNCHTIME SUPERVISORS PROBLEMS.

- * Lack of Communication.
- * Information being passed on to some but not all LO's.
 - information re activities.
 - changes of plan
 - who's staying in.
 - knowing who's coming to collect children.
 - confidential information, balanced against confidentiality.
- * Lack of Respect - from a few children.
 - Answering back.
 - Cheekiness.
 - Occasional swearing - at each other rather than at LO's
- * Wet Play.- can't do inside what they do outside.
 - energy a problem.
 - very short time with all in classes.
- * Lunchtime has been shortened.
- * Have a job rota which works well.
- * Football.
 - Ball going over into car park.
 - problem when the field is not in use.
- * Split Age Playgrounds
 - Ideas for games
 - Lack of equipment.
 - Arguments over equipment.
- * Dining Room Noise.
 - Children chatting.
 - Passing food over from other tables.
 - Waiting for seconds.
 - Attitude in dining room.
 - clearing up.
- * No Menu.
- * Friction With Kitchen Staff.
- * Boredom.
- * THE HALF-DOZEN.

GOOD THINGS

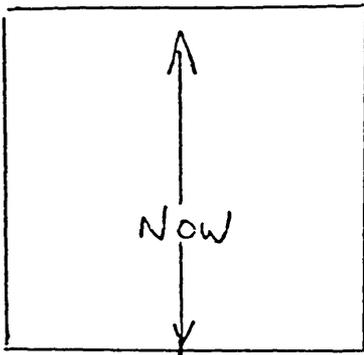
- * Thanks from Head Teach
- * Children confiding
- * Thanks from children
- * Children being loving
- * Children like your ow

Signed: D. Hodgson 13/3/92

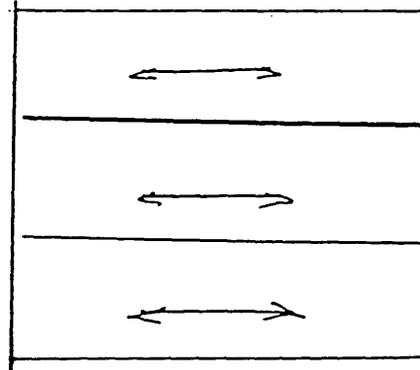
EQUIPMENT.

- * Balls
- * Bean Bags
- * Ankle Skipping
- * Elastics
- * Five Stones
- * Whips and Tops
- * Cones for dribbling balls round.
- * Anything to improve skills.
- * Netball rings at different heights for different ages.
- * Uninock
- * Non-stop Cricket
- * Skipping Ropes.
- * Volleyball
- * 2 balls against wall
- * Somewhere to sit.

PLAYGROUND DESIGN.



TO



- * Playground markings - roadway for small cars/dens.
- * Tree trunks for climbing/balancing on.
- * Tyres for swinging and climbing equipment.
- * Hoops
- * Hedges for dens
- * Skittles (Spring Water Bottles)
- * Monkey bars - somewhere safe.
- * Cardboard boxes
- * Make field usable - bark chipping path to use as running track. (We have a green desert.)
- * Music for dancing outside.

OLD GAMES.

- * Farmer in the Den
- * Leapfrog
- * Clapping Games
- * What's the time Mr. Wolf
- * Statues
- * Queenie'O
- * Tiggy 1001 Variations
- * Oranges & Lemons
- * Scottish Bluebells
- * Bigship sails on the Alley Alley Oh
- * British Bulldog
- * Piggybacks

This is the first time supervisors have reported any type of bullying and is since the

Please record any incidents of bullying which you become aware of on the form below. Try to record the details of the incident as soon as possible after it occurs.

Date	Time	Place	Pupils involved	Brief description of incident (and how it was followed up) Incident related to race (R), sex (S), handicap (H), uncertain (U)	Please tick		
					R	S	H U
3.2.92	12.45	Yard	[REDACTED]	Stopping younger ones from playing. when younger ones should be playing. football. Cheek			✓
11.2.92				Introduced things to play with i.e. rings, bean bags skipping ropes.			✓

TRAINING PROGRAMME

MID-DAY SUPERVISION IN SCHOOLS

Introduction

The organisation of effective supervision during the mid-day break at schools has been a steadily increasing problem as teachers have withdrawn from voluntarily supervising pupils.

Action over the recent period has further highlighted the burden upon Heads. The following training proposals are a suggested package to cater for the future training of mid-day supervisors.

The structure of the training package is designed to cover two specific areas:-

- (a) Induction training
- (b) Sorting out your job

(a) Induction Training

Effective Induction Training should involve a balance between what the employee requires to know to successfully undertake the job and the needs of the employer to achieve a satisfactory level of performance.

Every new employee has the right to certain information, i.e. what does the job involve, what is expected of an individual, how he/she fits into the organisation? This information needs to be passed on to the new supervisor at the commencement of their duties. The enclosed induction form will act as a guide.

(b) Sorting out your job

Areas to be considered:-

- (a) The importance of mid-day supervision
- (b) The duties and responsibilities of supervisors
- (c) Identify hazards within the area
- (d) Conditions of employment
- (e) Coping with emergencies



A GUIDE TO THE DUTIES OF MID-DAY SUPERVISORY ASSISTANTS

Supervisory Assistants are accountable to the Head Teacher for the safety and general welfare of pupils on the school premises at any time during the mid-day break.

Their duties include the following and such other duties as may be required by the Head Teacher within the broad terms stated above:-

1. Supervision of pupils immediately before, during and after the mid-day meal. This includes provision for children who bring sandwiches for their mid-day meal.
2. Supervision of hand washing by pupils in infant, first, junior and middle schools.
3. Supervision of the pupils' entry into the dining room including supervision of pupils during any journey or walk to the dining room.
4. (a) For family service in Primary Schools carrying of trays to table and in Infant Schools, where required by Head Teacher and when family service is not used, carrying of plates to table.
(b) Help for infant and some junior pupils in cutting up meat.
(c) Assistance to pupils in the proper use of cutlery and guidance on table manners.
(d) Assistance with clearing tables.
(e) Assistance when necessary, by arrangement with the Head Teacher, with washing down tables and resetting where required, and when school meals staff are not available.
(f) Setting up and removal of furniture in parts of the school, other than the dining room, where sandwiches are eaten, when the caretaker and his assistants are not available.
5. Taking such steps as are necessary when children are sick, but noting that caretakers are not available during their off-duty period as defined in Schools Memorandum No.16.
6. Supervision in the playground or other areas as required.
7. Summoning any assistance needed to deal with injuries or illness.

The main duties/responsibilities of this group of employees is currently being redefined. Agreed copies will be available to add to this booklet at a later date.

W.S. WALTON
Chief Education Officer

WHAT AUTHORITY DO YOU HAVE?

When you are on duty, you have the same authority as a teacher would have. This means that pupils should treat you with the same respect as they would a teacher and that they should do as you ask.

But you have to earn that respect. You won't get it automatically just because you are an adult.

If you go in with an attitude of 'I must be obeyed', you won't get very far.

Young children in particular will test out your limits in a very provoking way. Older pupils tend to get very resentful if they think they are being ordered around. In either case, you will get off on the wrong foot.

In the first week or two, when the pupils are getting used to seeing you and are beginning to find out about you, concentrate on dealing with those situations where you know there is a clear rule to guide you and you are sure of the facts.

Tread very carefully if you find yourself in situations where pupils' behaviour is on the borderline.

You can't hope to tackle every single bit of misbehaviour that you see, so don't try. Apart from anything else, you'd wear yourself out.

Concentrate on dealing with the most important things like bullying, or blatant rudeness. Don't be too hard on things that are just high spirits or youthful boisterousness.



APPENDIX FOUR

Questionnaire Master Copies

With the help of Professor Peter Smith the following four questionnaires were designed during the 1990 - 1992 Sheffield Project.

This appendix includes copies of the questionnaire for;

Pupils
Teachers
Parents
Governors

.....Date.....

e complete the following sentences. You may add more sentences if you
ing is when...

ly is a person who...

*Revised pupil questionnaire
after 23/3/92 tutorial.*

; bullied is when a person...

you this term taken part in bullying other children? YES NO
ou answered 'YES' whereabouts around school did you bully?

Please tick as many boxes as you wish:

- in the playground
- in the toilets
- in the dining room
- in the classroom
- on the corridor
- outside the school gates
- in another place

you answered 'in another place' where was this?

ase tick one box.

e you this term been bullied in or around school? YES NO

you answered 'NO' put this paper to one side and work quietly or read.

you answered 'YES' please turn over and continue.

abouts at school were you last bullied?.....

were you last bullied at school?.....

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX FOR EACH QUESTION

the person who last bullied you: A boy A girl

Older about the same age younger

In the same class In a different class

you this term told a teacher that you have been bullied? YES NO

you this term told anyone at home that you have been bullied? YES NO

did you last tell?.....

r you told them did the bullying stop? YES NO

se write about things that happen to you that put you down most.

do you feel if these things happen to you?

ing this term, has a bully made you cry? YES NO

e you this term tried to stop a bully bullying someone else? YES NO

you wish a pupil would leave school because of bullying? YES NO

someone did bully you write what you would really like to say to them?

you have been bullied this term please write a true story about what ppened.

hank you for helping me.)

-X-

TEACHERS

BULLYING QUESTIONNAIRE SCHEDULE. JULY 1992.

Thank you for taking time to look at and answer this questionnaire about bullying. Your answers will be held in the strictest confidence. NO ONE except myself will know the responses to each question. Should you need more space to complete a response then please use the back of the same page as the question. Where appropriate please tick a box.

I would very much appreciate it if you would not confer with other colleagues when answering this questionnaire. Please complete and return the questionnaire to me before the end of term.

Thanks, Ian.

CLIMATE.

Please list examples of what are for you happy occasions in school.

Can you give some examples of occasions in school which are stressful to you?

Generally, what do you most like about the children in school?

Generally what do you least like about the children in school?

What attitude, if any, amongst many children would you most like to see changed?

During the school day is there a time when children's attitudes change that run counter to the spirit of the school?

YES NO

If so, when?

What do you think causes this change?

BULLIES.

Above all, are there particular forms of bullying which you don't like? (If all then please write "all.")

Which group in school do you think bully most?

BOYS GIRLS BOTH

What kinds of things do you think happen in school to cause bullying?

What do you think is the most common form of bullying in school?

When during the school day do you think most bullying might take place?

Where around school do you think bullying mostly takes place?

Have you ever witnessed bullying in school? YES NO

If 'YES' please give an example...

Have you ever dealt with a bully in school? YES NO

If 'YES' please give an example...

What do you think contributes to the makings of a bully?

What do you think a bully derives from bullying?

TEACHER STRATEGIES : BULLIES

If at all, how do you get a bully to tell you that s/he has been bullying?

Of the strategies you might have used to deal with a bully please describe which for you have been most effective...

Do you know of any strategies used by other teachers who have dealt with a bully?

YES NO

Do you think bullies should be punished? YES NO

If 'YES' please list some which you think are appropriate?

IF corporal punishment were available would you use it against a bully?

YES NO

Have you needed to ask the Head Teacher to help solve a case or cases of bullying and, if so can you give an example?

If not why not?

Have you ever involved parents in a case of bullying and, if so, can you give an example?

What do you think is the best thing school could do to minimize bullying? Please explain.

TEACHERS AND BULLYING.

Did you ever bully at school?

YES NO

If 'YES' please give an example.

Do you think your experiences as a pupil have made an impact on your approach as a teacher to children's bullying and if so how?

Do you think teachers ever bully children?

YES NO

If 'YES' how do you think teachers bully pupils?

(If given) Do you use any of the ways you have mentioned and if so what?

Do you think coercion is a necessary part of teaching children or could it be viewed as a form of bullying? Please give a reason for your answer.

Is there anything else you would like to say about bullies and bullying?

VICTIMS.

Have children ever approached you having been a victim of bullying?

YES NO

If 'YES' please give an example? If 'NO' why do you think this is?

How do you think victims cope if they don't ask for help?

Have you ever seen children help other children in bullying situations?

YES NO

Do you know of any long term effects bullying has had upon any child in school and, if so, what?

Is/Are there (a) particular group/s of children in school who are likely to be or become victims of bullying? If so, which?

Do you know of any strategies children use to avoid being bullied and, if so, what?

If not, do you think it would be useful if they knew of some? YES NO

Do you think we should teach specific skills to children so that they may avoid being bullied?

YES NO

If 'YES' which skills?

Generally who do you think gets most attention from a bullying situation in school?

THE BULLY THE VICTIM BOTH

.....

TEACHER STRATEGIES : VICTIM.

What do you think is the first priority for dealing with a victim of bullying?

Do you take steps, if any, to encourage children to talk openly about their experience/s should they be bullied?

YES NO

If so, what?

Do you ever assure children of the confidentiality they need should they fall victim to bullying and, if so, how?

What steps do you take, if any, to re-assure children of their safety to confide in you?

In general what do you think might happen presently if a bully found out that a victim had been talking to you?

Of the strategies you might have used to deal with a victim of bullying please describe which for you have been most effective...

Do you know of any strategies used by other teachers who have dealt with a victim?

YES NO

Do you ever ask a child when s/he is being tormented to ignore the tormentors?

YES NO

Do you think teachers sometimes overlook and trivialise a situation which a child might think as serious bullying?

YES NO

If 'YES' why do you think this happens?

Have you ever needed to involve the Head Teacher in a victim's case?

YES NO

If 'YES' please give an example?

Have you ever needed to involve the parent/s in a victim's case?

YES NO

If 'YES' please give an example?

Why do you think children are more likely to tell their parents than their teachers about being bullied?

TEACHERS AND VICTIMISATION

Were you ever bullied at school? YES NO

If 'YES', give an example.

Did anyone support you? If so who and what did they do?

If you were a victim of bullying did this effect the way you approach the problem of victimisation in your teaching? If so how?

Can you remember how you coped with being a victim? YES NO

If 'YES' what did you do?

Have you ever needed to support a victim of bullying other than children in school?

YES NO

What would you say makes a teacher approachable, so that children, particularly victims of bullying, can speak freely to you?

Do you know of teachers who are unapproachable and if so what makes them unapproachable?

COMMUNICATION.

Have you read the policy on school bullying? YES NO

Please comment on having a Bullying Policy?

Do you ever talk about the school policy on bullying with other people in school?

YES NO

If so, can you give an example?

Were you satisfied with the amount of consultation made as the bullying policy was drafted and developed?

YES NO

Do you think that having a policy has made any difference to the way you deal with bullying?

What do you think would help close any gap between policy and practice regarding bullying?

Do you think the teaching staff share ideas with each other enough about ways of dealing with bullying?

What do you think is the main way the teachers find out about incidences of bullying?

Do you ever talk informally with other teachers about bullying and, if so, can you give an example?

Have you ever supported lunch time supervisors when they have dealt with bullying?

YES NO

If so, can you give an example?

Do you think there is any more teachers can do to help lunch time supervisors and, if so, how?

Do you think bullying in school could be dealt with more effectively if communication between teachers and lunch time supervisors was improved and, if so, how?

Do you think the school has a good enough recording system for keeping a check on incidences of bullying.

Do you think parents are kept sufficiently informed about what happens in school regarding bullying?

YES NO

Have parents ever volunteered to you opinions regarding bullying?

YES NO

Would you ever contemplate using bullying as a theme within the framework of the National Curriculum?

YES NO

If 'YES' how?

Do you think that there has been any noticeable change since the start of the bullying project and, if so, what?

Is there one main thing that would help this project work and reduce bullying?

POLICY.

Which of the existing school policies do you think has been the most effective and what has made it effective?

Are there any obstacles to implementing the policies as you would like?

Given the time you've had are you satisfied with the number of policies being presented to you?

YES NO

We make policies for children but do you think teachers need some as well and, if so, what?

Do you think that sufficient steps are taken to control bullying in school?

Do you think that the bullying policy has offered any solutions to the problem of bullying?

Do you think the policy should have a set of sanctions to deter bullies and, if so, what sanctions?

If there was anything you would add to or change in the bullying policy what would it be?

If there was one thing which you thought of as central, a priority that would make the bullying policy work better what would that be?

Would you prefer policy solutions about sanctions for bullies, have sanctions left to your discretion or both?

POLICY SANCTIONS DISCRETIONARY SANCTIONS BOTH

Do you think it was necessary to have a bullying policy in school?

Would you prefer guidelines about dealing with victims, deal with victims independently or both?

GUIDELINES FOR VICTIMS DEAL INDEPENDENTLY BOTH

Please make any other comment about the issue of bullying which you would like to say which might help.

Thank you very much for completing this questionnaire.

Revised after 23/3/92 tutorial.

Dear Parent/Guardian,

Your child's safety and happiness at school is very important and I thank you for taking the few minutes to look at and answer this questionnaire about bullying. Your answers will be held in the strictest confidence. NO ONE will know who has filled in each questionnaire. Please complete and return the questionnaire to school sealed in the envelope provided. Each child has been asked to place it in a sealed box in school by Wednesday 8th April.

Please tick one box for each question.

Your child: Boy Girl Number of children in family:

Position in family 1st child 2nd child 3rd child 4th 5th

Please circle your child's class: 6J 6H 5E 5F 4B 4WB 3E 3B

Have you ever witnessed children from school bullying? YES NO
If so, please give an example.

Do you think anything happens in school to cause bullying? YES NO
If yes, what things happen?

Do you think school should teach skills to children so that they can avoid being bullied? YES NO

Did you know that the school has a policy on bullying? YES NO

Did you know that the policy is available to be read by parents? YES NO
Do you think bullies should be punished? YES NO

If yes, how would you have them punished?

Do you think school could do more to stop bullying? YES NO
If so, what?

What do you think is the best thing school could do to protect victims from bullies?

Are there forms of bullying you particularly don't like? If so, which?

GOVERNORS .

BULLYING QUESTIONNAIRE SCHEDULE. JULY 1992.

Thank you for taking time to look at and answer this questionnaire about bullying. Your answers will be held in the strictest confidence. NO ONE except myself will know the responses to each question. Should you need more space to complete a response then please use the back of the same page as the question. Where appropriate please tick a box.

Please complete and return the questionnaire to me before the end of term.

Thank you , Ian Jenkinson. Y6 Teacher.

BULLYING.

Above all, are there particular forms of bullying which you don't like? (If all then please write "all.")

Which group in school do you think might bully most?

BOYS

GIRLS

BOTH

What kinds of things do you think happen in school to cause bullying?

What do you think is the most common form of bullying in school?

What do you think contributes to the makings of a bully?

What do you think a bully derives from bullying?

Do you think bullies should be punished? YES NO

If 'YES' please list some which you think are appropriate?

IF corporal punishment were available would you support it's use against a bully?

YES NO

Please give a reason for your answer.

What do you think is the best thing school could do to minimize bullying? Please explain.

GOVERNORS AND BULLYING.

Did you ever bully at school? YES NO

If 'YES' please give an example.

Do you think your experiences as a pupil would make an impact on your decision making about children's bullying as a Governor of [REDACTED] and if so how?

Baden Road .

Do you think teachers ever bully children? YES NO

If 'YES' how do you think teachers bully pupils?

Do you think coercion is a necessary part of teaching children or could it be viewed as a form of bullying? Please give a reason for your answer.

Is there anything else you would like to say about bullies and bullying?

VICTIMS.

How do you think victims cope if they don't ask for help?

Do you know of any long term effects bullying has had upon any child in school and, if so, what?

Is/Are there (a) particular group/s of children in school who are likely to be or become victims of bullying? If so, which?

Do you know of any strategies children use to avoid being bullied and, if so, what?

If not do you think it would be useful if they knew of some?

YES NO

Do you think Governors should support a curriculum that teaches specific skills to children so that they may avoid being bullied?

YES NO

If 'YES' which skills?

What do you think is a teacher's first priority for dealing with a victim of bullying?

Do you know of any strategies used by teachers who have dealt with a victim?

YES NO

Research suggests that children are more likely to tell their parents than their teachers about being bullied. Why do you think this might be so?

Were you ever bullied at school? YES NO

If 'YES', give an example.

Did anyone support you? If so, who and what did they do?

Can you remember how you coped with being a victim? YES NO

If 'YES' what did you do?

If you were a victim of bullying might this effect the way you approach the problem of victimisation in your decision making as a Governor? If so how?

What would you say makes teachers approachable, so that children, particularly victims of bullying, can speak freely to them?

Do you know of teachers who are unapproachable and if so what makes them unapproachable?

.....
COMMUNICATION.

Have you read the policy on school bullying? YES NO

Please comment on having a Bullying Policy at [REDACTED].
BADEN ROAD

Do you ever talk about the school policy on bullying with other people in school?

YES NO

If so, can you give an example?

Were you satisfied with the amount of consultation made as the bullying policy was drafted and developed?

YES NO

What do you think would help close any gap between policy and practice regarding bullying?

BADEN ROAD

Did you realise that [REDACTED] Junior School is presently involved in the University of Sheffield Project on Bullying?

YES NO

Do you think that sufficient steps are taken to control bullying in school?

Do you think that the bullying policy has offered any solutions to the problem of bullying?

Do you think the policy should have a set of sanctions to deter bullies and, if so, what sanctions?

Thank you very much for completing this questionnaire.

APPENDIX FIVE

Completed Questionnaire Samples

Submitted is a sample questionnaire completed by the pupils, teachers and parents. For cross-referencing purposes each is coded.

There is no sample from the governors as none were completed.

.....3B.....Date...31st...March

(B25)

Coded

Complete the following sentences. You may add more sentences if you

being bullied is when. When some one is teasing you:

A bully is a person who hits them

being bullied is when a person kicks you picks on you and makes fun of you.

Have you this term taken part in bullying other children? YES

NO

If you answered 'YES' whereabouts around school did you bully?

Please tick as many boxes as you wish:

in the playground

in the toilets

in the dining room

in the classroom

on the corridor

outside the school gates

in another place

If you answered 'in another place' where was this?

Please tick one box.

Have you this term been bullied in or around school? YES

NO

If you answered 'NO' put this paper to one side and work quietly or read.

If you answered 'YES' please turn over and continue.

abouts at school were you last bullied?.....

ere you last bullied at school?.....

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX FOR EACH QUESTION

he person who last bullied you: A boy A girl

Older about the same age younger

In the same class In a different class

you this term told a teacher that you have been bullied? YES NO

you this term told anyone at home that you have been bullied? YES NO

id you last tell?.....

you told them did the bullying stop? YES NO

e write about things that happen to you that put you down most.

o you feel if these things happen to you?

ng this term, has a bully made you cry? YES NO

you this term tried to stop a bully bullying someone else? YES NO

ou wish a pupil would leave school because of bullying? YES NO

omeone did bully you write what you would really like to say to them?

ou have been bullied this term please write a true story about what
ened.

nk you for helping me.)

BULLYING QUESTIONNAIRE SCHEDULE. JULY 1992.

Thank you for taking time to look at and answer this questionnaire about bullying. Your answers will be held in the strictest confidence. NO ONE except myself will know the responses to each question. Should you need more space to complete a response then please use the back of the same page as the question. Where appropriate please tick a box.

I would very much appreciate it if you would not confer with other colleagues when answering this questionnaire. Please complete and return the questionnaire to me before the end of term.

Thanks, Ian.

CLIMATE.

Please list examples of what are for you happy occasions in school.

Concerts, shows, certificate presentations, music lessons.
School trips, ...

Can you give some examples of occasions in school which are stressful to you?

Concerts, my class after wet playtimes

Generally, what do you most like about the children in school?

They are friendly and enjoy learning.

Generally what do you least like about the children in school?

Can take things for granted, not always polite and attentive.

What attitude, if any, amongst many children would you most like to see changed?

Politeness.

During the school day is there a time when children's attitudes change that run counter to the spirit of the school?

YES NO

If so, when? Playtimes | dinner times.

What do you think causes this change?

More freedom, teachers not present.

BULLIES.

Above all, are there particular forms of bullying which you don't like? (If all then please write "all.")

All.

Which group in school do you think bully most?

BOYS GIRLS BOTH

What kinds of things do you think happen in school to cause bullying?

Talented children. / clever.

What do you think is the most common form of bullying in school?

Name calling.

When during the school day do you think most bullying might take place?

Dinnertime / playtime.

Where around school do you think bullying mostly takes place?

Playground.

Have you ever witnessed bullying in school? YES NO

If 'YES' please give an example...

Child being picked on in playground.

Have you ever dealt with a bully in school? YES NO

If 'YES' please give an example...

Talking to a child who is bullying.

What do you think contributes to the makings of a bully?

Possibly the child themselves being bullied. Home environment.

What do you think a bully derives from bullying?

Enjoyment. Sense of power.

-A-

TEACHER STRATEGIES : BULLIES

If at all; how do you get a bully to tell you that s/he has been bullying?

listen to all sides involved.

Of the strategies you might have used to deal with a bully please describe which for you have been most effective...

Making them admit it, apologise!

Do you know of any strategies used by other teachers who have dealt with a bully?

YES NO

Do you think bullies should be punished? YES NO

If 'YES' please list some which you think are appropriate?

Not allowing out at playtimes.

IF corporal punishment were available would you use it against a bully?

YES NO

Have you needed to ask the Head Teacher to help solve a case or cases of bullying and, if so can you give an example?

Yes. Today, when an incident resulted in a child being scratched.

If not why not?

Have you ever involved parents in a case of bullying and, if so, can you give an example?

Yes. Letting parents know what happened and talking to both children.

What do you think is the best thing school could do to minimize bullying? Please explain.

May a clearly defined set of guidelines of action to be taken so there is consistency throughout the school.

TEACHERS AND BULLYING.

Did you ever bully at school?

YES NO

If 'YES' please give an example.

Do you think your experiences as a pupil have made an impact on your approach as a teacher to children's bullying and if so how?

Being in a school where there was ~~at~~ a well known bully, ^{even} I realise how these children can scare them, if they don't bully you directly.

Do you think teachers ever bully children? YES NO not in this school.

If 'YES' now do you think teachers bully pupils?

(If given) Do you use any of the ways you have mentioned and if so what?

—

→ Do you think coercion is a necessary part of teaching children or could it be viewed as a form of bullying? Please give a reason for your answer.

Yes NO. Children seem to need it to help them learn, there are too many distract

Is there anything else you would like to say about bullies and bullying?

I don't feel there is a consistent approach to them and because of this they probably get away with more than they should.

VICTIMS.

Have children ever approached you having been a victim of bullying?

YES NO

If 'YES' please give an example? If 'NO' why do you think this is?

A child being teased, called names.

How do you think victims cope if they don't ask for help?

Bottle things up, unhappy.

Have you ever seen children help other children in bullying situations?

YES NO

Do you know of any long term effects bullying has had upon any child in school and, if so, what?

Is/Are there (a) particular group/s of children in school who are likely to be or become victims of bullying? If so, which?

Children who appear physically different.

Do you know of any strategies children use to avoid being bullied and, if so, what?

Try to ignore bullying.

If not, do you think it would be useful if they knew of some? YES NO

Do you think we should teach specific skills to children so that they may avoid being bullied?

YES NO

If 'YES' which skills?

Avoidance; realising a bully is a victim in their own way.

Generally who do you think gets most attention from a bullying situation in school?

THE BULLY THE VICTIM BOTH

.....

TEACHER STRATEGIES : VICTIM.

What do you think is the first priority for dealing with a victim of bullying?

Comfort.

Do you take steps, if any, to encourage children to talk openly about their experience/s should they be bullied?

YES NO

If so, what?

General class work, drama situations.

Do you ever assure children of the confidentiality they need should they fall victim to bullying and, if so, how?

Not really.

What steps do you take, if any, to re-assure children of their safety to confide in you?

Let individual children know they can come and talk when they want to.

In general what do you think might happen presently if a bully found out that a victim had been talking to you?

Bully more.

Of the strategies you might have used to deal with a victim of bullying please describe which for you have been most effective...

I wouldn't say any one in particular. Apart from I'll always listen.

Do you know of any strategies used by other teachers who have dealt with a victim?

YES NO

Do you ever ask a child when s/he is being tormented to ignore the tormentors?

YES NO

Do you think teachers sometimes overlook and trivialise a situation which a child might think as serious bullying?

YES NO

If 'YES' why do you think this happens?

Time.

Have you ever needed to involve the Head Teacher in a victim's case?

YES NO

If 'YES' please give an example?

The child was tormented and scratched badly.

Have you ever needed to involve the parent/s in a victim's case?

YES NO

If 'YES' please give an example?

Why do you think children are more likely to tell their parents than their teachers about being bullied? At home they are away from school and away from the threat

TEACHERS AND VICTIMISATION

Were you ever bullied at school?

YES NO

If 'YES', give an example.

Did anyone support you? If so who and what did they do?

If you were a victim of bullying did this effect the way you approach the problem of victimisation in your teaching? If so how?

Can you remember now you coped with being a victim? YES NO

If 'YES' what did you do?

Have you ever needed to support a victim of bullying other than children in school?

YES NO

What would you say makes a teacher approachable, so that children, particularly victims of bullying, can speak freely to you?

Our authority over children.

Do you know of teachers who are unapproachable and if so what makes them unapproachable?

COMMUNICATION.

Have you read the policy on school bullying? YES NO

Please comment on having a Bullying Policy?

Essential - but needs clear guidelines.

Do you ever talk about the school policy on bullying with other people in school?

YES NO

If so, can you give an example?

Discussion of what is in ours.

Were you satisfied with the amount of consultation made as the bullying policy was drafted and developed? YES NO Difficult to answer.

Do you think that having a policy has made any difference to the way you deal with bullying?

No.

What do you think would help close any gap between policy and practice regarding bullying?

A small, clear list of steps to take.

Do you think the teaching staff share ideas with each other enough about ways of dealing with bullying?

No.

What do you think is the main way the teachers find out about incidences of bullying?

Staffroom conversations.

Do you ever talk informally with other teachers about bullying and, if so, can you give an example?

Many times - incidents in own class.

Have you ever supported lunch time supervisors when they have dealt with bullying?

YES NO

If so, can you give an example?

Reiterated what they have said. Follow it up.

Do you think there is any more teachers can do to help lunch time supervisors and, if so, how?

Follow things up.

Do you think bullying in school could be dealt with more effectively if communication between teachers and lunch time supervisors was improved and, if so, how?

Yes. They need clear ^{workable} guidelines too.

Do you think the school has a good enough recording system for keeping a check on incidences of bullying.

No.

Do you think parents are kept sufficiently informed about what happens in school regarding bullying?

YES NO

Have parents ever volunteered to you opinions regarding bullying?

YES NO

Would you ever contemplate using bullying as a theme within the framework of the National Curriculum?

YES NO

If 'YES' how?

Class topic on 'Me' - myself - good and bad.

Do you think that there has been any noticeable change since the start of the bullying project and, if so, what?

It's more frequently talked about and informally discussed.

Is there one main thing that would help this project work and reduce bullying?

Clear, workable, guidelines -

step by step action for bully and victim.

POLICY.

Which of the existing school policies do you think has been the most effective and what has made it effective?

Don't know.

Are there any obstacles to implementing the policies as you would like?

Time.

Given the time you've had are you satisfied with the number of policies being presented to you?

YES NO ?

We make policies for children but do you think teachers need some as well and, if so, what?

Yes - work as a team in a similar way to reduce bullying.

Do you think that sufficient steps are taken to control bullying in school?

It is controlled but I'm not sure it is eradicated

Do you think that the bullying policy has offered any solutions to the problem of bullying?

No.

Do you think the policy should have a set of sanctions to deter bullies and, if so, what sanctions?

Possibly.

If there was anything you would add to or change in the bullying policy what would it be?

Once again clear defined guidelines on action which could be taken.

If there was one thing which you thought of as central, a priority that would make the bullying policy work better what would that be?

Consistency.

Would you prefer policy solutions about sanctions for bullies, have sanctions left to your discretion or both?

POLICY SANCTIONS DISCRETIONARY SANCTIONS BOTH

Do you think it was necessary to have a bullying policy in school? Yes

Would you prefer guidelines about dealing with victims, deal with victims independently or both?

GUIDELINES FOR VICTIMS DEAL INDEPENDENTLY BOTH

Please make any other comment about the issue of bullying which you would like to say which might help.

Thank you very much for completing this questionnaire.

Dear Parent/Guardian,

Our child's safety and happiness at school is very important and I thank you for taking the few minutes to look at and answer this questionnaire about bullying. Your answers will be held in the strictest confidence. NO ONE will know who has filled in each questionnaire. Please complete and return the questionnaire to school sealed in the envelope provided. Each child has been asked to place it in a sealed box in school by Wednesday 8th April.

Please tick one box for each question.

Our child: Boy Girl Number of children in family: 1 2 3 4 5 6

Position in family 1st child 2nd child 3rd child 4th 5th 6th

Please circle your child's class: 6J 6H 5E 5F 4B 4WB 3E 3B

Have you ever witnessed children from school bullying? YES NO
If so, please give an example.

A gang of boys on [redacted] rd after school on its way home picking on one boy.

Do you think anything happens in school to cause bullying? YES NO
If yes, what things happen?

Do you think school should teach skills to children so that they can avoid being bullied? YES NO

Did you know that the school has a policy on bullying? YES NO

Did you know that the policy is available to be read by parents? YES NO

Do you think bullies should be punished? YES NO

If yes, how would you have them punished?

*Kept in at break times and informing parents
Deprived of privileges in school.*

Do you think school could do more to stop bullying? YES NO
If so, what?

What do you think is the best thing school could do to protect victims from bullies?

Are there forms of bullying you particularly don't like? If so, which?

Are you ever unhappy at school because of bullying? YES NO

Have you ever bullied at school? YES NO If so, what did you do?

Have you ever needed to discuss with the Head Teacher or a teacher in school about your child bullying others? YES NO

Are you satisfied with the outcome? YES NO

Has your child been bullied at school this term? YES NO

If yes, do you think your child is bullied;
 daily
 once a week
 once a month
 less than once a month

How do you think your child has been bullied?

Have you ever talked with your child about ways of avoiding bullies? YES NO

If yes, what have you told your child?
 To fight back if one to one
 To tell the teacher.

What ways have you taken to solve any bullying problem? None
 please tick as many boxes as you wish:
 1 Talked with your child
 2 Talked to the bully
 3 Talked to the bully's parent
 4 Other way

If you answered 'other way' please describe what:

Talked to teacher

Please circle which of these ways, if any, worked? 1 2 3 (4)

Have you ever needed to discuss with the Head Teacher or a teacher in school about your child being bullied? YES NO

If yes, please give an example:
 In Infant School. ganging up

Are you satisfied with the outcome? YES NO

Will you be coming to school to read the policy on bullying? YES NO

By completing this questionnaire you may have helped make your child's school a better place. Thank you.

APPENDIX SIX

Interview Schedule

The plan was to interview each of the teachers and governors after they had completed their questionnaire.

In the event only three teachers responded placing a severe limit on the teacher/governor perspective.

BULLYING INTERVIEW SCHEDULE. March 1992.

I would like to interview you about the bullying policy against the reality of what actually happens in school, how children treat each other and how staff treat children and how we treat each other.

CLIMATE.

Can you give some examples of the happiest occasions in school?

Can you give some examples of occasions in school which are stressful to you?

Generally what do you most like about the children in school?

Generally what do you least like about the children in school?

What attitude, if any, amongst the children would you most like to see changed?

Is there any time during the school day when children's attitudes change that run counter to the spirit of the school and, if so, when?

Do you think there is room for improvement in the professional relationships amongst the staff and, if so, what?

THE BULLY.

Are there forms of bullying which you particularly don't like?

Which group do you think bully most, boys or girls or both?

Where around school do you think bullying takes place most commonly?

What kinds of things do you think happen in school to cause bullying?

Have you ever seen children help other children in bullying situations?

When you think of bullying do you associate it with boys, girls or both?

What do you think is a main contributor to the makings of a bully?

What do you think a bully derives from bullying?

VICTIM.

Do you think the children in your class know what bullying is?

Have children ever approached you for help having been a victim of bullying and, if so, can you give an example?

If not, why do you think this is?

What steps could you take to encourage children to talk openly about their experience/s should they be bullied?
What do you think is the first priority for dealing with victims of bullying?

Do you ever assure children of the confidentiality they need should they fall victim to bullying and, if so, what?

(If no) Do you think you should take steps to re-assure children of their safety to confide in you?

How do you think victims look after themselves if they don't ask for help?

In general what do you think might happen presently if a bully found out that a victim had been talking to you?

If bullying was not stemmed what possible results might emerge for the victim?

TEACHERS AND BULLYING.

Were you ever bullied at school, and if so, can you remember an occasion?

Can you remember how you coped?

Did you ever bully at school, and if so can you give an example?

Do you think your experiences as a pupil have made an impact on your approach as a teacher to children's bullying and if so how?

Do you think teachers ever bully children?

What ways, if any, do teachers show that they bully pupils?

(If given) Do you use any of the ways you have mentioned?

Do you think coercion is a necessary part of teaching children or could it be viewed as a form of bullying?

What would you say makes a teacher approachable, so that children, particularly victims of bullying, can speak freely to you?

Do you know of teachers who are unapproachable and if so what makes them unapproachable?

What is your reaction if I tell you that children are more likely to tell their parents than their teachers about being bullied?

TEACHER STRATEGIES.

Do you know of any strategies children use to avoid being bullied and, if so, what?

(If no) Do you think it would be useful if they knew of some?
(Fogging, being single minded, assertive, not mixing)

Do you think we should teach specific skills to children so that they may avoid being bullied?

Can you think of strategies you have used to deal with a bully and, if so, what?

If not, why not?

If you saw a case of bullying what steps would you take to begin to resolve it. Perhaps it would be helpful to think of a particular instance.

Do you know of any strategies used by other teachers who have dealt with bullying?

Do you ever trivialise some situations which children might think as serious bullying?

Do you think bullies should be punished and, if so, how?

Have you ever asked the Head Teacher to help solve a case or cases of bullying and, if so can you give an example?

If not why not?

Have you ever involved parents in a case of bullying and, if so, can you give an example?

Have you ever supported lunchtime supervisors when they have dealt with bullying?

Do you think there is any more teachers can do to help lunchtime supervisors and, if so, how?

POLICY.

Is there any difference between the written word in the school policies and practice and, if so, what?

Which of the policies do you think has been the most effective and what has made it effective?

Are there any obstacles to implementing the policies as you would like?

Given the time you've had are you satisfied with the number of policies being presented to you?

We make policies for children but do you think teachers need some as well and, if so, what?

Do you think that sufficient steps are taken to control bullying in school?

Do you think that the bullying policy has offered any solutions to the problem of bullying?

Do you think the policy should have a set of sanctions to deter bullies and, if so, what sanctions?

If there was anything you would add to or change in the bullying policy what would it be?

If there was one thing which you thought of as central, a priority that would make the bullying policy work better what would that be?

Would you prefer guidelines about sanctions for bullies or have sanctions left to your discretion?

Do you think it was necessary to have a bullying policy in school?

COMMUNICATION.

Have you read the policy on school bullying?

Do you have any comment to make about the policy?

Do you ever talk about the school policy on bullying with other people in school and, if so, can you give an example?

Have other teachers talked to you about the school policy on bullying?

Were you satisfied with the amount of consultation made as the bullying policy was drafted and developed?

Do you think that having a policy has made any difference to the way you deal with bullying?

What do you think would help close any gap between policy and practice regarding bullying?

Do you think the teaching staff share ideas with each other enough about ways of dealing with bullying?

What do you think is the main way the teachers find out about incidences of bullying?

Do you ever talk informally with other teachers about bullying and, if so, can you give an example?

Have other teachers in school talked to you about bullying in school?

Do you think bullying in school could be dealt with more effectively if communication between teachers was improved and, if so, how?

Do you think the school has a good enough recording system for keeping a check on incidences of bullying.

Have you ever had to communicate with parents over any incidences of bullying?

Do you think parents are kept sufficiently informed about what happens in school regarding bullying?

Have parents ever volunteered to you opinions regarding bullying?

Would you ever contemplate using bullying as a theme within the framework of the National Curriculum?

Do you think that there has been any noticeable change since the start of the bullying project and, if so, what?

Is there one main thing that would help this project work and reduce bullying?

Thank you very much.

APPENDIX SEVEN

Interview Samples

Submitted are samples of the three teacher interview transcripts.

The lunch time supervisors' interview was not tape-recorded because the teacher/researcher felt they would find it too threatening.

To compensate, the report was signed by a lunch time supervisor as an accurate record.

DEBRA INTERVIEW 4th March 1992.

I I went up to the university with a view to starting a Ph. D. there on bullying.

D On bullying?

I I've still got to have an interview for it but once that's over and what I've decided to look at, you know that we've made a policy on bullying, what I'm going to look into is to see how effective it is.

D Yes.

PI There is a gap between what we actually do and what we say. We've made loads of policies haven't we?

D What we write down and what we actually do?

I Exactly. They are very different. It's totally confidential by the way. No one will know that it's you. I need to give you a fictitious name. Is there anything you fancy?

D Err, no so long as it's polite.

I Brown or [REDACTED] or something?

Jacques

D Yes that's fine, that's fine.

PI I think that's important though because what you've said about the fact that the policy has a mis-match between what we actually write and what we actually do

D It's just practicalities more often than not anyway. Not that there is any problem with what's in the policy it's just actually time.

PI Yes, first of all there's the time to read the policy.

D That's right.

PI Which. Have you?

D (Laugh) Only half.

I (Laugh) Only half.

D I've got it at home actually.

I Yes.

D It's at home.

CLI What do you think generally about the children? It's about a year since I did an assembly and opened it up in school.

D I think we are all more aware. It's more at the front of our mind than it was. I think we would have to presume that well if it happened it happened and it wasn't a serious problem but, what to us isn't a serious problem to the child is very very, well its a major disaster if bullying starts because it builds up out of all proportion, so what might be silly name calling to them is major bullying. We (the teachers) are more aware of that than we were.

BI So really there are two levels, there's the level of bullying in the school relative to other schools and there's bullying relative to the importance that we might take for granted as something trivial you're saying to the child is important.

D Yes. and there's bullying on two levels in this school. There's bullying as we see it and bullying as is experienced by the children and what it actually means to them.

TeI Do you think we ever bully them?

D Yes.

I We teachers?

D Yes.

TeI Unnecessarily?

D Unwittingly sometimes.

TeI Unwittingly?

D I'm sure we do. I mean looking back on it I can think of teacher that bullied me and I'm sure I've done the same thing. I know I'm wrong to do it but you don't think about it until afterwards but you think about it afterwards what you've said or done could have been mis-read or mis-understood by a child that's seen us. A child wouldn't call it bullying but it probably is.

TeI Do you think coercion is the word, that we coerce children into doing things.

D Yes, yes. We put pressure on them.

TeI Do you think there is a difference between coercion because we think it's in the best interests of the child and bullying in the sense of 'I am older than you and I am going to make you do what want?

D I don't think it's anything as obvious as that.

I No.

D And we know it's not bullying but what I'm saying is the child can look upon it as bullying. the child can feel that s/he is being

bullied by a teacher. We're probably not bullying but push them the right direction as it were but to them it could quite easily come over as bullying.

EI What do think is the main evidence that children get that we bull as teachers?

D I think shouting is an obvious one. I think more quietly nagging another one. They feel that they are constantly being got at, constantly being told about something.

PI So part of the policy is about the general ethos in the school which is about being quiet, calm, collected, interested in everybody else.

D Yes, that's ideal.

I Do you think it's something that could work?

D Yes, I wouldn't say work 100% or make a dramatic difference but could see something like that making a difference. It's like the little incident with David. I'm sure he feels sometimes when I've had a go at him that He is being bullied and, you know, bullying was never an intention, it's just to make him aware of the fact that he's got a lot to offer and that he is not doing himself an favours.

CHI So different children will perceive this in different ways and maybe the more sensitive ones-....

D-will think of what we are doing as bullying, although we don't think of it as bullying and perhaps the more confident child and more secure child doesn't look upon it as bullying. They see it for what it is.

I Yes.

D But no doubt there's some children that think teachers bully. Definitely.

CHI What do you think about the relationship amongst the children. Have you observed or felt that there is a difference between how children treat each other since the issue of bullying has become more open?

D I think they treat each other better. There isn't a marked improvement in one or two cases but what there is, is that the children who are the bullies are aware that the victim has a number of people that they can go to and talk it over whereas before they probably kept themselves to themselves or it came out at home. I think the children are aware of victims who are being bullied and the whole idea of this project has made them more aware and they are also more aware that they can come to us to talk about things

aswell as parents. I mean hopefully before parents, because if y
can nip it in the bud that's even better.

SI So if you saw an outright case of bullying do you have a particul
way that you deal with it.?

D I like to think that I don't go in like a bull in a China shop. I
approach one, probably the victim first.

I To give the victim the-....

D Just give them chance to give their side of things and then the
person I saw doing the bullying I would then see, again
individually and I wouldn't tell them that I'd seen the victim.,

VI Right, so that protects the victim.

D Yes, but then again if you see bullying what you're seeing is not
the whole story. What you're seeing could be a culmination of
things.

BI So it's the end product of things.

D Yes, which is why I would talk to them both, individually, then :
it was necessary I would get them together.

SI Have you ever used the boss in an intervention, had to send anyone to him?

D No, never, never. I'm not perfect by any means but I like to feel that socially I'm aware of what goes on.

BI When you get the idea of bullying do you fix it with boys, or do you fix it with girls or do you fix it with both?

D Both, definitely both. Partly because I was on the receiving end of a vast amount of bullying.

TeI So you were a victim?

D Yes, for a couple of years in the Secondary school and I know how absolutely awful girls can be and they can be really mean because they know just where to hit. They know just the sensitive spots the peers they're trying to hurt. They know what they would be sensitive, they know what would upset them.

TeI So can you remember how you survived that?

D One of the things was that I always had, I felt I had support at home, not that they came down to school, they did on one occasion when it got beyond being able to do anything about it. Then I had a couple of very close friends at school who stuck by me and I had support at home level. I never spoke to anyone at school about

They weren't aware that it was going on and I didn't think that a Secondary school all of a sudden you've got numerous teachers and they weren't particularly approachable, so I didn't bother going.

TeI Can you think what it was that made them unapproachable?

D I think first of all they were strangers to me plus the fact that if I went to them that would make me a tell-tale with my classmates. I think that's one of the reasons I didn't go.

ChI Tell-taling? If you had the chance again now that you are a teacher and you could change what you did and you can see clearly what were your options would you have changed your mind?

D I'm glad I stuck it out as I did and I'm glad I didn't go with the crowd and change myself because I think it can make a drastic difference on your own personality if you go with the crowd to become accepted like Phillip does sometimes, I could have done that I think.

ChI If you'd gone with the crowd that would have been one way to solve

D That would have solved my problem but not completely. It may have gone some way to being accepted.

ChI So what you're really saying is that you were single minded and that you did go your own way without any changes.

D Yes, but then as I got through to the fourth year I relaxed a little bit more and people, even though it might have seemed self centred, people saw me for what I was and accepted me for what I was.

VI But don't you think though that the product of being a victim is be made self-centred and that that is part of the problem?

D You have to look after number one.

VI It's a kind of safety valve for you isn't it? I really must look after myself. Nobody else is going to

D No. I can see it now. There were four people and one member of staff I would trust at school. Looking back I should have gone back to that member of staff with my problems because I'm sure he knew what was going on and I should have gone but they weren't t approachable.

VI No, and you were more fearful of the things that would happen to you if they felt that you had been telling, in other words you that as a weakness?

D Yes, definitely. Looking back now that I'm teaching myself I know that what I would have said to the teacher would have been treated in the strictest confidence but you don't think that at the time because there were so many people who I knew were against me

because of the small number that were then I just assumed that it would be right to get everyone together and let's get it sorted out.

SI Yes, so presumably you've done that in your teaching strategies i that has arisen it's been something open?

D Yes. They've got to be able to talk to teacher about things. Got be because more often than not they can't solve it on their own.

I But do they?

D They do more now.

I Over the last...?

DWell going back. I had this class three years ago and they more willing to come and talk now than they were and I think it happening throughout the school. Children are more willing to up to you.

CI Have the other staff ever mentioned the issue of bullying as k of an informal chat in the staffroom?

D Oh yes it crops up. Again it is because we are aware.

CI I always feel that because I'm co-ordinator of this project that it's only going to crop up when I instigate..

D No, it does crop up. I think it needs to crop up aswell because you're on yard duty then you can be made aware of the problem otherwise you wouldn't have see. If a teacher knows it has started in the classroom or she knows it has been happening with some people in his/her class then if they tell you in the staffroom during a conversation, you make a mental note and when you're out there on yard duty you can watch things.

TI So, if you thought there was one thing that would help this project work so that when the University come to do the survey again at the end, one main thing that would promote a closer match between the policy which is for a calm atmosphere and what is actually happening now, one thing that would help that along the route?

D Communication, communication by pupil to staff, staff to pupil, staff to each other, parents - wherever, communication because when that communication breaks down that when the victims start to suffer and the bullies get away with it.

I Brilliant, thank you. Do you have any thing you want to ask me?

D No, I don't think so.

45 Cards

CAROLYN INTERVIEW 6 3 92

I To begin with I can assure you of complete confidentiality regarding this interview, what you have said or who has said it. No one will know of your input because I will change your name. Is there any name which you would prefer? Would you mind that?

C No, not at all.

I What I'm looking into is the fact that we are writing all these policies and you've got the Maths policy in hand and I've the Science policy and the bullying policy. John's done the RE policy and the CD policy and Julie is on with the History policy and we seem to be writing these policies ever so nicely and ever so quickly and yet nothing seems to happen.

C It doesn't seem to make any difference does it?

I No. We make them and pop them in a file and carry on.

C I agree. You read it through and think oh yes and the next thing comes along and you haven't had time to digest anything and act on it before the next policy comes along.

I That's right. Yes.

- C There's no time standing and taking stock before the next one comes along.
- I It's saturation isn't it?
- C Yes.
- I So, I suppose in one sense the safety valve for that saturation is to say right well we can only do so much, switch off and leave them.
- C You do. You do what you can till the next thing comes along and interrupts. You shelve what ever is there and try and take on the next one or you get left behind. If you concentrate on one you're lost because you're taking everything else on board that you do.
- I The particular one that I'm going to be looking into is the bullying policy and I want to interview you about the ideals set into the policy against the backcloth of what actually happens in reality in the classroom and how children treat each other and how staff treat children and how we treat each other. In these respects do you think there is room for improvement?
- C Yes, particularly the same things happening again and again which need attention.

I Things happening again and again?

C The same things and there's no solution to put forward.

I Perhaps solutions should be in the policy then?

C I don't know, because I don't think there is one solution because there are so many different aspects of it and each one requires different solutions.

I So you don't think you can prescribe?

C I don't think so. It's got to be an overall thing. We've never got together and talked it through.

I Did you not talk it through before the policy was made?

C No.

I Did it not circulate the staff in one meeting?

C I don't remember it. I honestly don't remember it.

I Really?

C I don't remember ever discussing it at all.

I I thought while I was away that the policy had been brought forward to a staff meeting before it went back to the group meeting on Wednesday for verification. Did that not happen?

C Well if it did I don't remember it. It could well have done but it's not one that I remember because I remember us saying we ought to get together and discuss what we had got out of those various days and groups and things that we had, which we had a short time on but there's never been a.....well.

I It's all been informal hasn't it?

C Yes and something, not to do with subjects but its a whole school thing and being aware that if a certain situation occurs, there are certain steps to go through or this could be the best way of dealing with it or whatever.

I So, we cant be prescriptive in specific situations but we can be prescriptive generally?

C Generally, yes, to have a common....I mean it's down in the policy but it's not,...I don't know. Unless we have a meeting and a talk through it just gets shelved. At least it brings it to everybodies thoughts for a time or you're just given a few sheets of paper and that's it, it's gone with all the other one and shelved away and everyone goes a on in exactly the same way.

I So even if you've read the Bullying Policy it hasn't made any difference?

C No, I mean I've read it, I've filed it but I couldn't tell you an awful lot about it.

I No.

C To be perfectly honest. At the time when you read it through you think "Yes, yes, yes, yes, you don't feel that there is anything contradictory or that there is anything you can't believe in, you can't accept. But....."

I What do you think about the attitudes of the children so far? You know this bullying projects been going for about a year. Do you think there has been any improvement, or is it the same or worse?

C It seems, well, I don't know that we actually ever saw a lot of it because I don't think it's necessarily, well I don't think they do it in front of us. I think they try very hard not to. Their general attitude in the playground seems to be a lot better, they're more actively involved in playing which seems to have helped I think. The little surveys that were done the other day showed a step in the right direction.....It's subversive isn't it? It's not done where adults can see. It's something that's done amongst themselves when they are on their own. I

mean there must be odd little bits done in the classroom,
obviously.

I But certainly not when we are there.

C It's out of where they are directly controlled. More or less as
soon as they are out of the door.

I So the implication of that is that there is a regime that
controls it because if there was nothing to control it then they
would be bullying anywhere. In other words if bullying wasn't
problematic or that they were going to get into trouble then it
would be something they might do in front of us?

C Oh, yes.

I Does that make it covert because there are a series of
consequences of bullying?

C Yes.

I So we do use a series of strategies for dealing with it.....?

C Yes.....

I But....we've not communicated them to each other. Would you say
that was true?

C Yes.

I You're saying we need to get together and communicate that we will deal with bullying should it arise in a way that is effective but we haven't yet talked about that as a staff?

C It's like discipline throughout school. It's taken for granted that it is done in certain ways. I think that is because it is a long, established staff which assumes that everybody else will just fit in but nobody's ever told, you pick it up. Nobody's ever told that this is the line that's followed or we allow this or we allow that. It occasionally happens like the playground; they're not allowed to do or they are allowed to do but it's very open and left to everybody. Okay, that's trust but if there are policies for everything else we need guidelines just as much as they do.

I We tend to make policies for children but we need some as well?

C Yes, I think we do. I mean, we've been given National Curriculum and what we've got to teach. I mean it only needs one rotten apple in a barrel. I still think it would be helpful to have certain guidelines to follow in the sense that, you know, if that happens then that course of action or that, or that. We find out but....

I So there's nothing in writing.

C No.

I It is left to our discretion.

C Absolutely.

I Do you think we ever bully children as teachers??

C Not consciously, but I'm sure we do. We might not consider it as bullying because it's defining what bullying is but I think we have to stop ourselves from bullying. I think it's inevitable that there are children you take to and children you don't.

I There has been evidence around school of teachers shouting at children. Do you think that is a form of bullying?....without mentioning any names.

C There's shouting and shouting. It depends what it's for.

I Are there any other ways that we overtly bully them like shouting at them

C Erm..It depends.

I But do you think that is a form of bullying when teachers shout at children?

C No, I think it depends on your definition of bullying.

I Your definition of bullying in a teacher/pupil relationship would be.....? Can you think of an example which would be classed as outright bullying?

C No, I'd have to think about that one.

I As an example: I'm tall. My presence with a child must seem gigantic. To overpower a child I only have to stand very close and make them look up. If I was to do that and include shouting at them I'm sure I could make them very, very frightened. Would you see that as bullying?

C No. I wonder consider that what ever you were doing that you had a very good reason for doing it and that you'd thought it out. I wouldn't think that you were bullying because bullying is doing something satisfying you as a means to an end. Now you wouldn't be doing that and getting any satisfaction out of it.

I No.

C You'd do it for a reason.

I So there is a sense of satisfaction goes with bullying?

C I'm sure it does. It's power.

I So, were you ever bullied at school?

C Yes. I can remember when I was about seven or eight. What I can remember is that I used to go home for dinner and I remember running all the way home.

D Do you think that's had an impact on the way you treat children as a teacher the fact that you know what it feels like?

C Certainly, I'm very aware if there is ever someone left on their own because I know what it feels like. I don't like chanting. Chanting in the playground immediately I stop. I'm sure that goes back to it.

I Because you were chanted at?

C Yes. Whether it's chanting for a game, I stop it. I don't even find out what it is. I immediately stop it because it goes back to it. I know it does.

I So do you hear a lot of chanting when you're not on duty?

C (Laugh) No, no.

I Now that we've talked about the policy and the mis-match between what actually happens and what is written into the policy if there was one thing which you thought of as central, that would

be a priority that would make that policy work better what would that be?

C The other ones we worked through because they are a part of teaching and you've got to be aware of certain things, shelved to a certain extent but we're putting them into practice. We don't have to put the other one into practice because it is not in the classroom as such, it's more outside.

I Finally is there anything is there anything you'd like to add? Anything?

C I don't think so, no.

I Don't worry about that. I'll be coming back to you in a short time.

C (Laugh)

I You didn't find the interview threatening?

C No.

I Splendid. Thank you very much.

C It's been a pleasure.

48 Cards

12/4/91

DINNER TIME SUPERVISORY STAFF INTERVIEW.

There are five supervisory staff at lunchtime. On the day I interviewed them one was absent with illness.

The staff said that 'wet' days when children were kept indoors produced one set of problems whilst days when children played out on the yard/field produced a different set.

During wet weather children are kept indoors and the supervisory staff patrol the classrooms and corridors to maintain reasonable control. Some classes, they say, are better than others in doing as they are told but there isn't one class that has at least one child who causes at least minor disruptions. On wet days some children particularly in 5H and 3E will not stay in their classrooms and use going to the toilet as an excuse for wandering around. When told to go to their classroom some children are cheeky but stubbornly go back whilst a few 'slow-time' staying out for as long as they can. With these children the supervisory staff find themselves shouting and eventually threaten the child/ren with deterrents such as sending to the Head, standing in a corridor or outside the Heads office because they have disobeyed the dinner ladies.

Inside the classrooms most children find something quietly to do, games to play, reading, drawing etc. but, a few children cause disruption. The most common is shouting out but they also tease each other, call names and provoke which can lead to classroom brawls particularly amongst the boys. It is as if they've too much energy, often on a high pitched level of boisterousness which the supervisory staff find difficult to manage and contain.

The staff prefer dry days when the children can get out to play but this too can cause problems. The problems amongst the boys are different from the girls. The staff claim that if girls are going to cause trouble they bicker, bitch and are catty among each other. The girls in 5J have a reputation for behaviour like this. When the lunchtime staff identify a problem, usually arguing they intervene and find that the girls will stop to the satisfaction of the staff. However, they realise after two years practice that the stoppage is likely to be temporary. The problem is the unpredictability of when next the girls begin to wrangle.

The major problem with the boys is usually during a game. The main game is football and they tend to hog the yard for themselves. Arguments start because boys disagree with each other about;

- 1 who will play, (rejection of those who can't)
- 2 rules of the games,
- 3 disputes over judgements during a game.
- 4 territories of play.

Resulting interventions by lunchtime supervisory staff prove more difficult to manage because some boys argue back, are rude, take no notice, are defiant replying "I'm not," and sometimes shout at the dinner ladies. There are arrogant types, claim the staff, who will not apologise if they are rude. This happens at least once weekly.

Two or three times a week the staff have to deal with fighting and the aggression, particularly with the older boys, is difficult to contain because of the loss of temper, the sheer strength and severity of the hitting. It can take some minutes to break up a serious engagement and usually needs two staff. Other children do not help because by ganging round and taunting they encourage fights rather than stop them.

The most rewarding days for the dinner ladies is when children can use the field to play but two problems arise here. The spread of play over a wide area makes it difficult to help sort multiple problems that occur at the same time but in different places on the field. Secondly, it is difficult to keep all the children within the territory (large as it is) where they can be observed. There is a bank down which children sometimes go but is beyond the limit of play.

The supervisory staff do not like to ask teachers for help because it is their break. Unless a teaching member of staff is around coincidentally and takes on the responsibility for a lunchtime problem dinner ladies attempt to deal with all the problems which arise. Their only other course is to ask the Head. 36 CARED

There are changes which the lunchtime supervisory staff would like introduced into school:

- 1 More for the children to do.
- 2 More equipment for them to use outdoors.
- 3 Told more about lunchtime activities.

The dinner ladies realised that each change had implications. For instance, if children had school equipment to play with it would need looking after, and, if not, might soon be lost.

Some lunchtimes have activities organised by teachers for the children. The lunchtime supervisors would like to know when they arrive for duty what is happening instead of finding out second hand, sometimes from children. Good communication with them, they said, would help them better organise their work for the day.

Communication

40

WE would also like Teachers to
ISSUE PERMISSION SLIPS to children who
Are allowed to stay inside to do jobs
or other Activities. This would not be
necessary when alot of children are
staying in for choir etc. #1

APPENDIX EIGHT

Peer Nomination Sample

To maintain anonymity, the following peer nominations hold true results but fictitious names.

As true identities would be revealed, submission of the original eight class lists would need negotiating.

PEER NOMINATION Y6 1991 1992

ording to the analysis method used on the 1991 - 1992 cohort pupils) in Y6 the following children are most likely to e BULLIED.

s not include trivial events. * Denotes bully/victim

LOT	OFTEN	A LITTLE	NEVER
4	3	2	1

GIRLS

BOYS

Ann Holden	2.42	Louis Wadsworth	2.96
Jennifer Downs	2.05	Ian Morton	2.95
*Sarah Woods	2.08	*John Holding	2.69
*Paula Hemsworth	2.03	Richard Crooks	2.46
Emma Yates	2.00	John Forman	2.30
		*Richard Haynes	2.15
		Barry Charlton	2.12
		David Wright	2.03
		*David Proud	2.03
		Mark Wadsworth	2.00
		Jonathan Wyke	2.00

6 GIRLS AVERAGE 1.65

Y6 BOYS AVERAGE 1.84

Y6 TOTAL 15 of 49

6 children have been nominated bullies during their 6th year.

children appear to have been both bully and victim.

APPENDIX NINE

Pupil Case Studies

The eight cases submitted cover a number of years from 1989 onwards. All names are anonymous.

PAUL.

Paul, aged 10 in a mixed ability Y5 class of 29 children appears despised by his peers. At best boys and girls ignore him, at worst he is called names, taunted and bullied. It is as if the children are frightened of losing favour with each other should they have familiar contact with him. The hate generated appears deep rooted and long term. He comes to school clean yet no one will;

sit next to him,
work with him,
play with him
partner him voluntarily,

THE CLASSROOM.

Paul's involvement in classroom group situations created tension. Group members argued in front of Paul about who should sit next to him. Key tasks were secondary to the social differences. Despite strategic teacher interventions to resolve the problems, Paul was then left alone to work, snubbed, whilst others continued with the task. Paul's isolation led to off-task behaviours. He teased and gained attention by irritating group members. They reported his behaviour but Paul then lied about them. Spurned by girls and boys, compulsory partnering with Paul was also resented. His behaviour toward them and their behaviour towards him was unacceptable.

Groups rebuffed Paul who then retaliated with spurious behaviour which, in turn, exacerbated poorer behaviour towards him. This development over the years could be described as a deteriorating spiral. Whether or not Paul realised his plight it was dangerous to assume that he was aware of their abhorrence of him. The class appeared trapped into this disturbing cycle of alienation, unable to reverse the disturbing trend individually or collectively.

Paul's worsening social ostracism and attention seeking needed more than short-term classroom intervention. A well-planned, long-term developmental intervention might begin changes which harmonized rather than antagonised peer relationships. Open protection for Paul may have aggravated and further alienated them from him. They may have perceived as favouritism the teacher's acceptance of Paul's previous and present behaviours. The children would need to accept that constructive change applied to all of them.

Change for Paul was not the only answer to the problem. Different children treated Paul with different degrees of severity. The class too held collective responsibilities for Paul's demise. Changing their behaviour

was essential if a satisfactory outcome was to be achieved. There was no point in changing Paul's behaviour without equal consideration to changes in the attitudes of the class, for without both progress could not be made.

Time, limited to this cohort, made the work with Paul urgent. This could possibly produce change in him which would underpin changes in them.

The degenerative behavioural spiral needed stopping then directing into a positive spiral. The central aim was to plan and develop strategies to help

Paul and his peers reconcile their differences by focussing on the

immediate social needs. Working with one person could be easily

monitored, more productive which, in the time constraints, became

imperative. The question was what to change, by how much and how

quickly, when to change and who to involve. Ethically, informing

parents was vital but gathering evidence and understanding was vital

before making decisions and involving others.

Paul's academic ability measured by internal and standardized testing

showed Paul as slightly above average ability.

Mortimor (1988) found that behaviour and attainment are more closely linked in younger children.

Activity	Standardized score.	Age	Chron. Age.
Reading (Wide Span)	106	11.0	10.4
Spelling		12.9	
Mathematics.(NFER)	100	10.8	
Intelligence quotient	108		

Paul's I.Q. suggests he may be under-achieving minimally but his past and present school records and reports show his satisfactory academic progress through school. There is no social record.

Within his reasonable academic background Paul, must have developed strategies which either ignored his social disadvantage or he coped in some way. Coping may be a rationalization which suited him, but a pretence which was irrational to others. As the socialization was long term he may consider his negative condition as normal and, despite the anxiety, feels comfortable with this schema. Negative experience became preferential to change creating dissonance during the disestablishment of usual behaviour patterns. These Maslow (1983) calls "negative needs."

From my perspective Paul's immediate needs appear to be

- 1 tolerance from those who collude to isolate and neglect him
- 2 a reduction in his provocative behaviour,
- 3 changes in his reasons for and strategies to seek attention
- 4 an examination of his ability to lie about others
- 5 a reduction of the peer bullying and victimisation
- 6 wanting friendship (but not knowing how to get it.)
- 7 improved relationships with peers and adults in school,
- 8 recognition of his being and of his attainments,
- 9 a comfortable and satisfactory working relationship in class,
- 10 an ability to join in play with others,
- 11 long-term stability and security.

Initial observations showed Paul's classroom behaviour during individual working phases as not disruptive. He was unobtrusive and rather withdrawn. In the overall cheerful ambience of teacher led phases Paul appeared to join in. In the short-term Paul attempted to generate working relationships and possibly friendship but his approaches were constantly rejected. In turn their disaffection meant long-term loneliness.

Consequently, Paul was attempting to make friendships with the people who taunted and rejected him.

In group situations Paul was observed to be the only child not task-oriented. Most groups involving Paul arranged their seating with Paul out of the group and their backs to him. His first task was to become a member of the group. The others would be trying to start a learning task.

Paul quietly drew the attention of the nearest child in the group by nudging, poking or showing something from his pocket. The child showed that they s/he did not want this to happen by ignoring him. He appeared to try and become the joker of the group but nobody laughed. As his behaviour was incongruent with that of the group they would periodically turn and chastise him, quietly spurn him away (for fear of getting into trouble) and then return to their task. Paul would persist until there was more attention on him than on the task. A member of the group then complained to the teacher and the observation stopped.

Another strategy which Paul used was not to share equipment designed for the group to use. He would hoard things and not let them go.

Children in groups complained about his not sharing things and lack of cooperation.

When these strategies didn't help draw attention he turned to name calling. Which names is not clear but children complained about this as well. All his activities were designed to maximize attention seeking from the group and minimize the chance of attention from the teacher.

What is perplexing is that Paul's indulgence in covert tantalizing, persistently uncooperative and quiet, disruptive behaviour is developmental. The feedback directly to him about his behaviour is overwhelmingly negative yet Paul appears unable to change his own behaviour in response to the caustic approaches of the class. This is a uniquely cultural phenomenon that has been allowed to develop albeit unintentionally. There is no doubt that he and the class need help to somehow stop and reverse this deepening trend.

OUTSIDE.

Outside in play situations Paul has developed a strategy which has created for him the idea that he is joining in, an illusion that he is playing with others and they are playing with him. I observed his behaviour over several play times when he attempted to join a game of football. A pattern emerged each play time. Paul was never chosen to play. When he asked if he could he was refused. Paul waited in the side line until the game had started and then ran as if a member of one of the sides, usually his own class.

In one observation he

Threw up his arms ecstatically	8 times
Cheered loudly	6
Clapped	6
Called for the ball	15
Jumped with exhilaration	4

at the appropriate times. Yet he touched the ball only twice and on both occasions was told "leave the ball," and "get lost." He patted three boys on their backs in congratulatory gestures for scoring goals and shouted "brilliant play" but these were ignored as the boys walked past him.

Three contacts with others ended abruptly with being;

- 1 kneed in the hip,
- 2 pushed away arms length from the game,
- 3 pushed sideways from the goalmouth.

These contacts were not severe but were sufficient to disallow Paul from entering into the game. He appeared momentarily intimidated but immediately took on his role as the pretend player. Other than this he ran alone, made no tackles and was totally ignored by the other players. None spoke to him and he played a solitary game. No-one playing conspired with others to reject Paul. There was no gang bullying. It appeared a mutual understanding and intent that each would treat Paul in the same way. When afterwards I asked him if he had enjoyed his game of football he replied that he had enjoyed the game very much.

At this stage I did not wish to ask but Paul seemed to think he;

- 1 really thought he was playing with the boys,
- 2 somehow tolerated and rationalised their rejections,
- 3 ~~he~~ had ~~not~~ learnt how to play or interact with his peers.

Paul's previous teacher commented that he could mimic a game of football, make appropriate noises and actions but was ignored by the other children.

His behaviour at football was not antagonistic, not interventionist nor interactive but a passive, subordinate role and lonely. Whether or not he knew this is not clear. From a position of powerlessness he appeared to tolerate this inadequacy with not much trouble. This indicated that he had become used to such treatment, that it was normal for him to be isolated

LYING.

Whether in the classroom or playing outside Paul's reaction to complaints about his behaviour towards others was to deny outright any involvement.

Paul's truth usually contradicted the truth of his peers. No matter who complained or how many corroborated complaints there were, he vehemently denied any charge. No rational point of view or strength of

argument could change his story. Paul denied things even if he had been seen doing something irregular by a teacher who had approached him. Even under considerable pressure from adults in school who, at first hand, witnessed his teasing behaviour of others, Paul would deny categorically that he had done anything. As he had said something, then for him, because he had said it, it became the truth. In his denials Paul's responses could be described as;

1 plausible, systematic, persistent and benevolent deception.

He seemed persuaded by his own explanations, tending to place a benevolent interpretation of his stories more so than those of others. This was self-defensive and appeared to reflect an intransigence, want and/or need to draw favour or develop allegiances with other pupils. Indeed, the opposite seemed likely. As he has no contractual tie of friendship with anyone therefore there was nothing lost by lying about other pupils or events. His denials appeared for him to become the truth.

Paul's ability to perpetuate his truth against all odds frustrated pupils. The complexity is confounded by Paul's ability to lie using a different strategy. He seemed to develop two distinct forms the second of which appeared as;

2 confused, pathetic, outrageous and diversionary lies.

Pupils found this very frustrating when they tried to report Paul's behaviour to the teacher. Taking account of their behaviour of him it was always difficult to decide if pupils were seriously concerned about taking them off-task and losing their concentration because of his quiet disruptive classroom behaviour or whether they were trying to get him into trouble. Paul appeared at his most eloquent when he was able to upset children in their attempts to seek a just and honest outcome. Not only did Paul frequently lie to divert the truth but if it suited him he would change a version of an event several times. Pupils were observed to be frustrated while Paul remained calm.

Maurice was a popular boy with a strong and spirited character who cried in the classroom if only at the frustration of being unable to settle a dispute about Paul with their teacher. Even though Paul showed in a sociometric test that he preferred to work with Maurice, Maurice was distraught when Paul had persistently teased and disturbed him and then lied. Despite his apparent preferences Paul appeared dispassionate, unconcerned and disinterested in Maurice so much so that Paul seemed not to recognize that he had caused the upset.

With so many changing stories it was difficult for the teacher to believe Paul particularly when problems had arisen outside. For a boy of 'above average intelligence' his strategies seemed inexcusable and perplexing. From Paul's perspective the calculated lying must have appeared in the short-term to do him more good than harm otherwise he would surely have learnt to change tack. This may reflect deep-rooted behaviour, behaviour which Paul now finds as part of his schema. He can not or does not realise the long-term damage he creates in his relationships and continues to be an obstacle to any socially acceptable way forward for him.

A POSSIBLE EXPLANATION.

Tolerance appears a key factor in the behaviours shown towards him and from him towards other. One interpretation of tolerance reflects a genuine objection which imposes self-restraint upon the tolerator, King (1976).

The very act of ignoring Paul may have been the children's best strategy for tolerating him. Unsatisfactory as it is Paul must have relied on loneliness as a norm in his school life. The consistency lay in not only the level of tolerance from individuals but, despite being uniquely individual,

the level of tolerance from individuals when they were in a group. This implies that children do not necessarily conspire against or gang up on Paul but have a non-verbal understanding that he is to be treated as he is and for them this seems likely to be their norm.

The level of toleration is shown also in the imposition of sanctions upon him, particularly by boys with whom Paul tried to play. The contact is not necessarily violent but persistent taunting and intimidation, sufficient to keep him distant from not only the immediate game but, more seriously, from making any kind of caring human relationship. Paul's only attempt (and possibly his only option) was to patronize the other boys, to pat their backs, praise their goal scoring and shout compliments at them. From observations of him doing this it made him look pathetic and lost, for however hard he tried, his buoyant moments were ignored.

Whether by choice or not, Paul appeared undisturbed by his treatment. He never seemed really hurt but may have been pretending. His treatment was tantamount to a form of bullying, a peer pressure to induce isolation and loneliness. He may not have realised this because the behaviours exhibited towards him was so long-standing and had long since become

normal and schematically preferable. This matches Maslow's (op cit) notion of negative needs.

The time over which this cycle has been allowed to develop causes concern. Paul's serious and complex social problems appear to have compounded themselves as he and the other children grow older. It is well established, Tattum and Lane (1988) and Smith (1991), that antisocial as well as social behaviour deepens and becomes more sophisticated with age. Thus what may have been open hostility at an earlier stage ~~can~~ become sinister, subversive and covert behaviour. This in itself suggests the case be given urgent priority.

Whilst in Y4 Paul's PE kit was thrown into a toilet bowl and flushed by a boy urged on by other boys. Actions like this, whilst nasty, are obvious overt actions and hence more easy to solve on a "who done it" basis. Spotting malicious rumour, name calling or telling lies amongst older children is not as obvious and harder to solve. Elton's (1989) evidence suggests that waiting for bad behaviours to occur in children is too late. Preventative action early before bad behavioural patterns emerge is preferable. This should have applied to Paul and the others as the

behaviour emerged which, as indicated, has been happening for some four years.

It is an indictment of the present school system that Paul has gone so far through school without being given serious attention. Day by day classroom dealings have led to no satisfactory outcome. It seems that reactive crisis management was used to alleviate individual problems and incidences which in the short term were preventative temporarily but in the long term of no use at all. This suggested is that an intervention of greater magnitude was needed to instil change of a nature which would be permanent.

A POSSIBLE SOLUTION.

The outcome was a counselling programme for Paul and his mother. Mum had been having difficulties coping with him and, although she found it difficult to accept, she knew that Paul lied. The counselling helped them not only to reconcile the seriousness of Paul's social problem but to clearly understand the cyclical nature of his regression.

We eventually agreed that by breaking into the cycle and challenge one

behaviour to change then other behaviours would follow suit. This gave Paul several options from which he could choose and be able to deal with himself but with close support, monitoring and feedback. We aimed at slowing and stopping the degenerative social cycle at the point where Paul told lies. The plan was then to slowly build a generative cycle, one in which Paul would reintegrate himself into a setting, where pupils would expect something different from him and not the appalling and persistent hatred which presently blights him. For Paul, the classification of being a "neglectee" or a "provocative bully" is immaterial. In his abyss all the labels seem so artificial.

This may be a start for Paul but it says nothing of the belligerent and uncompromising behaviour of the other pupils. This is something which the school will have to address. It points at the attitudinal quality which, if unchecked, pupils can display and the whole structure management of behaviour in the school.

VICTIM CHECKLIST.

his checklist is based upon the 1991 - 1992 cohort definition of bullying.

Child's name David Wilkinson Class... 3 Date... 2.....

Check (Tick) PRIORITY Sweet Notes DN. KH. F

	Check (Tick)	PRIORITY	Notes
Name calling	/		But more spicy than before
Hit			
Fighting			Offered -
Teased	/		
Kicked	/		
Picked-on	/		
Upset	/		
Made cry	/		
Physically hurt			
Said nasty things	/		
Beaten up			
Demanded belongings	/		But didn't take -
Demanded money	/		
Smacked			
Thumped			
Pushed down	/		
(Pulled)	/		
Isolated	/		
Tormented	/		
Told Tales			
Threatened	/		
Spread rumours	/		to other boys
Pestered	/		
Forced			
Nipped			
Made fun of	/		
Pulled hair			
Scratched			
Spat at			
Bitten			
Hidden belongings			
Interfered in play	/		
Pulled faces			
Other:	Made to do	/	lend pen etc

Wolff Annoyed combat cop.

DANIEL.

In the 1993 - 1994 cohort Baden Road School was working in conjunction with the University of Sheffield Psychology Department on a bullying project initiated by the Department for Education. During this time Mrs Fowler found out that her son Daniel was again being bullied persistently at school and decided to contact the link person at the University to find out what could be done to help. She was advised to contact the school and during September 1993 Mrs Fowler, feeling distressed, contacted the class teacher at Baden Road because Daniel was being physically and verbally bullied. She claimed not only had her son been bullied recently at school by one boy, John, in previous years and had not stopped. However the bully had been dealt with it had not worked.

I had developed a number of interventionist and interactive skills to help victims during the D.f.E. INSET. project work and wanted to help him. This would simultaneously;

1. focus on the victim rather than the bully,
2. practice the interventionist/interactive skills with a victim,
3. enable evaluation and assessment of the skills to take place.
4. help improve Daniel's ability to deal with his circumstances.
5. practice monitoring a victim's progress.

appropriate. As Daniel was not in my class it was ethically correct to ask his class teacher if I could try to help Daniel. He agreed. The class teacher confirmed that ^{John} Jonathan had bullied before but knew nothing of Daniel's case until Mrs Fowler came to school.

Initial Enquiries.

From informal observations of him during his three years at Baden Road he appeared quiet, pleasant, unassuming and well-behaved but rather timid and submissive to other boys' demands particularly during play. He had a group of about six friends but it wasn't always possible to play with them on every occasion as during some play times each had other things to do connected with school. Nor was it possible to avoid the bully at play times as friendship groups intermingled particularly when playing school yard football. The result of the bullying was that Daniel didn't want to come to school.

Daniel was particularly frightened of one boy who had dominated and made Daniel do things he didn't want to. John had the ability to make Daniel upset and sometimes cry without having to hit him. Daniel's greatest fear throughout his ordeal was that he would be isolated from his friends. John persistently called

him nasty names, words which Daniel found embarrassing and some he couldn't repeat. Some were rude and Daniel particularly hated being called "dickhead" as he was so frequently called it but never dared say anything. He was often told to "fuck off" when playing and forced to stop playing. This made Daniel feel lonely and helpless as his other friends continued playing along with John. Others were nick names like "specy four eyes" which Daniel didn't like because he wore glasses. Daniel's teeth protruded very slightly but John used this to repeatedly call him "goofy." Most of the name calling hurt Daniel and made him more aware of what John was aiming to ridicule. Daniel began to see his features as weaknesses about which he could do nothing to protect himself. The greatest effect on Daniel was that he felt different and isolated.

Even when Daniel wasn't playing near John he would interfere with the game picking on Daniel to make fun of in front of his friends. The horrible things which John did made him feel lonely. He felt that he wasn't as popular as John but tried not to let anyone know. Daniel couldn't understand how it was that John was so popular when he could be so horrible. Daniel was always frightened of John because of the frequency and number of different things which John had done to him. He couldn't think why so many nasty things happened.

John began to stop Daniel in the yard and for no reason call names and push him down. In no particular order Daniel had been teased and tormented many times but he didn't know how to stop John. Daniel thought that if he did nothing John might stop but he didn't. John also demanded money and belongings although he never took anything. Daniel tried different things like walking away but this didn't work.

This behaviour continued in the classroom when the teacher wasn't looking. John would take Daniel's things like pencils and felt tipped pens to use without asking. John treated him like a servant. Daniel was made to fetch things for John from other pupils. For some time Daniel thought by doing these favours for John he would become a friend and he wouldn't need to tell anyone but his treatment got worse. John made plans about Daniel and spread rumours to the others. Daniel was both hurt and worried what the others might think and do. John had the ability to get other children to laugh at Daniel and this helped make him feel even more isolated. John "offered" to fight Daniel at times and frightened him with threats to "beat him up" after school. John never did but managed to keep Daniel frightened for many days incase he did. As a result Daniel was always pleased to be out of school before John so that he could get home quickly. Even so

Daniel was feeling annoyed and inside knew he couldn't cope with John's bullying.

Eventually Daniel didn't want to come to school complaining of stomach ache and making other excuses. Sometimes it worked but Mum began to recognize that Daniel was unhappy and that the problem lay at school. If Daniel had been bullied for two years, and there was no reason to doubt Mrs Fowler, it was important to begin sessions as soon as possible provided Daniel agreed. The next day I spoke with Daniel privately and confidentially and suggested that help was at hand if he wanted it. This meeting was planned to include:

1. The development of a very calm and non-threatening atmosphere.
2. An empathic approach.
3. A faithful promise that the bully would never find out.
4. Assurances of confidentiality except Mum who already knew.
5. Attempts to improve Daniel's self-esteem.
6. Giving Daniel the feeling that he was safe.
7. Giving him enough support to help depress his fear.

Secrecy was promised. I would make sure the bully would not find out and that he would be safe if we met. We planned weekly meetings in school after all the other children had gone home. Daniel returned with Mum at 4.00pm, 45 minutes after school had finished. Each of the six sessions lasted about forty minutes

until Daniel felt we ought to stop. Each sessions started with a revision of the previous week's work and ended with a summary.

By the first session I had decided that the best course for Daniel was assertiveness training involving a number of activities designed to raise self-esteem, give confidence, self-respect and based on the premise that every individual possesses certain human rights.

Session One: An informal discussion with Daniel and his Mum about the sessions, that hopefully they would be enjoyable and what we were going to try and achieve.

First Game: Assertiveness Skill: Yes, Yes, Yes and No, No, No.

- Objective 1. To introduce an easy but effective game.
- 2 To give Daniel the feeling of success.
 - 3 To give Daniel the ability to say "NO."
 - 4 To give Daniel opportunities to say no to a teacher.
 - 5 To explore various ways of saying "NO."

Session Two: An informal discussion on the previous week's game. Mrs Fowler confirmed that Daniel had been practising and had enjoyed the session.

Second Game: Assertiveness Skill: Why Why and How How games

- Objectives. 1 To explore Daniel's feelings about being bullied.
- 2 To explore reasons why Jonathan should bully Daniel.
 - 3 To explore ways to prevent being bullied.

Session Three: A discussion about the previous week's game and that Mrs Fowler had investigated with Daniel other leading questions using the same games.

Third Game: Assertiveness Skills: More Yes Yes Yes, No No No
More Why Why, How How.

Objectives. 1 To reinforce the previous two sessions work.
2 To connect Yes Yes Yes, No No No with
Why Why Why, How How How.

Session Four: A discussion about the previous week's work.
A Yes Yes Yes, No No No practice.

Fourth Game: Assertiveness Skill: Body Language and "I am Good."

Objectives. 1 To increase Daniel's awareness of body language.
2 To make Daniel's body language give the right
signals
3 To reassure Daniel that he is good at many things.

Session Five. A discussion about the previous week's work.

Social Skills: "Let's Do That Again" and "That Was Fun."

Objectives. 1 To reinforce his present abilities.
2 That he enjoys what he does.

The session continued with a peer nomination exercise, a class ladder of who gets their own way.

Session Six. A discussion about the previous week's work.
A re-cap on all that has been done and the skills learnt.

Reinforcement: To watch a video showing some of the skills in practice in the programme "Tomorrow's World."

Objectives. 1 To show Daniel that others need help as well.
2 To discuss the issues raised by the programme.
3 To conclude the sessions.

I suggested that Daniel had developed a number of skills to help him and that I felt he had had enough for the time being. Mrs Fowler and Daniel agreed. In future Daniel would be able to initiate the arrangement of sessions if he wished to have them.

Follow-Up.

Daniel and three other classmates were interviewed. The latter were interviewed to deflect attention about Daniel's withdrawal from the class. The class was informed that the interviews were

about the D.f.E project for which the children filled in questionnaires.

Two weeks after session six Mrs Fowler was interviewed at home to gather her views of the sessions and of Daniel's progress.

Unstructured playground observations started twice weekly whenever I was on playground duty which continued until the end of term.

In January and March 1994 I interviewed Daniel's class teacher.

I asked Daniel discreetly and informally how he was getting on at times when others would not suspect but in the course of everyday situations. eg. play and lunch times.

RESULTS.

The results of the case are qualitative and give descriptions of Daniel before and after the sessions.

Class teacher:

Daniel day dreams a lot and lacks concentration. He has poor, untidy writing.

Previous teacher:

Daniel is an only child and seems unhappy, wears glasses but has no physical disabilities. He is academically average -"C's" but stronger with maths. He has a stable friendship with 6 boys.

After the sessions.

Class teacher:

Daniel is more self-confident. His writing and presentation have improved and his concentration more enduring. He looks happier and healthier. He's much more confident. He's feeling better because he can talk about it. He was a victim no doubt and couldn't get out of it. Before, the slightest thing and he'd have burst into tears. We've had no tears this term. To sum up, work, concentration and attitude work have improved: More approachable and happier.

Previous teacher (after further observations)

Daniel smiles more in and around school, has a happier disposition and even though it is sometimes difficult to get him to chat he does seem more comfortable with his peers.

Additional material: Student teacher with Daniel's class.

Daniel is "very active" - hand up all the time, even if the answer is wrong. His work has been of an excellent standard. I didn't suspect that anything had been troubling him. Generally he is confident and happy.

Parents.

Daniel's parents thought he had generally gained in confidence and was finding it easier to approach other people. The number of approaches from him to others and from others to him had increased. This is important because as Perry (1988) shows that some victims are disliked by their peers as their aggressors are disliked. His self esteem has improved and is now giving no cause for concern.

Daniel.

Daniel says that the sessions made him feel better and more confident. He felt he could cope with bullies and that the 'Yes No' sessions had helped most. According to Daniel he has used his assertiveness skills in the classroom and the school yard.

UNSTRUCTURED OBSERVATIONS:

Daniel at Play.

The following set of teacher notes are based on unstructured observations of Daniel during playtimes from 10.30 until 10.45 am. since his assertiveness training. He was unaware of them as the observations took place whilst the teacher was on his normal duty rota of every Tuesday morning. Overall Daniel has played with the same group of children since half-term. They are Mark, Edward, Sally, Jennifer, Jonathan, Peter and Wayne.

16/11/93. 10.42 am.

Daniel is playing happily with his group of seven friends. He appears totally absorbed in his game and unaware of his own self-being in favour of concentrating upon his involvement and activity in his game.

He has just shouted to Mark that Jonathan is on to inform him lest he be caught by Jonathan. Mark and Daniel have together just run away from Jonathan and appear in conversation as to where to run next. (Daniel is pointing towards the opposite end of the yard as he speaks). They've suddenly run towards Jennifer to the left of their intended next run. He is smiling at Jonathan as he tries to get Edward some 10m away.

The group seem to have stopped because Jonathan seems unable to catch Edward who is laughing. Daniel is still smiling and is walking with Mark towards the bench at the side a yard.

23/11/93. 10.33. am.

Daniel is walking out with Edward. They are standing talking. 10.35 am. They are still talking but Mark and Sally have walked out of school and joined them. He is listening (but I cannot tell you what is being said). He has turned away to join Peter and is talking. Mark has run across and tug Peter who has quickly tug Daniel. The seven are playing in the same area as they did the previous week and appear to be playing the same game of tiggly. Mark appears to have initiated this game and without verbal confirmation the others seemed to know that the game had started and they were to join in. I cannot say what prompted Mark to start the game nor the others to join in.

They appear happy. Laughter centres on Daniel who is on' and Sally who is being chased. The hcasng switches to Mark. Each appears to chase the closest to them irrespective of gender. The others are standing watching from the periphery of the game but intent upon it. Sally has run close to Mark and Edward so Daniel has changed course towards them and Sally stops. No interference.

30/11/93.

No observations as it is wet weather.

7/12/93.

No observations as I am out at Thornbridge Hall with my class.

14/12/93.

As I enter the yard five of the group are already playing at tiggy. They all seem happy and comfortable with each other's company. No other children are involved. The area they are playing in is still the same part of the yard as before. The area is at the edge of the playground as football with Y6 boys tends to dominate the centre of the yard. Mark has tripped over as he ran into Edward from behind. The game has stopped and the group have crowded round to help. They are looking concerned but I cannot tell what is being said. Mark has got up and has asked my permission for him to go and clean up his hands. The others have gone over to the bench and seem to be waiting. Their game has stopped. That I haven't mentioned Daniel's name reflects the cohesiveness of the group and without interference from others.

21/12/93.

The group seem inseparable. The games the same as is the group and they are playing in the same area. I've structured the observation to focus on Daniel's actions. He has;

thrown up his arms ecstatically	4 times
cheered loudly	8 times
clapped	4 times
jumped with exhilaration	3 times
spoken to his friends	9 times
his friends spoke to him	6 times

General.

The group appear cohesive, co-operative and friendly. No one interferes or tries to join in. There is a fraternal air about there interactions with as much care for each other as there is fun.

I have asked Daniel whether he he has been bullied by John on a daily basis and he has said no.

From my observations I conclude this to be true. The question arises as to what made John stop bullying. John's behaviour was publicly challenged by his classteacher without reference to Daniel. This may have had an affect but has not been measured or noted. Alternatively, changes in Daniel may have affected John's behaviour toward him.

October 1994

CASE NOTES. ROGER GORE.

Roger Gore, aged ten, had been bullied since July 1993 at the start of the summer holiday. While in a local arcade he and a friend of the same age were whispering about their game but were accused by two boys aged 14 or 15 of whispering about them. The youngsters were called names and threatened. Roger recognised one as Carl Slater but not the other.

Later, during the holiday two more Y10 boys Robert Elver and Dale Waters made nuisances of themselves by repeated door knocking at the Gore's home. On one occasion Carl Slater was seen in the front garden and took Roger's cycle. When it was found the tyres had been let down.

After the 1993/94 school year started in September Roger recommenced his regular meeting at a local club on Friday evenings and saw outside a gang of boys which included Robert Elver and Dale Waters. Along with five others, two of whom were from the junior school, they climbed on the roof, knocked on windows and were generally loud. Disturbed by this Roger told the organisers who sent them away. When Roger tried to go home he was confronted by the seven, called names, threatened and pushed about until he was pushed into some bushes at a nearby house.

While going home one evening in October Roger was stopped at the top of the road near his home by those who had previously harassed him. It was only when an adult came by who knew the Gore family that he felt safe once again. This adult told Mrs Gore who contacted Roger's Y6 class teacher. Roger had told no one for fear of being mugged for telling.

Having responsibility for boys' pastoral care I became involved while Roger was talking to his teacher about the bullying. I had observed him previously as having very low self esteem when he failed to be chosen for the school football team. He cried profusely and sobbed saying he was no good at anything, no one loved him and that he might as well kill himself. At the time I did not connect this with his victimisation but in retrospect there may have been a link. My decision to speak with Roger had two intentions;

1. to raise his confidence,
2. support and protect him,

The steps taken to increase his confidence involved convincing him that what he was saying to his class teacher and me was in the strictest confidence. Nobody would find out unless he told someone of his choice. I told Roger that in dealing with the bullies I would try to get one of the bullies to talk about what was happening and then see the others on the premise that it had

been one of the gang who had spoken to me and not Roger. Getting a gang member to speak to me was my problem but I gave Roger the feeling that I could. The advice given as immediate solutions to his problem were;

1. go home with friends,
2. to tell his Mum

The local Comprehensive school was informed that some of there pupils were bullying a boy at Baden Road. The PSE teacher said he would inquire into the matter and contact me later that day. We agreed that I would speak with the junior Y4 gang member whom I met in the library that day.

I asked him to take part in a survey of Y6 children whom he knew and played with and was shown Y6 class lists. He claimed he knew

7 boys

4 girls.

He said he sometimes played football with three of the boys after school but not very often.

Asked if there were any children who had caused him problems he said he didn't think so but there were two boys he didn't like. One was Roger Gore. He said Roger had snitched about him at a

Friday night club and got him into trouble. The boy then described what had happened and included the names of several of the other gang members.

In the phone call with the PSE teacher we corroborated the stories and arranged a meeting with the gang at the comprehensive school. The junior boy came as well.

I was disappointed to find two ex-pupils in the gang. One had a supercilious, contemptuous look about him as if he would say if he could that he didn't care, had no feelings or regrets for what he had done, might do it again and that we couldn't do anything about it anyway. The boys sat slovenly in the office. Asked why they had done it one replied that they were only pretending while another said that they were only trying to frighten him. They weren't going to do anything to him but the boys were told clearly that they already had. The boys answered in a detached manner.

The PSE teacher said that as this was a serious case of bullying their parents would be informed. One said that wasn't fair because he hadn't done anything. Being there was enough and was asked if he had tried to stop it. The teacher took his silence to mean no. The teacher made the boys give their assurances that it wouldn't happen again and that they would leave Roger alone. I said that the junior boy's parent would be sent a letter as well.

Mrs Gore later came into school to thank me for what had been done. She said things were much calmer and more settled. Roger was feeling happier and safer to walk around the district.

Roger was an outspoken boy who said what he thought particularly when fairness was involved. He is the third of five children and Mum has not found it easy to raise them. While his school work is untidy the content reflects a boy of above average intelligence. He is good at problem solving and will persevere to find solutions to practical problems. He did eventually get a game of football in the team.

ALEX.

Tuesday 21st March 1995

Alex's teacher approached me after school to say she thought Alex was being bullied by Richard, another boy in the Y5 class. The teacher noticed that Alex looked very scared of Richard because he had threatened to "beat up" Alex after school. Richard's previous classroom behaviour had been unacceptable and Alex had told the teacher out of concern for those around Richard and duty to his teacher and friends. Richard's response was to call him names and threaten to "get him" after school. Richard took a dislike to Alex and had continued to threaten him on a number of occasions since January.

I suggested that Alex and Richard should be dealt with entirely separately and that Alex would need immediate help to raise his feeling of safety. I offered to help with this case and see the victim as soon as possible.

(This might not only help resolve the problem but become another case which would test the model generated from previous practice.)

As arranged the teacher sent Alex to me the next morning with a note. This would offset any children's suspicions, particularly

Richard's, that Alex was coming to speak with me. I was available for twenty minutes from 9.00am to speak with him in my classroom as my class were at an assembly.

At this time Alex still thought he had been sent with a note until I explained the true intent; that I knew that there was a problem between him and Richard. It was important to sit Alex with me in an informal setting and make him feel comfortable and safe. I promised him faithfully that whatever was said in my classroom no one would ever, ever, ever find out. Richard would never know that we had even met unless he (Alex) told him. No one else, other than his class teacher, knew of this. I assured him that we (the teachers) would help him solve this in every way we could.

Alex began to explain that he had seen Richard climbing over desks during a indoor break while the teacher on duty was in the other classroom. He had been calling names and swearing as well as trying to create pretend fights with other boys. He had called Alex names and threatened him with a fight. Alex said that he told the teacher because he thought Richard might hurt some one and not to get him into trouble. Richard must have seen this as telling tales and threatened to beat him up after school.

Asked if Richard had threatened him more than once Alex said that since Christmas he had been threatened about four times and each time he had been frightened, although Richard had never actually hit him. Alex had not told his Mum or Dad about it as he didn't wish them to come up to school.

To help Alex recall anything else Richard had done a checklist of bullying behaviours was used. The checklist was developed from the 1991 children's definitions of bullying. Of the 33 criteria Alex sited ten and then ordered them according to the severity.

Checklist Order		Severity Order	
Called names	2	Threatened	1
Teased	5	Made cry	2
Upset	4	(but stopped himself)	
Made cry	2	Called names	2
(but stopped himself)		Upset	4
Said nasty things	7	Teased	5
Demanded belongings	8	Tormented	5
(toy plane and rubber)		Said nasty things	7
Pushed down	9	Demanded belongings	8
Pulled	10	(toy plane and rubber)	
Tormented	5	Pushed down	9
Threatened	1	Pulled	10

Now that Alex had told some one he was in a position to be helped and I reassured him that it was safe for him to tell. I explained that there were several things that could now be done. First, I would be dealing with Richard but he would never find out because I would get him to tell me about the bullying. As Richard would tell me there was no reason for him to find out that Alex had

spoken out. Richard would be dealt with on what he alone had said and nothing else. Second Alex told me that he had a number of friends with whom he could go home after school. I suggested that should Richard threaten him before I dealt with him to make sure he went home with the largest possible group of friends or for school to telephone home and have Mum come to receive him. This Alex rejected preferring to choose friends and go home with them. Alex confirmed that Richard did not go the same way home.

Alex suddenly rationalised the situation and said that if Richard was going to hit him he would have done so without waiting for the end of the school day although he could never be sure. Maybe that was true but Alex agreed that we couldn't leave that to chance. Richard's aggressive and unpredictable behaviour meant Alex was never sure if he meant what he said. Maybe one day he would threaten again and carry out his threat. In which case I advised Alex strongly to tell his teacher or me privately during the day about being threatened and Richard would be dealt with immediately. I reinforced the points which Alex found acceptable;

- 1 to remember Richard would be telling me about this so would never find out that we had spoken;
- 2 to tell his teacher or me privately if Richard threatened him again, in which case we would make sure that Richard went home after Alex
- 3 and to gather friends and go home with them on the basis of safety in numbers. This made Alex feel better.

I told Alex that I would be seeing Richard as soon as possible on the same day and would let him know privately of the outcome. Once he had been seen I would be able to ask them independently if "things were OK?"

RICHARD.

Richard was absent Wednesday and as he was leaving school on Thursday evening I asked him if he would mind helping me with a survey the next day. He asked me what kind of survey and was told it was about friendships. I explained that he wasn't in trouble (as he expected to be) but I would just like to ask him about who his friends were. He agreed to help the next day.

Friday 24th March 1995

I invited Richard to sit with me in my classroom during his lunch hour to help with the survey using the class list which included Alex and Richard. Richard was asked which children in the class were his friend and to give a corresponding number.

- 1 Friendly
- 2 I don't know him/her or have nothing to do with
- 3 Unfriendly

Of 29 children Richard responded with

18 Friendly
10 Don't know
1 Unfriendly - Alex

I commented that he seemed to have lots of friends and was surprised that there was such a number of children he didn't know. Asked why he was unfriendly with Alex Richard said that Alex had "snitched" on him to get him into trouble. Richard said he would get him after school but didn't. I ^{confirmed with Richard} ~~repeated~~ that Alex had been tell-taling and that Richard was going to get him after school. Asked what he said exactly Richard said that he was going to "knock him out after school."

I asked Richard if he had done this at any other time. He thought about three or four times since Christmas but Alex had called him names, snitched and pulled faces. Richard knew that Alex was frightened of him and was asked what it was called when somebody frightened somebody else for a long time. Richard, without hesitation said "bullying."

Richard knew he had persistently bullied Alex since Christmas and admitted he was a bully. I emphasised that Richard had told me about all this but that this must stop and stop now. Richard was told the consequence of continuing the bullying and agreed to stop. I got another assurance from him that he understood that

he had told me and that he promised to stop and understood what would happen if he didn't and was able then to go back out to play.

Later that afternoon in a completely different incident Richard's parents were invited in and he was excluded from school for one week by the Headteacher.

Wednesday, 5th April 1995

Y6 and Y3.

Attention was drawn to the behaviour of three Y6 girls when a Y3 girl went home and asked her mother what a lesbian was. The child explained to Mum that some Y6 girls had been calling her and her two other Y3 friends some names and were preventing them playing nicely on the yard.

The mother contacted another of the mothers who happened to work at the school. She spoke with a Y6 teacher with responsibility for girls' pastoral care (PC) who contacted the Y3 girls' teacher who then established from her children which Y6 girls were intimidating them. The Y6 girls involved in the name calling were from the parallel Y6 class and therefore the PC teacher involved their class teacher.

Before investigations started with the Y6 girls two of the Y3 girls came in crying from morning play time claiming that the same Y6 girls had frightened them and had called them names. This made easier the task of identifying and dealing with the Y6 girls because of the immediacy of this incident and that it was the same girls.

Five Y6 girls had had an argument two weeks previously which resulted in two of the girls deciding that they wouldn't be friends. The two went off and befriended the three Y3 girls and played nicely with them. The remaining Y6 girls identified the new allegiance and displayed their displeasure by intimidating the younger ones, calling them lesbians and disrupting their games.

The Y6 girls had recently been involved in an assembly on name calling where the damaging implications were explained. This seemingly had no effect. The Y6 girls were either immune to any such advice, did not consider their name calling as serious or did not give meaning to nor attach their name calling activities to the assembly. Whether or not this was because of their previous good reputation in school for behaving well, as contributors to extra curricula activities and as high achievers is difficult to establish.

Last year their Y5 teacher had cause to speak with the same girls who had created problems from arguments which caused ostracism and isolation. Although the cases have been infrequent but severe the teachers have demonstrated to the girls the unacceptability of their behaviour. However, as the girls have reached Y6 and the same pattern has emerged but in different

circumstances it can be said that for most of the time the behaviour may have been contained but not altered.

At first all three denied name calling but they soon realised that I knew much of what had happened making denial more difficult. Each was asked directly for a "yes" or "no" answer to the question; "have you called names at any of the three Y3 girls?" This restricted response tactic created for them a dilemma. Involvement plus a denial meant lying as well. The yes or no would impinge upon their morality of truth and govern their honesty. They now had responsibility for truthfulness as they saw it which, if found wanting would be considered along with their other misdemeanours. The tactic is unambiguous and a good time saver. "Yes-No" responses prevent children from long, fabricated stories. Provided children are later asked if they felt the procedure and the outcome was fair then I consider the tactic useful and acceptable.

One girl insisted that she had not called any of the Y3 girls any names. She appeared uncomfortable that she might not be believed. From her concern for the right outcome she repeatedly and directly denied her involvement. The other two girls did not object to her statements and her troubled expression led me to believe that she was telling the truth and she was allowed to go.

The other two admitted to the name calling. One girl cried. The issue then changed. The two girls were asked to consider whether I should decide that the incidences were sufficiently serious to be called bullying or whether it was less serious. The girls knew that if it were bullying their names would be recorded and their parents informed. If it were not so serious then their names would be recorded.

I decided that their reputations had been tarnished and that a repetition unlikely recording their names only was the correct resolve. The girls were told clearly that if there was a repeat I would have no hesitation in contacting and speaking with their parents. They then left the office and returned to the yard.

Whilst these stages were being finalised the first girl had gone outside crying to two other friends. One of them, a boy went to the Y3 girls and shouted at them for "snitching." Two of them cried again and were doing so when they went back into the class for lessons. The Y3 teacher sent a note to my classroom implicating all five. They were taken immediately to the Headteacher where the boy admitted to shouting at the Y3 girls. They were told that as they were the oldest children in school they had to be careful not to overpower younger children. The name callers claimed vociferously that they had kept away and

were believed. The "innocent" girl was told to keep her council and be on guard as to whom she should tell her troubles. The boy was thanked for his honesty but told not to shout at younger children.

None apologised for any of the trouble they had caused.

EMMA.

~~THURSDAY~~ WEDNESDAY

~~Thursday~~ 5th April 1995

I was approached by Emma's teacher because she felt Emma was being bullied by a boy in my class and arranged to see Emma that day in the time when my class were in assembly.

I sat Emma facing me and explained that her teacher had spoken with me about Alan and whatever she told me Alan would never find out. I promised that I would speak with Alan and get him to tell me what had been happening so that he would not find out that Emma had.

Emma explained that she and her little brother were being stopped by Alan in the road where they live and prevented from calling for friends. Alan was swearing at them, spitting and calling them names. Emma's Mum had already been angry because her little brother Matthew had spit on his clothes and threatened to speak with Alan if he did it again. This had been going on for about two weeks and Alan was stopping them more frequently. Alan had brought this behaviour into school calling Emma names on the playground and she was scared to come to school although she hadn't told Mum this.

I thanked Emma for telling me and said that when I had seen Alan I would tell her.

Thursday 5th April 12.00 noon.

I asked Alan to my classroom to help with a survey about knowing other children in other classes and showed him the class list in which Emma's name appeared. I asked Alan to indicate if he knew the children in the class and went through the list in alphabetical order. Most he did, some he didn't until we reached Emma's name when he stopped and said that he had fights with Emma and her brother in his street.

Asked what happened Alan said that they had called him names and teased him so he had called names back. Asked if he had sworn at them he firstly denied this but, when it was suggested that some of the words might be swear words, he agreed. What else had he done?

Alan said that he had stopped Emma and her brother while playing with another boy from next door. After that Alan had stopped them on his own and there had been some spitting. Asked who spit he said he had. Alan then said that he had stopped her in the yard and knew she was frightened of him.

"Thank you for telling me this," I said.

I attempted to get Alan to say a word which went with frightening people but he couldn't tell me. If children are made to do things they don't want, frightened or called names often enough it can look like a word beginning with "B."

"Bullying" said Alan.

"That's right," I replied. "Did you know this could be bullying?"

"No."

I reminded Alan that if this went on he would become a bully and I didn't think he would want that. He agreed. I thanked him for telling me but then said now that he had told me it had to stop. He agreed.

The next two weeks were holiday weeks and I was concerned that Emma would be vulnerable again so I emphasised that if Alan did this again it would be bullying and that he would get into trouble at school and that I would have to see his parents. Alan understood.

Asked what he might do over the holiday Alan said that he would leave Emma and her brother alone. I made him promise this.

The whole episode was remarkably relaxed, quiet, non-threatening and friendly. I thanked Alan once again for helping me with the survey and he went out to play again.

Alan was very open, very early on which helped matters. He did not suspect at any time that I was trailing him.

Friday 7th April.

I quickly told Emma that I had seen Alan and would check with her later if everything was well. She appeared very happy with the outcome.

Thursday 6th April 1995. The Car Race.

The reward of a programme of Y6 science and technology was a chassis race using various sources of power. Points were awarded for work, achievement and success in making the chassis move along a track. Every child was chosen randomly to be in one of three teams. The winning group would be the team with most points. The race proved most exciting with a team coming from behind, gaining more points and winning. Everyone appeared enthused. As I went to get the prize of a small chocolate cake I turned round to find a boy crying and sobbing unconsolably.

Through his tears he told me that other boys had been teasing him because he hadn't won, had spoilt the race for his team and that he wouldn't be getting any cake. I was appalled at the speed at which these boys had effectively reduce and momentarily destroyed this child's self-esteem. The week's work appeared in tatters and the jubilant atmosphere terminated at an instant. As it was now well past home time all the children went home with many whispers outside in the corridor while I spoke with the victim. He was given time to recoup his composure and I had time to consider the outcome. Had I not, I fear I would have over-reacted to these boys.

These boys had good reputations, were high achievers, members of school sports teams and had participated in plays, dances and charity events. That they could stoop to such manic behaviour was astonishing. In a few seconds they managed to render powerless a boy whose contributions to the race had been no more and no less than any other child's. From my perspective they had ruined the pleasure to which I felt the class were entitled. There was the question of the child's sensitivities and whether another boy would have challenged them but this should not have happened at all.

Friday 7th April (The last day of term)

My class were asked to sit on the floor at the front of the room. The three boys identified themselves and were asked to stand. The first denied saying anything and I accused him of lying which in itself would be recorded and asked him to think again. He said they had spoken to him about not getting any cake because his team hadn't won. Of any of the three I questioned the manner in which this was done. Two said they were only playing.

I could not accept and I hoped they could not accept that to make a child cry is called playing. What would they call it if three others antagonised them until they cried? They said bullying.

They appeared suitably chastened. I reminded them that they chose to behave as they did and had chosen to have their name recorded.

As this was the last day of term it would have been difficult to organise and speak to their parents that day. It would not have helped to speak with one or two without the second or third parent. Instead I decided to withdraw their points from the total. I wrestled with this for those who were not involved would be punished as well. However, as this had been a team effort for a week then these boys should be accountable to their team. Whether this happened is not clear but I regret taking the points. None apologised to me or the boy.

Once again a bullying situation arose which did not use the strategies developed primarily for protecting the victim. In this case the victimisation had been very public. All the class were aware of the boys' behaviour so I decided all should be aware of the consequences. With this in mind I emphasised to the boys that this was the end of the matter and serious consequences would follow if anything was said or done about the incident. They acknowledged that they fully understood.

This episode took a valuable ten minutes of the morning lesson afterwhich everyone was supposed to be concentrating on spellings nad mathematics. It would be hard to think that this was a priority in at least three minds.

James Interview 9.3.93.

I So, have you ever been bullied at school then?

J No.

I You haven't?

J No.

I Have you seen anybody else being bullied?

J No.

I You haven't? Is there anywhere in school that you don't go?

J In school?

I Anywhere around school that you don't go because there are other people around that might be doing things that you don't like?

J No, not really.

I So, what do you do at playtimes?

J Play football with Ashley, Robert....

I Anybody else?

J Ryan, Russell, lots of people.

I If you could give playtime marks out of ten what would it be. How many marks would you give playtimes?

J Eight.

I Does anything happen that's not very nice?

J No, a little bit, when we play football and then we are just about to score a goal and someone just comes in and kicks it.

I Somebody comes in and kicks it?...Just one person?

J Yes.

I Is it the same person all the time?

J Yes.

I Who?

J I don't know.

I You don't know their name?

J No.

I Is it an older person. Is it a Y6?

J Yes.

I He comes in and kicks the ball?

J Yes.

I So, you're playing football on the yard and you're just having a nice game, and you're just about to score and he comes along and kicks it.

J Yes.

I Where?

J Into the Environmental garden.

I What does your group do?

J One of us goes and fetches it.

I Do you do anything to stop it happening?

J No, because there are a lot of us.

I Does anyone in your group say anything to him?

J We shout at him but he doesn't stop?

I Is there anything different you could do to stop him?

J I don't know.

I If there was something would you use it?

J Not really, we just get on and play again.

I Thank you James. Well done. Now I promise I won't tell anyone about our chat.

Teacher comment.

James is a pleasant boy whose performance in school is above average. He has a number of friends who play together at play time but he doesn't see them regularly out of school. He is popular but quiet. He perseveres with work and in maintaining high quality relationships with people. He is patient, helpful and kind with adults and children alike. James has a high toleration level and shows others due respect. He is sensitive to what people say yet appears undisturbed when events occur which might unsettle other children. He has good coping strategies tending to ignore those who might try to upset him physically or verbally. His strength lay within his cheerful and purposeful disposition which other people find endearing. He is a most amiable child who seems to tackle life and work with relative ease.

James leads a full life in school. He works and practices hard, reads well and continually asks questions, shows interest and presents work in interesting ways. His mathematical skills will develop with practice.

James is a member of the choir, plays violin and at home learns the piano. He is keen on sport, plays football and enjoys swimming and athletics.

APPENDIX TEN

Parent and Teacher Questionnaire Samples

Only the relevant pages from the analyses have been submitted. The remaining scripts are available on request.

PO6 ANALYSIS 4.

forms of bullying identified by parents as being disliked were kept ear groups enabling any identification of changes of opinion as the of their children increased. No print out was needed for analysis ost responses showed clear and uncomplicated forms of bullying.

Table Showing Year Group Responses and Totals.

<u>FORM OF BULLYING</u>	<u>YEAR GROUPS.</u>				
	Y3	Y4	Y5	Y6	<u>TOTAL.</u>
All forms	17	8	13	8	46
Gangs	6	9	9	5	29
Name Calling	4	7	9	5	25
Physical	7	6	9	2	24
Mental	3	3	5	1	12
Older/Bigger	1	4	4	1	10
Differences	0	1	3	6	10
Clothes	0	0	3	5	8
Extorting money	3	0	3	0	6
Stealing possessions	0	2	2	0	4
Secretive	0	3	0	1	4
Boys and Girls	0	0	0	4	4
Tormenting	1	0	2	0	3
Interfere/possessions	0	1	2	0	3
Racist	1	0	0	1	2
Hiding possessions	0	1	1	0	2
Blackmail	0	1	0	1	2
Social status	0	0	0	1	1
Picking on	0	0	1	0	1
Threatening	0	1	0	0	1
Didn't Know	1	0	0	0	1

lysis 4 drew together like forms of bullying and were reported in centage order of opinion showing year group order.

<u>ALL FORMS</u>	<u>Y3</u>	<u>Y5</u>	<u>Y6</u>	<u>Y4</u>
	38%	20%	19%	18%

38%) of Y3 parents who responded thought all forms of bullying were g. Bullying is abhorrent and nasty and should not be allowed to take e. Any form of harrassment is undesirable and should be dealt with some vigour. One parent thought the question ridiculous because no ying is acceptable.

20%) of Y5 parents who responded thought all types of bullying were and the worst forms and should not be allowed.

9%) of Y6 parents who responded thought all kinds of bullying was and despised.

18%) of Y4 parents who responded thought all forms of bullying were worst, any sort of bullying that upsets a child's school time. One nt disliked all forms unable to distinguish between teasing and ying. They all hurt.

<u>GANGS</u>	<u>Y4</u>	<u>Y5</u>	<u>Y3</u>	<u>Y6</u>
	20%	14%	14%	12%

0%) of Y4 parents who responded thought gangs were the worst form of ying. 'Gangs' constituted more than one child against one. One nt particularly hated gang bullying when gangs were formed to pick particular child who may be fully able to defend himself in a one ne situation especially when the bully is egged on by mates. ing up on an inadequate child who has may be a reputation for being ual, mis-placed or a loner type of child. One parent reported their d being "booted" on more than one occasion in the toilets and the idor, disliking this bullying as the child then suffered with bad es.

4%) of Y5 parents who responded thought gangs were the worst form of ying. No mention gang size against one was made. Being picked on no reason especially when the bully is egged on by his mates four or on one was disliked. One parent didn't like to see several holding whilst the others are hitting him or her. Ganging up on one child, ght another made him /her afraid to go home after school or not want ome to school.

4%) of Y3 parents who responded thought gang forms of bullying were worst. The numbers constituted two or more children picking on one d. Age was not accounted for. This was reported to be happening in here gangs pick on one child, as is currently happening in Y4. This errible for the child involved who is terrified to come to school it is affecting the whole family.

2%) of Y6 parents who responded thought gangs were the worst form of ying victimising and constantly picking on one child. No mention made of what constituted gang size.

TOTAL TALLY OF WITNESSED INCIDENCES OF ALLEGED BULLYING.

pulling x	kicking x	chasing x	fighting x	against wall
/	////////		////////	/
older	against younger	hitting	pick on	boy against girl
////		////	////////	
st girl	verbal	taking things	jeering	gang teasing
/		/	////	/
adults	abused	thumping	spitting	pulling hair
//		//		
name calling	new	threatened	jostled	ridiculed
//		/		
throwing stones	taunting			

.....

10	pulling 2	kicking 10	chasing 1	fighting 9	against wall 2
1	older	against younger 6	hitting 7	pick on 10	
nst girl 1	verbal 1	taking things 2	jeering 1	gang 7	
2	adults	abused 3	thumping 3	spitting 1	pulling hair 1
2	name calling 3	new	threatened 2	jostled 1	
d 1	teased 1	throwing stones 1	taunting 1		

.....

ing \	kicking	pick on \			30
ting					9
ing \	gang				14
r	against younger				6
ping \	name calling	+1			6
ing \	against wall	taking things	teasing	clothes	12
eatened					
asing	beat up	boy against girl	verbal	jeering	
itting \	pulling hair	jostled	ridiculed	teased	12
rowing stones	taunting				

Incidences . 89

DIFFERENCES.

22

rding to some parents being different was a main cause of bullying. greatest concern involved top brand names, clothes and fashions. l suits and trainers were highlighted as 'trendy' clothes whilst ok and Puma brand names were identified as fashionable. Children families who did not or could not wear top brand names, designer hes and shoes appeared to be picked on and teased. There was an 'cation that these victims were from economically poorer families and they had to 'stick up' for themselves. Children wearing clothes were considered not in fashion by the other children would be more ly to be picked on than for any other reason. Whether these pupils victimised by pupils who had top brand names, designer clothes and es is not clear. One parent commented that children always want what er child's got and a lot of parents can't afford them. Envy was put a root cause of friction when a child has something a bully covets. s included toys as well as clothes.

ldren who wore spectacles were also likely to be teased as were those had misaligned front teeth, wore a teeth brace or were picked on for ir size. Over-sized children were thought of a possible victims but s, according to one parent, did not exclude smaller, frail looking ldren as were those who might be quiet and not good at mixing with er children. They too were possible victims of bullying.

remes in academic ability and bullying amongst children in school sed concern for six parents. Four of the six thought being bright, n children do really well and 'brainier' than his or her peers could ult in bullying. What forms of bullying resulted was not clear. ^{One} ~~One~~

t suggested that children might resort to calling bright children s'. Two parents considered the possibility that academically r children too may be casualties of bullying. Again the forms of ing to which these children are exposed was not made clear.

GANGS.

parents commented on children forming gangs as a precursor to ying. Taking sides after arguments and name calling led to the ation of rival gangs in school was held as a model which then ied over into bullying or children who ganged up against one child. parent suggested that gangs could start in the classroom when dren were left in groups whilst another described it as 'pack ality' where children followed the strongest. Another parent said difficult it had been for her daughter to become accepted within a p of girls. She still seemed to be excluded and made to feel an sider. She had made friends with other girls who seemed to make her e welcome in school.

BIGGER/OLDER.

e bigger, older children were identified as being bullies who etimes got pleasure in bullying smaller, weaker and/or younger ldren. One example was given of older boys fighting a younger boy ing out of school. A reason for bullying by older children was given trusting them to be responsible.

PO10 ANALYSIS 1 LIMBO.

if they talked with their child about ways of avoiding bullies,
 ts offered the following:

CLASSES.

t Advice for ing Bullies	Y3B		Y3E		Y4W		Y4B		Y5F		Y5E		Y6H		Y6J		TOTAL
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	
YS G GIRLS)	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	
Away	1	1	3	2	1	1	2		1		2			1		2	17
Away		3		2	1	1	1		1		1						10
the bully		4			4		2	2		2		2	1	2		1	20
the teacher	5	3	5	3	6	3	7	3	2	3	5	4	5	2	3	2	61
an adult	1	1		1	1		1		1		1		1	1		2	11
L Supervisor		1												1			2
Parents	1	1	2	2	3	1	2	1	3	2	2	4	1	3		1	29
re the bully		1	3	2	2	1	5	2	1	2	3	3		1	2	1	29
back	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	2	1	2			1	21
d up for self	1				1			2	3	1	4		2		4		18
option hit	1				1		1				1						4
with friends			1		3		1	1	1		1	1					9
iend bully					1		1		1	1							4
t show fear	1				1				1				1				4
t get upset	1				1				1				1				4
t get angry	1				1				1				1				4
t react	1	2			1	2											6
bravery			2						1				1	1			6

242

ral responses give graded strategies starting low key including
 re or keep away then developing to telling teacher or parent and
 lly to hitting back.

responses gave advice including;

Do not rise to threats: If s/he is bullying s/he is not a friend.

Tell them to stop.

Avoid rough and tumble games which might lead to bullying.

Avoid situations where it could arise.

Act confidently.

not to feel like a tell tale when speaking to a teacher.

Keep a low profile.

Learn to say no.

Avoid confrontational situations.

Report in confidence any bullying.

Not to rely on one friendship and exclude others. Be aware that to be an individual is normal.

o have the confidence in herself and not let the bully get the better of her.

arent suggested to the child that a bullying child is an unhappy usually at home, and to understand that this is why he/she is doing

er parent believed that victims get no effective support from people
thority so what else was there to tell the child other than to
e bullies.

eachers.

or 1/3 (38%) of parents indicated the teachers had a role in one form or another to protect victims of bullying in school.

A majority of these parents felt teachers should talk and discuss openly with pupils and specifically with victims to ensure that they will be supported. One parent suggested that there will always be one bully in school but children do not have to tolerate bullying and discussions could be centred on helping prevent it.

Raising awareness and explaining that bullying is wrong to the whole school in assembly and separately to classes children can be then taught about dealing with bullies and encouraged to be strong and stand up to them. Giving children advice on how to cope with and avoid bullies was also included. The teaching approach would enable children to be aware of the feelings of others, become aware that victimised pupils are afraid, encourage children to ask questions and keep the communication open. This communication should let pupils know also that there is no stigma attached to telling adults about being bullied, reassure the pupils, gain their confidence and so make sure all incidents of bullying can be reported without reprisals.

Talking to everyone and keeping the problem in the open with regular discussions should encourage victims to come forward and talk to a teacher. By offering confidential advice by someone who is always around to listen and help should help victims build confidence to cope when confronted by a bully. Teachers should also ensure that victims have plenty of friends to whom they can talk and be with. Moral support

eers is important - victims often seem to be loners although two
nt suggested isolating victims for their own protection from bullies
other children.

s confidence and teacher approachability will only exist if school
ates a supportive framework, agreed by all in an atmosphere of
ect and consideration throughout. This would be achieved by
chers listening sympathetically to victims at all times, believing
m and encouraging their ability to confide and share their concerns,
plaints and worries. Having to acknowledge their unhappiness and
ing support is not just a question of listening to what children are
ing but recognizing the underlying message.

chers, where possible should keep "eyes and ears open," be observant,
sely monitor situations, intervene early and act promptly. All staff
lunch time supervisors should know if a child is regularly upset or
quiet and does not show traumas. As one parent said "less talking,
e action." Prevention is better than cure and knowing and removing
lies early should help protect vulnerable children. Pupils should be
re that teachers are vigilant and that if bullying occurs the victim
l have someone to whom they can go. One parent suggested that
chers should know when bullying is happening. Even if teachers
age to stop bullies at school one parent maintained that bullies
ld wait until after school.

ANALYSIS PO 7.

parents indicated at which stage of schooling they were bullied as s, two primary and one secondary. The stages at which the others bullied is not known.

HIT.

hit was the most prevalent way parents reported that they were ed at school. This was described in various ways as being punched, n up, hit, thumped, smacked and where a pupil would wait outside l and pick a fight every night over some imagined injustice. Other mstances included being hit in front of other pupils or by pupils and bigger than themselves. One parent reported that as a junior l pupil she was hit by a secondary school pupil.

victims had hair pulled, were ostracised, pushed and scratched as as hit.

arents recounted that they were helped as victims and protected by r sisters whilst two others retaliated by hitting back which, in both s terminated the bullying. A fifth found the bully stopped when a tutor arrived.

CALLING.

second most frequent way of parents as pupils being bullied was name ing. This was usually connected with other forms including teasing, g picked on, taunting, ridicule, physical abuse and being pushed nd.

wrote of the names they were called nor of any anxiety which may been caused excepting one who was called "fat" who said "it hurt." parent thought s/he was called names for being a quiet child whilst her acknowledged that s/he did not mix well at school.

ED ON BY OLDER PUPILS.

parent as a pupil of a comprehensive school was dragged into a sroom full of pupils, the door held shut, had her hair pulled and banded repeatedly against a locker door. Another was terrorised by lder boy whilst two others reported being bullied by more than one r, bigger pupil. One parent thought these bullies were of a "lesser lligence."

INATION.

parents described events where they experienced more than one form ullying. All were verbally and physically bullied excepting one who d s/he was verbally and mentally abused continuously. One parent was ed to copy the bullies whilst another felt s/he was bullied because amily background but did not describe those circumstances. bully stopped when the victim retaliated.

INGS.

parents reported that their belongings had been interfered with
ding a coat put into a coal scuttle every night, items taken and
ed, pens and pencils broken, coats ripped and a PE kit thrown in the
Another had money and sweets taken and tolerated the bullying for
iet life."

THREATENED.

parents complained of being threatened, one forced to conform to the
rs wishes with the threat of alienation from the group, others with
ats of violence or having belongings taken. One parent found s/he
threatened on the way home from school whilst another found that the
ats were never carried out.

e parents found themselves intimidated as pupils in school and a
her two were told by parents to "stick up" for themselves. One
rted that teachers were never interested.

ntions.

parents (3% of all parents) viewed detention as a punishment for
ies. Three parents called for unqualified detentions whilst two
eived detention as an alternative to smacking or caning. One parent
ded that detention was a suitable punishment for first offenders.

hers.

six responses which involved teachers and punishment were disparate.
felt that bullies should get a severe reprimand from the head
her whilst another suggested teachers work to undermine a bully's
ition and reduce their status of power. Another parent thought
chers should remove bullies from the areas where bullying occurred.
ourth parent said that bullies laughed inside when teachers gave them
es because the bully probably got other children to write them.

parent said school could only do more if teachers knew the bullies
their victims. Teacher training to recognise bullying more easily
another alternative.

ividual merits of cases.

h case and individual bully is different then they should be dealt
h accordingly. The severity of the case and/or the sensitivities of
bully and the victim depended on how it was to be dealt with. One
ent suggested a variety of strategies including parents, daily
orts and exclusions to cover these variables although another parent
ought punishments for bullies were not always strong enough.

TEACHERS

BULLYING QUESTIONNAIRE ANALYSIS. JULY 1992.

CLIMATE.

School has happy occasions when children are cooperative in structured situations in the classroom. There are good lessons and rapport between children and staff. Concerts, shows, certificate presentations, music lessons and school trips all help.

Occasions in school which are stressful to teachers includes when children come into the classroom angry or after wet break times. Open evenings can be stressful as can concerts.

What the teachers like most like about the children in school includes in lots of cases their friendly, open attitude, their enjoyment of learning and basic honesty.

What the teachers least like about the children in school includes moodiness and self-centredness, when they take things for granted and not always polite and attentive. The general attitude of selfishness and uncaring about each others work and possessions.

The attitude, if any, amongst many children teachers would most like to see changed includes self-centredness, to become more calm, polite and thoughtful to others.

During the school day the times when children's attitudes change that run counter to the spirit of the school includes moving around school not under supervision, play times and lunch times and wet breaks.

YES 2 NO 0

What causes this change includes lack of self-control, more freedom when teachers are not present and confinement.

BULLIES

All 3 teachers dislike all forms of bullying.

The groups in school which teachers think bully most?

BOYS 2 GIRLS BOTH 1

The things which happen in school to cause bullying includes Over-reaction in cloakrooms/corridors, arguments, friendships breaking and talented and clever children.

Teachers thinks the most common form of bullying in school is pushing 1, thumping 1, mental bullying 1, threatening to get 1, name calling 2, following up physically 1

When during the school day do you think most bullying might take place?

Cloakrooms 1 toilet times 1 play time 3 lunch time 3

Where around school do you think bullying mostly takes place?

Playground 3.

Teachers witnessing bullying in school? YES 2 NO 1
Thumping another child, picked on in playground.

Have you ever dealt with a bully in school? YES 3 NO 0
Seen through window, talking to child who is bullying, talked to group of 4 then all 5 of them and sorted their differences.

Teachers think the makings of a bully includes low self-esteem, the need to look big, home environment, being bullied themselves, power and satisfaction.

Teachers think a bully derives self-esteem 1, satisfaction 2, enjoyment 1, a sense of power 2, from bullying

TEACHER STRATEGIES : BULLIES

If at all, how do you get a bully to tell you that s/he has been bullying?

group discussions, listen to all sides N/A

The strategies teachers use to be most effective includes

As above Make them admit and apologise N/A

Strategies used by other teachers who have dealt with a bully?

YES 1 NO 1

Do you think bullies should be punished? YES 3 NO 0

Isolated at breaks 2 Appropriate to bullying

IF corporal punishment were available would you use it against a bully?

YES 0 NO 3

Have you needed to ask the Head Teacher to help solve a case or cases of bullying?

Inter-class bullying when physically marked. N/A

Have you ever involved parents in a case of bullying and, if so, can you give an example?

Behaviour books sent home Yes 1 N/A

The best thing school could do to minimize bullying includes

All dealt with in same way using a defined set of guidelines. School does not ignore bullying and will deal with it. This may make it more covert.

TEACHERS AND BULLYING.

Did you ever bully at school? YES 0 NO 3

Do you think your experiences as a pupil have made an impact on your approach as a teacher to children's bullying and if so how?

Impact as mother had more effect on approach. I know how bullies can scare others.

Do you think teachers ever bully children? YES NO 3

Do you think coercion is a necessary part of teaching children or could it be viewed as a form of bullying? Please give a reason for your answer.

Children seem to need it to help them learn, there are too many distractions. No. There has to be a sense of pleasure involved in bullying.

Is there anything else you would like to say about bullies and bullying?

I don't feel there is a consistent approach to bullying. Because of this they get away with more than they should.

VICTIMS.

Have children ever approached you having been a victim of bullying?

YES 2 NO 1

If 'YES' please give an example?

Complain when really upset and tormented, teased and called names

If 'NO' why do you think this is?

Only minor - falling out - no-one talking to me.

Teachers think victims cope if they don't ask for help by not wanting to come to school, bottle things up and are unhappy. They become withdrawn for fear of ridicule, unsure of themselves.

Have you ever seen children help other children in bullying situations?

YES 2 NO 1

Do you know of any long term effects bullying has had upon any child in school and, if so, what?

Not wanting to come to school,

Is/Are there (a) particular group/s of children in school who are likely to be or become victims of bullying? If so, which?

Different or not yet learnt not to over-react. Physically different. Not immediately obvious.

Strategies which teachers know children use to avoid being bullied.

Keep a low profile, stay with friends
Keep away from bully, Ignore bully

If not you think it would be useful if they knew of some?

YES 1 NO 0

Do you think we should teach specific skills to children so that they may avoid being bullied?

YES 2 NO

If 'YES' which skills? Keep a low profile, stay with friends
Keep away from bully
Ignore bully.

Generally who do you think gets most attention from a bullying situation in school?

THE BULLY 1 THE VICTIM BOTH 2

TEACHER STRATEGIES : VICTIM.

What do you think is the first priority for dealing with a victim of bullying?

Comfort, Believe them, stress, confidentiality
trust and friendship.

Do you take steps, if any, to encourage children to talk openly about their experience/s should they be bullied?

YES 2 N/A 1

If so, what?

General class work 2
Drama 1
Individually/ group discussions 2

Do you ever assure children of the confidentiality they need should they fall victim to bullying and, if so, how?

Only if victim agrees
Not really

What steps do you take, if any, to re-assure children of their safety to confide in you?

This is a long term trusting relationship
Let individual child know they can come and talk.

In general what do you think might happen presently if a bully found out that a victim had been talking to you?

More bullying 2 Depends on bully and degree of bullying.

The most effective strategies used to deal help a victim

- Raise self-esteem
- Understand bullies motives
- Support from friends
- Always listen

Do you know of any strategies used by other teachers who have dealt with a victim?

YES 1 NO 1

Do you ever ask a child when s/he is being tormented to ignore the tormentors?

YES 3 NO 0

Do you think teachers sometimes overlook and trivialise a situation which a child might think as serious bullying?

YES 3 NO 0

If 'YES' why do you think this happens?

Time 2 A question of definition 1

Have you ever needed to involve the Head Teacher in a victim's case?

YES 2 NO 0

Example? Children physically hurt 2

Have you ever needed to involve the parent/s in a victim's case?

YES 1 NO 2

Example? Badly hurt

Why do you think children are more likely to tell their parents than their teachers about being bullied?

Away from threat, Closer to parents.

TEACHERS AND VICTIMISATION

Were you ever bullied at school? YES 1 NO 2

Example. Ostracised for a couple of days because she was the only one to go home for lunch.

Teachers approach the problem of victimisation in your teaching? includes being sympathetic to the loner.

Can you remember how you coped with being a victim? YES 1 NO 0

Grinned and bore it.

Have you ever needed to support a victim of bullying other than children in school?

YES 1 NO 2

What would you say makes a teacher approachable?,

Trust and being believed, our authority, children generally talk to their teacher because they know them best.

Do you know of teachers who are unapproachable and if so what makes them unapproachable?

No comment.

COMMUNICATION.

Have you read the policy on school bullying?

YES 3 NO 0

Please comment on having a Bullying Policy?

Well thought out and needs to be followed by all staff.
Essential
It would be useful to discuss and define bullying and the strategies.

Do you ever talk about the school policy on bullying with other people in school?

YES 2 NO 0

Examples? After inter-class bullying
Discussion of what is in our policy

Were you satisfied with the amount of consultation made as the bullying policy was drafted and developed?

YES 2 NO 0

Do you think that having a policy has made any difference to the way you deal with bullying?

More care taken with victims
More time for class discussions
No 2

What do you think would help close any gap between policy and practice regarding bullying?

Discuss and define bullying and strategies
A small clear list of steps to take

Do you think the teaching staff share ideas with each other enough about ways of dealing with bullying?

YES 1 NO 2

What do you think is the main way the teachers find out about incidences of bullying?

Informal staff conversation 3 - if you happen to be in the right place at the right time.
Children telling

Do you ever talk informally with other teachers about bullying and, if so, can you give an example?

Staffroom talk 2

Have you ever supported lunch time supervisors when they have dealt with bullying?

YES 2 NO 1

Examples Taken over cases and reiterated and followed through cases.

Do you think there is any more teachers can do to help lunch time supervisors and, if so, how?

We've tried!!
Follow things up

Do you think bullying in school could be dealt with more effectively if communication between teachers and lunch time supervisors was improved and, if so, how?

They need to alter their approach to the job
They need clear, workable guidelines.
Difficult, we're not responsible at lunch time but communicating incidents could be useful.

Do you think the school has a good enough recording system for keeping a check on incidences of bullying.

No 2 Recording incidents could prove very difficult.

Do you think parents are kept sufficiently informed about what happens in school regarding bullying?

YES 2 NO 1

Have parents ever volunteered to you opinions regarding bullying?

YES 2 NO 1

Would you ever contemplate using bullying as a theme within the framework of the National Curriculum?

YES 2 NO 1

How? Keeping Safe topic.
Me and Myself topic

Do you think that there has been any noticeable change since the start of the bullying project and, if so, what?

Children more aware of telling on bullies, not seen as telling tales. More frequently talked about and informally discussed. Strategies were used in the playground with games and equipment with a modicum of success.

Is there one main thing that would help this project work and reduce bullying?

More to do in the playground- not ruled by football. Quiet area
Clear workable guidelines step by step action for bullies/victi

POLICY.

Which of the existing school policies do you think has been the most effective and what has made it effective?

Discuss with children don't know N/A

Are there any obstacles to implementing the policies as you would like?

Time 3

Given the time you've had are you satisfied with the number of policies being presented to you?

YES 2 Don't know 1 NO

We make policies for children but do you think teachers need some as well and, if so, what?

YES 2 - work as a team to reduce bullying.

NO 1 communication not always good.

Steps are taken to control bullying in school?

Usually yes it is controlled but not eradicated
As far as possible.

Do you think that the bullying policy has offered any solutions to the problem of bullying?

YES 1 NO 2

Policy should have a set of sanctions to deter bullies ?

YES 1 Isolate
Possibly 1
Not sure 1

If there was anything you would add to or change in the bullying policy what would it be?

More time for counselling bullies and parents
Clearly defined guidelines

A central priority that would make the bullying policy work better would be?

Counselling 1 Consistency 1

Would you prefer policy solutions about sanctions for bullies, have sanctions left to your discretion or both?

BOTH 3

Do you think it was necessary to have a bullying policy in school?

YES 3

Would you prefer guidelines about dealing with victims, deal with victims independently or both?

BOTH 3

Please make any other comment about the issue of bullying which you would like to say which might help.

Children in school are changing. What they do isn't seen as bullying but what is done to them is. There is less self-control, more friction in all out of classroom or unsupervised time.

Yoga and relaxation classes

A definition of bullying - do we all think the same things?

Others.	<u>Cards</u>	Name-calling
78		8.
99	Total.	
	106.	

Categories

APPENDIX ELEVEN

Results of the 1992 Pupil Questionnaire

Results of the pupil questionnaire supported the case study and chapter on name-calling. The pupils had been exposed already to the issue of bullying as a result of the Sheffield project. It is impossible to measure how this impinged on the pupils' responses to this insider questionnaire.

QUESTIONNAIRE ANALYSIS. April 1992

pleting the sentences;

Bullying is when...
 A bully is a person who...
 Being bullied is when a person.....

.were not sufficiently differentiated for the children to distinguish
 ween them. Hence the responses were similar and tallied collectively
 the following categories:

1. What bullies do: Physical and Mental
2. Opinions and feelings.

What Bullies Do.

sical Hurt (Hitting includes hitting, thumping and punching.)

Y3 (55)	Girls	Boys	Total	Type	Y4 (57)	Girls	Boys	Total
ting	20	25	45	Hitting	08	18	26	
king	12	31	43	Kicking	08	17	25	
ts	03	06	09	Hurt younger	05	05	10	
hts	02	05	07		21	40	61	
hing	02	03	05					
	<u>39</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>109</u>					

ers included ~~fighting~~, being ~~pushed~~, bitten, nipped, smacked, tripped
 having hair pulled.

Y5 (53)	Girls	Boys	Total	Type	Y6 (48)	Girls	Boys	Total
ting	19	17	36	Hitting	08	15	23	
king	16	12	28	Teasing	15	07	22	
ting	07	11	18	Hurt younger	02	06	08	
t younger	05	07	12	Beat up	02	05	07	
	<u>27</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>64</u>	Fighting	00	06	06	
ers included pushed (9)				fighting (6)	12	32	44	

tal Torment

Y3	Girls	Boys	Total	Type	Y4	Girls	Boys	Total
l Names	16	16	32	Call Names	07	13	20	
sing	06	12	18	Hurt feelings	07	09	16	
t feelings	05	08	13	Teasing	05	06	11	
k-on	02	02	04	Hurt younger	06	05	11	
ced to	01	03	04	Torment	04	06	10	
	<u>20</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>51</u>		22	39	61	

ers included spoiling games, being forced to do things, pulling
 es, not being allowed to play, being nasty and having nasty things
 d, not sharing food, being ignored, threatened, chased and made cry.

Y5	Girls	Boys	Total	Type	Y6	Girls	Boys	Total
e Calling	16	11	27	Teasing	15	07	22	
eatening	09	03	12	Tormenting	05	06	11	
sing	04	07	11	Picked on	06	05	11	
ked on	06	05	11	Name calling	04	05	09	
	<u>35</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>61</u>		30	23	53	

- 1 -

ers included isolating, being made to, being nasty, saying nasty
 gs, extorting money and hurting feelings.

GS. ~~10~~ One in Y3/4.

Level	Girls	Boys	Total	Type	Girls	Boys	Total
Y5	12	07	19	Gangs	06	10	16

gangs' did not differentiate between physical or mental bullying.)

From 1 response in the lower school (Y3/4) the responses increased to 35 in the upper school (Y5/6)

Feelings and Opinions

Level	Girls	Boys	Total	Type	Girls	Boys	Total
Y3	05	04	09	Bullies hurt you	06	20	26
	02	02	04	Not very nice	04	03	07
	00	02	02	Horrid and hated	03	04	07
	7	6	13	Upset others	03	02	05
				Bullies hurt you	04	11	15
					16	29	45

Other feelings included unkind, appear strong, doing wrong, stupid, unfriendly, bad, bullies don't think and repeat bullying, they like to bully, are selfish, ~~selfish~~, make miserable and show off.

Level	Girls	Boys	Total	Type	Girls	Boys	Total
Y5	03	03	06	Upsets	07	06	13
	03	01	04	Not very nice	05	05	10
	6	4	10	Cowards	08	02	10
				Horrid	06	02	08
					26	15	41

Y5/6 categories included; upset, horrid, coward, show offs, mean, happy, confident, unfair, disturbed, gets pleasure, sad, devastated, angry, intentional, envious and demolishes someone.

Y6 categories also included insults, cruel, frighten, scared, make secretive, bossy, tough, bully to impress, wimpish, show off, destroys people, make cry, spiteful, bully for no reason, annoy, are in charge, selfish, makes miserable, nasty, persist, hates, bad, refuses to bully, don't think, repeat, are unfriendly, stupid, appear strong are unkind and doing wrong.

Have you bullied others?:

Y3			Y4			Y5			Y6		
G	B	Total									
4	6	10	4	12	16	7	4	11	8	12	20
17	26	43	16	22	38	19	20	39	10	12	22
21	32	53	20	34	54	26	24	50	18	24	42

In the school: 23 girls claim to have bullied others representing 23% of the total number of girl respondents.

85 girls
 114 boys
 199

34 boys claim to have bullied others representing 30% of the total number of boy respondees.

57 children claim to have bullied others representing 28.5% of all respondees

Where the bullying takes place: Y3 (55)

Y4 (57)

Total		Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
28	Playground	05	03	08	13	07	20
16	Another place	04	01	05	08	03	11
10	Toilets	02	02	04	06	00	06
07	Outside school	02	00	02	05	00	05
05	Corridor	01	00	01	04	00	04
04	Classroom	00	00	00	03	01	04
03	Dining Room	00	00	00	02	01	03
<u>73</u>		<u>14</u>	<u>06</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>53</u>

Other places include home (9), cloakroom (2), library (1), a field (1), specified (3).

Where the bullying takes place: Y5

Y6

Total		Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
47	Playground	10	16	26	13	08	21
09	Toilets	00	05	05	01	03	04
07	Classroom	01	03	04	03	00	03
06	Dining Room	00	03	03	01	02	03
04	Outside school	01	03	04	00	00	00
03	Another place	00	00	00	02	01	03
02	Corridor	01	01	02	00	00	00
<u>78</u>		<u>13</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>34</u>

Other places include home (2), gates (1), a field (1) and outside (1)

When you have been bullied this term:

Y3			Y4			Y5			Y6		
G	B	Total									
09	19	28	11	18	29	24	13	37	15	15	30
12	13	25	07	11	18	02	11	13	04	08	12

At school: 59 girls claim to have been bullied this term representing 70% of the total number of girl respondees.

65 boys claim to have bullied others representing 60% of the total number of boy respondees.

124 children claim to have been bullied representing 65% of all respondees

n they claim to have last been bullied.

Today	Day before	2-4 days	5-7 days	last week	2 weeks ago	last month	last term
	01	01	01	05	02	03	02
01	05	01		01		02	04
	02	06		03	02	01	
01	01	02	01	05	02	01	01
	01	03			01	04	
01	01			05	02	04	01
	02		01	03	01	03	02
	02			02	04	04	01
AL 03	<u>15</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>03</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>11</u>

der: Who bullies who?

Victim				Victim			
	Y3	Boy	Girl		Y4	Boy	Girl
Bully	Boy	14	06	Bully	Boy	17	07
	Girl	01	07		Girl	00	05
Victim				Victim			
	Y5	Boy	Girl		Y6	Boy	Girl
Bully	Boy	13	06	Bully	Boy	13	09
	Girl		16		Girl	01	10

The age of the bully:
Older Same age Younger

The class of the bully:
Same class different class

14	01	01	01	14
09	03	01	02	11
09	08		08	09
02	09		11	02
07	06		07	05
12	10		05	14
B 01	11	02	06	07
G 06	09	01	11	02

51

64

you told your teacher about being bullied?

	Boys	Girls			Boys	Girls	TOTAL
es	10	06	-->	Y4 Yes	10	06	32
o	05	07	-->	No	07	06	25
	Boys	Girls			Boys	Girls	
es	03	08	-->	Y6 Yes	03	04	18
o	10	14	-->	No	11	12	47

Y
26 Boys
24 Girls

122

50. (36%)
se children who have not told a teacher about bullying 72. (64%)

you told someone at home about bullying?

	Boys	Girls			Boys	Girls	
es	06	08	-->	Y4 Yes	12	09	35
No	09	04	-->	No	04	03	20
	Boys	Girls			Boys	Girls	
Yes	10	08	-->	Y6 Yes	05	08	31
No	03	14	-->	No	08	08	33

66 (54%)
se children who have not told at home about bullying 53 (46%)

o did you last tell about bullying

LD:		The bullying stopped				The bullying did not stop		
		All	Girls	Boys	Total	Total	Girls	Boys
	Teacher	19	05	03	08	11	04	07
	Lunch Sup.	15	03	01	04	11	08	03
	Head teacher	02		01	01	01		01
	Deputy Head	01				01		01
	Mum	47	09	15	24	23	09	14
	Dad	26	03	03	06	20	09	11
	Brother/Sister	03		01	01	02	02	
	Friend	06	04		04	02		02
	Nan-nan	02				02	02	
	No one	11				11	06	05
	Dog	01				01	01	

e four most common attacks described by pupils when bullied were;

	Y3	Boys	Girls	Total		Y4	Boys	Girls	Total
icked		09	03	12	Called names		04	04	08
lled names		04	04	08	Hit		05	03	08
t		06	02	08	Teased		02	01	03
ased		01	02	03	Kicked		00	02	02

her Y3/4 attacks included picked on, pushed around, tripped, family ults, not allowed to play, hair pulled, pulling faces, made to do, orn at, nipped and threatened.

	Y5	Boys	Girls	Total		Y6	Boys	Girls	Total
lled names		02	07	09	Called names		05	02	07
t		03	05	08	Teased		03	04	07
icked		04	02	06	Hit		04	01	05
ased			03	03	Tormented		01	02	03

her Y5/6 attacks included pushed around, family insults, not allowed play, hair pulled, pulling faces, made to do, sworn at, nipped and reatened, spit at, wrestled, stone throwing and told lies about.

did the bullying make you feel? The four most common responses were;

	Y3	Boys	Girls	Total		Y4	Boys	Girls	Total
t		05	05	10	Angry		07	02	09
y		06	02	08	Upset		02	06	08
		01	03	04	Sad		04	02	06
rible		00	01	01	Very hurt		00	03	03

ers included being made unhappy, scared, miserable and wanted to ve school.

	Y5	Boys	Girls	Total		Y6	Boys	Girls	Total
et		05	05	10	Upset		03	08	11
ry		06	02	08	Angry		07	02	09
		01	03	04	Sad		02	03	05
rible		00	01	01	Scared		04	00	04

ers included being made to feel 1 cm. tall, awful, horrible, unhappy, t, bad, frightened, miserable depressed and a weed.

e you ever been made to cry because of bullying?

	Y3	Boys	Girls	Total		Y4	Boys	Girls	Total
Yes		02	06	08	Yes		07	08	15
No		14	06	20	No		09	04	13
	Y5	Boys	Girls	Total		Y6	Boys	Girls	Total
Yes		09	09	18	Yes		09	06	15
No		04	12	16	No		08	08	16

e you ever tried to stop others bullying?

	Y3	Boys	Girls	Total		Y4	Boys	Girls	Total
Yes		10	15	25	Yes		14	12	26
No		01	03	04	No		02	00	02
	Y5	Boys	Girls	Total		Y6	Boys	Girls	Total
Yes		09	16	25	Yes		13	11	24
No		03	05	08	No		01	05	06

you wish a pupil would leave school because of bullying?

Y3	Boys	Girls	Total	Y4	Boys	Girls	Total
Yes	08	13	21	Yes	12	08	20
No	05	03	08	No	05	03	08
Y5	Boys	Girls	Total	Y6	Boys	Girls	Total
Yes	10	13	23	Yes	11	12	23
No	03	08	11	No	03	03	06

What would you like to say to a bully if you had the chance?

back off, don't be silly, leave the school, you knobly knees sage roll, stop (6), giant squid, go away spud, shoo, thrash their les with a wet piece of lettuce, call them names, you're a bully, h face, stupid, stick out tongue, hate you, tell my mum, tell my cher, dumbo, go away leave me alone and do not bully.

go away (8), you would not like it, wish you'd never come, get t or I'll punch you, you're horrid and selfish, tell the teacher, e friends, be nice, hate you, give lines, call names back, leave me ne, shut up, nothing and stupid selfish wimp.

leave me alone (5), stop (3), go away (2), pick on some one your own , give over, beat them up, thick and puny, you pick on younger kids, orant big headed insensitive slob, get lost, push off, spiteful and ty, shouldn't bully, shut up, a free world, phone the police, wimp how would you like it?

pick on (8), get lost (5), coward (2), push off, shut up, go to another ool, why?, call back, you're stupid, bully someone else, leave me ne, trouble maker, fight them, threaten with a friend and nothing ter to do than bully.

the stories. Y3

the stories told 12 were about being hit or kicked, 5 related to name ling, 3 happened in the dining room all being forced to serve, rush wipe the tables and 2 about gangs. Others included being thrown to ground, thrown at, teased, not allowed to play, being forced to do, ng pushed around, having belongings broken and persistent bullying.

majority of these happened on the playground.

ue stories Y4.

the stories told 10 were about being hit or kicked, 9 about name calling, 4 about gangs, 3 about being chased and 2 children had stones thrown at them. Others included being bit, threatened, teased, had the family insulted, harassed in the toilets, not allowed home and being shed.

of 11 of these took place on the playground.

the true stories related 9 were about name calling, 7 about hitting, kicking, 7, gangs 4, ostracising 2, threats 2 pushed against a wall, bowed, pushed, slapped, laughed at, teased, wrestled, pinching equipment and not sharing food.

the true stories were about hitting, 7 about name calling and cheating at football, 5 about being teased, 3 ostracised, 2 taking belongings and things, pushed down, money extorted, forced relationships, saying nasty things, tormenting, chasing and throwing mud. During one problem the boy was determined not to cry.

APPENDIX TWELVE

Name-calling Stories Analysis

One Y6 cohort was asked to write true stories of name-calling incidences which they had experienced.

To overcome the use of bad language the pupils were asked to write only the initial letters from which the teacher/researcher gathered the intended word. If he wasn't sure the teacher/researcher asked the child to write in the second letter and so on until the word was established beyond doubt.

NAME CALLING STORIES.

Notes:

Fifty eight Y6 children, 24 girls and 34 boys aged 10 or 11, were asked to write a true story about their experiences in name calling. To prevent implanting ideas the only direction given was that they should write in as much detail as possible. Their stories would help with some work on name calling at the University.

On analysis the following six categories emerged from the stories:

- 1 The participants,
- 2 Their ages.
- 3 The situations
- 4 The name calling
- 5 The strategies
- 6 The conclusions and/or opinions.

I decided to divide the stories into two sections; boys and girls, in case any pattern between the two should emerge.

The participants.

34 Boys
24 Girls

THE NAME CALLERS.

Of the 58 recorded cases;

16 cases involved girls only, 29%
36 cases involved boys only, 62%
12 cases involved boys and girls. 9%

24 children were alone when being abusive. 41% of all cases

Of these when alone; 19 were boys. 79% 32% of all cases
5 were girls. 21% 8% of all cases

34 cases arose when children were together when name calling starts

Groups:

	<u>GIRLS</u>	<u>BOYS</u>	<u>BOYS/GIRLS</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
2 children	4	8	2	14
3 children	4	1	1	6
4 children	1	5	1	7
5 children	3	1	0	4
6 or more	1	1	1	<u>3</u>
				<u>34</u>

Of these 7 groups of boys name called girls.

3 mixed groups name called girls

2 groups of girls name called boys.

2 mixed groups name called boys

THE VICTIMS.

Of the 58 recorded situations;

32 children (victims) were alone when name called..

16 cases against girls. 50%

16 cases against boys 50%

The other 26 cases of name calling were when 2 or more children were together but in all cases a child was singled out for name calling during a situation.

AGES.

Of the 53 reported cases

29 cases involved children of the same age 55%

Of these:

9 were cases of girls name called by girls.	31%
2 were cases of girls name called by boys and girls	7%
13 were cases of boys name called by boys	45%
5 were cases of boys name called by boys and girls	17%

24 cases involved children of a different age. 45%

19 involved older children name calling younger children

Of which 5 boys alone name called another boy
8 groups name called

5 involved younger children name calling older children

SITUATIONS.

The situations in which name calling occurred emerged as two categories:

1 At school	30 occasions	(49%)
2 Out of school.	31 occasions	(51%)

This suggests about the same amount of name calling in school as out.

56% of the girls stories related to name calling at school.

44% of the boys stories related to name calling at school.

This suggests that girls are 12% more likely to name call at school than boys.

1 At School.

The situations in which name calling at school emerged as two categories.

1 Inside at school	6 occasions
2 Outside at school	25 occasions

5 girls stories related to incidents inside school,
(4 had a teacher present; 3: Hall, 1: Class 1: Dining room)

1 boys story related to an incident in the toilets.

This suggests that girls are more likely than boys to name call inside school even with teachers present.

Outside at school

22 occasions related to play times including lunch time.

2 occasions related to going home after school.

1 occasion related to sports day with teachers present.

This suggests that the vast majority (88%) of name calling outside at school is at playtime including lunch time.

All 11/24 (46%) girls stories related to play ground incidents
(10 on yard, 1 on field but what was happening is not clear.)

11/34 (32%) of boys stories related to play ground incidents.

10/11 (91%) were playing football at the time

1/11 (9%) was playing tiggy at the time.

This suggests that girls are more likely to name call during play than boys. However, the numbers suggest that when boys play football the name calling incidences rise dramatically.

10/15 (67%) of girls incidences at school were same age children
4/15 (27%) of girls incidences at school were older children
1/15 (06%) of girls incidences at school were younger children

9/15 (60%) of boys incidences at school were same age children
5/15 (33%) of boys incidences at school were by older children
1/15 (07%) of boys incidences at school were by younger children.

Out of School.

31 stories related to name calling out of school.

11/24 (45%) girls stories were about name calling out of school.

19/34 (56%) boys stories were about name calling out of school.

The girls stories about name calling related to a variety of situations out of school including;

Going to and coming from shops	2
Out of school activities	5
swimming	
dancing	
football	
netball	
play centre	
Inside at home	1
Outside at home	2
Calling for friends	1

The boys stories related mainly to playing games out of school including;

Football	8
Riding bike	3
Calling for friends	2
Play fighting	1
With girlfriend	1
Rounders	1
On the bus	1
On holiday	1
Walking round the district	1

Activities outside of school

5/11 (45%) of name calling amongst girls outside school stemmed from sporting activities.

12/19 (63%) of name calling amongst boys outside school stemmed from sporting activities.

It is unclear whether the name calling was from within the group or if outsiders interfered in the games.

/12 (67%) of girls incidences at school were same age children

/12 (27%) of girls incidences at school were older children

/12 (06%) of girls incidences at school were younger children

/19 (60%) of boys incidences at school were same age children
/19 (33%) of boys incidences at school were by older children
/19 (07%) of boys incidences at school were by younger children.

WORDS IN NAME CALLING.
SAME AGED CHILDREN

Y6 Girls to Girls	Y6 Boys to boys	Y6 Boys to Girls
Use your brain	Gay	Slag
Fat cow	spanner 4	Fat cow
Slag 4	Spaz 2	
Boyfriend's knickers	Fuck off 7	
Pig 4	Dickhead 5	Y6 Girls to boys
Fat slob	knobhead 2	
Browney (NN)	Piss off	You little shit
T	Bastard 7	Idiot
G	Bender (NN)	
Idiot	Tramp	
Cry Baby	Fat	
Wagger	Ugly	
Baby	Perrywinkle	
Fatty	Hate you	
Dweb	Wanker 2	
Tart	You shit	
Bastard 3	Idiot	
Fucker 2	17	
Little shit		
Spanner		
Spaz		
Lesbian		
Smelly		
Rubbish		
Silly shoes, dress		

NOTES.

This accounts for 75 names. 39 instances (52%) were boy to boy.
34 instances (45%) were girl to girl
2 instances 1.5% were boy to girl
2 instances 1.5% were girl to boy

There appears very little interaction in name calling (3%) between sexes of the same age. This may be explained through single sex friendship groups.

As there are fewer girls than boys 24/34 then based on instances of name calling in the same age group;

the average number of names called per girl is 1.41
the average number of names called per boy is 1.14

If 44% of 39 instances of boys name calling boys were at school (17 instances) and 32% of these were during play time this accounts for 5 instances or 12% and most of these were during games of football.

If 56% of 34 instances of girls name calling girls were at school (19 instances) and 46% of these were during play time this accounts for 9 instances or 26%

This reinforces that girls are more likely to name call at school.

OLDER TO YOUNGER CHILDREN

6 Girls to Girls

Y6 Boys to boys

Y6 Boys to Girls

panner
right shit
nobhead
paz
ickhead
7

Goofy
Titch
Prat
Spanner
Spaz 2
Piss off
7

Where's ya Mummy?
Crying Wah Wah Wah
Spaz
Idiot
Bastard 2
dickhead
Twat
Knobby
Shithead
Ginger nut
Spastic
Fat Bastard
Wimp
Wanker

NOTES

45

f the 27 instances 15 or (56%) were from older boys to younger girls. This is a dramatic increase compared with same-age figures..

f the 27 instances 5 or (18%) were from older girls to younger girls.

f the 27 instances 7 or (26%) were from older boys to younger boys.

This suggests that boys are over 5 times more likely to name call younger children than girls.

As there are fewer girls than boys 24/34 then based on instances of name calling in the older to younger age group;

the average number of names called per girl is 0.21
this is 7X less likely than name calling girls of same age.

the average number of names called per boy is 0.64
this is 1.7X less likely than name calling boys of same age.

YOUNGER TO OLDER CHILDREN

6 Girls to Girls

Y6 Boys to boys

Y6 Boys to Girls

tupid silly bastard
panner
at cow
ickhead
paz
ucker
astard
iss off

Sispot
Spanner
tramp
Faggot
Acky Packy (NN)

5

8

NOTES

f the 13 instances 5 or (38%) were from younger boys to older boys.

f the 13 instances 8 or (62%) were from younger girls to older girls.

is suggests that younger girls are nearly 2 times more likely to
ame call older children than boys.

COPING STRATEGIES.

The strategies used to protect the victim do not reflect the hurt caused. Some used more than one strategy at the same event.

Girls:		Boys	
Retaliated with name calling	8	Retaliated with name calling	11
Walked away	7	Walked away	7
Told Mum	5	Retaliate physically	5
Ignored them	4	Ignored	4
Scared	4	Tried to avoid	4
Upset	4	Chased name caller	3
Told a teacher	3	Not Upset	3
Paired off with friends	3	Ran away	2
Ran away	2	Name caller left	2
Left a school	1	Was angry	2
Mum told teacher	1	Told Mum	2
Told older girls	1	Upset	2
Cried	1	Ran to Mum after school	2
Hurried	1	Had a fight	2
Went and played	1	Mum told teacher	1
Stayed at home for 1 week	1	Told Lunch Supervisor	1
		Told name caller to shut up	1
		Told a teacher	1
		Apologised	1
		Mother came out	1
		Hid	1
		Got revenge	1
		Scared	1

8/47 (17%) of the girls dealt directly with the name callers.

24/60 (40%) of the boys dealt directly with the name callers.

Boys appear 3 X more likely to deal directly with name callers than girls and to deal with them aggressively:

23/24 (96%) of boys dealt with name callers aggressively.

1/24 (04%) of boys dealt with name callers peacefully.

19/107 (18%) The most common strategy for combatting name calling was to name call back.

14/107 (13%) The next most common strategy for combatting name calling was to walk away.

The data suggests that girls are three times more likely to tell their parents than boys that they are being called names.

Children are more likely to tell their parents about name calling than their teachers or lunch time supervisors.

ONCLUSIONS/OPINIONS.

It is unclear how long each confrontation lasted but from the strategies employed all the name calling stopped in the following ways:

Girls:	Stopped for no reason	9
	Friends again	5
	Whistle went ending play time	2
	Played	2
	Went home	1
	Never saw them again	1
	Thanked girls for helping	1
	Followed	1
	Still not friends	1
	Not believed	1
	Told to keep away	1
	Teacher spoke with girls	1
		<u>26</u>
Boys:	Felt awful afterwards	3
	We made friends again	2
	Name callers got into trouble	2
	The name callers were never seen again	1
	Gave back belongings	1
	Whistle went ending playtime	1
	Parents helped	1
	Teacher spoke with boys	1
	Lunch supervisors talked with boys	1
	Threatened with gang	1
	Carried on playing	1
		<u>15</u>

Many of the conclusions fitted the strategies category.
Many of the name calling incidents appear to have ended as quickly as they started without any real consequence.

GENERAL NOTES.

56/58 (97%) stories showed the writers as victims, that it was somebody else who name called.

2/58 (3%) admitted they started the name calling.

The events leading to the name calling appeared trivial giving the impression of a lack of toleration on the part of the name callers.

Children's responses to name calling were varied but these too led to little or no reaction.

3 children, two boys and one girl thought the name calling was from a bully.

APPENDIX THIRTEEN

A School Council Minute

During 1993 a council of pupils was organised to give all the pupils some kind of representation within the organisation.

Sixteen representatives, a boy and a girl from each class have the opportunity to put forward the pupil perspective of school. The council is now very popular and many pupils are eager to be members.

Submitted is the May 1993 minute from the second meeting.

Council Meeting 2. May 1993. Art Room 12.30pm.

The Council were asked to prioritise and agree the most immediate needs which would help make ^{BADEN ROAD} [REDACTED] a more pleasant place to be. After group discussions and a diamond ranking activity the Council decided that the issues should be dealt with in the following order:

- 1 Bullying
- 2 Playground
 - A) Equipment.
 - B) Seating
 - C) Changes in the present system of Y3/4 and Y5/6 yards.
- 3 Toilets
- 4 Dining Room
- 5 Home time
- 6 More supervision.

Council members reported that bullying took place most frequently on the yard during play times but especially at lunch time. Some children did not treat the lunch time supervisors with respect. Children were frequently rude and cheeky to them and did not do as they were asked.

Asked why they thought some children were rude or cheeky they suggested that lunch time supervisors couldn't do anything to stop them.

The Council were asked to think of things which could be done to reduce bullying in school and to bring their ideas to the next meeting.

The meeting finished at 12.55pm.

APPENDIX FOURTEEN

The 1991 Baden Road Anti-bullying Policy

This policy was written as part of the advice given to schools by the Sheffield Project team.

During its development communication with others connected with school was minimal and even though the policy was ratified by Governors it failed to be implemented.

BULLYING POLICY. BADEN ROAD JUNIOR SCHOOL. OCTOBER 1991.

Social Education at Baden Road is as important as the academic. Children enter school aged seven with a wealth of uniquely different experiences from home and school. Each child is drawn into one organisation, an institution with a unique ethos, an intangible character of its own. For the organisation to succeed the children need to adapt to the school and the school needs to accommodate the individual.

THE AIMS.

- 1 Baden Road helps all pupils by;
 - A welcoming children into school, making them feel secure, happy and content with sympathetic and patient provision to nurture interest, motivation and positive learning experiences.
 - B creating a calm, quiet and contented atmosphere in school where liking and respect is a two way flow between teacher and pupil and through pastoral care makes it possible for children to talk about their feelings.
 - C setting an agreed and consistent standard of behaviour and expectations which are known and recognised by the pupils as reasonable and non-threatening.
 - D making pupils responsible for their own actions and respecting the rights of others to live in school peaceably and happily.
 - E making the curriculum relevant, positive and interesting with a sense of purpose, ownership and success for pupils.
 - F ensuring that learning is in an environment which facilitates enthusiasm, care and respect for people and property through curricula and extra-curricula activities.
 - G supporting at all times pupils as bullies or victims who have problems.
 - H appropriately involving anyone who might help a bully or victim through their problem.

For most children the transition to and life in Baden Road Junior School is pleasant and rewarding. Rules will continue to be kept to a minimum supported by house point reward for good work and behaviour.

Behaviour is good generally but there are exceptions. Baden Road aims for a school completely free of bullying but plans and strategies exist which administer to these exceptions.

Incidences of bullying do take place but serious, persistent bullying by individuals in school is infrequent and by gangs unknown. The reasons for and nature of negative behaviours from some pupils towards others are varied, mostly transient and unpredictable and taken into account by teachers when misunderstandings, arguments, teasing or bullying arise. Bullying can be momentarily serious for the bully and the victim but the long-term effect on the bully can be twofold;

- 1 To continue over time to further intimidate the victim.
- 2 Such behaviour may lead to other forms of anti-social activity.

The effect on the victim may be threefold;

- 1 To frighten and give the feeling of isolation.
- 2 To induce or reinforce a poor self-image.
- 3 To prevent from telling anyone for fear of reprisals.

To minimize these effects school will;

- 1 provide an ethos which promotes positive regard, caring relationships, a friendly atmosphere and respect.
- 2 use knowledge of bullying, the places and avoidance strategies on the principle that prevention is better than cure.
- 3 help victims first.
- 4 positively change the patterns of behaviour of bullies and where necessary give longer term support to the victim.
- 5 Deal fairly and consistently with all forms of bullying and harassment.
- 6 foster a partnership between pupils, teachers, the home and outside agencies which encourages communication.

Bullying is covert and children have a uniquely informed view of what goes on, are the experts of what happens and often the only witnesses. Baden Road (1991-92) children's collective definition is;

LOWER SCHOOL DEFINITION. (7 - 9 years)

Bullying is when boys or girls kick, hit, fight and hurt, call names, upset feelings or make cry someone who is defenceless, smaller or younger than themselves.

Longevity, a greater general ability and command of English to describe the behaviours which can exhibit more sophistication and awareness meant that many older children expressed succinctly more varied feelings and views about bullying.

UPPER SCHOOL DEFINITION. (9 - 11 years)

Bullying is when a cowardly individual or gang act tough on the yard and for no reason at all call names, hit, fight, tease, kick, pick on and upset the feelings, make cry and hurt, physically or mentally, someone who is younger, smaller, weaker, afraid or different because of clothes, weight or colour to make them feel inferior.

Bullies also say nasty things, beat up, demand things or money, smack, thump, push down, isolate, torment, tell on, threaten, spread rumours, pester, force, nip, make fun of, pull hair, scratch, spit, bite, hide or take things, interfere with a game and pull faces.

Most children think bullies are nasty, horrible, cruel, evil, naughty and mean. Their broad knowledge suggests that Shooter's Grove children have witnessed bullying which has manifested itself in school to some extent.

2.

BULLYING PLACES

Based on responses to a questionnaire the Y3 (1990-1991) children said the places for bullying were the;

Playground	63%
Classroom	14%
Toilets	9%
Corridors	5%
Cloakroom	3%
Dining Room	3%
Field	3%

75% of the boys and 50% of the girls admitted to have been bullied at some time during this term with half occurring at least once a week.

THE MOST COMMON PLACE FOR BULLYING IS THE PLAYGROUND.

Most children enjoy play time and under supervision make of it what they will without intervention.

Play time, including lunch hour takes 23% of the school day. Play time mornings; 10.30.- 10.45am., afternoons; 2.00.- 2.10pm. Lunch time; 12 noon - 1.00pm with two dinner/sandwich sittings. Play time outside is compulsory except for inclement weather. One teacher will supervise each yard play time. One lunch time supervisors will supervise each yard as eating arrangements allow. Teachers and lunch time supervisors will continue to use avoidance strategies where possible to prevent bullying.

Some play time events create problems such as frustrations that arise out of a specific game or activity. Time is occasionally needed by teachers and lunch time supervisory staff to resolve problems between children particularly after lunch.

Some children in school create and develop a confrontational moral code on the playground that runs counter to the spirit of co-operation and toleration which the teachers strive to encourage in the classroom.

Regular reviews of planning and arrangement will continue and will include children's views to help improve their quality of play. The agenda will involve;

choice, equipment, markings, separate areas for games, structured and unstructured play and lunch time supervision.

Lunch time supervisors will continue to work according to:-

The Sheffield LEA. Guide to Lunch Time Supervision and will be given further training opportunities.

3.

VICTIMS.

Presently, victims at Baden Road are more likely to tell their parents about being bullied than their teachers. Full versions are not always given at home often because of the time lapse between the incident and going home. Adults in school either see or are told of problems enabling an immediate intervention to help decide what appropriate action to take. This is called "crisis management", but immediacy is effective because children better relate and remember.

Adults will always be available to listen and help.

Victims of bullying will be given the confidentiality they need.

A sensitive approach to victims will help them begin to regain their self respect, esteem and confidence.

Victims will be encouraged to talk openly with their teachers.

Counselling methods will continue to be used to further help those victims.

Assertiveness and/or social skill training can be given.

A few children fall victim because of their own behaviours. They are simultaneously aggressive and provocative but also passive which can result in them ending up both as bullies and victims and will be given extra help.

4.

CHANGING BEHAVIOURS.

The situations for bullying vary as do the people, types and outcomes of bullying. If patterns of bullying are not challenged within a school they can become ingrained in the 'culture' of the institution and become self perpetuating. For boys and girls in Baden Road;

- 1 All known bullying incidents will be dealt with.
- 2 The resolution of individual cases will get individual attention.
- 3 Fairness, consistency and flexibility will be applied.
- 4 Written records of bullying cases will be kept.

The professionals in school will assess what best to do that will help stop an incident and lessen the possibility of its recurrence.

Methods of dealing with bullies have advantages and disadvantages.

<u>TYPE</u>	<u>ADVANTAGE</u>	<u>DISADVANTAGE</u>
1 Punishment	Easy to administer	Negative to ethos.
2 Counselling	Empathic and gentle	Time consuming
3 Bully Courts	Shared Ownership	Reprisals
4 Curriculum	Relevant	Advertises bullying
5 Parents	Shared problem	Not immediate.
6 Outside agency	Unbiased	Cold.

5 THE HOME-SCHOOL PARTNERSHIP AND BULLYING.

Children have the right to expect that they will not be subjected to bullying and neither they nor their parents should have to feel anxious about the possibility of its occurrence.

The school relationship with parents and the wider community is an indicator of its professional health. The association between parents and Baden Road usually involves very positive support. Parental involvement is genuinely valued and improves the quality of school provision for the children.

Bullying dealt with successfully and conclusively by adults in school on the first occasion will not involve parents. If bullying persists parents will be informed and asked to come into school. This will be seen as supportive and a powerful way of assisting a child through his/her problem and might involve;

- 1 the bullies parent/s or guardian/s
- 2 the victims parent/s or guardian/s

Parents, however, are sometimes reluctant to voluntarily inform school that their child is being bullied for fear of reprisals to their son / daughter. Parents will be assured of their right to confidentiality and assured of their child's safety over a matter in school.

Should bullying be found to be taking place in the time coming to or going home from school parents will be involved whether the bullying stems from Baden Road pupils or not.

Dealing effectively with bullies will be based upon the assumption that they can be rational and will change their ideas and/or behaviour according to the spirit of the school. The dynamics of relationships can be changed or even mended.

GOVERNORS AND BULLYING.

The Governors of Baden Road Junior School will need to use their relevant policy upon which they can act as arbiter within the Local Management of Schools in cases of bullying requiring their judgement.

Summary.

"A school which has identified bullying as a problem and is adopting a whole-school approach to bullying is more likely to be effective, both in intervention and in prevention."

Arora (1989)

APPENDIX FIFTEEN

Strategies to Help Victims of Bullying

Enid MacNeill

In developing a core of strategies to help victims of bullying re-adjust, the unpublished work of Enid MacNeill was a valuable source of material.

Other sources included suggestions from parents (App 7 p 6a) and informally from teachers and pupils.



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DES SHEFFIELD BULLYING PROJECT

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Project Secretary: Ms Sarah Barron ESRC Special Needs Project: Ms Irene Whitney
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Assertiveness Training - Enid MacNeill

ASSERTIVENESS - Ways of Communicating

Assertion theory is based on the premise that every individual possesses certain basic human rights.

When a person is behaving assertively s/he stands up for her/his own basic human rights without violating the basic human rights of others.

There are thoughts, feelings and behaviours associated with each of these response styles.

Assertive people look after themselves and look after other people. They respect themselves and others equally. They think - "I'm OK and you're OK".

Behaviour: They look at ease and confident, they maintain eye contact, they speak clearly.

They feel at ease with their own emotions .

Aggressive people do not respect other people, they behave in a way which damages other people.

They think "I'm OK. You're NOT OK".
"What I want matters; what you want does not"

Behaviour: They look frightening, they lean forward, shout, raise fists and point.

They feel angry.

Passive people believe that other people's rights matter more than theirs do. They allow people to take advantage of them.

They think "You're OK. I'm not OK"

Behaviour: They look worried, they whine or speak quietly, they don't look at the person they are talking to.

They feel afraid, depressed anxious tired, put upon.

Children respond to those characteristics being placed in characters e.g..

"King Kong" "the monster"
"Aggie or Angus the Aggressive"

The mouse the doormat
"Pat the Passive"

Andy or Andrée the Assertive

We all respond in different ways in different situations. In some we can be assertive while in others we are passive or aggressive.

Activities to Highlight the 3 Response Styles

1. **Movement.** Move slowly round the room thinking "I don't matter". Keep your head down. Drag feet. Feel frightened.

STOP

Be the opposite. Think "I'm angry". "I want it now!" Move in a threatening angry way (Explain what the boundaries are)

STOP

Become aware of breathing. Become balanced on feet, knees slightly bent, relax shoulders. Imagine a column of power coming from the sky - it could be golden light or water or energy - which enters the top of your head as you breathe, passes through you and moves out of your feet deep into the ground. (give time to experience this)

When you move it will move with you. Try walking around the room.

Role Plays.

Leaders can act out scenes asking children what type of response they see.

Leaders can set up a scene and ask how the aggressive or passive person will respond.

e.g.. One person watching television, or studying - brother or sister playing very loud music.

Someone borrows your pencil and won't give it back.

Making statements. Whole group or one of a pair to guess whether aggressive, passive or assertive.

e.g.. "I wasn't talking"
"It's not my turn to wash the pots"

Rights

Assertiveness is based on the premise that all human beings require certain basic human rights in order to live well together and that these should not be violated. The underlying premise is humanistic: not to produce undue stress in others and to support self fulfilment of each person - to care about one another. Each right carries with it a responsibility.

They can be summed up for children as:

"Treat others the way you want them to treat you."

"All people have the right to be treated with respect regardless of size, sex, age, race, colour, language or religion."

3 sets of rights are included. The set from Assertion Training is for discussion by adults.

Activities. In pairs read through the rights and discuss them. Some may be difficult to accept. Claim one for yourself. In a circle state "I have the right..... and I claim this for myself."

SAMPLE LIST OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS

The right to have and express your own feelings and opinions

The right to refuse requests without having to feel guilty or selfish.

The right to consider your own needs.

The right to set your own priorities and make your own decisions.

The right to change.

The right to decide what to do with your own property, body, time.

The right to make mistakes - and be responsible for them.

The right to ask for what you want (realising that the other person has the right to say no).

The right to ask for information (including from professionals).

The right to choose not to assert yourself.

The right to do anything as long as it does not violate the rights of someone else.

The right to maintain your dignity by being properly assertive - even if the other person feels hurt - as long as you do not violate the other persons basic human rights.

The right to be independent.

The right to be successful

The right to have rights and stand up for them.

The right to be left alone.

The right to be treated with respect and dignity.

The right to be listened to and taken seriously.

The right to get what you pay for.

The right to initiate a discussion of the problem with the person involved and clarify it, in borderline interpersonal cases where the rights involved are not clear.

Assertion Training Coleen Kelley, University Associates 1979, p.66

ASSERTIVE RIGHTS

TANDBOOTS

All rights carry with them a responsibility. Below are a list of ten rights and their responsibilities.

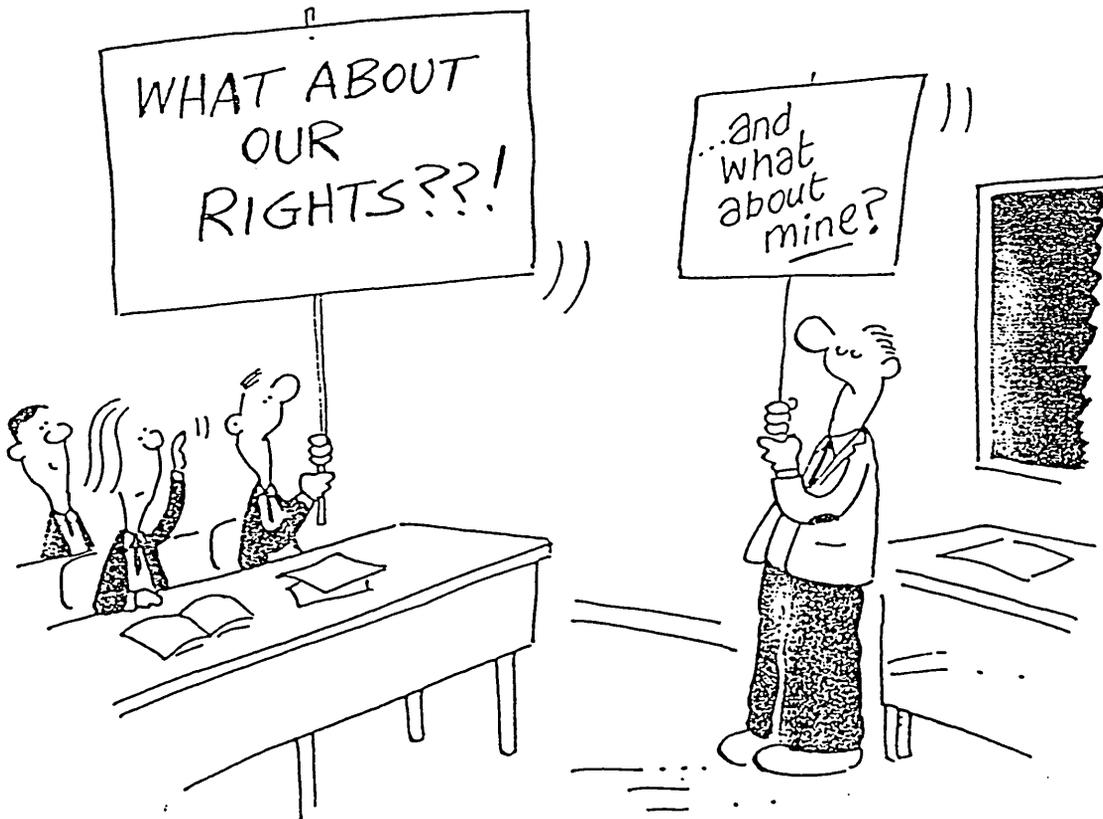
- | | | Can
Accept | Can't
Accept |
|-----------|--|---------------|-----------------|
| 1 | RIGHT
To decide what is important to me.
RESPONSIBILITY
As long as these decisions harm no one. | | |
| 2 | RIGHT
To be treated with respect by other people.
RESPONSIBILITY
To treat other people with the same respect. | | |
| 3 | RIGHT
To have other people listen to my point of view and take it seriously, even if they disagree.
RESPONSIBILITY
To talk clearly, and listen to others in return. | | |
| 4 | RIGHT
To discuss what I feel and believe in.
RESPONSIBILITY
To accept any consequences of my doing so. | | |
| 5 | RIGHT
To say 'no' without feeling guilty.
RESPONSIBILITY
To be clear that I am refusing. | | |
| 6 | RIGHT
To make mistakes from time to time.
RESPONSIBILITY
To learn from them, and not keep making the same mistakes over and over again. | | |
| 7 | RIGHT
To ask for what I want.
RESPONSIBILITY
To accept a refusal, and to allow others to ask for what they want. | | |
| 8 | RIGHT
To get information from professionals.
RESPONSIBILITY
To ask for that information clearly. | | |
| 9 | RIGHT
To say that I don't understand.
RESPONSIBILITY
To be clear about which information I need. | | |
| 10 | RIGHT
To act assertively, aggressively or passively as I think appropriate.
RESPONSIBILITY
To accept the consequences of my actions. | | |



STUDENTS' RIGHTS

- 1 **RIGHT:** To fully understand what your teachers want you to do.
RESPONSIBILITY: To ask if you are not clear about the task.
- 2 **RIGHT:** To know how your teachers think you're doing at school.
RESPONSIBILITY: To ask if you don't know.
- 3 **RIGHT:** To get on with your work in your own way once you and your teachers have agreed what is needed.
RESPONSIBILITY: To complete your work to the best of your ability.
- 4 **RIGHT:** To be taught what is on the syllabus, and what you need to pass exams, etc.
RESPONSIBILITY: To ask if you're not clear about anything. To do the work needed to have the best chance of passing.
- 5 **RIGHT:** To be consulted about decisions which affect you.
RESPONSIBILITY: To be clear about what you want.
- 6 **RIGHT:** To be treated with respect by teachers.
RESPONSIBILITY: To treat teachers with respect in return.
- 7 **RIGHT:** To make mistakes occasionally.
RESPONSIBILITY: To learn from your mistakes and try not to keep making the same ones.

Don't forget - teachers have rights too!



Making requests

We have the right to ask for what we want; we do not have the right to get what we want. We have the right to say 'No' to others' requests.

Guidelines for making requests.

1. Be clear about what you want
2. Plan what you want to say - practice silently
3. Keep your request short and straight forward.
4. No long explanations or apologies

e.g. This coffee is cold. I want you to bring me a hot cup of coffee.

e.g. That is my pencil. I want you to give it back.

If your request is refused even if it is refused aggressively this is not a rejection of you as a person, only a refusal of a request.

Activities

- 1) Leader makes a clear request of each person in group. Group members look for tone of voice, eye contact, posture etc.
- 2) Each group member makes a request of the next member round the circle.
- 3) In pairs. One person stands still and the other person asks him/her to move. First person only moves when they feel persuaded.
- 4) Role plays - In threes using one member as an observer. Observer to feed back one thing the requester did well, one thing they could have done differently.

e.g.. Ask someone to walk home with you
Ask to borrow

Broken Record

This can be used,

- 1) When making requests, e.g. 'I don't understand, please explain it to me'.
 - 2) If people are trying to get round you. e.g. 'I don't lend my bike.....'
 - or 3) If you feel you are not being listened to e.g. 'I feel sad. I want you to listen to me.'
- It is very good for saying 'NO'.

Broken record sounds like a record stuck in the groove. Decide on what you want to say e.g.. "This is broken, I want a refund" and keep saying it.

It can also be helpful to use a kind statement to respond to people before giving your policy statement or rule. e.g.. "I am sorry your grandma is ill, but, I never lend my bike"

This technique stops you becoming flustered and giving in although it does sound strange at first.

Children use it to parents brilliantly. e.g. "I need £5 to go out" but are not aware of it as a skill to use with higher status or bigger children or with friends they do not want to let down. e.g. 'I don't take drugs' Possible broken record response when being teased "I'm sorry I didn't hear you."

Practice in stating what is wanted, associated with feelings for younger children.

PROJECT SELF ESTEEM - Chapter II
Lesson 7, Activity H, Grades 2 & 3

Name

Date

Communication Is Important

Say: I FEEL (it's important to get feelings out)
I WANT (people don't guess well, tell them what you want)

Know: It 's OK to ask for what you want, but don't expect to always get it.

1. Someone takes your ball at lunchtime

I feel

I want

2. Someone sticks up for you

I feel

I want

3. Someone tells tales on you.

I feel

I want

4. You forget your lunch. Your friend shares.

I feel

I want

STOP! DO THE BOTTOM OF THIS PAGE LATER WITH YOUR TEACHER

1. Someone cuts in front of you in line
2. Someone borrows something from you and doesn't return it.
3. A friend helps you with your homework.
4. Someone pulls your hair
5. Friends won't let you play in their game
6. You have on a new outfit, your friend doesn't notice.

Saying 'NO'

Right We have the right to say 'No'

Adults do not like children to say 'No' to them so we do not get much practice.

Unhelpful Beliefs about saying 'No':

Saying 'No' is callous, uncaring and mean. Its selfish.

Saying 'No' over little things shows you are childish, small minded or petty,

Saying 'No' directly is rude and aggressive. It's too abrupt and blunt.

Saying 'No' will cause others to take offence. It will make them feel hurt and rejected.

If I say 'No' people will not like me.

Listen to your body and your feelings. What do you really want to say?

If you don't know say so "I don't know. I need more time" or "I I don't know. I need more information.

If you are going to say NO say it early ,if possible, first.

No long explanations or excuses.

Don't apologise.

Keep your body assertive, don't smile as much and have good eye contact.

You could offer an alternative.

Remember when you say 'No' you are refusing the request not rejecting the person.

Activities

- 1) Circle requests. Response first, 'No' then 'No, I don't want to'.
- 2) Yes No conversation or Yes No Push.
- 3) Circle of requests. Response can be 'Yes', 'No' or 'I need more information'.

The rest of the circle can watch, be 'detectives', watching for tone of voice, eye contact, posture.

Lots of praise is helpful particularly linked to specific behaviour e.g. "That was good. You sounded strong. Your voice was loud and you looked at him". Keep telling children to say 'Well done' to themselves.

Dealing with Criticism - Fogging

- 1) Put downs, name calling. If we respond with more insults it builds up.
'Fogging' We do not need to play victim to other peoples putdowns. Fogging is like a fog bank - if you throw a rock it vanishes.
They can state things. We can refuse to get upset by being 'fog'

If its true 'You're late' we respond 'That's true'

If its not true we respond "you could be right" "possibly" "you might think so'. Keep it very bland.

e.g. If somebne says 'You're stupid' no-one would answer 'You're right' but could answer 'That's possible'. "You might say so". At first this sounds strange.

- 2) Receiving criticism:

Listen to it

Don't panic. We can say 'I need time to think about it'

If its true say so, We may want to ask for more information.

We need to decide what we want.

Decide if you want to change your behaviour. You may not agree with their opinion.

If it is not true, tell them 'No I am not always careless. Last weeks homework was neat and tidy'

If the person gives helpful criticism, thank them. 'I had not noticed that I did that. I'll watch for it in future. Thank you.'

- 3) Giving criticism.

Having a conversation about something you find difficult

At its simplest

I feelunhappy

I wantyou to listen to me

Other problems

a) When you do, describe the behaviour

b) I feel, state your feelings

c) I would like you to change. Describe the behaviour you would like.

d) Or work together to sort it out.

Do not criticise people when angry with them or in front of others

Do not use 'war words' - You!

e.g. When

a) You say you will walk to school with me but you don't call for me.

b) I feel hurt and mixed up

c) I would like you to tell me if you change your mind or if you are going to be late.

d) Can we talk about it to sort something out.

Compliments

The aim of giving compliments is clear communication.

Keep compliments short.

Make sure it is sincere.

Be specific. "You are kind - I saw you helping Jane"

Start with 'I' when you can. If you say 'I like your blouse. It suits you' that is a message from you to the receiver. The receiver can not argue with your opinion but may be made to believe that they 'look nice'.

Receiving compliments.

Thank the person - otherwise they will feel upset.

Accept the compliment and say thank you. Agree if you can.

- Activities.
- 1) Walk round the room. As you meet other people pay them a compliment.
 - 2) Blank sheets of paper each with name of group member. Write compliments down. Good for very end of group.
 - 3) Pin sheet of paper to children's backs. Write compliments. This can feel threatening.
 - 4) Have child list 3 things they are good at. Choose one for a compliment. Group leader 'gives' the compliment they have chosen.

Self Talk - the voice in your head.

We talk to ourselves about what we do or are going to do. Often we put ourselves down. e.g. "You idiot! That was terrible". "You're going to make a real mess of it" "I knew you'd make a mess of it." "No-one will like you". "Everyone will laugh"
We can change this so that we say helpful things to ourselves. "Well done".

It helps to remember your rights. 'I have the right to make mistakes'
'I have the right to ask for information. I have the right to express my opinions'.

It helps to remember situations that went well.

Four stages when you can help yourself in a difficult situation.

- 1) Before it happens. "I'm going to relax and stay calm", "I have the right to ask for what I want".
- 2) While its going on "I planned what to do. I'm keeping to it."
- 3) When you're feeling out of control. "Don't panic. Remember your statement."
- 4) After its finished "I didn't hit anyone. I kept repeating my statement. I feel wobbly but I did well."

Our thoughts come with us all the time. We can control them. Life is better if our thoughts help us and tell us what we did well instead of always putting us down.

Self talk examples - some helpful, some not so helpful

1. John who is having problems at school thinks to himself, "Everybody hates me. I'm just no good".
2. Jason has to make a report in class. As he gets to the front of the class he feels nervous and has a lump in his throat.
"Okay Jason, you're a little worried, but you've done before and you could manage."
3. Annette was criticised by her mother for getting dirty on the way home. Later that night her dad said she was not working very hard on her homework. Annette said to herself, "I am a useless, terrible, awful, person."
4. Louise said to herself when the same thing happened to her, "This isn't my best day. I'm getting yelled at a lot. I wonder what I could do differently to save the rest of the day?"
5. Tony's mother yelled at him for not making his bed. He said "She hates me. Nobody loves me."
6. Tina is playing her favourite computer game. Her dad tells her to come and help set the table. She thinks to herself, "I'll do it quick and get back to the game as soon as I can."
7. Darren was picked on by the kids in class several times that day. When lunchtime came he discovered he had forgotten his lunch. Darren thought, "Everything bad happens to me. I can't do anything right."
8. Joanne's mother said that the new boy in class was on the phone. As she approached the phone she said to herself, "I won't be able to speak at all, " and panicked.

Relaxation

Script for lying down relaxation.

Put in some relaxation each group meeting.

This week I shall be teaching you how to use relaxation in those situations that make you feel tense, nervous, or angry. The first few times we do this, you may find it difficult to follow the instructions - you may itch, or feel the urge to giggle or move. Don't worry about it. You may feel some degree of relaxation or even a whole lot at times or in certain parts of the body. Sometimes when it is a whole lot it might even scare you a little bit. But you may learn to really enjoy it. Now listen to me carefully and try to follow the instructions as best you can.

Loosen any tight belts. Lie on your back with your feet slightly separated. Place your arms alongside your body with your palms up and your hands open.

Bring your attention to your right hand. Now slowly make a fist. Feel the tension in your fingers and your hand. Now give your attention to your right arm. Try to find the muscles and then concentrate on tensing the muscles in that arm. Increase the tension as much as you can from the hand to the top of the shoulder. Stretch the arm but do not lift it as you will then tense other muscles. Keep your attention on the tension in your arm, and try not to let any other thoughts move into your mind. Remain this way for five seconds 1...2...3...4...5. Slowly release the tension in your fist and then in your arm. Your hand should be slightly spread once again with your palm up. Try to think about what is happening in the arm. Each of you may feel differently. Some of you may feel the arm becoming quite heavy and sinking into the mat. Now focus on the left arm (the body goes through the same stages with the left arm).

Now concentrate on the right leg. Push the heel away and draw the toes towards you so as to avoid a foot cramp. (check that each child has done it correctly). Then slowly increase the tension until it feels really tight from the foot to your thigh. Stretch the leg but do not lift it. Wait five seconds and focus on the leg as much as possible .1 2 3 4 ..5.

Now slowly release the tension in the leg. Some people feel the leg becoming heavy, Some feel it sinking into the floor, (The leader goes through the same instructions with the other leg). Now relax the right arm as much as possible, now the left arm ,now the right leg and the left leg.

Now turn your attention to the area around your waist. To tense this area, you tighten or contract the stomach muscles and draw them slightly upward, then draw the buttocks toward one another (with some children the word "buttocks" will stimulate laughter. In this case avoid this the first few times) Forget the rest of the body and concentrate on this one tensed area. Slowly release the stomach muscles and the buttocks and let stomach and buttocks sink heavily into the floor.

Now direct your attention to the muscles in the chest. Gradually tense the muscles. Now move your shoulders toward each other from behind, tensing the back and rib muscles. Now gradually relax the chest, the shoulders, the back and the rib cage. Let your lower and upper body sink into the floor. Relax your arms and legs once again.

Now focus on the neck. To tense it, pull back the neck towards the nape; hold it a few seconds and slowly let it loose. You may note a difference between the tensed neck and the resting neck. Move your focus to the face. Clench your jaws together, tense the cheeks, mouth and eyelids, wiggle the forehead. One by one release the tension in each of these, in the jaws, the cheeks, mouth, the eyelids and finally the forehead. Let these muscles feel the pull of gravity. Open your mouth slightly.

Go slowly once more through the entire body relaxing once again but without tensing the foot the legs, the pelvic area, the chest the back, the arms, the shoulders, the neck and the face. If possible let your body sink still further into the mat. Now hold it for a minute (Later, two to five minutes) (Then the leader ends the relaxation with the following instructions).

Don't jump up and run off. Move your fingers slowly, now your toes, now your arms and legs, just a little, now a little more, now your shoulders. Move your head back and forth. If you feel like stretching, stretch. Increase the depth of your breathing, sit up, stretch some more, hold it momentarily. Now, if you feel ready, stand up.

Work slowly, first just arms, then legs etc. Watch whether children are coping or not.

Start with part of the body at first and gradually introduce more particularly with young children. Tensing and relaxing a hand would be one lesson.

Activities

- 1) Allow children to work in pairs teaching each other. They can be 'certified' as coaches.
- 2) 'Simon says' can be used e.g.. "Tense the muscles of your right hand" children do not respond. "Simon says tense etc." Children do respond. Do not eliminate. Give points to children who make a mistake. The aim is to get as few points as possible.
- 3) Tin soldiers. March around the room being very stiff.
- 4) Cross patch. Stand and punch with fists or stamp with feet.

Three and four are ways of being tense.

Floppy puppet. Go all floppy and wobbly. Move around the room slowly and floppily until you fall in a heap.

See 'Relax and Be Happy' - Jane Madders, book list for many more suggestions.

Groups

Keep the group small 6 - 8 children. Explain to parents of children what the group is about.

Sample Contract - for group of 11 and 12 year olds

"We, the group, agree to discuss the problems we're having at home or at school and to try to help each other find better ways of dealing with them. We'll do lots of role playing. We also agree to come to all meetings and on time. In return Mrs at the school will give us a room to meet in, refreshments and games and she'll lead the group every week. We shall spend at least as much time talking and role playing as doing the other fun things during the meetings. We understand that there will be 8 meetings and that each meeting will last 45 minutes."

Nurture physically - provide food and drinks

Introducing role playing. Roleplaying gives the children the chance to try things out - to practice.

Set the stage

Remember Who, When, Where, What did you think? What happened?

How did you feel?

Children like teachers can be very anxious about role playing in front of others.

Introduce role playing through games. Who am I? How do I feel? Board games.

Everyone can suggest new ways of behaving which can be tried out.

Child may first rehearse the lines, sitting down, no action, no feelings.

Rehearse in pairs first, then in 3's with the 3rd person as the observer.

Use coaches or helpers (doubles in psychodrama) who can give guidance and instructions. e.g. victim with helper tries out broken record with bully who has helper. Victims helper prompts and encourages.

Games*. Old favourites. Dodge ball. Traffic lights. Dead fishes. Fruit salad. Statues.

Shark - Lagoon with islands. Leader as shark, Children swim. Leader shouts shark - tries to catch children on way to island. If caught becomes shark also.

* Games help to relax children as well as showing us how they respond to each other.

Social Skills - Board Game

Pick role play card	Rest here	Ask others a personal question	Go back 3 squares	START
Pick problem	Role Playing cards here		Think Cards here	Say tongue twister
Pick fun card				Pick think card
Go back 3 squares				Pick fun card
Compliment all in group				Pick roleplay card
Pick think card				Ask group what you do well
Pick role play card	Pass here get smartie	Pick Think card	Tell joke	Ask someone for help

Example of role play card. Role play a situation in which a friend asks you for money. the friend has borrowed before but never paid back. The group leader will be your friend. The group will give feedback.

Think cards.

Example "What's the last situation that made you angry? Describe the situation, what you thought and how you felt"

Fun cards

Surprise activity e.g.. Sing a song. tell a bad joke. etc.

Game instructions. Start here. Go back 3 spaces.

Reinforcing square. Child receives a token, sweet, raisin etc.

Leader acts a a player and a source of constant feedback.

Homework

Homework is given

- 1) To encourage children to try out in the real world what they have learned in the group.
- 2) To provide children with the opportunity to try out new behaviours in the absence of both the group leader and the feedback from the group.

Homework helps to bring changes in private behaviour e.g.. private thoughts, sleep disturbance, that would not be available in the group context.

Examples of homework.

- 1) Every night remember 1 thing you did really well that day. Some children might write it down.
- 2) Try out behaviour practised in the group e.g. Saying 'No' to a group of children who play in an unfriendly way.
- 3) Remember to tell yourself 'Well done' when you try out something new.

BOOK LIST

Working with Children and Adolescents in Groups. S. Rose and J. Edelson. Jossey-Bass 1987

I have used this as a source for group methods.

Project Self Esteem. Sandy McDavid, Peggy Biden. B L Winch & Associates, California 1986.

This book includes sets of scripted lessons for 6 - 12 year olds.

the Positive Approach. Assertiveness Training for 14 - 17 year olds. Patricia McBride. CRAC (Careers Research and Advisory Centre), Hobsons

This is an excellent pack, cost £34.95. I have used the 'rights' lists from this pack. It contains lots of activities for assertiveness and social skills and excellent guidance on running groups for secondary children.

A Woman in Your Own Right. Anne Dickson. Quartet, 1982.

An excellent book written specifically for women

Liking Myself. Pat Palmer. Impact Publishers. 1977.

for 5 - 9 year olds.

The Mouse, the Monster and Me. Pat Palmer. Impact Publishers. 1977.

Assertiveness for 8-12 year olds.

Assertion Training - A Facilitators Guide. Colleen Kelley. University Associates 1979

Designed for trainers of adult groups. Has a chapter on further resources.

Relax and Be Happy. techniques for 5 - 18 year olds. Jane Madders. Unwin Paperback 1987.

Excellent book on relaxation techniques for children which can be used in the PE lesson or at odd moments in the classroom.

The Cooperative Sports and Games book. Terry Orlick. New York Parthern. 1978

contains cooperative games for all ages.

Feelings. Aliko. Pickmere Piper 1984

Illustrated children's book. Lovely illustrations of children having feelings positive, negative and muddled.