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SHAME MANAGEMENT AND BULLYING

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of
The Australian National University.

July 1999

CERTIFICATE OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Eliza Ahmed, hereby declare that, except where acknowledged, this work is my own and has not been submitted for a higher degree at any other university or institution.

Eliza Ahmed

Eliza Ahmed

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ABSTRACT

This research addresses the impact of shame management skills on bullying behavior in children. The theoretical impetus for this research comes mainly from reintegrative shaming theory (J. Braithwaite, 1989) which suggests that both shaming and the emotion of shame are of considerable importance in controlling deviant behavior. A social-developmental model of bullying is formulated that brings a range of predictive variables together in a coherent theoretical framework. Variables include the family (stigmatized shaming, non-stigmatized shaming and family disharmony), the school (perceived control of bullying, liking for school and daily hassles), individual differences (guilt-proneness, shame-proneness, pride-proneness, impulsivity, empathy, self-esteem and internal locus of control) and shame management (shame acknowledgment and shame transformation).

The central theme of this thesis is that shame management, or rather failure to manage shame effectively, plays an important role in bullying behavior. Shame serves both an adaptive and maladaptive function. It is adaptive when it activates an internal sanctioning mechanism and involves sanctioning agents who can affirm the worth of the individual; shame is maladaptive when an internal sanctioning mechanism is bypassed and/or feelings of rejection from social sanctioning agents are evoked. A measure of the adaptive as well as the maladaptive aspects of shame is developed: the Measure Of Shame State – Shame Acknowledgment and Shame Transformation (MOSS-SAST).

Parents and their children (4th to 7th grade) completed self-report questionnaires anonymously. Controlling for the child's age and sex, bullying behavior was linked to family, school, individual differences and shame management variables. Parents of children who bullied others reported using stigmatized shaming more often as a child-rearing practice. In addition, children who bullied others experienced a disharmonious family environment characterized by conflict among the members. A child's daily hassles and impulsivity were associated with greater amounts of bullying. Liking for school, perceived control of bullying, guilt-proneness, pride-proneness, empathy, self-esteem and internal locus of control were associated with less bullying. Multiple regression analyses indicated

that bullying was significantly predicted by shame acknowledgment and shame transformation, over and above the effects of other variables. In the mediational analysis, support was found for a partial mediational model showing that family, school and individual difference variables not only directly predicted bullying, but also operated through shame management variables.

Finally, evidence is provided to show that bullying/victimization in children can be characterized in terms of how effectively the child manages the emotion of shame. Self-reported non-bully / non-victims acknowledged shame with little transformation of it. Self-reported bullies were less likely to acknowledge shame, and more likely to transform shame into anger. Self-reported victims acknowledged shame without transformation, but were more likely to internalize others' rejection of them. Bully/victims were less likely to acknowledge shame, were more likely to have self-critical thoughts and to transform their felt shame into anger.

The present thesis suggests that attention to the role of shame in bullying is warranted. Intrapersonal and interpersonal functioning is related to individual shame management skills. This finding gives rise interventions that can be offered to professionals, school personnel, parents, bullies and victims.

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CHAPTER - 1

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON BULLYING

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

'Shame is a thermostat; if it fails to function, regulation of relationships becomes impossible' (Retzinger, 1996. p. 17)

1.1 Introduction

School bullying is widely regarded as a serious personal, social and educational problem which affects a substantial portion of school children. Not only does it cause harm and distress to the children who are bullied at the time (Besag, 1989; Calaghan & Joseph, 1995; Olweus, 1978, 1993; Rigby, 1996; Slee, 1994; Smith, 1991; Tattum & Lane, 1989), it also inflicts emotional and developmental scars that can persist into adolescence and beyond (Kochenderfer & Ladd, 1996a, 1996b; Olweus, 1993). Victims of bullying are not the only ones who are adversely affected. Children who bully others experience enjoyment in exercizing power and status over victims (Besag, 1989; Rigby, 1996) and fail to develop empathy for others (Olweus, 1978; Smith, 1991). In this way, bullying eases the way for children who are drawn to a path of delinquency and criminality (Farrington, 1993; Junger, 1990). To the extent that schools carry responsibility for teaching children to contribute productively to society, effective containment of the bullying problem is a high priority.

While the severity of the bullying problem has resulted in widespread use of intervention programs, much remains to be understood with respect to the antecedents to bullying: Why are some children more at risk of engaging in bullying than others? What are the underlying factors associated with the development of bullying behavior? What makes them become involved in bullying? Does shame have a role to play in the etiology of bullying/victimization? Why are some children victims of bullies while others are not?

A body of empirical work has produced information that profiles prototypical bullies and victims. Studies have adopted an array of theoretical perspectives, with the result that the field lacks an overarching theoretical framework which accommodates the diverse set of empirical findings. Drawing on previous works in relevant fields, this research develops a social-developmental model of bullying that elucidates important constructs, and sets up a framework for organizing theoretical and empirical work on bullying. The aims of the present research are to build bridges across different theoretical perspectives and empirically investigate the explanatory power of one against another.

The present chapter begins this task by reviewing what we know about bullying in schools. It emphasizes the consideration of the role of shame on bullying and concludes by urging us to undertake an integrative theoretical perspective to investigate bullying behavior.

Chapter 2 reviews the literature on shame as portrayed in clinical, sociological as well as psychological research. Two consistent themes emerge: when shame is acknowledged it is adaptive; when shame is not acknowledged it is maladaptive. However, their emergence seems to be dependent on a number of characteristic features which have not yet been empirically investigated. This chapter, therefore, develops a theoretical framework on shame (SAST; Shame Acknowledgment and Shame Transformation) and addresses the fundamental questions of individual differences in responses to feelings of shame. Following this, a Measure Of Shame State: Shame Acknowledgment and Shame Transformation (MOSS-SAST) was developed and validated.

Chapter 3 develops an integrated model of bullying which is primarily based on the reintegrative shaming theory of crime (J. Braithwaite, 1989). Following Braithwaite, it is argued that shaming in the form of disapproval from significant

others plays a major role in accounting for bullying behavior in children. The social-developmental model of bullying explains the underlying processes in the development of this behavior, with a particular focus on feelings of shame. This chapter also presents the theoretical relevance of the variables to be incorporated in the model and finally it offers the working hypotheses of the current research.

Chapter 4 describes the methodology and the measures of the constructs used in this study. Chapter 5 presents the findings on three issues: correlational nature of the independent variables with bullying, the importance of shame above and beyond other independent variables, and finally, mediating effects of shame to evaluate how other independent variables operate on bullying.

Chapter 6 relates shame (as conceptualized in the SAST framework) to bullying showing that different groups of children (bully, victim, bully/victim and non-bully / non-victim) exhibit different responses to a shameful event.

Finally, Chapter 7 summarizes the findings obtained from this research and discusses their implications. Also discussed are the limitations as well as strengths of this study together with suggestions for future research.

1.2 What the literature says about bullying?

1.2.1 What is bullying?

Before exploring the literature and other theoretical issues, it is useful to offer a working definition of the term bullying. This is similar to the concept proposed by other researchers (Olweus, 1991; Rigby, 1996) in this research field. Bullying is

--- necessarily a repetitive aggressive act, either physical or non-physical, that causes distress to the victim(s);

--- characterized by the dominance of the powerful(s) over the powerless(s) who is or are not capable of retaliating;

--- carried out without provocation.

The term bullying is not a synonym for aggression or antisocial behavior, rather it refers to a form of aggression or antisocial behavior. Bullying differs from those terms in some respects; it is more systematic, occurs repeatedly and is unprovoked, and contains a variety of harmful actions, including name-calling, social exclusion, having money taken or belongings damaged, as well as more obvious physical forms such as hitting and kicking (Smith, 1991). In addition, some antisocial behavior (e.g., delinquency) is defined by law in terms of the age range of the offender. In the case of bullying, there is no age limit; a child or a parent or even a boss can be a bully if the act fulfils the above criteria.

1.2.2 Prevalence and nature of bullying

Most of the pioneering research on school bullying took place in the Scandinavian countries in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Heinmann, 1972; Olweus, 1973). In a very short period of time, the field has flourished with detailed documentation of the worldwide prevalence and nature of bullying behavior in school children (e.g., Ahmad & Smith, 1989; Bjorkqvist, Ekman, & Lagerspetz, 1982; Boulton & Underwood, 1992; Chazan, 1989; Hazler, Hoover, & Oliver, 1991; Kikkawa, 1987; Lane, 1989; Olweus, 1978, 1991; O'Moore & Hillery, 1991; Rigby, 1996; Roland, 1989; Sharp & Smith, 1992; Stephenson & Smith, 1987; Tattum, 1989; Ziegler & Rosenstein-Manner, 1991).

In spite of the quantity of research undertaken, little consensus has emerged on the prevalence rate which appears to vary a great deal across studies. For example, based on teacher reports, Olweus (1978) identified 5 per cent of children as pronounced bullies and 5.3 per cent as less pronounced bullies. In contrast, Stephenson and Smith (1989) identified 16 per cent of children as bullies. With a much stricter criterion for bullying, Lowenstein (1978) identified only 1.4 per cent of children as bullies.

The prevalence rates of bullying obtained from the anonymous self-report questionnaires provides a different picture. Using a modified questionnaire of Olweus (1987), the estimated rate of primary school bullying was 10 per cent (Ahmad & Smith, 1989, 1990) and secondary school bullying was 12 per cent (Yates & Smith, 1989), using a cut-off point of bullying others 'now and then' or more frequently.

When the cut-off point was set at 'sometimes' or more often, a number of studies indicated that some countries have higher prevalence rates of bullying than others. For example, Mellor (1990) reported about 4 per cent of children as bullies in Scotland, whereas 17 per cent were identified in Sheffield, England (Boulton & Underwood, 1992). From Australian studies, the estimate of the percentage who bully 'sometimes' or more often was estimated as about 10 per cent (Rigby & Slee, 1990).

What becomes apparent from the above picture, apart from the variability in the prevalence of school bullying, is that bullying occurs in all cultures and countries. Differences in prevalence rates across studies are difficult to interpret because of variability in questionnaires and methodologies. Some researchers gathered prevalence data through self-report questionnaires (Ahmad & Smith, 1989, 1990; Olweus, 1990; O'Moore & Hillery, 1989; Rigby & Slee, 1991b; Yates & Smith, 1989), some used teacher and/or peer nominations (Bjorkqvist et al., 1982; Lagerspetz et al., 1982; Lowenstein, 1978; Stephenson & Smith, 1989) and some employed one-to-one interviews (Junger, 1990; Moran, Smith, Thompson, & Whitney, 1993). In addition, some researchers preferred to use stringent criteria (Lowenstein, 1978) while others relied on broader criteria to measure bullying (Ahmad & Smith, 1989; Olweus, 1990; Rigby & Slee, 1991b). The prevalence rates of bullying have varied due to the differential selection of the cut-off points to determine the frequency of bullying. All these factors make it difficult to draw strong conclusions about the exact percentage of children involved in bullying. However, one conclusion that has been drawn from the diverse research is that at least 10 per cent of school-aged children bully their peers (Besag, 1989).

Clearly, future research should clarify a number of features to provide a comparable picture of the frequency of bullying across studies. For example, it should be clear to the respondents which acts and what degree of seriousness are assumed as bullying; whether the prevalence of bullying includes physical as well as psychological harm; whether the term 'bullying' includes the incidents which happened only at school or on the way to and from school; and finally, whether the term includes a fixed time period such as the 'last six months'.

As for the concern about the nature of bullying activities, research has converged on the view that bullying may be physical (e.g., hitting, pushing,

kicking), psychological (e.g., ignoring, excluding), and/or verbal (e.g., namecalling, teasing). There is evidence to indicate that bullying is greater among younger children compared with older children (Boulton & Underwood, 1992; Olweus, 1987; O'Moore & Hillery, 1989, 1991). Investigations also have shown that the proportion of students victimized by peers in primary school is greater than in secondary schools (Kochenderfer & Ladd, 1996a, 1996b; Olweus, 1991).

The differences in bullying activities among boys and girls are widely recognized. Girls are more likely to use non-physical ways of bullying (e.g., spreading of rumors, exclusion from play) whereas boys engage in both physical and non-physical bullying (Bjorkvist et al., 1982; Boulton & Underwood, 1992; Hoover, Oliver, & Hazler, 1992; Lowenstein, 1978; Olweus, 1978, 1993; Whitney & Smith, 1993). This gender difference also applies to the children who are bullied. Sharp and Smith (1992) found that boys were more often the victims of physical bullying whereas girls were the victims of verbal and social bullying. It was also noted that boys bullied both girls and boys, while girls generally bullied other girls.

While this body of research has advanced our understanding on the nature and prevalence of bullying, another has focused on distinguishing the factors that are responsible for bullying behavior. The following two sections provide a review of this literature which covers the studies that are thought useful in understanding the factors responsible for bullying behavior. The first section of this review examines research which looks at family factors as precursors of bullying behavior; the second section looks at studies examining the link between child characteristics and bullying; the final section reviews the studies which examines the relationship between child's psychological well-being and bullying behavior. Results of this research are summarized in Tables 1.1 through 1.3. Following this, an analysis of the limitations of current research on bullying is presented. This chapter closes by emphasizing the need to develop a cohesive theoretical approach to the study of bullying.

1.2.3 Research studies linking family variables and bullying behavior

The importance of family factors in predicting bullying behavior has emerged from a number of studies (e.g., Manning, Heron, & Marshal, 1978; Olweus, 1978, 1980, 1984; Rican, 1995; Webb, 1969). Family factors that have

been examined as independent variables can be grouped into the following categories: (a) child-rearing styles; (b) parent-child bonds; and (c) family environment. Each of these will be reviewed in turn.

Child-rearing styles and bullying behavior: A number of studies have explored the effects of parental child-rearing styles and parental values on their child's bullying behavior. Parental permissiveness which includes an inability to set limits and provide guidelines for acceptable behavior has a powerful influence on children's bullying behavior (Lowenstein, 1978; Olweus, 1980, 1984; Rican, 1995).

Rican (1995) found that parents' tolerance of their child's aggressive behavior was linked to bullying behavior. Based on child self-reports, Rican noted that parental encouragement of child aggression in the absence of limit-setting served to legitimize aggression as a means of solving problems. Lowenstein (1978) reported similar findings. From discussions with parents, he noted that the parents of bullies had an overly permissive approach to child-rearing.

Similar results have been reported by those investigations that link parents' permissiveness and the broader concept of child aggression. Olweus (1980, 1984) found that parents who adopted a permissive disciplinary style had boys with high levels of interpersonal aggressive behavior. According to Olweus, mothers who adopted a lax attitude and failed to set limits on their boys' aggressive behavior towards peers, siblings and adults, contributed greatly to the development of an aggressive reaction pattern in those boys. The concept of aggressive reaction pattern gives rise to the question of whether aggression should really be termed as bullying. As Farrington (1993) says,

> Bullying is only one element of aggression, just as aggression is only one element of a larger syndrome of antisocial behavior.

Children's perceptions of inconsistency in their parents' disciplinary practices have also been regarded as an important determinant of bullying behavior (Bowers, Smith, & Binney, 1992, 1994; Olweus, 1980, 1984). Bowers et al. (1992, 1994) found that children who bully others perceived their parents as being poor on

accurate monitoring of behavior, low on warmth, high on neglect, but also high on over-protection. Parents of aggressive boys were more likely to combine permissive child-rearing with power assertion strategies (Olweus, 1980, 1984).

These findings are similar to a number of earlier works (Lowenstein, 1978; Webb, 1969). Drawing from school records, Webb analyzed case histories of a number of children who were the leaders of gangs. Common to these case histories was the children's experience of parental inconsistency, aggression or rejection, or a combination of these. Webb concluded that bullies tended to be exposed to disciplinary inconsistency along with parental rejection and aggression.

Significant findings have also emerged linking a child's bullying activities to the parent's use of an authoritarian strategy. Power assertion, the most important component of an authoritarian strategy, was found to be associated with the boys' higher level of interpersonal aggressive behavior (Olweus, 1980, 1984). The pattern that emerges in Olweus's studies is that boys of parents who frequently used physical punishment and expressed threats as well as violent outbursts were more likely to become aggressive.

Likewise, a relationship between parental use of an authoritarian style at home, such as overcontrolling and dominating strategies, and children's bullying behavior at school has been documented by Manning et al. (1978). Consistent with these findings, Rican, Klicperova, and Koucka (1993) investigated the obverse of parental authoritarian control and dominance, encouragement of children's autonomy. Children who perceived their parents as supporting their independence were less likely to engage in bullying behavior.

An enormous literature surrounds the relationship between parental aggression and child aggression. A number of studies have examined how aggressiveness in parents can have a modeling effect on their children's bullying behavior (Farrington 1993; Rican et al., 1993; Strassberg, Dodge, Pettit, & Bates, 1994).

A central theoretical perspective for understanding this relationship has been forwarded by Bandura (1973, 1977, 1986). Bandura stressed the importance of observational learning processes as a frame of reference for aggressive and antisocial behavior in children. According to Bandura's social learning theory (1973), children's interactions with their parents (or significant others) teach them

characteristic modes of social behavior through observational and enactive learning. Children who observe their parents behaving aggressively begin to behave aggressively, as they come to believe that aggression is the norm, in the home and outside (Bandura, 1986).

Strassberg et al. (1994) examined the effect of the parental use of physical punishment on children's bullying aggression, defined as 'an unprovoked attack on a peer'. The findings indicated that children who were spanked and received other sorts of violent punishment exhibited higher rates of bullying aggression than other children. The authors concluded that violence at home placed children at risk of engaging in unprovoked coercive domination of peers. Rican et al. (1993) has also provided support for understanding bullying as modeling of parental aggressive expression. Rican et al. found a strong association between the child's bully status and father's hostility at home.

Evidence bearing on the intergenerational link surrounding bullying has also emerged from a number of longitudinal studies (e.g., Eron, 1987; Farrington, 1993; Lowenstein, 1978). The notion that parents who bully produce a generation of children who bully their peers has been supported by the work of Eron (1987). Eron reported that parents who had been childhood bullies tended to be punitive with their children, who, in turn, were more likely to be bullies.

The Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development investigated both the intergenerational transmission and continuity of bullying. This longitudinal survey of adolescents over a period of 24 years revealed that adolescent bullies tend to grow up to be adult bullies and also tend to have children who are bullies (Farrington, 1993).

Continuity of bullying in childhood and adolescence which extends into later violent crime has been supported by other studies (Greenbaum et al., 1989; Pulkkinen, 1996; Tattum, Tattum, & Herbert, 1993). Tattum et al. (1993) described the cyclic progression from pre-teen bullying to juvenile delinquency to violent adult criminality and family abuse as a 'Cycle of Violence'.

Parent-child bonds and bullying behavior: While a substantial body of research has documented the negative effects of parental disciplinary inconsistency, physical

punishment and aggression, other research points to the protection afforded by the quality of the parent-child relationship, particularly warmth and early attachment (Junger, 1990; Olweus, 1980, 1984; Rican et al., 1993; Rigby, 1993; Stephenson & Smith, 1989; Troy & Sroufe, 1987).

The importance of a warm and positive parent-child relationship was demonstrated by Olweus (1980, 1984). He found that when mothers showed negativism in relation to their sons, aggressive behavior was more likely to be evident in those boys. Negativism was defined as a lack of warmth and interest in involvement with the child (Olweus, 1978, 1980, 1984). The work of Junger (1990) also suggested that boys who bully tended to have a bad relationship with their parents.

Rigby (1993) reported that children who perceived less positive relationships (e.g., less close relations and warmth) with their parents, especially with fathers, were more likely to have a tendency to bully their peers. It is of note that the measure of tendency to bully peers is one of proneness to bully rather than actual behavior that has occurred. It is possible that children who have a tendency to bully never actually bully others.

Apart from the warmth and affection shown to children, the quality of the attachment relationship between parents and children has been associated with bullying. In this regard, Troy and Sroufe's (1987) work, which is based on Bowlby's attachment theory (1969, 1973), is noteworthy. According to Bowlby, attachment refers to a child's internal representational model based upon the history of interactions between the child and his/her attachment figure(s). The quality of an attachment relationship can either be secure or insecure depending upon the emotional bond between the parties. Three major types of attachment relationships have been documented: secure, insecure anxious-avoidant and insecure anxious-resistant (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978).

Troy and Sroufe (1987) have drawn predominantly upon this attachment theory in clarifying the nature of the parent-child attachment relationship in relation to bullying behavior. In this experimental work, preschool children were paired according to their attachment histories with their parents (e.g., secure child was paired with insecure avoidant child, etc). It was found that children who were not 'securely attached' to their mothers were involved in more bullying incidents.

Specifically, children with an insecure avoidant attachment history were found to be negative and hostile in their interactions with peers, taking the role of bullies (Troy & Sroufe, 1987).

Family environment and bullying behavior: The family environment has also emerged as an important predictor of bullying behavior. The most extensively investigated dimensions have been family cohesiveness, power relationships, conflicts and care among family members (Berdondini & Smith, 1996; Bowers et al., 1992, 1994; Lowenstein, 1978; Rican, 1995; Rigby, 1993).

Gathering data from discussions with parents, Lowenstein reported higher amounts of conflict among the family members of bullies. In addition, parents who were observed as lacking sensitivity to other people were more likely to have children involved in bullying activities (Lowenstein, 1978).

Focusing on children's perceptions of family cohesiveness, Bowers et al. (1992, 1994) found that bullies were significantly more likely than others to perceive their family as lacking cohesion and warmth. Further to this, bullies were more likely not to have a father at home. Additional support for the role of family cohesiveness was provided by Berdondini and Smith (1996) who found that bullying children expressed lower cohesiveness scores with their parents and reported lower cohesiveness between their parents.

Children who bully also perceived their families as having more structured hierarchical power relations (Bowers et al., 1992). In addition, these children showed ambivalent involvement with family members including siblings who were viewed as more powerful than themselves.

Table 1.1

Summary of Studies Linking Family Variables to Bullying

Researcher(s)	Source(s) of information	Dependent variable	Main findings
Webb (1969)	School records and discussion with parents of 80 children Boys=60, Girls=20	Various types of behavioral problems including bullying	Parents of children with problems reported being aggressive, inconsistent in discipline and rejecting with their children.
Lowenstein (1978)	Parents, teachers and children n=166	Bullying score (teacher and peer nominated)	From a discussion, parents of bullies were found to have been bullies themselves, employ overstrict or overpermissive child-rearing and have a lack of sensitivity to others
Olweus (1978)	Parents and boys n=1000	Aggressive reaction pattern in boys	Aggressive reaction in boys was related to parental reports of less warmth and inconsistent discipline (e.g., overly lax or overly punitive)
Manning et al. (1978)	Mothers and children n=17	Hostility including bullying	Interviews with mothers reveal that mothers of hostile children were more likely to be overcontrolling.
Troy & Sroufe (1987)	Children n=38	Bullying was observed in experimental context	Children who bullied others exhibited insecure avoidant attachment with parents.

Table 1.1

Summary of Studies Linking Family Variables to Bullying

Researcher(s)	Source(s) of information	Dependent variable	Main findings
Stephenson & Smith (1989)	Teachers	Teacher nominated bullying score	Teachers rated that bullies had difficult relationship with their parents who employed a less firm and consistent discipline at home.
Junger (1990)	Boys n=200	Bullying score	Boys who bully reported less warmth with parents and a lack of adequate supervision from parents.
Bowers et al. (1992)	Children n=80	Peer nominated bullying score	Bullies reported a less cohesive and disengaged family structure.
Bowers et al. (1994)	Children n=80	Peer nominated bullying score	Bullies reported family members as powerful, saw their families as less cohesive and had ambivalent involvement with siblings and others.
Farrington (1993)	Boys n=411	Bullying-delinquency-crime	This longitudinal study links bullying - delinquency - crime across the lifespan and across generations.

Table 1.1

Summary of Studies Linking Family Variables to Bullying

Researcher(s)	Source(s) of information	Dependent variable	Main findings
Rican et al. (1993)	Children n=471	Peer nominated bullying score	Children who did not bully reported parents' positive attitude toward them and encouragement of child's autonomy. Children who bullied reported parents' hostility and firmness of their socialization techniques.
Rigby (1993)	Children n=1012	Tendency to bully others	Children who tended to bully reported less family cohesion, unclear communications between family members, negative attitude to parents and poor parent-child relationship.
Strassberg et al. (1994)	Parents and children n=273	Types of aggressive behavior including bullying	Parents who reported child spanking and other physical punishment had children with bullying aggression.
Rican (1995)	Children n=374	Peer nominated bullying score and self-report of bullying	Bullies reported their families as low in selfless care.
Pulkkenin (1996)	Children n=369	Proactive aggression	This longitudinal study showed proactively aggressive boys were prone to criminality in adulthood.

Table 1.1

Summary of Studies Linking Family Variables to Bullying

Researcher(s)	Source(s) of information	Dependent variable	Main findings
Berdondini & Smith (1996)	Children n=60	Peer nominated bullying score	Bullies reported father absence and lower cohesion to and between parents.

Children's views of their families as functioning poorly on a number of criteria have been shown to play a significant part in bullying (e.g., Rican, 1995; Rigby, 1993). The tendency to bully peers at school has been linked with less positive family functioning and poorer psycho-social health of families (Rigby, 1993). These children perceived their families as low in cohesion and having unclear as well as indirect communications among the members. Rican (1995) has stressed the importance of the care that a family can provide for children. On the basis of his findings, Rican concluded that bullies perceived their families as very weak in selfless care for each other.

These studies together point to the following family factors as significant in the development of bullying behavior: (a) permissive child-rearing; (b) punitiveness, in particular, parental use of physical punishment; (c) inconsistent and lax disciplining style; (d) low levels of parental affection and sensitivity; (e) high levels of family conflict, and (f) low family cohesion and care.

Family is undoubtedly the pre-eminent system in which children are embedded. However, there is substantial evidence that bullying behavior is also associated with a child's individual characteristics. In the next section, child characteristics that have been linked with bullying behavior are reviewed.

1.2.4 Research studies linking a child's individual characteristics and bullying behavior

A substantial body of research has linked bullying behavior in children with individual difference variables as well as psychological well-being (Boulton & Smith, 1994; Olweus, 1978; O'Moore & Hillery, 1991; Rigby & Slee, 1993b). These studies have revealed that children who are bullies typically have certain common attributes.

Two research traditions have provided insight into the relationship between child characteristics and bullying. The individual differences approach has focused on identifying the general characteristics that are responsible for bullying behavior. The second approach has sought to explain bullying in terms of children's psychological well-being, in particular depression, self-esteem and happiness. These studies are now reviewed.

Individual difference variables and bullying behavior: Considerable evidence has accumulated to show that children who bully others have a weak inhibition against aggression (Bjorkvist et al., 1982; Lagerspetz et.al., 1982; Olweus, 1978). Olweus (1978) reported that boys who bully others had an aggressive personality with a favourable attitude toward aggression and a strong need to dominate others. It was also noted that they achieved pleasure from acting aggressively against peers and they encouraged other boys to do it.

Consistent with these findings, Bentley and Li (1995) found that bullies were more likely to endorse aggression-supporting beliefs. Bullies have been reported as being physically strong, active and easily provoked and enjoying aggression (Stephenson & Smith, 1989). They have also been noted as consistently trying to control their peers through physical or verbal aggression (Elkind & Weiner, 1978).

In a later work by Olweus (1984), boys who bully were found as slightly below average in school attainment and having a negative attitude toward school work and teachers. These findings have been replicated in other studies. Children who bully others have been found to be below average in intelligence and reading ability (Lowenstein, 1978; O'Moore & Hillery, 1991). Moreover, they are likely to exhibit poor concentration in school work resulting in poor scholastic attainment (Stephenson & Smith, 1989).

Social competency also tends to be lower among children who bully. Bullies are lower than average in popularity among their peers (Boulton & Smith, 1994; Lagerspetz et al., 1982; O'Moore & Hillery, 1991; Rican, 1995), being regarded as controversial or, in some cases, rejected outright (Boulton & Smith, 1994; Lagerspetz et al., 1982; Perry, Kusel, & Perry, 1988; Rican, 1995; Smith & Boulton, 1991). Not surprisingly, they tend to be nominated more often as 'starting fights' and 'disrupting' others (Boulton & Smith, 1994; Whitney, Nabuzoka, & Smith, 1992).

Evidence of low empathy toward victims and low remorse about bullying (either by themselves or by others) has been documented by Olweus (1984). Bullies tend more often to feel positive or neutral about observing bullying incidents, whereas most children say they feel sad or unhappy about them (Smith, 1991).

Children who bully others view little wrong in their behavior and as a result, they show little awareness of the victim's feelings (Smith, Bowers, Binney, & Cowie, 1993).

A number of additional characteristics have been reported as distinctive of bullies: physically active, assertive, easily provoked (Stephenson & Smith, 1989), extroverted (Slee & Rigby, 1993), unusually low in anxiety, prone to noncompliance and unruliness as well as externalization (Pulkkinen, 1996), hyperactive, impulsive and engaging in disruptive acts (Bjorkqvist et al., 1982; Lowenstein, 1978; Olweus, 1980, 1991, 1995).

Taking Eysenck and Eysenck's (1975) factors of psychoticism, extroversion and neuroticism, Slee and Rigby (1993) explored the relevance of personality traits to children's tendency to bully others. Children who showed a tendency to bully had significantly higher scores on psychoticism than other children. They were identified as impulsive, hostile, lacking cooperation, socially insensitive and anxious with a feeling of inferiority. However, somewhat different findings were produced by Lowenstein (1978) who reported bullies having higher scores on neuroticism, suggesting that bullies are fearful, obsessive, guilt-prone and lacking in self-esteem and autonomy.

The attributions that children made in explaining their own aggressive behavior were also investigated by Slee (1993). Children's external locus of control correlated significantly with bullying. Bullies stated that causes outside themselves, e.g., peer pressure, were responsible for shaping their behavior in such an aggressive manner. Bullying children also differed in how they perceived the consequences of their actions. Bullies believed that aggression would lead them into trouble with others (e.g., teachers), whereas others believed that aggressive responses encouraged retaliatory action by escalating the conflict. In a study by Dodge, Pettit, McClasky, & Brown (1986), boys who bully others tended to encode and perceive a range of situations as hostile.

A lack of cooperativeness also has been linked with bullying. One recent study has documented a relationship between low degrees of cooperativeness among school children and high involvement in bullying activities (Rigby, Cox, & Black, 1997).

Lack of social skills has been found as a factor in bullying in a number of studies (Dodge et al., 1986; Slee, 1993; Smith et al., 1993). Bullies demonstrated either deficits in interpreting social signals correctly or a limited range of response options (Dodge et al., 1986). Smith et al. (1993) have put forward another explanation suggesting that bullies may simply target those over whom they can achieve dominance and status through aggressive means. Findings in relation to leadership, however, showed that the bullies had limited leadership potential. Trawick-Smith (1988) observed that bullies were unwilling to accept others' ideas, to negotiate with others, and to suggest changes in activities rather than demand them.

In studying social problem-solving capacities, Slee (1993) investigated the link between the tendency to bully others and social cognition. Children who tended to bully produced fewer solutions to hypothetical aggressive behavior against themselves. The solutions that they offered when faced with bullying conducted by other children were more aggressive in contrast to the non-aggressive solutions of victims or normal children (Slee, 1993).

Table 1.2

Summary of Studies Linking Child's Individual Characteristics to Bullying

Researcher(s)	Source(s) of information	Dependent variable	Main findings
Lowenstein (1978)	Children n=166	Bullying score (teacher and peer nominated)	Bullies were more likely to be hyperactive and disruptive. They were also more likely to have lower intellectual and reading abilities.
Olweus (1978)	Boys n=1000	Aggressive reaction pattern in boys	Aggressive boys were more likely to have strong aggressive tendencies, positive attitude toward violence, low school attainment, a lack of empathy and remorse. In addition, they were physically strong.
Lagerspetz et al. (1982)	Children n=434	Peer nominated bullying score	Bullies showed more positive attitude toward aggression, more negative attitude toward teachers and peers. They were also physically strong and unpopular among peers.
Bjorkqvist et al. (1982)	Children n=430	Peer nominated bully score	Bullies were dominant and impulsive. They were found as having a lack in self-control and acting out personality.
Stephenson & Smith (1989)	School teachers	Teacher nominated bullying score	Teachers reported that bullies had positive attitude toward violence; they were also unpopular among peers, physically strong and insecure who seemed to enjoy aggression.

Table 1.2

Summary of Studies Linking Child's Individual Characteristics to Bullying

Researcher(s)	Source(s) of information	Dependent variable	Main findings
Perry et al. (1988)	Children n=165	Aggression	Aggressive children were more likely to be rejected by their peers.
O'Moore & Hillery (1991)	Children n=783	Bullying behavior	Bullies were found to have low self-esteem and low intellectual status; they were also less well-behaved, less happy and less popular among peers.
Slee & Rigby (1993)	Boys n=87	Tendency to bully others	Children who tended to bully obtained high scores on psychoticism (impulsive, hostile, non-cooperative, socially insensitive, lacking in anxiety and inferiority).
Slee (1993)	Children n=76	Tendency to bully others	Children tended to bully were more likely to rely on situational factors than dispositional factors in providing the reasons for bullying; they chose more aggressive oriented solutions in response to bullying done by others
Rican (1995)	Children n=469	Peer nominated bullying score	Bullies received lower sociometric status than others.

Table 1.2

Summary of Studies Linking Child's Individual Characteristics to Bullying

Researcher(s)	Source(s) of information	Dependent variable	Main findings
Rigby et al. (1997)	Children n=939	Tendency to bully others and self-report of bullying	Children who bullied and tended to bully others obtained less scores on cooperation.
Pulkkenin (1996)	Children n=369	Proactive aggression	Proactively aggressive children scored lower on self-control, anxiety and compliance; such boys scored high on externalizing problems than proactively aggressive girls.
Boulton & Smith (1994)	Children n=158	Peer nominated bullying score	Children who bullied others received rejected status among peers.

Psychological well-being and bullying: A handful of studies have sought to understand bullying from a clinical perspective, examining the relationship between bullying behavior, depression, self-esteem and happiness.

A child's self-esteem is an important aspect of his/her psychological development and well-being, but data linking self-esteem to bullying have produced conflicting findings. Some researchers have reported that bullies have levels of self-esteem that are comparable to those of non-involved children (Olweus, 1978), while others have found that bullies suffer from low self-esteem (O'Moore & Hillery, 1991; Rigby & Cox, 1996; Smith et al., 1993). When the dependent variable is changed from bullying behavior to the tendency to bully others, the findings change. No relationship has been found between levels of self-esteem and the tendency to bully peers (Rigby & Slee, 1993b; Slee & Rigby, 1993). Possibly the inconsistencies can be explained in terms of whether or not the bullying behavior was actually successful in enabling children to feel powerful and good about themselves. Presumably not all children who bully attain the status and esteem that they want when they engage in bullying activities.

Table 1.3

Summary of Studies Linking Child's Psychological Well-being to Bullying

Researcher(s)	Source(s) of information	Dependent variable	Main findings
Olweus (1978)	Boys n=1000	Aggressive reaction pattern in boys	Boys with an aggressive patterns of reaction did not differ from the non-involved children in their self-esteem.
O'Moore & Hillery (1991)	Children n=783	Bullying behavior	Children who bullied obtained lower scores on self-esteem, happiness and satisfaction.
Rigby & Slee (1993b)	Children n=1162	Tendency to bully others	Children who tended to bully others showed less happiness and less liking for school. No relationship was found between self-esteem and tendency to bully.
Slee & Rigby (1993)	Boys n=87	Tendency to bully others	No relationship was found between self-esteem and tendency to bully others.
Slee (1995)	Children n=353	Tendency to bully others	Children's tendency to bully peers was linked with their depression.
Rigby & Cox (1996)	Children n=763	Tendency to bully others	Children's tendency to bully peers was associated with low levels of self-esteem.

One very important finding concerning children's psychological well-being has emerged from a study which has examined the relationship between depression and the tendency to bully peers (Slee, 1995). Severe depression was found to be linked with the tendency to bully peers. According to Slee, depression in such children sits comfortably alongside the finding that children who reported a tendency to bully also reported being unhappy at school. O'Moore and Hillery (1991) also have shown that bullies tend to be unhappy and less satisfied in their lives. Similar findings have led other researchers to conclude that the tendency to bully others is related to unhappiness at school and a dislike for school (Rigby & Slee, 1993b; Slee, 1995; Slee & Rigby, 1993). Studies that have sought to explain bullying through feelings of low self-esteem and depression draw attention to the role that the emotions may play in triggering bullying behavior and in preventing such behavior from taking place.

In the developmental literature, a substantial number of studies have shown the importance of children's emotional experience as well as expression to their capacity to solve problems in a socially competent manner (e.g., Cicchetti, 1996; Denham, McKinley, Couchoud, & Holt, 1990; Eisenberg, Cialdini, McCreath, & Shell, 1987; Fox, 1994; Garber & Dodge, 1991; Saarni, 1990; see Eisenberg & Mussen, 1989, for a review). The importance of emotions in focusing behavioral outcomes has also been emphasized by Lazarus (1991). In describing a relational theory of emotion, Lazarus, Frijda and other functionalist theorists have noted a relationship between emotional states and behavioral manifestations. According to these scholars, emotion is a person-environment relationship which is characterized by different appraisal patterns as well as by different action tendencies. For example, Barrett (1995) has noted that shame is associated with particular appreciation and action tendency regarding self and others; for example, 'I am useless' or 'someone thinks that I am useless', and therefore, avoidance of others. Given the importance of emotions as a necessary precursor of behavioral manifestations, it appears very likely that at least some of the emotional states, if not all, are necessary for competent interaction with peers.

In the clinical as well as developmental literature, a frequently cited and important emotional state in relation to wrongdoing is shame. Shame has been viewed as a master emotion (Scheff, 1996), and often been reported as an important

aspect of healthy social development (Ferguson, Stegge, & Damahuis, 1990), psychological well-being (Bretherton, Fritz, Zahn-Waxler, & Ridgeway, 1986; Zahn-Waxler, Kochanska, Krupnick, & McKnew, 1990) and as a motivator of future behavior (Ferguson et al., 1990). At the same time, some psychologists have been concerned about an exaggerated tendency to feel shame and persevere in such feelings, arguing that heightened shame proneness will adversely affect individual functioning (Tangney, 1991; Tangney, Wagner, & Gramzow, 1992a; Tangney, Wagner, Fletcher, & Gramzow, 1992b). It seems that too little shame and too much shame both may result in adjustment difficulties for individuals.

Shame has rich theoretical roots in the clinical literature. Many theorists have been interested in explaining the co-occurrence of shame and anger (Katz, 1988; Kohut, 1971; Lansky, 1987; H.B. Lewis, 1971; M. Lewis, 1992; Retzinger, 1985, 1987, 1989; Scheff, 1989, 1990). Both H. B. Lewis (1971, 1987b) and Scheff (1989, 1990) put forward the view that shame is the critical instigator of anger and violence.

Empirical evidence of a link between shame and anger has been provided through a number of studies. Tangney and associates have examined the way in which children's proneness to feel shame is linked with anger and hostile responses (Tangney, 1990; Tangney, Hill-Barlow, Wagner, Marschall, Borenstein, Sanftner, & Gramzow, 1996a; Tangney, Wagner, Hill-Barlow, Marschall, & Gramzow, 1996b). These findings suggest that if bullying is the expression of anger, and anger is the expression of shame, bullying may also be an expression of a child's shame, particularly when shame is unacknowledged.

1.3 Extending current research

The literature reviewed in this chapter points in two directions. First, it confirms that family factors play an important role in the development of bullying behavior in a child. Second, there is a host of child attributes that have been associated with bullying, which may or may not be related to family factors. The review also produces a basis for identifying the work that remains to be done. In the

following, the limitations of previous research will be discussed, with a focus on developing future work in relation to family determinants of bullying.

(a) Lack of information on child-rearing styles in specific contexts: Past research consistently shows that child-rearing styles are related to bullying behavior in children. When these parenting strategies have been investigated, the focus has tended to be on very broad categories of child-rearing styles in general contexts, that is, general predispositions of permissiveness, punitiveness and/or disciplinary inconsistency. Context-free parenting styles may not correspond to child-rearing strategies which are employed in specific contexts, e.g., bullying in the school context (e.g., Goodnow, 1988). Consideration of parents' child-rearing responses to children's bullying behavior may provide a more fine grained analysis of parenting influences on bullying.

(b) Paucity of child-rearing data which assists children to refrain from bullying: Existing research explains that some children engage in bullying behavior primarily because of difficulties in their family situation, such as dominating parents and negative parent-child relationships. A related but less closely scrutinized area for research involves parenting strategies that constrain or discourage children from engaging in bullying. When trying to provide a more enriched understanding of bullying behavior, exploring only one side of child-rearing may not suffice. Therefore, in addition to asking which child-rearing strategies encourage bullying, there is need to explore the factors that assist children to self-regulate and refrain from bullying behavior.

(c) Lack of data linking parent-reports of their child-rearing styles and child reports of bullying: The majority of the studies cited in Table 1.1 rely on child-reports of their parents' child-rearing strategies. Children who find themselves in trouble or feel unworthy and discontented with their lives might be inclined to see their values with parents more negatively than they might otherwise (Smetana, 1994). Also, it has been shown that parents' and children's perceptions of parenting styles differ markedly (Murphey, 1992; Smetana, 1994). More research, therefore,

is required which relies on parents' own view of their child-rearing practices in conjunction with child-reports in explaining bullying behavior.

(d) Lack of a process-oriented view: The extant literature has concentrated on identifying factors for bullying without seeking to explain the process through which parental child-rearing styles shape bullying behavior in children. Most studies leave open the question of intervening variables that may mediate or moderate relationships established in past research. An inadequate understanding of these processes results in difficulties in predicting how certain combinations of diverse categories of variables affect bullying behavior. For instance, it is possible that punitive actions by parents may not be so destructive of children if they are employed within a loving atmosphere. A process-oriented perspective would aid our understanding of how a variety of family variables work together to produce a certain outcome.

To sum up, most of the studies in this area have been specifically designed to gather child-rearing data from the child's point of view (e.g., Rican, 1995; Rigby, 1993). Among studies which have measured parents' perceptions of their own child-rearing styles, the dependent variable has been aggression (Olweus, 1980, 1984) or bullying aggression (Strassberg et al., 1994) instead of real bullying behavior that has occurred. Furthermore, contextualized child-rearing responses, particularly in response to children's wrongdoings in specific contexts, such as bullying, have not received attention.

Moreover, studies that have focused on child attributes have been mainly concerned with personality, general ability and physical characteristics. Less work has been devoted to investigating the link between bullying, feelings of depression and self-worth, and even fewer have recognized the role of the emotions in explaining bullying behavior. Specifically, research on bullying to date has failed to recognize the role that emotions, such as shame, may play in preventing or increasing the occurrence of bullying.

In addition, the majority of studies have considered children as either bullies or victims, with only a few researchers (Bowers et al., 1992, 1994; Rican et al.,

1993) differentiating their sample further into more fine-tuned groups, such as bullies, victims, bully/victims (who are perceived as both bullying others and being bullied themselves) and non-involved children. For some studies, this was a function of small sample sizes (e.g., Rican, 1995), whereas for others, it was due to difficulties in statistical procedures (Ahmed & V. Braithwaite, forthcoming). For example, in Rican's (1995) study, relatively few children (n = 5) fell into the bully/victim group, resulting in the omission of such respondents from the analyses.

Clearly, this review demonstrates that bullying behavior is complex and can not be explained by only one or two constructs or measures. The most fruitful approach to inquiry in this area would sustain a focus on a variety of constructs as well as multiple measures of those constructs. Research that is driven by interest in a particular category of variables (e.g., parent attributes or child attributes or school attributes) has little likelihood of capturing the complexity of bullying behavior and the richness of individual and contextual variation. This is a significant limitation in past research, since no framework has been offered that conceptualizes bullying as a consequence of a combination of parent and child cognitions and behaviors. Without systematic and simultaneous consideration of these variables within the same sample, it becomes difficult to integrate findings and, therefore, to fully understand the bullying phenomenon.

Part of the problem is that much of the early work which sought to establish prevalence rates and identify predictors did not have a cohesive theoretical framework to guide the research. This case has been articulated most strongly by Farrington (1993):

> ..., and while a great deal is known about characteristics of bullies, victims, and environments, no comprehensive theory of bullying that connects the disparate results has yet been developed. Researchers should attempt to develop such an all-embracing theory to guide future research and preventive efforts. (p. 404)

1.4 Summary

From the foregoing review, a theoretical framework is required that recognizes a range of both family factors and child attributes, and explains their interrelationships in terms of risks and protections. Rather than attempting new theorizing in this area, researchers interested in bullying may benefit from the explorations, conceptualizations and theoretical development that have occurred in other relevant fields. As Farrington stated, 'Just as criminological researchers might learn from findings on bullying, bullying researchers would gain by taking account of criminological findings. The explosion of recent research on bullying has led to quick advances in knowledge but has been carried out ahistorically, failing to benefit from research in related fields such as criminology' (1993, p. 383).

In accordance with this view and as an initial step toward addressing the above mentioned limitations, the current research aims to apply and expand the theory of reintegrative shaming (Braithwaite, 1989) to account for bullying behavior. In the criminology literature, the theory of reintegrative shaming explicates the role of the emotion of shame in triggering deviant behavior.

This thesis attempts to reinterpret many of the findings from the bullying literature in terms of the acknowledgment, management, and expression of the emotion of shame. Before elaborating further on this theoretical model, a deeper analysis of the feelings of shame is warranted. The next chapter reviews the shame literature before addressing the assessment of shame state and the development of the MOSS-SAST that will be used as a key explanatory variable in this research.

CHAPTER - 2

DEVELOPMENT AND VALIDATION OF A SCALE FOR MEASURING SHAME STATE

2.1 Overview

This chapter develops a concept of shame from the clinical literature in which acknowledged shame is distinguished from unacknowledged shame. The strategies for dealing with acknowledged as well as unacknowledged shame are reviewed and synthesized, resulting in a typology of ways of dealing with shame. This approach illustrates shame in both its adaptive and maladaptive forms. Several other works on shame are then presented that confirm the viability of the proposed typology. In an effort to empirically ground the typology, a measurement scale, the MOSS-SAST, is developed and its psychometric properties are investigated.

2.2 Background

Interest in feelings of shame has been strong among clinical researchers (Broucek, 1991; Gilbert, 1989, 1992; Kaufman, 1989, 1996; H.B. Lewis, 1971, 1976, 1987a, 1987b, 1995; M. Lewis, 1992; Lindsay-Hartz, 1984; Nathanson, 1987, 1992; Potter-Efron, 1989; Schneider, 1977). For Lewis (1971), shame was a therapeutic tool to understanding her clients and became an important component in building or restoring client well-being. More recently, shame has become an important research topic for sociologists, psychologists and criminologists (J. Braithwaite, 1989; Retzinger, 1985, 1987, 1991a, 1991b, 1996; Scheff, 1987, 1988, 1996; Tangney, 1991; Tangney et al., 1992a, 1992b).

Across this diverse literature, shame has been seen as an emotion exerting significant influence on personal and social development (Bretherton et al., 1986; Ferguson et al., 1990; Scheff, 1996; Tangney, 1990, 1991). Shame serves to establish a moral direction for human behavior (Scheff, 1995). In addition, an ability

to feel shame represents a particular evolutionary development which has an important role in maintaining standards in human societies (English, 1994).

Shame has also been recognized as a state encompassing feelings of inadequacy, inferiority, humiliation and dishonor, a sense of despair and deep suffering (Broucek, 1991; Gilbert, 1989, 1992; Lewis, 1971; Lindsay-Hartz, 1984; Nathanson, 1987; Tangney, 1990, 1993). Not surprisingly, therefore, individuals have developed defenses against feelings of shame. Considerable consensus surrounds the defensive role of anger in response to feelings of shame (Katz, 1988; Kaufman, 1989, 1996; Lansky, 1992; Lewis, 1971; Nathanson, 1992; Potter-Efron, 1989; Retzinger, 1987, 1991a, 1991b; Scheff, 1987, 1990). The feelings of shame are averted by feelings of anger and angry actions which can dominate, hurt and/or intimidate others. Research into ways of defending against shame has been more extensive than research on the functional role of shame as the following review demonstrates.

2.2.1 A review of the functional role of shame: Acknowledged shame versus unacknowledged shame

Over the past few decades, the shame construct has received much attention by researchers particularly focusing on unacknowledged shame (Lewis, 1971, 1987b, 1995; Nathanson, 1992; Retzinger, 1985, 1987, 1991a, 1991b, 1996; Scheff, 1987, 1990, 1996). Unacknowledged shame, as they argued, leads to the formation and maintenance of psychopathological symptoms. These writings on the dysfunctional aspects of unacknowledged shame also recognize the obverse: shame has an adaptive role to play when it is acknowledged (Lewis, 1971, 1987a, 1987b; Retzinger, 1996; Scheff, 1987, 1990).

Almost three decades ago, Lewis (1971) pioneered an elaborate theory of shame that gave voice to other clinicians' shared clinical observations of an interplay between unacknowledged shame and angry responses. Lewis described shame, when unacknowledged, as a reduction in self-worth felt by both the self and others resulting in humiliated fury or anger that functions to regain a sense of being valued.

From her clinical observations, Lewis distinguished acknowledged shame from unacknowledged shame. In describing her own clinical experiences, Lewis (1987b) stated that when she made patients aware that they were in a state of shame, they responded with emotional relief as they came to accept that their behaviors might have become hostile due to the lack of its recognition.

In Lewis's clinical sessions, most shame episodes were unacknowledged and she found it useful to distinguish between two types of unacknowledged shame experiences: overt-unidentified and bypassed. In overt-unidentified shame, the patient felt shame but denied owning the painful feelings of shame. They did not even label their own state as shame (Lewis, 1987b, 1995); they mislabeled to mask the shameful experience by using a variety of related terms, such as, feeling helpless, stupid, foolish and so on (Lewis, 1995).

In cases of bypassed shame, the individual remained aware of the cognitive substance of shame-eliciting events but lacked awareness of the affective elements of shameful experiences (Lewis, 1971). As described by Lewis, the patient experiences only a "wince" or slight "blow" at the time when the shameful event occurred (Lewis, 1971, 1995). In this form of unacknowledged shame, the individual attempts to distract the self from the painful feelings of shame. Lewis states that when shame is evoked, hostility is initially directed at self. But as shame involves real or imaginary others' condemnation, this hostility at self is redirected at others who may or may not be responsible for the shameful event. Through this process, shame is successfully bypassed.

Lewis's theorizing and its clinical support have been an important milestone in understanding both the adaptive and maladaptive functions of shame. Sociologists, Scheff and Retzinger, have enthusiastically followed Lewis's lead in their own theorizing.

In developing a theory of social action, Scheff (1987, 1988) states that shame arises from a lack of deference ('disrespect'). Scheff (1988) associates shame with a threat to the bond with significant other(s). According to him, if shame occurs in a secure relationship, it is acknowledged and the bond will be repaired. In contrast, if shame occurs in an insecure relationship, it remains unacknowledged and damages the bond resulting in alienation. Unacknowledged shame was seen as a

sufficient condition for the escalation of interpersonal conflict in Retzinger's work (1991a, 1991b). 'Unacknowledgment' is the critical element of shame that turns disagreement between parties into interminable conflict (Scheff & Retzinger, 1991). Unacknowledged shame produces a sense of humiliated fury in the individual as the 'other' is almost always seen as the source of hostility. Such perceptions increase the risk of crime and violence (Retzinger, 1991a, 1996; Scheff & Retzinger, 1991).

Retzinger has aligned her notion of unacknowledged shame with Lewis's. She quoted Lewis's (1987b) text, "So long as shame is experienced, it is the 'other' who is experienced as the source of hostility. Hostility against the rejecting 'other' is almost always simultaneously evoked. But it is humiliated fury, or shame-rage".

From the perspective of an innate biological mechanism, Nathanson (1992) views shame as a preprogrammed neurophysiological response. Most times individuals defend themselves against experiencing shame by choosing one of the four patterns of behavior that Nathanson describes as the compass of shame. These are withdrawal, avoidance, attack self and attack other. 'Withdrawal' defense involves accepting shame with a willingness to escape from the intolerable shameful situation and prevent further shameful experiences. The 'avoidance' defense involves a strong sense of personal defect that becomes toxic and intolerable to the individual; hence they try to prevent it from coming into their awareness by avoiding such events. The 'attack self' defense involves an admission of all negative self-thoughts in order to maintain bonds and to prevent abandonment from others. Finally, the 'attack other' defense is an attempt to restructure the relationship by making others more insignificant than themselves. Such individuals defend against shame by triggering rage toward others.

Likewise, Kaufman (1989, 1996) has suggested that shame is negotiated through a range of defensive scripts that are designed to assist the individual avoid/escape the shame experience. Included in these defensive scripts are rage, contempt, striving for perfection, power, blaming, withdrawal and denial. According to Goldberg (1991), shame incapacitates individuals both emotionally and physically thus disrupting their internal harmony. Individuals, driven to be relieved from this internal disharmony or tension, often escalate anger, rage, violence or shameless (psychopath) behavior.

These attempts to provide a foundation for a systematic understanding of the relationship between unacknowledged shame and anger has gained momentum in recent years, but less headway has been made in elaborating the role of unacknowledged shame's other half — acknowledged shame.

The importance of acknowledged shame in regulating interpersonal relationships has been recognized in the literature. According to Retzinger (1996), shame acknowledgment is a state of bond or interpersonal closeness. She views shame acknowledgment as a process leading to greater awareness of both self and the social world which is an integral part of healthy functioning for both individuals and communities. Retzinger's perspective of the connection between self and shame has a close affinity with Lynd (1958). In emphasizing the constructive role of acknowledged shame, Lynd states,

> Experiences of shame ... are unrecognized aspects of one's personality as well as unrecognized aspects of one's society and of the world. If it is possible to face them, instead of seeking protection from what they reveal, they may throw light on who one is ... . (p. 183)

Turner (1995) also emphasizes that when shame is accepted and acknowledged, it can be the most positive experience in the world. Acknowledging shame was thought to originate and maintain healthy relationships between individuals and groups. Others viewed shame, presumably acknowledged shame, as an integral part of a person's moral development (J. Braithwaite, 1989; Hultberg, 1988; Kaufman, 1989; Schneider, 1977; Wurmser, 1981). This group of researchers have provided an account of the theoretical importance of acknowledging shame but less research has been conducted to demonstrate empirically the benefits of shame acknowledgment to social living.

In contrast, many empirical studies have demonstrated theorized links between the feelings of unacknowledged shame and their behavioral consequences (Katz, 1988; Kaufman, 1989, 1996; Lansky, 1992), such as homicide and wife battering. The prominence of shame and its role in violent crime and homicide is especially evident in Katz's (1988) analyses of criminal acts. Katz (1988) claims

that insults and humiliation experienced by the perpetrators seemed to give rise to unacknowledged shame, which then led them to criminal acts, such as burglary, robbery or murder. As he says, 'He [the killer] must transform what he initially senses as an eternally humiliating situation into a blinding rage' (Katz, 1988).

The role of shame in triggering anger and hostility has also been of interest to psychologists in explaining interpersonal conflict. Tangney and her colleagues have researched shame-proneness, a threat to the global self, as a correlate of anger and hostility (Tangney, 1991, 1993; Tangney et al., 1992a, 1992b). According to these researchers, individuals who are prone to feelings of shame are also more likely to express other-directed anger and hostility (Tangney, 1995b; Tangney et al., 1992a, 1992b). Tangney and her colleagues paint a picture of a shame-prone individual who experiences global attacks on the self, externalizes blame and displays direct and indirect anger in response to any negative outcome. Since such experiences are highly aversive and make it difficult to function, shame-prone individuals attempt to ward the shame affect off through externalizing the cause and expressing hostility to something or to nothing in particular.

Tangney's work focuses on the construct of shame as an antisocial and debilitating affective personality characteristic. In these works, shame-proneness was seen as a threat to self. Through attending to a personal attribute that distinguishes individuals who are at risk of being overwhelmed by the emotion of shame, these studies have delimited the adaptive function of acknowledged shame.

This raises the question: what 'element' or 'mechanism' is responsible for the occurrence of anger and hostile behavior in ashamed individuals? If this element is failure to acknowledge shame, it raises another question: What is it that makes one move in the direction of unacknowledged rather than acknowledged shame?

In her studies of quarrels between married couples, Retzinger (1985, 1987, 1991a) used still frame and slow motion cameras to capture the co-occurrence of unacknowledged shame and anger. Retzinger analyzed the dialogue between couples during their verbal conflicts and demonstrated that a threat to the social bond between spouses preceded unacknowledged shame which subsequently was expressed as anger. The context of unacknowledged shame is important because it signals a threat of bond and an injury to self (Retzinger, 1991a). According to

Retzinger (1996), the context of shame determines its unacknowledged or acknowledged state. When the social situation conveys messages that are perceived as threats to a social bond, parties become alienated from each other, feelings of shame arise which remain unacknowledged and set the scene for destructive behavior (Retzinger, 1996; Scheff, 1988).

In studies of family violence, Lansky (1981, 1987, 1992) has shown that married couples in violent relationships are furious because of their unacknowledged shame experiences. From his clinical and theoretical works, Lansky concluded that family violence results from the disrespectful and insulting manner that partners adopted in their interactions with each other. For both parties, the relationship becomes emotionally distant through mutual shaming, especially shaming that hits its mark but remains unacknowledged (Lansky, 1995).

Criminologists have also been interested in shame as a factor that discourages individuals from engaging in morally wrong behaviors including crime (e.g., J. Braithwaite, 1989; Grasmick & Bursik, 1990). The importance of emotional distance and interpersonal conflict as factors that lead shame to be unacknowledged rather than acknowledged is centrally important in the criminological writings of J. Braithwaite.

Unlike most theories of crime, J. Braithwaite's (1989) reintegrative shaming theory places a prominent etiological role on shame in explaining crime. Braithwaite claims that individuals who do not feel shame readily commit crime. They do not have a 'fear of shame in the eyes of intimates' or in their own eyes, and hence, they can think of and engage in criminal activities. While acknowledging shame's maladaptive function, Braithwaite asserts that shame also has an adaptive self-regulatory function which regulates morality. Shame helps individuals refrain from criminal behavior even in the absence of an external authority that has the power to impose sanctions over wrongdoing (J. Braithwaite, 1989). The theory recognizes shame's adaptive as well as maladaptive functions. What remains to be done is to define and develop the characteristic features underpinning both the adaptive and maladaptive forms of shame.

The above review identifies two kinds of shame experiences, acknowledged and unacknowledged shame. In the former case, one accepts his/her shame over

wrongdoing and discharges the feelings of shame through engaging in some kind of reparative behavior. In the case of unacknowledged shame, interpersonal conflict, even crime and violence can result. Questions then arise as to what happens if acknowledged shame is not appropriately discharged. What prevents shame from being discharged? The review demonstrates that the consequences of acknowledging or not acknowledging shame are of enormous importance.

In spite of the acceptance that different shame categories might serve different adaptive and maladaptive purposes in individuals, existing theories and empirical works do not provide a clear account of the conceptual differences among different categories of shame states. Such distinctions need to be articulated clearly before shame can be measured comprehensively in a research context.

In order to sharpen the distinctiveness of shame categories, a typology of shame state was developed with a focus on their characteristic features.

2.3 Acknowledged versus unacknowledged shame: A theoretical clarification

Current research views shame as an emotion that comes into play in a social encounter which signals a real or imagined threat to the self and/or to a bond with significant other(s). It is not an experience isolated from social context, but rather is part of a set of dynamic intrapersonal and interpersonal processes which are sequentially bound up with one another. These processes can shape the degree to which an individual responds to a shameful event with acknowledgment or without it.

2.3.1 Acknowledged shame

In acknowledged shame, an individual accepts both feelings of shame and believes that the way he/she behaved was morally wrong or socially undesirable. Consequently, acceptance of personal responsibility for the unacceptable behavior is likely to emerge, together with a desire for reparation (Lewis, 1971). Wicker, Payne

and Morgan (1983) have also noted this relationship: '... the greater personal responsibility with shame may reflect a desire for reparation'.

Acknowledging shame, thus, involves: (a) admission of feelings of shame over a wrongdoing; (b) willingness to take responsibility; and (c) a desire for reparation for what happened. When shame is approached, rather than left unacknowledged, it is more likely to serve a constructive personal and social function.

It is, thus, proposed that the acceptance of felt shame for a wrongdoing, with personal responsibility and reparative intent, is indicative of 'internal sanctioning' in an individual. The term 'internal sanctioning' is used here as a mechanism by which desirable behavior of an individual is facilitated, and undesirable behavior is prevented. Apart from a self-regulatory role, felt shame combined with personal responsibility and reparation together create a positive avenue for dispensing the unpleasant feelings of shame. Acknowledging shame thereby provides an opportunity for the wrongdoer to put the shameful event behind him / her, to mend the relationship and be restored to a state of psychological well-being. Lewis's clinical observations support this contention, but questions still remain: Is the internal sanctioning mechanism sufficient to restore a state of psychological well-being? Are there other factors involved here?

It seems likely that the mere presence of this internal sanctioning mechanism is not sufficient in accounting for the process of discharging shame. In order to be appropriately discharged, internal sanctioning is likely to be accompanied by the following two strategies:

(a) The individual must not be immersed with the state of confusion connected with blameworthiness. This confusion can be understood in terms of an oscillation between faulty self and faulty others which is termed as blame-perseveration in the current thesis. Past research has shown that the most frequent responses to a pathological state of shame are confusion, loss of esteem and fear of others' rejection (Kinston, 1984; Lewis, 1971, 1995; Scheff, 1987).

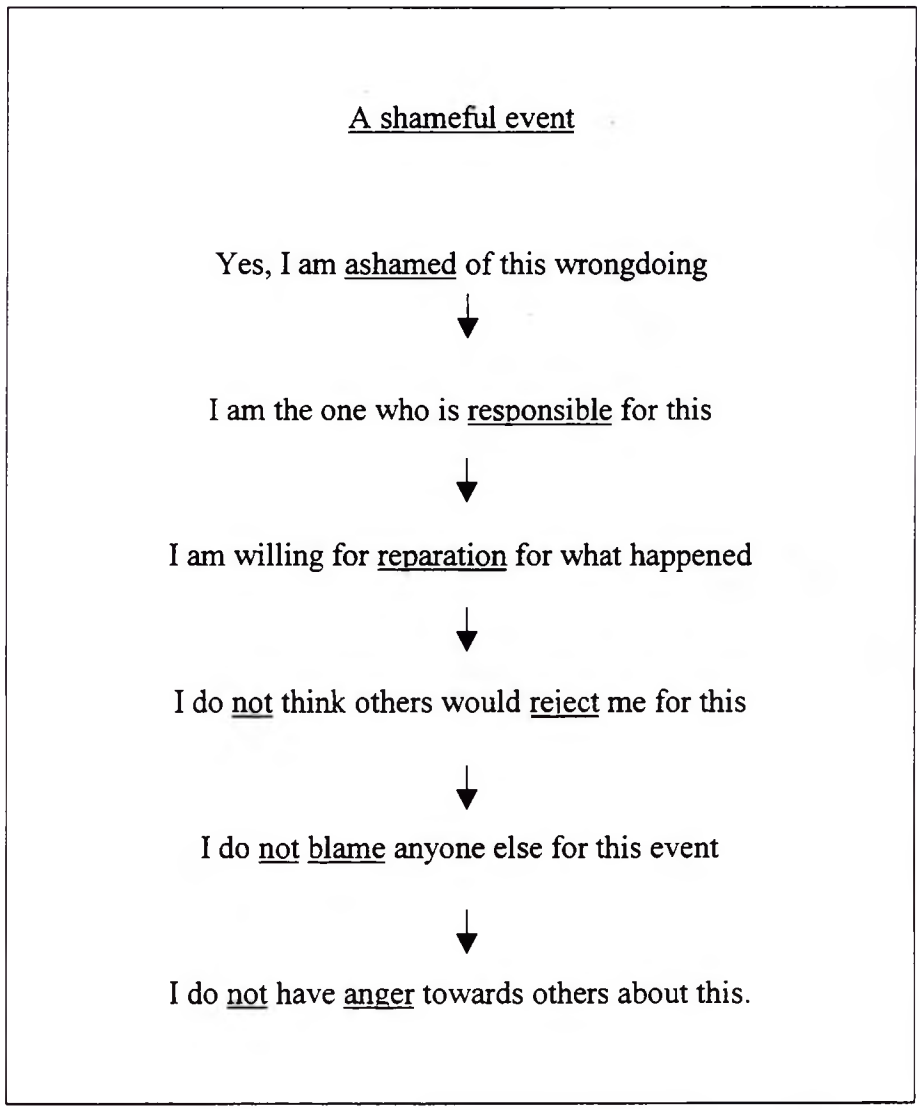
(b) In response to a shameful event, an individual may feel anger at the situation to alleviate some distress, but he/she must not feel anger such that it is

destructive to either self or others. A substantial amount of research work can be found suggesting a link of destructive and retaliatory anger to shame (Lewis, 1971; Retzinger, 1991a, 1991b, Scheff, 1987; Tangney, 1990; Tangney et al., 1992a, 1992b; Tangney et al., 1996a, 1996b).

Taken together, the absence of internalizing others' rejection, externalizing blame, blame-perseveration, and outward anger will assist the individual in maintaining an integrated self. Importantly, the absence of these responses provides the utmost opportunity for the appropriate discharge of shame. This is, hence, called discharged shame.

In summary, for shame to be discharged, the internal sanctioning mechanism must function but there must also be a mechanism for restoring social relationships, such that feelings of rejection towards self and others do not arise and anger is not directed toward others. Through these strategies, shame can not only be acknowledged but it can also be discharged adequately and positive social relationships maintained. From a clinical point of view, these strategies together establish the surest pathway to discharging shame adaptively (see Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1 Schematic representation of the discharged shame state



The concept of discharged shame is similar to moral shame as described by Green and Lawrenz (1994). According to these researchers, moral shame is the response to a transgression, when the individual's moral sensitivity or conscience has been brought into play. Schneider (1977) calls it a 'mature sense of shame' or 'a sense of modesty'.

Tangney's (1990) guilt-proneness can be aligned with the concept of discharged shame in the present model. Guilt-proneness is associated with constructive intentions and behaviors, such as a tendency to accept responsibility for the negative event (Tangney et al., 1996a, 1996b). In addition, guilt-proneness is less threatening to self and hence, it is less likely to be linked to externalizing blame and destructive anger (Tangney et al., 1996a, 1996b). Similarly, the current model proposes that discharged shame serves healthy adjustment in two related ways. On the one hand, it promotes strategies which have a constructive effect on interpersonal relationships, and on the other hand, it inhibits strategies which have destructive effects.

The next question to be addressed is does discharging of shame always occur when shame is acknowledged? What happens if an acknowledged shame state is not appropriately discharged for some reason; for example, because of unresolved self-threatening issues or blocking of an individual's capacity to use the above mentioned strategies.

The presence of an internal sanctioning mechanism is a necessary requirement for acknowledging shame, but not sufficient for discharging shame. In experiencing a shameful event, there may remain an intense focus on feelings of inadequacy, incompetence, real or imaginary others' condemnation and rejection (Elias, 1994; Gilbert, 1989, 1992; Lewis, 1971; Nathanson, 1987; Tangney, 1990, 1993). In such cases, despite acknowledging shame, individuals become fragile as a consequence of the self's real or imaginary (Lewis, 1987b) negative evaluation by the 'other' who is a valued social sanctioning agent(s).

The critical factor in releasing acknowledged shame, therefore, is whether the rejection of others has become internalized, even when the internal sanctioning mechanism favors its discharging. The individual becomes unable to free the self from the internalization of excessively self-critical evaluations. Therefore, self-

threatening thoughts remain unresolved for the individual and shame persists. As such, this will be called persistent shame in the proposed framework.

Individuals with persistent shame possess a feeling of others' rejection which is likely to become unbearable to them. Part of the self is then likely to resist feelings of blameworthiness and blame-perseveration over blameworthiness takes place. Such individuals move toward some sort of resentment, or 'impotent rage' (Goldberg, 1991), to seek some relief from such distressing feelings. This movement or transformation of shame to anger is an inward-going deflection in which anger is directed to self and relationships with others are avoided. The strategies involved in persistent shame are presented in Figure 2.2.

Persistent shame has parallels in the clinical literature. For example, Morrison (1987, 1989) calls it narcissistic vulnerability, or the underside of narcissism, in which an individual feels inferior, inadequate and defective in comparison with others. In addition, persistent shame seems to have a close affinity with imposed shame which is the disgrace or devaluation inflicted by another (Green & Lawrenz, 1994). The notion of persistent shame is also consistent with Schneider's (1977) disgrace-shame which he described as "fear of rejection". Fear of rejection is aroused by the consciousness of a disvalued or an undesirable quality of the self. It is characterized as the painful experience of the disintegration of one's world (Schneider, 1977).

In summary, current research points to two types of acknowledged shame: discharged and persistent. Discharged shame is thought to serve an adaptive function by releasing shame appropriately, whereas persistent shame is characterized by interference in the process of releasing shame. In cases of persistent shame, the obstacle that prevents individuals from releasing shame adequately is their belief that others are rejecting or condemning them.

Figure 2.2 Schematic representation of the persistent shame state

A shameful event

Yes, I am ashamed of this wrongdoing

↓

I am the one who is responsible for this

↓

I am willing for reparation for what happened

↓

I fear that others will reject me for this, although I'm not sure if I'm to blame

↓

I do not blame anyone else for this event

↓

I do not have anger towards others about this.

2.3.2 Unacknowledged shame

Two types of unacknowledged shame have been explicitly cited in the literature: bypassed and overt-unidentified (Lewis, 1971, 1987b; Scheff, 1989). When shame goes unacknowledged, the individual rejects the idea that he/she has done anything to be ashamed of. As a consequence, the individual is likely to resist taking personal responsibility and to do reparation. In the absence of an internal sanctioning mechanism, individuals with unacknowledged shame have no options for the release of that feeling of shame.

Both bypassed and overt-unidentified shame have the common feature of the absence of internal sanctioning (e.g., feeling shame, acceptance of responsibility and reparation). They differ, however, in whether self-threatening feelings of shame are resolved.

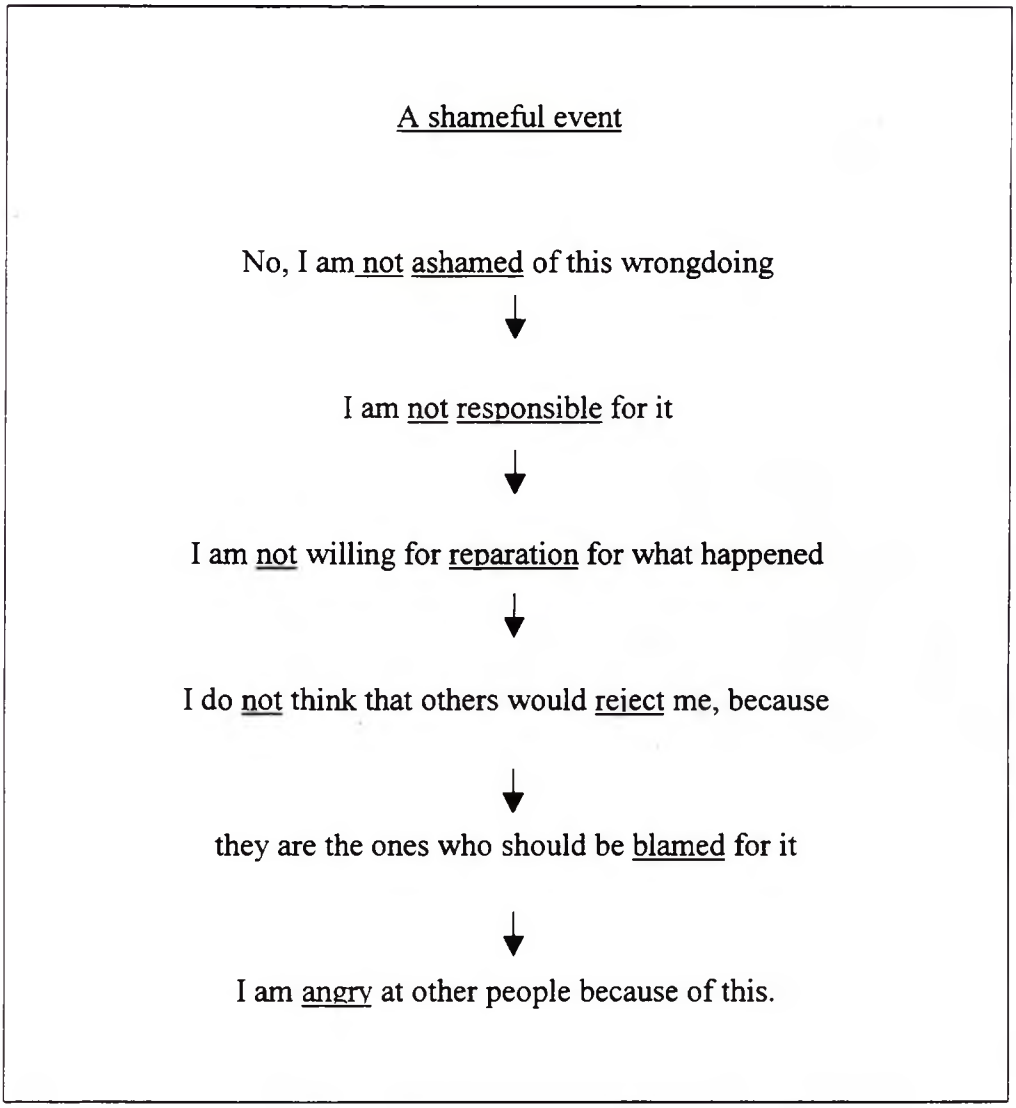
According to the clinical literature, bypassed shame attempts to dissociate self from the unpleasant feelings of shame (Lewis, 1971; Scheff, 1990). Based upon this, bypassed shame is purported to involve the following unique combination of strategies.

In the absence of an internal sanctioning mechanism, individuals experiencing bypassed shame will be unable to feel ashamed, take responsibility and do reparation. Untouched by feelings of shame, such individuals are not likely to be bothered by either the exposure of their wrongdoings to social sanctioning agents or their criticisms of the event. For those experiencing bypassed shame, such criticisms are considered to be unfair, and hence, the self-threatening thoughts become resolved. Yet at some level of social consciousness, the shameful event is not resolved since it remains unacknowledged. Thus, a transformation occurs and a general feeling of anger may ensue in such individuals in a bid to sedate the distress caused by the event. In this state of unacknowledged shame, individuals do not address the need for restoring relationships, rather they externalize blame for what happened and direct anger toward others. They begin to experience more disconnection with others and a state of blame-perseveration becomes an important issue. As a result, they may demand explanation and reparation from others in some quarter. The self is protected by finding or creating a 'scapegoat' in the external

environment. Figure 2.3 shows the sequence of non-recognition of shame and the direction of blame and anger to others.

Major theoretical frameworks on shame indicate that individuals are most likely to generate anger in a shameful situation if it is bypassed (Lansky, 1992; Lewis, 1971, 1987b, 1995; Retzinger, 1991a, 1991b; Scheff, 1987, 1988, 1990, 1991). In bypassed shame, individuals clearly deal with shameful events without being caught up in a shame state (Lewis, 1987b). Retzinger (1996) calls this a low-visibility state and Scheff (1990) an overdistanced state. While experiencing bypassed shame, an individual creates a defense against shame through not recognizing it's painful aspects, 'as if the pain were not happening' (Scheff, 1990). A similar description can be seen in Schneider's (1977) work in which he places importance on the ethical element of shame. He contrasts the concept of 'a sense of shame' with 'shamelessness', suggesting that shamelessness is a moral deficiency which is demonic and destructive.

Figure 2.3 Schematic representation of the bypassed shame state



The final category of overt-unidentified shame is referred to as denied-bypassed shame in the current model. This category involves the individual in justifying him/her self by denying the unpleasant feelings of shame as well as denying that anything shameful has occurred. In this case, the individual initially denies the experience of shame. However, the context of the shameful event may make it impossible to suppress unpleasant feelings in the long term. As a consequence, the individual seeks relief through distorting portions of reality, e.g., 'It didn't happen that way'. The individual can thereby offer an explanation which distances him/her from blame and allows him/her to take on a victim role. Because it is difficult to distort the reality of what happened or how it happened, this strategy is likely to collapse at some point, and bypassing begins through placing the blame on another person. Thus, whereas the bypassing of the painful aspects of shame is an immediate reaction in the case of bypassed shame, it is a delayed reaction in the case of denied-bypassed shame.

In the model being proposed here, it seems very likely that the 'process of denying in addition to bypassing' would constitute the essential aspect of the overt-unidentified shame. For this reason, throughout the thesis, the overt-unidentified shame (Lewis, 1971) will be called denied-bypassed shame as this highlights the process involved.

When the denial of reality fails to save the threatened self from a humiliating experience, letting go of negative feelings can be difficult. Humiliation results in a destruction of the self as they view others criticizing them for wrongdoing. At this point, they may adapt through self-righteous anger which is accusatory in nature. Therefore, internalizing others' rejection combined with bypassing characteristics (e.g., externalizing blame) produces this category of denied-bypassed shame in which blame-perseveration is a critical factor. The proposed strategies accompanying the denied-bypassed shame state are presented in Figure 2.4.

Denied-bypassed shame is conceptually similar to Lewis's (1971) overt-unidentified shame and Scheff's (1990) underdistanced shame. Lewis (1971, 1987b, 1995) described overt-unidentified shame as a state which is not recognized as shame by the individual; rather it is viewed as feeling helpless, stupid, foolish, ridiculous, inadequate and having no control over events. Scheff (1979, 1990) calls

it underdistanced shame because the individual feels emotional pain but denies the painful aspects of shame from self and others. Research has shown that when shame is denied by the individual at a cognitive level, emotional indicators of shame (e.g., hiding self from others) nevertheless are evident in the individual's behavior (Lewis, 1971, 1987b, 1995; Scheff & Retzinger, 1991) thereby suggesting that the individual has been touched by shame. Generally, once caught in shameful events, the individual is bothered by self-threatening thoughts which remain unresolved. These events threaten to humiliate the individual and communicate that the individual is no longer worthy of admiration or respect from the social sanctioning agent(s). This is likely to elicit feelings of anger in such an individual to minimize the distress.

Figure 2.4 Schematic representation of the denied-bypassed shame state

A shameful event

No, I am not ashamed of this wrongdoing

↓

I am not responsible for this

↓

I am not willing for reparation for what happened

↓

I did it because I had to do it before ..... (something). But it's not a big deal! I know everybody will make a big fuss about this and that's what I fear. I think they will reject me for this

↓

But, in fact, they're the ones who are to blame

For this

↓

I am angry at them.

Figures 2.1 to 2.4 clarify the conceptual issues surrounding the shame construct demonstrating that shame has both an adaptive and maladaptive face. Acknowledging shame provides an opportunity for rebuilding interpersonal relationships, at the cost of confronting shame affect at the personal level. Whether or not acknowledged shame is adaptive (discharged) or maladaptive (persistent) depends on one's capacity to release the shame by putting it behind oneself and believing that one still has respect and value in one's social group.

Unacknowledged shame (bypassed shame and denied-bypassed shame), on the other hand, is adaptive in protecting the self from being humiliated as a result of wrongdoing, but is maladaptive from the perspective of good interpersonal relationships. The unacknowledged shame prevents the individual from repairing the damage done to his/her relationships with others.

The following sections focus on the development and evaluation of a scale to measure categories of shame state based on this framework and attempt to uncover the basic dimensions along which responses vary. The typology presented in Figures 2.1 to 2.4 has six important elements:

1. acknowledging shame
2. accepting responsibility for reparation
3. desiring reparation
4. perceiving rejection by others
5. blaming others
6. feeling angry.

In addition, the literature suggests a tendency for blame-perseveration on wrongdoing. This is particularly apparent in case of denied-bypassed shame. All these elements set the base for measuring shame management.

2.4 Development of an instrument to measure shame

The 'Measure Of Shame State — Shame Acknowledgment and Shame Transformation' (MOSS-SAST) was designed (Ahmed, V. Braithwaite & J. Braithwaite, 1996) to assess individual differences in strategies for dealing with shame, particularly in the context of bullying.

2.4.1 Original items and format of the MOSS-SAST

The MOSS-SAST uses 8 bullying scenarios as stimuli, covering a wide range of frequently occurring bullying acts experienced by Australian school children. Following each scenario, the participant children are asked to give their views about how they would feel and what they would do if they were the actor in the story. Ten questions were formulated to represent the strategies of dealing with shame outlined in the above section. Altogether 80 (8 scenarios X 10 questions) questions make up the MOSS-SAST.

The bullying scenarios incorporated in the MOSS-SAST were selected with four criteria in mind. The bullying acts had to be (a) representative for both boys and girls; (b) illustrative of both physical and psychological bullying; (c) ecologically valid or common enough to be familiar to children; and (d) shameful events.

In order to obtain a selection of scenarios that met the criteria, 17 scenarios describing bullying activities among school aged children were generated from a group of children and their parents. Bullying was defined for them in the following way:

'We call it bullying when someone repeatedly hurts or frightens someone weaker than themselves on purpose. Remember it is not bullying when two of you about the same strength have the odd fight or quarrel. Bullying can be done in different ways[1]: by hurtful teasing, threatening actions, namecalling or hitting or kicking.'

[1] Note that this defines bullying as a threat to freedom as non-domination, as developed by Braithwaite and Pettit (1990) and Pettit (1997). This is of methodological significance because one of the objectives of Braithwaite's theoretical program is to develop concepts that enable an interaction of the explanatory theory (ordered sets of propositions about the way the world is) and normative theory (ordered sets of propositions about the way the world ought to be) (Braithwaite & Parker, 1998). If the explanatory theory proves useful in the present research, defining bullying in

At the next stage, the 17 scenarios were rated by another group of children and parents in terms of the likelihood of their occurrence, keeping in mind their applicability to the above four criteria.

On the basis of this second set of ratings, 8 bullying scenarios were chosen to be included in the final MOSS-SAST. The scenarios chosen described acts of tripping, grabbing, excluding, teasing, knocking things out of hands and making rude comments. Each of the bullying scenarios was followed by a series of 10 shame-related questions which respondents answered as either yes or no (see Appendix 2.1 for full MOSS-SAST).

The questions of the MOSS-SAST were generated to represent the elements of shame management discussed in the earlier section. An initial pool of 13 questions were evaluated independently by two researchers familiar with the guiding framework and with the principles of scale development. Each question was evaluated in terms of its perceived relevancy to the proposed dimensions. Questions judged as being less relevant to these dimensions or less clearly representative were discarded, while other questions were reworded to remove ambiguities. This process resulted in the selection of 10 questions to be taken forward to the next stage of scale development. These questions together with their theoretical relevance are presented in Table 2.1.

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this way leaves open the option of integration with Braithwaite and Pettit's republican normative theory.

Table 2.1

MOSS-SAST Items, Their Theoretical Concepts and Theoretical Relevances

Items	Theoretical concepts	Theoretical relevances
Would you feel ashamed of yourself?	Indicator of admission of feelings of shame.	Lewis, 1971; Retzinger, 1996; Scheff 1987; Schneider, 1977.
Would you wish you could just hide?	Indicator of being touched by shame-a desire to avoid others and escape from interpersonal domain.	Lewis, 1971; Lindsay-Hartz, 1984; Lindsay-Hartz, de-Riverra & Mascolo, 1994.
Would you feel like blaming yourself for what happened?	Indicator of willingness to take responsibility for wrongdoing.	Lewis, 1971; Morrison, 1986; Janoff-Bulman 1979.
Do you think that others would reject you?	Indicator of an individual being bothered by others' rejecting thoughts.	Lewis, 1971, 1987b; Elias, 1994; Wurmser, 1981.
Would you feel like making the situation better?	Indicator of willingness for reparation for the harm done.	Lewis, 1971; Wicker et al., 1983.
Would you feel like blaming others for what happened?	Indicator of externalizing blame for the event.	Lewis, 1971, 1987b; Scheff, 1987; Tangney, 1990.

Table 2.1

MOSS-SAST Items, Their Theoretical Concepts and Theoretical Relevances

Items	Theoretical concepts	Theoretical relevances
Would you be unable to decide if you were to blame?	Indicator of an unpleasant state of confusion or uncertainty about blameworthiness.	Lindsay-Hartz et al., 1994.
Would you feel angry at this situation?	Indicator of anger at the situation felt by the ashamed individual.	Lewis,1971; Miller, 1985.
Would you feel like getting back at [that student]?	Indicator of retaliatory anger and hostility toward others.	Lewis, 1971, 1987b; Scheff, 1987; Retzinger, 1987; Nathanson, 1987, 1992; Tangney et al., 1992b.
Would you feel like throwing or kicking something?	Indicator of displacement of anger on someone or something which is not related to the source of anger.	Lewis, 1971.

The instructions for the MOSS-SAST asked participants to imagine themselves doing the bullying in each scenario, and then to indicate how likely it was that they would react in the way described in the questions. For each question, respondents were asked to tick either yes or no. The response format provided respondents with no option for a don't know category. Pilot work suggested that such a category was not necessary for respondents; rather it was a tempting option for those who did not want to commit themselves in the situation.

2.4.2 Pilot data collection

The MOSS-SAST was administered to 14 school children who served as participants in a pilot study. The sample included 8 girls and 6 boys. Minor revisions included clarifying the instructions of the instrument and some minor word changes.

2.4.3 Main study data collection

The data for the main study for the development of MOSS-SAST were collected as part of the 'Life at School' survey described in detail in Chapter 4. Briefly, for the purpose of discussing scale development, a total of 1402 students participated in the study. These students, both boys and girls were mostly drawn from the primary schools in the ACT. Table 4.1 (Chapter 4) shows the breakdown of boys and girls in years 4, 5, 6 and 7 who participated in this study. All primary schools in the ACT were approached to take part in this study and those who agreed were chosen for inclusion. Detailed procedures are given in Chapter 4.

2.4.4 MOSS-SAST scale construction

The questions of the MOSS-SAST were presented eight times to each respondent in relation to each bullying scenario. The goal was to find out if respondents were consistent in their answers across scenarios, and if they were consistent, was there evidence of responses cohering around a set of stable dimensions. To answer the first question, correlation matrices were constructed for

each item across scenarios. The 8 x 8 matrices for each item appear in Appendix 2.2.

Examination of the correlation matrices for each of the ten MOSS-SAST items across eight scenarios indicates high consistency in responses from one scenario to the next. The phi-coefficients had an average median of .62. The range of phi-coefficients for each item is presented in Table 2.2 with the median value. The obtained positive intercorrelations are strong and considered sufficient to warrant aggregating responses over the eight scenarios. In this way, the eighty questions of the MOSS-SAST were reduced to 10 scales, each representing 8 measures of a particular strategy for dealing with shame.

Table 2.2

Ranges and Medians of the Phi-coefficients for Each of the MOSS-SAST Items Across Eight Bullying Scenarios

MOSS-SAST items	Range	Median
Feeling shame	.48 - .75	.63
Hiding self from others	.57 - .79	.65
Accepting personal responsibility	.40 - .67	.53
Internalizing others' rejection	.51 - .70	.62
Willingness for reparation	.48 - .70	.59
Externalizing blame	.37 - .63	.49
Blame-perseveration	.46 - .75	.60
Felt anger	.58 - .81	.68
Retaliatory anger	.52 - .73	.66
Displaced anger	.64 - .82	.75

2.5 Psychometric properties of the MOSS-SAST

This section presents the psychometric properties of the MOSS-SAST scales: (a) scale reliabilities; (b) scale descriptive statistics; (c) scale intercorrelations; (d) principal component analyses of scales; and (e) MOSS-SAST validity. Data were the responses of the 1402 students who participated in the Life at School Survey, unless otherwise indicated.

2.5.1 Scale Reliability

Two methods were used to assess the reliability of the MOSS-SAST scales: internal consistency and test-retest reliability. Cronbach's (1951) alpha reliability was calculated for each MOSS-SAST scale (10 in total) to test for the presumed consistency in response across contexts. As expected from the earlier correlations, the coefficients were high, ranging from .88 to .95 with a median of .92 (see Table 2.3). This suggests that the MOSS-SAST is highly reliable in terms of internal consistency.

The pilot sample of 14 children provided the opportunity to examine test-retest reliabilities in a preliminary way. The period between the first and second test administration was 2-3 weeks. The test-retest correlation coefficients range from .75 to .97 with a median of .86 (see Table 2.3). Together these findings support the MOSS-SAST scales as being consistent across bullying contexts and stable over time.

Table 2.3

Chronbach's Alpha Reliability Coefficients and Test-retest Reliabilities for the MOSS-SAST Scales

MOSS-SAST variables	Alpha (n = 1402)	Test-retest (n = 14)
Feeling shame	.90	.97
Hiding self from others	.94	.86
Accepting personal responsibility	.88	.81
Internalizing others' rejection	.93	.88
Willingness for reparation	.91	.89
Externalizing blame	.88	.78
Blame-perseveration	.93	.92
Felt anger	.95	.93
Retaliatory anger	.93	.88
Displaced anger	.95	.75**

Note. All test-retest reliability coefficients are significant at $p<.001$ level.
** $p<.01$

2.5.2 Descriptive statistics

Descriptive statistics (means and standard deviations) for the 10 MOSS-SAST scales are presented in Table 2.4. The responses of 1 or 2 to the eight scenarios are summed and divided by 8 to bring the measure back to a 1-2 scale. Items were rescored so that a high score (2) indicates the respondent was more likely to have a shame response. As can be seen from Table 2.4, some items (1, 2, 3, 5 and 8) were skewed reflecting the socially desirable responses of admitting felt shame, hiding self from exposure to others, acceptance of personal responsibility, reparating harm done and felt anger. In the present research context, this is not interpreted necessarily as a response bias that is problematic in the MOSS-SAST. Behaving in a manner that is socially desirable is an essential part of feeling shame.

Table 2.4

Means and SDs for the MOSS-SAST Scales (N = 1384)

MOSS-SAST scales	M	SD
Feeling shame	1.87	.26
Hiding self from others	1.64	.40
Accepting personal responsibility	1.83	.29
Internalizing others' rejection	1.40	.40
Willingness for reparation	1.85	.28
Externalizing blame	1.11	.24
Blame-perseveration	1.27	.36
Felt anger	1.46	.43
Retaliatory anger	1.14	.29
Displaced anger	1.15	.31

2.5.3 The relationships among MOSS-SAST scales

Examination of the intercorrelations among the MOSS-SAST scales was carried out to identify dimensions that might underlie the items of the MOSS-SAST. The instrument was developed with a broader theoretical framework in mind so that intercorrelations among the scales are expected.

From the shame literature reviewed earlier in this chapter, positive correlations are expected among the MOSS-SAST scales of feeling shame, hiding self from others, accepting personal responsibility, perceiving the rejection of others and willingness for reparation, as these were developed with a view to capturing the spirit of owning shame. Another set of positive correlations were expected among the MOSS-SAST scales of externalizing blame, blame-perseveration, felt anger, retaliatory anger and displaced anger, as they were designed with a view to capturing the defenses employed to disown shame.

The shame literature also suggests that the acknowledged shame variables of feeling shame, accepting personal responsibility and willingness to reparate should be negatively correlated with the shame variables of externalizing blame, retaliatory anger and displaced anger. The former three measures are internal sanctioning or guilt-like measures, whereas the latter three measures represent failure to activate the internal sanctioning mechanism.

The intercorrelations for the five MOSS-SAST measures, feeling shame, hiding self, accepting personal responsibility, perceiving the rejection of others and willingness for reparation, indicate strong positive intercorrelations, as expected. Similarly, the other five measures, externalizing blame, blame-perseveration, felt anger, retaliatory anger and displaced anger, were also strongly and positively inter-correlated. As can be seen from Table 2.5, feeling shame, accepting personal responsibility and willingness for reparation were negatively correlated with externalizing blame, retaliatory anger and displaced anger. The correlations, however, were somewhat lower than one might have expected. This observation will be taken up later in the chapter.

The types of shame management that are most obviously represented by the intercorrelations among the MOSS-SAST scales are discharged shame and bypassed shame. The four shame measures that did not fit tightly with the shame acknowledgment cluster or the shame transformation cluster were hiding self, internalizing others' rejection, blame-perseveration and felt anger. These items reflect aspects of persistent shame and denied-bypassed shame. Further analyses are need to understand the operations of these variables.

Table 2.5

Intercorrelations Among the MOSS-SAST Scales

MOSS-SAST scales	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Feeling shame	-									
Hiding self	.38	-								
Accepting personal responsibility	.61	.29	-							
Internalizing others' rejection	.22	.31	.22	-						
Willingness for reparation	.51	.26	.49	.17	-					
Externalizing blame	-.17	.04(ns)	-.28	.12	-.22	-				
Blame-perseveration	.01(ns)	.12	-.04(ns)	.16	.04(ns)	.33	-			
Felt anger	.11	.20	.05(ns)	.16	.09	.24	.28	-		
Retaliatory anger	-.24	.01(ns)	-.27	.02(ns)	-.23	.50	.26	.26	-	
Displaced anger	-.18	-.01(ns)	-.12	.06*	-.14	.32	.22	.24	.47	-

Note. All correlations reached .001 level of significance unless reported.

* P<.05

2.5.4 Principal component analysis

Principal component analysis was conducted on the MOSS-SAST data for the full sample (N = 1386) to determine the major dimensions along which responses varied. The selection of the number of components was based on three criteria: (a) accepting those with eigenvalues greater than unity (Kaiser's criterion); (b) the examination of the scree test (Cattel, 1966); and (c) the replicability of the structure across the eight bullying scenarios.

Initially, a principal component analysis was performed on the 10 MOSS-SAST scales, without any limitation on the number of factors extracted. Two factors had eigenvalues greater than unity, 2.78 and 2.22 respectively. Two factors also warranted rotation using the scree test. Together they accounted for 50 per cent of the total variance. The solution was rotated using the Varimax procedure. The aim was to reduce the 10 items to as few dimensions as possible which were maximally independent.

The MOSS-SAST scales were considered as defining a factor if they had loadings of .30 or greater, although none showed a loading of less than .35. In addition, the pattern of coefficients revealed no cross-loadings of any scale on these two factors. The loadings of the MOSS-SAST scales on the two factors are presented in Table 2.6.

The first factor brought together the variables of feeling shame, hiding self, accepting personal responsibility, internalizing others' rejection and willingness for reparation — all of which share a common concern with owning shame or accepting the shame for wrongdoing. Therefore, the first factor was labeled 'Shame acknowledgment'.

The second factor brings together variables that tap defensive strategies in response to shame: externalizing blame, blame-perseveration, felt anger, retaliatory anger and displaced anger. All these variables represent attempts to deflect shame through transforming the felt shame into other-directed anger or self-directed anger. Therefore, the second factor was labeled 'Shame transformation'.

Table 2.6

Rotated (Varimax) Factor Loadings for the MOSS-SAST Scales After Principal Component Analysis

MOSS-SAST scales	Factor 1	Factor 2
Shame acknowledgment		
Feeling shame	.81	-.16
Hiding self from others	.63	.21
Accepting personal responsibility	.76	-.23
Internalizing others' rejection	.49	.28
Willingness for reparation	.71	-.17
Shame transformation		
Externalizing blame	-.17	.73
Blame-perseveration	.16	.60
Felt anger	.29	.57
Retaliatory anger	-.24	.74
Displaced anger	-.13	.64
Eigenvalues	*2.33*	*2.03*
Variance explained	*27.8%*	*22.2%*

Note. N = 1386

One question that needs to be addressed before progressing further is whether this factor structure based on scales scores aggregated across scenarios holds for individual scenarios. In order to establish the applicability of the factor structure to the eight scenarios, eight separate principal component analyses (for the 10 questions that relate to each scenario) were performed, again without any restriction on the number of factors extracted. The resulting factor structures derived from these eight analyses were remarkably consistent — a two-factor solution emerged in each case. Patterns of item loadings of these analyses were identical without any cross-loadings on the two factors. The item loadings on the two factors for each of the eight scenarios are presented in Appendix 2.3.

On the basis of these analyses, a two-factor solution was the preferred solution. The first factor was defined by 5 variables: feeling shame, hiding self, accepting personal responsibility, perceiving rejection from others and reparation. Together they reflect an emotional and behavioral orientation toward shame acknowledgment.

The second factor was represented by another 5 variables: externalizing blame, blame-perseveration, felt anger, retaliatory anger and displaced anger. Factor 2 indicates a stronger orientation to the transformation of shame.

It is of note that the first factor, shame acknowledgment, has emerged as being independent of the second factor, shame transformation[2]. This finding is important because it allows for individuals to simultaneously acknowledge and transform shame, to acknowledge shame without transformation, to transform shame without acknowledging it, and to neither acknowledge nor transform shame. Figure 2.5 shows the two independent dimensions resulting in four (2x2) categories of shame. As will be seen, this new typology of actual responses to shameful events did not fully correspond with that delineated by the SAST conceptual framework.

The SAST conceptual framework guided the sampling of items for the MOSS-SAST. On its own, it is a theoretical framework of shame management which strives to operationalize the typologies described in the clinical literature. The purpose of the principal component analysis was neither to scale individuals, nor to test the SAST typology through generating empirically clusters of individuals who

[2] An oblique rotation yielded a negligible inter-factor correlation.

manage shame similarly. Instead, the objective was to identify the dimensions that best describe the variation in the items across individuals. The two dimensions, shame acknowledgment and shame transformation, capture elements of the conceptual framework outlined earlier. Other elements are not adequately captured by this dimensional analysis.

The types of shame management outlined earlier in the chapter fit the empirically derived SAST framework in some respects, but not others. Examination of the underlying dimensions consistently supports the structure of bypassed shame. Bypassed shame involves the refusal of acknowledging shame feelings even though they exist, and their transformation into anger. This description is well captured by the dimensions of low acknowledgment and high transformation of shame feelings which fits the top-left hand quadrant in the figure 2.5. For discharged shame, the included shame responses are acknowledgment without transformation which matches the high acknowledgment with low transformation quadrant quite well. All but one item (internalizing others' rejection) match with the description of discharged shame shown in the bottom-right hand corner (see Figure 2.5).

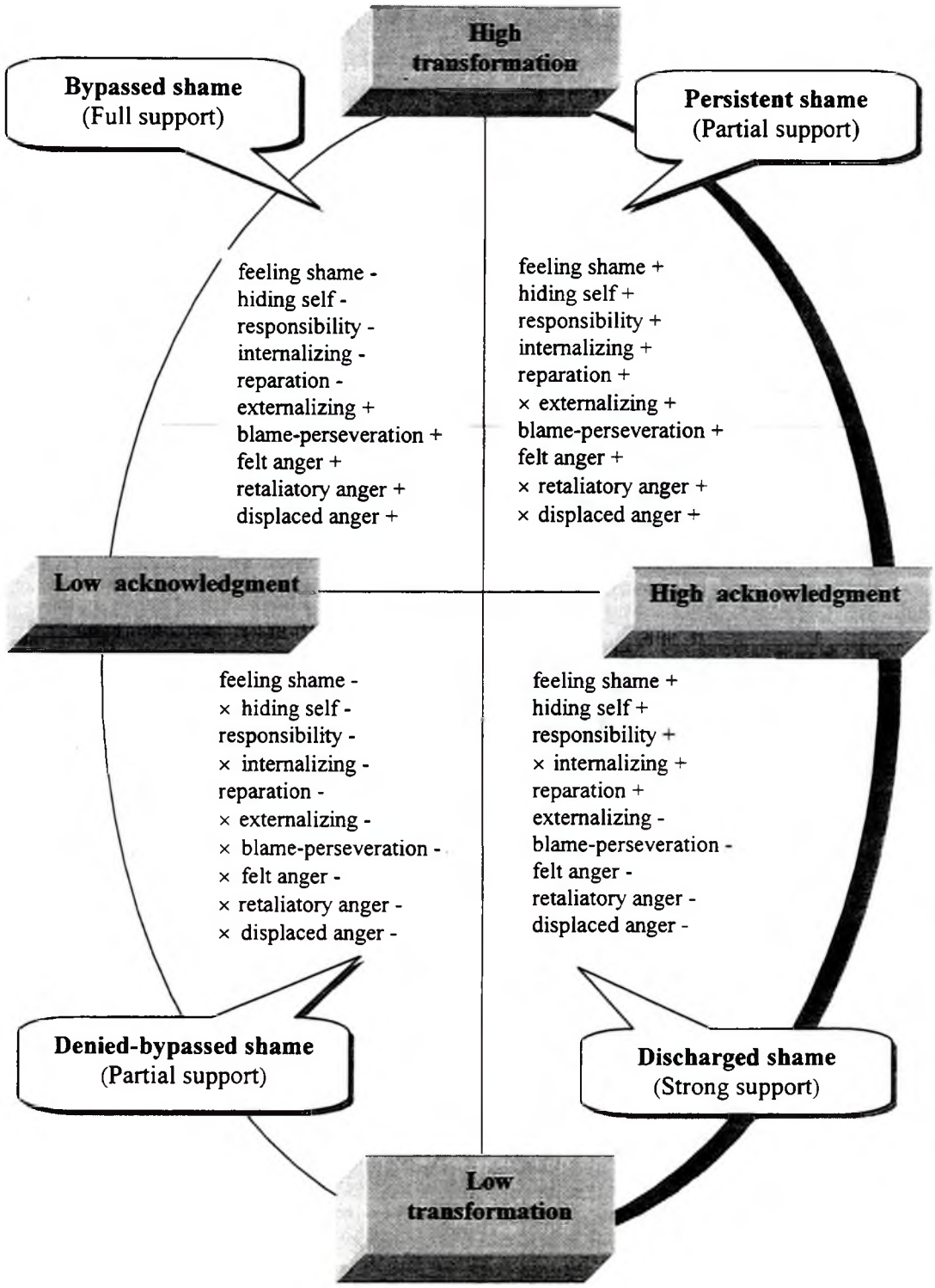

Figure 2.5 Polarities of the SAST framework (presented with responses to shame in respective category) as suggested by the principal component analysis. [× = not according to the theorization; + = high loadings; - = low loadings]

The other two types of shame, denied-bypassed shame and persistent shame, failed to emerge as distinctive facets in the present analysis. Aspects of denied-bypassed shame not captured by the dimensional representation in Figure 2.5 include the desire to hide, to feel rejection, to perseverate, to blame others and to feel angry. The low acknowledgment with low transformation quadrant represents completely successful denial in this analysis. Finally, the dimensional analysis fails to represent the prototype of persistent shame because acknowledgment is accompanied by blame and anger directed at others. The prototype described at the outset allowed for anger to be directed at the self, but not at others.

2.5.5 Scale validity

In this section, the construct validity of the MOSS-SAST (imaginary situation) is examined through correlating the imaginary-situation MOSS-SAST scale scores with the scores on the real-situation MOSS-SAST (see Appendix 2.4 for the questions posed in the real-situation MOSS-SAST).

The real situation MOSS-SAST was administered to only those children who had been involved in bullying another child. In addition to the hypothetical scenarios, they were asked to remember this real life incident. With this situation in mind, children who had bullied other(s) were asked to complete the real life SAST. They were then asked: 'Did anyone see you bully that child?'.

It was expected that each of the ten scales in the imaginary-situation MOSS-SAST (average for each question across eight situations) would correlate significantly with the matching question in the real-situation MOSS-SAST. Pearson product moment correlations were all positive and significant ranging from .25 to .44 with a median of .34 (see Table 2.7). Given that the real-situation MOSS-SAST comprised single item measures, these correlations are considered to be quite strong and supportive of the construct validity of the MOSS-SAST (imaginary situation).

Table 2.7

Correlations Between the MOSS-SAST Scales (Imaginary Situations) and the MOSS-SAST Question Items (Real Situation) for Children Who Had Experienced Bullying Another (N = 792)

MOSS-SAST scales (imaginary situations)	r
Feeling shame	.41***
Hiding self	.31***
Accepting personal responsibility	.28***
Internalizing others' rejection	.41***
Willingness for reparation	.34***
Externalizing blame	.34***
Blame-perseveration	.25***
Felt anger	.35***
Retaliatory anger	.32***
Displaced anger	.44***

*** $p < .001$

A further test of the construct validity of the MOSS-SAST was undertaken using the Test Of Self-Conscious Affect for Children (TOSCA-C; Tangney, Wagner, Gramzow, 1989). The TOSCA-C conceives shame-proneness as a global and painful affective experience in which the self, not just behavior is painfully scrutinized and negatively evaluated (Tangney, 1990, 1991; Tangney et al., 1992a, 1992b). The TOSCA-C shame-proneness scale assesses a closely related, but not identical, shame state assessed by the MOSS-SAST.

TOSCA-C was developed specifically to assess shame-proneness which was seen as destructive. A number of empirical studies support this proposition, reporting a positive relationship between proneness to feel shame, externalizing blame and destructive anger in individuals (Harder & Lewis, 1986; Tangney, 1990; Tangney et al., 1992a, 1992b, 1996a, 1996b). For this reason, in this research, a positive relationship might be expected between shame-proneness, and low acknowledgment and high transformation on the MOSS-SAST. Before testing this hypothesis and others, the two instruments will be described more fully, and the relationship between them will be discussed in detail.

The premise of the TOSCA-C is that respondents who show devastating feelings of shame in a wide range of everyday contexts tend to blame themselves for negative events. Such individuals are labeled as having a 'shame-prone' personality style. The TOSCA-C items examine whether an individual possesses a negative global feeling of shame that is consistent across a diverse range of hypothetical situations. The objective is to discriminate individuals across a normal distribution on proneness to negative global feelings of shame. In contrast, the MOSS-SAST views shame as an emotion which can either be acknowledged or unacknowledged, transformed or not transformed. The MOSS-SAST examines whether individuals who acknowledge shame over a wrongdoing without transforming it into anger, that is, manage their shame appropriately, do so consistently across bullying contexts. Shame that is acknowledged and not transformed is integral to the way society regulates the behavior of its members. Thus, both acknowledgment and transformation will be distributions that are highly skewed with most people conforming to social expectations.

Thus, TOSCA-C speaks about pathological shame whereas the MOSS-SAST speaks about both functional and dysfunctional aspects of shame. TOSCA-C describes shame as a habitually high threshold for feeling shame across situations. A shame prone individual means that he/she perceives even everyday happenings as important and considers them intensively devastating, pointing to his/her negatively imaged global self. On the other hand, the MOSS-SAST measures awareness of experiencing shame and releasing it. It is adaptive to the extent that the individual

accepts that shame was felt and discharges it. It is pathological, maladaptive and unusual when he/she does not accept feeling shame and transforms it to anger.

If shame is acknowledged and discharged, it functions like TOSCA-C guilt-proneness relating to constructive intentions and behavior. In contrast, if a shame state is not acknowledged, it is transformed through externalizing blame and outward anger. This transformation of shame has parallels in the TOSCA-C shame-proneness and TOSCA-C externalization scales, both of which were found to be related to malevolent intentions and behaviors in Tangney et al.'s (1996a) research.

The MOSS-SAST was administered, along with measures of TOSCA-C shame-proneness, guilt-proneness and externalization in this study. Construct validity was examined using correlational analysis. The following hypotheses were tested.

First, it was expected that all of the ten MOSS-SAST scales would be positively correlated with the TOSCA-C shame-proneness measure, because both the MOSS-SAST and the TOSCA-C shame-proneness items appear to capture shame and/or shame-related emotions.

Second, it was hypothesized that the 'shame acknowledgment' variables (e.g., feeling shame, hiding self, accepting personal responsibility, internalizing others' rejection and willingness for reparation) would be positively correlated with the TOSCA-C guilt-proneness measure, as the components of 'shame acknowledgment' imply owning shame, reflecting a guilt-like involvement. Tangney (1990) defines guilt-proneness as a negative affective experience associated with negatively evaluated behavior with an implicit acceptance of responsibility for that behavior. It was also expected that the 'shame transformation' indices (e.g., externalizing blame, blame-perseveration, felt anger, retaliatory anger and displaced anger) would be negatively correlated to the TOSCA-C guilt-proneness measure, as the 'shame transformation' scales imply deflecting shame in response to bullying.

Third, since the 'shame acknowledgment' scales (e.g., accepting responsibility, reparation) capture elements of guilt and of constructive responses to bullying, they seem incompatible with the TOSCA-C externalization measure;

therefore, negative links between the 'shame acknowledgment' scales and the TOSCA-C externalization measure were expected.

In contrast, the 'shame transformation' scales were expected to be positively correlated with the TOSCA-C externalizing measure, since the 'shame transformation' scales represent deflecting, defensive reactions in response to the painful feelings of shame.

As shown in Table 2.8, all but one of the MOSS-SAST scales were positively correlated with the TOSCA-C shame-proneness scale. These are promising findings in that they suggest that these two sets of measures are conceptually parallel but not identical. Of most interest are the insights into one measure provided by the other through the correlations in Table 2.8. Hiding self and internalizing others' rejection in the MOSS-SAST differentiate shame-proneness from externalization in the TOSCA-C. Deflecting shame through anger may have two foci that should be considered separately – others (external) and the self (internal). If guilt-proneness in the TOSCA-C is equated with the conception of adaptive shame management in this thesis, the correlations suggest that the dissipation of anger accompanies accepting responsibility and making things right. When anger at oneself is highest (e.g., internalizing others' rejection), the likelihood of accepting responsibility and making amends is less strong.

Table 2.8

Construct Validity Correlations Between MOSS-SAST Scales, and the TOSCA-C Shame-proneness, Guilt-proneness and Externalization Measures

	TOSCA-C measures		
MOSS-SAST scales	Shame	Guilt	Externalization
Feeling shame	.22***	.47***	-.21***
Willingness to hide	.33***	.28***	.08**
Accepting responsibility	.20***	.46***	-.18***
Internalizing others' rejection	.36***	.26***	.01 (ns)
Willingness for reparation	.15***	.39***	-.16***
Externalizing blame	.05*	-.23***	.25***
Blame-perseveration	.09**	-.06*	.18***
Felt anger	.20***	.07**	.18***
Retaliatory anger	.04 (ns)	-.21***	.28***
Displaced anger	.06*	-.15***	.20***

*p<.05 ** p<.01 *** p<.001

These are observations to guide future work. For present purposes, the TOSCA-C guilt-proneness scale was positively correlated with the shame acknowledgment scales, as expected, and negatively correlated with all but one of the shame transformation scales. Finally, the MOSS-SAST shame acknowledgment variables showed a negative relationship with the TOSCA-C externalization scale, as expected. Further to this, the MOSS-SAST shame transformation scales were positively correlated with the TOSCA-C externalization measure which was also in accord with the prediction.

2.6 Summary

The aim of the present chapter was to refine the conceptualization of the shame construct to more fully grasp the distinction between different categories of shame state. Having done this, the goal was to develop a suitable measure of different kinds of shame, the MOSS-SAST. In particular, attention focused on the significance of acknowledged shame alongside unacknowledged shame. The argument was that acknowledged shame was functional for constructing and maintaining social relationships, just as unacknowledged shame was destructive of social relationships.

The review of research provided evidence of both acknowledged and unacknowledged shame in individuals (Lewis, 1971, 1987b, 1995; Scheff, 1990, 1991). An understanding of the impediments to acknowledging or not acknowledging shame was gained through conceptualizing shame as a threat to self. Threat to self was implicated in acknowledgment of shame but also in the resolutions of a self-threat. Threat to self can be resolved through accepting responsibility and making things right, thereby restoring one's sense of worth in one's own eyes and others. Alternatively, threat to self can be unresolved through deflection, blaming others and feeling angry.

On the basis of this conceptualization, four types of shame were proposed: discharged, persistent, bypassed and denied-bypassed. Discharged shame describes cases where individuals acknowledge their shame and are able to resolve the self-threatening issues of shame. Persistent shame involves shame acknowledgment, but is characterized by an unresolved self-threat (e.g., internalizing others' rejection). Both bypassed shame and denied-bypassed shame are unacknowledged in their nature. They differ in that bypassed shame involves resolved self-threat whereas denied-bypassed shame has elements of unresolved self-threat (internalizing others' rejection).

In order to provide a quantitative measure of different shame responses, the MOSS-SAST was developed and tested. Respondents are presented with hypothetical situations and are asked a series of questions that represent 10 shame

reactions taken from the typology delineated above, and that tap both domains of acknowledged and failure to acknowledge shame.

This chapter also examined the psychometric properties of the MOSS-SAST. Results provide support for the reliability of the MOSS-SAST scales. The ten MOSS-SAST scales demonstrated highly satisfactory internal consistency as well as test-retest reliabilities. Principal component analysis produced two highly replicable factors, acknowledgment and transformation. Acknowledgment brought together subsets of scales concerned with feeling shame and accepting responsibility and making reparation. The second dimension focused on deflecting blame onto others and turning shame into anger.

The construct validity of the MOSS-SAST was examined. The MOSS-SAST validated responses toward the imaginary situation with responses to an actual situation. It was found that the imaginary-situation-MOSS-SAST scales were positively correlated with the responses to the real-life-MOSS-SAST.

In addition, the MOSS-SAST was validated against the TOSCA-C measures of shame-proneness, guilt-proneness and externalization. As expected, the MOSS-SAST scales were positively and significantly related to the TOSCA-C shame-proneness measure as both scales tap the shame phenomenon. Also, as expected, the MOSS-SAST shame acknowledgment scales were positively related to the TOSCA-C guilt-proneness measure and negatively related to the TOSCA-C externalization measure. Further, the MOSS-SAST shame transformation scales were negatively related to the TOSCA-C guilt-proneness and positively related to the TOSCA-C externalization measure, as predicted.

Of considerable interest were the different patterns of relationship between the TOSCA-C scales and the MOSS-SAST scales. In particular, TOSCA-C measures shame predominantly as the internalization of others' rejection. The MOSS-SAST does not reflect this focus. Internalizing rejection of others is simply one facet of shame acknowledgment. Perhaps, there is room in the future to expand MOSS-SAST to include transformation of shame into anger at self and rejection of self. The absence of a dimension representing anger at self may explain the failure to empirically capture denied-bypassed shame and persistent shame as described in the theoretical framework.

Having presented the theoretical and empirical basis for the MOSS-SAST, the next chapter will attempt to use shame acknowledgment and shame transformation in the context of Braithwaite's (1989) reintegrative shaming theory of crime.

CHAPTER - 3

CURRENT RESEARCH MODEL

3.1 Overview

In light of the literature review in Chapter 1, progress in understanding bullying has benefited substantially from a number of relevant theories. However, the theories are limited in scope and fail to account for competing perspectives and well established empirical findings from other traditions. This chapter offers a more integrative theoretical framework for bullying research.

One criminological theory that attempts to bring together understandings of deviance from both a sociological and psychological perspective is J. Braithwaite's (1989) theory of reintegrative shaming. This thesis uses J. Braithwaite's theorizing in a social developmental framework to build an inclusive and internally coherent model of bullying behavior.

The current chapter is divided into four sections. In the first section (3.2), the strengths and limitations of the reintegrative shaming theory are presented. Section 3.3 describes the social-developmental model of bullying which is anchored in reintegrative shaming theory. The objective of this section is to articulate the theoretical relevance of each of the variables to be used in the overall model and their interconnections. The final section (3.4) presents the hypotheses put forward in the current research.

3.2 Braithwaite's Reintegrative shaming theory

J. Braithwaite's formulation of reintegrative shaming (1989) is aimed toward understanding the roots of deviant behavior. The core idea of this theory is that communities 'with low crime rates, and periods of history where crime is more effectively controlled, are those where shaming has the greatest social power' (J. Braithwaite, 1996a, p.21). According to J. Braithwaite (1989), shaming refers to

> ... all social processes of expressing disapproval which have the intention or effect of invoking remorse in the person being shamed and / or condemnation by others who become aware of the shaming. (p.100)

Braithwaite proposes a mechanism that involves shaming and reintegration to reduce the incidence of deviant behaviors. The basic premise of reintegrative shaming theory is that shaming to sanction crime may be either reintegrative or disintegrative. Reintegrative shaming involves disapproval of the wrongdoing while re-accepting the wrongdoer in spite of the undesirable act. J. Braithwaite (1989, 1996a) argues that reintegrative shaming leads to effective control of crime because it induces and activates conscience in individuals. In effect, it sanctions the expression of love and respect from significant others to the wrongdoer, at the same time as condemning the wrongdoing. Through this process, the wrongdoer is less likely to feel unworthy and detached from significant others, lessening the likelihood of a drift toward criminal subcultures in the future.

On the other hand, disintegrative shaming refers to disapproval of the wrongdoer's self, in addition to the act of wrongdoing. This purportedly results in a higher rate of subsequent criminal activities. For Braithwaite, disintegrative shaming damages the emotional bond between the shaming agent and the perpetrator, as disapproval and rejection are directed at the perpetrator's self. It thus becomes difficult for this 'rejected self' to activate conscience in response to wrongdoing.

Conscience plays an active role in invoking remorse in individuals and apologizing for the offenses committed (Braithwaite, 1989, 1996a). Individuals use defenses to prevent the activation of conscience, such as externalizing blame, hostility and anger. As J. Braithwaite (1996b) writes:

> For adolescents and adults, conscience is a much more powerful weapon to control misbehavior than punishment. ... For a well socialized child, conscience delivers an anxiety response to punish each and every involvement in crime - a more systematic punishment than haphazard enforcement by the police. ... For most of

> us, punishment by our own conscience is therefore a much more potent threat than punishment by the criminal justice system. (p.433)

Reintegrative shaming theory, therefore, incorporates two interrelated but conceptually distinct processes. The first process is the presence or absence of shaming to signal the inappropriateness of wrongdoing, whereas the second process reflects whether significant other(s) show reintegration or disintegration of the wrongdoer. These two processes, shaming and reintegration, are linked together throughout Braithwaite's writings. They are adopted in the present research as a basis for understanding how the shame responses described in the previous chapter unfold in the family context. A model crossing the 'shaming versus no shaming' dimension with the 'reintegration versus non-integration' dimension is presented in Figure 3.1 with four types of shaming delineated. As Figure 3.1 shows, the shaming region consists of reintegrative shaming and non-integrative shaming both of which show shaming of the wrongdoer, but differences in how the shaming is offered. According to the model, individuals with 'reintegrative shaming' are given the message that the act is wrong, but the entire person (actor) is worthy and can avoid future wrongdoings. This disapproval is terminated by significant other(s) showing love and respect to the wrongdoer. In contrast, non-integrative shaming is directed towards the dispositional qualities of the wrongdoer conveying that he/she will repeat the wrongdoing because it was purposely performed. Love and respect are not offered to the wrongdoer and accordingly, he/she feels detached from those persons who matter to him/her. J. Braithwaite argues that reintegrative shaming is the effective way of disapproving of a wrongdoing and is most likely to achieve positive outcomes, whereas non-integrative shaming is counterproductive.

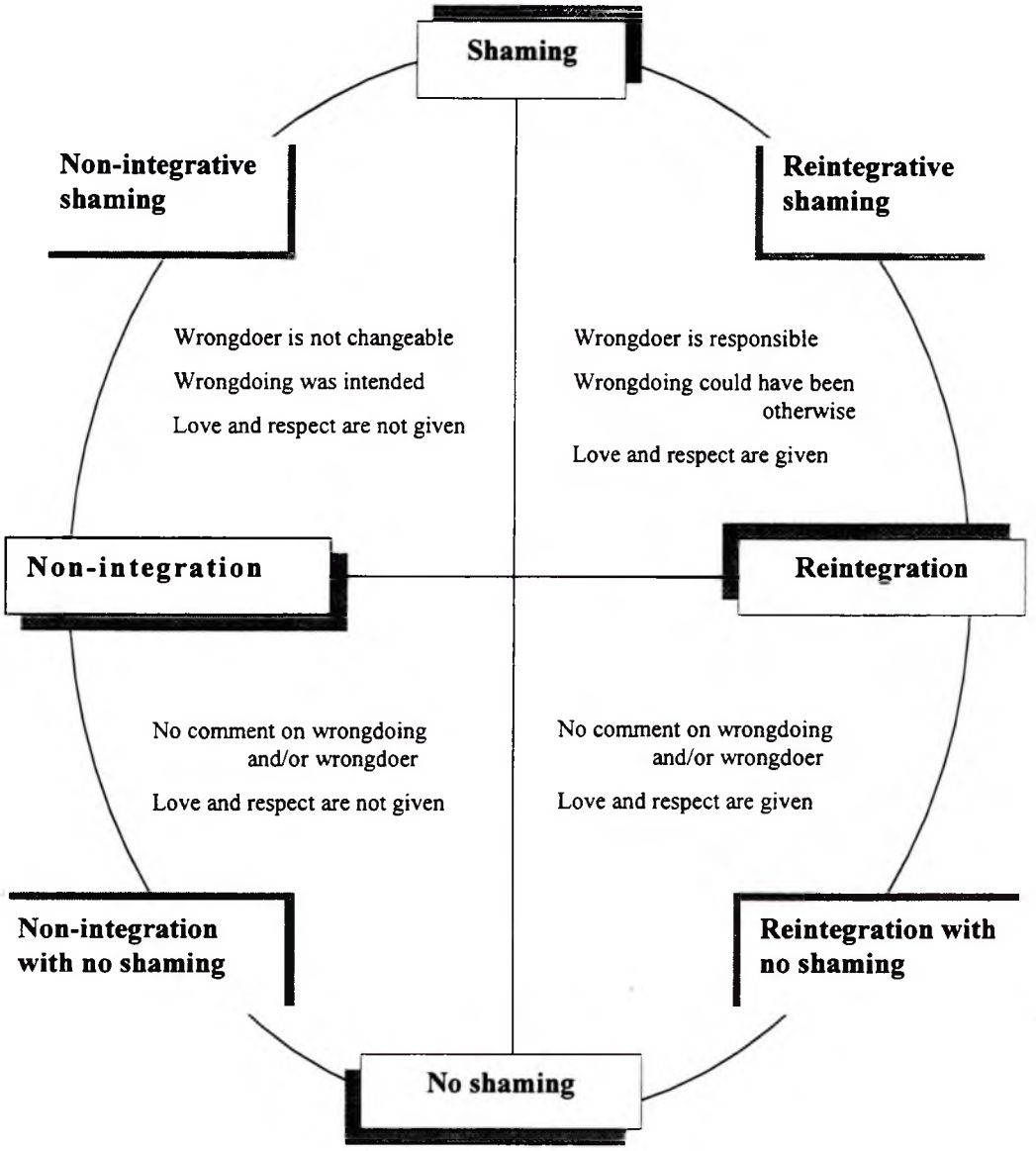

Figure 3.1 Two-dimensional model of shaming and reintegration.

The 'no shaming' region of Figure 3.1 consists of 'reintegration with no shaming' and 'non-integration with no shaming', both of which show an absence of shaming, with differences in the offering of love and respect to the wrongdoer. According to the model, individuals in the 'non-integration with no shaming' quadrant receive neither a message that the act is wrong nor love and respect from significant others. In contrast, individuals in the 'reintegration with no shaming' quadrant show love and respect to the wrongdoer without any sort of disapproval about the wrongdoing. These categories have not been an explicit focus in Braithwaite's writings, but they have been implied in the theory.

Within the conceptualization in Figure 3.1, only quadrants labeled 'reintegrative shaming' and 'reintegration with no shaming' should be able to build conscience to refrain from antisocial involvements, because of their common focus on reintegration of the wrongdoer. Reintegration, as J. Braithwaite (1989) sees, is the extended process through which the individual acquires self-regulatory strategies in the form of conscience. Conscience involves the internalization of society's moral standards. Hoffman (1970, 1983) demonstrated that this internalization is most likely to develop in a parent-child relationship. Such a relationship might be expected to offer love and respect to the wrongdoer (see Figure 3.1).

While these two quadrants share the common feature of reintegration, they are not expected to be equally effective in building conscience. In the absence of shaming from significant other(s) in the 'reintegration with no shaming' quadrant, individuals are less certain about what is appropriate behavior in the eyes of significant other(s). Without a clear message, reintegration is not sufficient in the development of conscience. The 'reintegrative shaming' quadrant, therefore, represents the critical components for optimal conscience development. The wrongdoers have the opportunity of knowing that the act is wrong which, in turn, enables them to interact more competently in future. In addition, they are made to feel a valued member of the group, in spite of their wrongdoing, through affirmation from significant other(s).

In contrast, the 'non-integration with no shaming' and 'non-integrative shaming' quadrants are unlikely to produce adequate conscience in individuals,

primarily because of their common feature of non-integration from significant other(s). Non-integration does not provide the incentives for the development of conscience in individuals. The absence of loving and respectful relationships between the shaming agent(s) and the perpetrator leads the perpetrators to dissociate themselves from that agent(s) and their norms as well as values.

In addition to the absence of love and respect from significant other(s), individuals in the 'non-integration with no shaming' quadrant do not receive any message concerning disapproval. With the absence of shaming, such individuals neither understand the causes of significant other's dissociation from them nor can they learn norms of desirable behavior. The result is an ambivalent orientation to others based on ignorance of norms and a failure to feel part of the group.

For individuals in the 'non-integrative shaming' quadrant, the message conveyed to the wrongdoer by significant others is that the wrongdoer is a problem in a wholistic sense and with the inclination to repeat the wrongdoing in future. This damages the wrongdoer's sense of self-worth. Also, it involves a non-integrative approach which leaves the wrongdoer feeling unloved and disrespected.

Taken together, these considerations suggest that compared to other quadrants, individuals within the 'reintegrative shaming' quadrant should exhibit optimum adaptive functions in interpersonal interactions.

Several researchers have drawn on reintegrative shaming theory to empirically test Braithwaite's assertion that reintegrative shaming promotes compliance in individuals. A study of nursing home regulation showed that when nursing home inspectors used a reintegrative approach, in contrast to a non-integrative approach, nursing home managers increased compliance with nursing home regulatory laws (Makkai & J. Braithwaite, 1994). In addition, when the nursing home managers perceived that they were not trustworthy in the eyes of the nursing home inspectors, compliance was less likely to take place (J. Braithwaite & Makkai, 1994). These findings provide support for the major theoretical conjecture that a reintegrative attitude, encompassing respectfulness as well as trustworthiness, expressed by the sanctioning agent has a significant impact on improving compliance.

The current research applies propositions relating shaming and crime to the bullying phenomenon. It is proposed that parents who shame or disapprove of their child's wrongdoing in a disrespectful way are more likely to have children who have an insecure or dissociate relationship with their primary caregiver and a sense of self as unworthy in parental eyes. This idea has been presented in the 'non-integrative shaming' quadrant in Figure 3.1. These children are expected to be most likely to bully other children.

The 'reintegrative shaming' quadrant is just the opposite of the 'non-integrative shaming' quadrant in that it provides the most adaptive outcomes. Parents within this quadrant believe that the child is capable of controlling future wrongdoings and therefore, can be held responsible for the harm done. Having disapproved of the child's wrongdoing in this manner, such parents engages in loving and respectful communication with the child, bringing forth a sense of self-worth, and a desire to make up for the wrongdoing. These children are less likely to be involved in bullying.

This view of reintegrative versus non-integrative shaming as a mechanism of crime control corresponds to the orientations of a number of social and developmental psychologists (e.g., Baumrind, 1967, 1991a, 1991b; Grusec, 1982; Grusec & Kuczynski, 1997; Hoffman, 1970, 1983; Kuczynski & Kochanska, 1990; Kuczynski, Zahn-Waxler, & Radke-Yarrow, 1987; Leahy, 1981; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Smetana, 1988). Parents who use an authoritative disciplinary style were found to facilitate the development of internalized moral values in their child as they provided explanations of the wrongdoing and communicated that the child was a valued person (e.g., Leahy, 1981; Lytton, 1979; Power & Chapieski, 1986). Authoritative parenting was also found to foster children's prosocial behavior (Baumrind, 1967, 1973, 1989, 1991a, 1991b; Feshbach, 1975a; Hoffman, 1975; Grusec, 1982; Janssens & Dekovic´, 1997). In contrast, an authoritarian disciplinary style which incorporates punishment after wrongdoing and shows disrespect for the child was found to be related to antisocial involvements (Bandura, 1977; Baumrind, 1993; Buss, 1961; Eron, Huesman, & Zelli, 1991; Farrington, 1978; Feldman, Rosenthal, Mont-Reynaud, Leung, & Lau, 1991; Fletcher, Darling, Steinberg, & Dornbusch, 1995; Hetherington & Parke, 1979; Olweus, 1980; Patterson, 1982;

Patterson, Reid, & Dishion, 1992; Petit & Bates, 1989; Sears, Maccoby & Levin, 1957; Steinberg, Mounts, Lamborn, & Dornbusch, 1991; Trickett & Kuczynski, 1986).

In addition to incorporating the above view on shaming in response to wrongdoing, this research emphasizes the role of feelings of shame in affecting children's bullying activities. Chapter 2 linked shame theoretically and empirically with anger and externalizing expressions. Reintegrative shaming theory also assigns feelings of shame a central role in controlling deviant behaviors. According to this theory, individuals who have felt shame and are able to appropriately manage their felt shame do not engage in crime. Further, even if they commit crime, their feelings of shame and capacity to manage shame protects them against repeating their offenses, and in the long term, of failing into adopting a criminal life style.

In contrast, individuals who can not or do not sense shame, when they should feel ashamed, are prone to criminal behavior. Braithwaite (1989) explicitly signals the relevance of shame to deviant behavior, '... individuals who resort to crime are those insulated from shame over their wrongdoing'. People who do not manage their shame appropriately, fail to sanction themselves in a way that moves them out of the domain of criminal behavior.

Braithwaite's recognition of feelings of shame within reintegrative shaming theory has important implications for understanding human behavior. He considers the wrongdoers as active recipients of their shaming experiences from significant other(s). Moreover, he considers the possibility that individuals engage in criminal behavior not only because of their non-integrative shaming experiences and lack of conscience, but also because of their inappropriate shame management skills. However, Braithwaite does not adequately explain the specific mechanism by which shame is managed appropriately or inappropriately. The theoretical task is, therefore, to map out the characteristic features of shame when it is managed in an adaptive manner and also when it is managed in a maladaptive manner. The SAST framework developed in Chapter 2 will be used for this purpose.

These are the responses that individuals use to deal with shame which threatens self. For the purposes of this thesis, shame responses are measured along two dimensions: one is the extent to which shame is acknowledged by the

wrongdoer, the other is the extent to which shame is transformed by the wrongdoer into anger. Adaptive shame management involves acknowledgment and low transformation. Less adaptive shame management involves the other combinations that describes the bypassed, denied-bypassed and persistent shame responses.

Several researchers have argued that individuals experiencing abuse within the family develop shame (Fossum & Mason, 1986; Hoglund & Nicholas, 1995; Kaufman, 1989, 1996; Potter-Efron, 1989; Retzinger, 1991a, 1991b). At a more specific level, Alessandri and Lewis (1993) reported that children's shame expression was related to their parents' negative comments focusing on the child's totality of self. Following this view, parental 'non-integrative shaming' for wrongdoing can be expected to lead children toward less shame acknowledgment and high shame transformation. On the other hand, 'reintegrative shaming' which disapproves of wrongdoing at the same time as conveying to the child a sense of being valued can be expected to lead to acknowledged shame, the taking of responsibility for the harm done and reparation, without any transformation.

The bullying literature that was reviewed in Chapter 1 sits comfortably alongside the theory of reintegrative shaming. Children who bully others were more likely to have parents who adopted a punitive approach to child-rearing (Manning et al., 1978; Olweus, 1980, 1984; Strassberg et al., 1994). They were also likely to come from a low cohesive family environment (Berdondini & Smith, 1996; Bowers et al., 1992, 1994; Rican, 1995). Bullies were found to have low self-esteem (O'Moore & Hillery, 1991; Rigby & Cox, 1996) as well as to externalize the causes of bullying (Slee, 1993). Deficiencies in impulse control and empathy were also found among bullies (Besag, 1989; Olweus, 1978). Research suggests that empathy is inversely associated with shame-proneness as well as externalizing blame (Tangney, 1991). Empathy has also been proposed as crucial to the healing of pathological shame (Jordan, 1997). Other individual characteristics associated with bullying are also implicated as correlates of poor shame management. For example, both impulsivity and internal locus of control were found to be high in individuals who had deficiency in managing shame (Kipnis, 1968; Wang, Wang, & Zhang, 1992).

To sum up, the current perspective builds on the theory of reintegrative shaming which assigns a role to shaming and to a limited extent to the feelings of shame. This thesis expands the conception of feelings of shame and their links to family variables, school variables and individual difference variables that have been empirically linked to the development of bullying behavior. In so doing, the thesis allows us to examine the precursors of poor shame management skills.

The next section extends the original formulation of the reintegrative shaming theory to encompass feelings of shame and other individual difference variables that are known to influence bullying. To facilitate the discussion of the development of the current research model, a broad outline is sketched first, and then each set of variables in the model is discussed in more detail.

3.3 The social-developmental model of bullying

The social-developmental model of bullying is anchored within Braithwaite's reintegrative shaming theory. The specific feature of this model involves four major sets of variables hypothesized to influence bullying behavior. The predictors are classified as: family variables, school variables, individual difference variables and, finally, shame management variables. It is proposed that each of these sets of variables affect developmental outcomes that lead some children toward the path of bullying behavior. Table 3.1 presents the social-developmental model of bullying.

Focusing first on the role of families, the model emphasizes the importance of parental child-rearing beliefs in a developmental context. It postulates that child-rearing beliefs reflecting the practice of stigmatized shaming, as opposed to non-stigmatized shaming, will increase the likelihood of bullying. In addition, the model provides an opportunity to examine the effect of family disharmony on bullying.

Apart from affecting bullying, the family variables are accepted as having relationships with individual difference variables, school variables and shame management variables.

The social-developmental model also emphasizes the role of school-related variables (e.g., liking for school, perceived control of bullying and school hassles) which are expected to function as independent external determinants of bullying behavior among children. These variables may also relate to both the individual difference and shame management variables. School variables were also believed to be linked to family variables, since parental warmth and affection has been associated positively with indices of school adjustment and negatively with adjustment problems (Chen, Dong, & Zhou, 1997; Scott & Scott, 1998).

Table 3.1

Predictors of Bullying Behavior in the Social-Developmental Model of Bullying

Family variables
Child-rearing belief (stigmatized shaming and non-stigmatized shaming)
Family disharmony
School variables
Liking for school
Perceived control of school bullying
School hassles
Individual difference variables
Shame-proneness
Guilt-proneness
Pride-proneness
Self-esteem
Empathy
Internal locus of control
Impulsivity
Shame management variables
Shame acknowledgment
Shame transformation

The current model of bullying also incorporates a number of individual difference variables (e.g., shame-proneness, empathy, impulsivity, self-esteem, locus of control) that are known to have some stability over time and to be associated with destructive expression and behavior. These variables, some of which may be shaped through shaming experiences in the family, are assumed to be linked to bullying behavior.

Finally, the model considers feelings of shame as a situational response in the bullying context. The model proposes that shame management variables (e.g., shame acknowledgment and shame transformation) affect bullying. Moreover, the model allows for the possibility that these variables mediate the effects of family, school and individual difference variables on bullying.

In summary, the social-developmental model of bullying posits that bullying behavior emerges as a function of family variables, school variables, individual difference variables and shame management variables. It is a system model in that it allows shame management variables to be shaped by other sets of variables which, in turn, influence bullying. Each of the constructs in the model are discussed in detail in the following sections and existing evidence for their predictive importance is reviewed.

3.3.1 Family variables

Parental responses to their child's wrongdoing is likely to influence the child's future perceptions and actions (e.g., Goodnow, 1988, 1992; Goodnow & Collins, 1990; Sigel, 1985; Sigel, McGillicuddy-DeLisi, & Goodnow, 1992). Parents' style of disapproval or shaming in response to their child's wrongdoing and the extent of family disharmony are of major interest in this research. Therefore, two dimensions of family features are embedded in this cluster of variables: (a) child-rearing beliefs, and (b) family disharmony.

Child-rearing beliefs: Child-rearing beliefs are conceptualized as shaming or disapproval in response to a transgression performed by a child. When a parent observes a child's transgression, he/she is likely to disapprove of the act and to

explain it in certain ways. According to Weiner (1979, 1980), individuals are constantly searching for the causes behind behaviors or events they observe. The central characteristic of parents' disapproval or shaming is, according to J. Braithwaite (1989), stigmatizing versus non-stigmatizing the child.

Stigmatized shaming and non-stigmatized shaming have much in common with Weiner's attributional theory. The attributional theory conceptualizes stigmatized shaming in the form of stability and intentionality ascriptions toward an individual's disposition. Both these dimensions have been proposed as exerting maladaptive outcomes (i.e., shame, anxiety, despair). In contrast, the theory conceives non-stigmatized shaming as a non-stable dimension (e.g., controllability and responsibility) of attribution which does not label or stigmatize individuals as possessing global deficits.

Given their theoretical compatibility, the current research combines the central ideas of the reintegrative shaming theory along with the attributional perspective into a unified social-developmental model of bullying. The following will show how child-rearing beliefs of a stigmatized and non-stigmatized nature can be explained with attribution principles, and can hence support this social-developmental model of bullying.

Stigmatized shaming: Child-rearing beliefs which disapprove of the wrongdoing by sending the message that the child purposefully performed the transgression, which will recur in future, is 'stigmatizing' in nature. This sort of parental belief reflects the child's fixed incapacity and/or insight deficits, and is likely to deliver a stigma message from parents to the child. The stigma takes the form of implying to the child some dispositional characteristics which is not alterable, that is an enduring facet of the child. Such evaluations signal global unworthiness in the context of wrongdoing which the child is likely to internalize as a negative descriptions of his/her self.

Thus, a merging of the attribution and reintegrative shaming literatures leads to the following sequences in parent-child interactions:

Transgression → perceived stability and intentionality →.stigmatized shaming → ineffective shame management skills.

Compounding this effect is the likely precursors of aggression. Previous research indicates that when harm is perceived as stable and intentional, the intensity of aggressive responses and interpersonal conflict is likely to increase (Averill, 1983; Bandura, 1973, 1986; Betancourt & Blair, 1992; Dodge & Crick, 1990; Ferguson & Rule, 1983; Feshbach, 1964).

Non-stigmatized shaming: On the basis of reintegrative shaming theory, child-rearing beliefs which disapprove of the child's misdeed, without giving him/her the impression that the parent labels him/her as a deviant person is 'non-stigmatizing' in nature. This sort of parental belief conveys to the child that he/she is responsible for the undesirable act which 'could have been otherwise'. That is, child-rearing beliefs that result in non-stigmatized shaming impart the impression that the child possesses necessary skills to control wrongdoings (controllability) and that the child is held responsible for his actions (responsibility) which need not occur again. This non-stigmatized shaming ensures that the child is not given the deviance label, instead it is applied to the misdeed which is transient since the child is believed to have sufficient self-control to refrain from performing it.

From an attributional perspective, controllability and responsibility are helpful in understanding how non-stigmatized shaming works effectively in response to a transgression. Parents who conclude that the wrongdoing was under the control of the child and that the child should be held responsible are, in effect, disapproving of the act while affirming confidence in the child and his/her future capacities.

Transgression → perceived controllability and responsibility → non-stigmatized shaming → effective shame management skills.

The adaptive nature of assigning responsibility and controllability can be found in the attribution literature. Research indicates that these two dimensions evoke greater empathy and guilt for others, heighten the sense of importance, add to the individual's self concept as a 'helpful person', (Eisenberg & Mussen, 1989; Weiner, 1993), lead to a more active problem solving approach (Anderson, Lytton & Romney, 1986; Sujan, 1986) and produce prosocial behaviors (Baumrind, 1971, 1989; Eisenberg et al., 1987; Staub, 1979; Whiting & Whiting, 1975).

On the basis of the theoretical considerations above, the current research suggests a link between child-rearing beliefs as expressions of shaming practices and a child's bullying behavior. It is hypothesized that parents who stigmatize their children in response to a wrongdoing, compared to the parents who do not, would have children involved in bullying activities.

Family disharmony: Reintegrative shaming theory also suggests that interdependency or the social bonding and obligation networks set up in communities will enhance reintegrative shaming. To the extent that shame management is best practiced in an environment where interdependencies are strong, one might expect family interdependency to be linked with bullying.

The current research proposes a main effect of family interdependency on bullying. Because the measure used in this study assesses whether a family is plagued by conflict and ignorance of other's needs and well-being, the term family disharmony is used. Family disharmony refers to patterns of behavior that do not address the concerns of members and the respectful resolution of each others' problems.

Socialization research has shown that certain parental practices (such as, warmth, affection and democratic child-rearing) stimulate the child's feelings of worth (Baumrind, 1971; Radke-Yarrow, Zahn-Waxler & Chapman, 1983; Stipek, 1983) and prosocial behavior (Baumrind, 1971; Zhan-Waxler, Radke-Yarrow & King, 1979). Other studies have examined family functioning in general and found that greater family dysfunction was reflected in lower self-esteem (Werner & Broida, 1991). For this reason, it can be assumed that children from a disharmonious family, where care and support are in short supply will have feelings of unworthiness and of being held in low regard. Non-supportive family environments leave children vulnerable to developing poor shame management skills and to adopt bullying behavior.

3.3.2 School variables

Three school variables were examined in this thesis, namely, liking for school, school hassles and perceived resources for handling bullying problems.

Liking for school: A considerable body of research suggests a relationship between deviant behavior and unhappiness as well as disliking for school (Agnew, 1985; Jensen & Eve, 1976; Johnson, 1979; Kaplan, Robbins, & Martin, 1983; Koh, 1997; Slee, 1993, 1995; Slee & Rigby, 1992; Thomas & Hyman, 1978; Wiatrowski, Griswald, & Roberts, 1981). Research has shown that delinquents and/or bullies are less competent in academic achievement (Farrington, 1973; O'Moore & Hillery, 1991; Phillips & Kelly, 1979) as well as in peer relationships at school (Boulton & Smith, 1994; O'Moore & Hillery, 1991; Smith & Boulton, 1991), both of which are important factors for school satisfaction. Based on such evidence, it is hypothesized that children who bully others will have low scores on liking for school.[1]

Appraisals of school hassles: In a review of the literature, Aurora and Fimian (1988) concluded that perceived personal academic abilities and functioning, peer relationships, and teacher interactions were common sources of stress in children. For the purposes of the present research, school hassles are defined as disruptions and demands in the everyday lives of children that are frustrating and annoying, and that have the potential to pile up over time (Kanner, Coyne, Chaefer, & Lazarus, 1981).

The stress paradigm has forged a strong empirical link between daily hassles and adjustment. Prospective research has revealed that daily hassles for school children lead them toward a range of behavioral problems (Compas, Howell, Phares, Williams, & Ledoux, 1989; Dubois, Felner, Brand, Adam, & Evans, 1992; Dubow, Tisak, Causey, Hryshko, & Reid, 1991; Hastings, Anderson, & Kelley, 1996). For example, Creasy, Mitts, & Catanzaro (1995) reported that children experiencing a great deal of daily hassles may communicate problems through externalizing behaviors, or 'acting out' behaviors.

[1] Liking for school linked to J. Braithwaite's (1989) notion of interdependency which denotes social bonding or attachment between members of a particular group. The liking for school variable reflects the extent to which a child has positive feelings for others in his/her environment.

Apart from behavioral problems, it has also been shown that children who experience elevated stress are at risk of developing adjustment problems at school. For example, Sterling, Cowen, Weissberg, Lotyezewski, & Boike (1985) found that stressful life events were associated with the presence of more serious school adjustment problems. Also, Spicer and Franklin (1994) found that individuals' verbal aggression and violent acts were related to the high frequency of daily hassles.

With the establishment of these links between children's stress and behavioral problems, a child's experience of school hassles is expected in the current research, to be positively related to bullying behavior.

Perceived control of bullying problems: The literature on school bullying has suggested that teachers' messages to the students that they will not tolerate bullying and that they will take actions to build a safe school environment is an effective strategy for lowering rates of school bullying (Greenbaum, 1987; Hoover & Hazler, 1991).

Intraschool differences have also been investigated with bullying and aggression occuring more frequently in schools with low staff morale, unclear standards of behavior, inadequate supervision, poor organization (Arora & Thompson, 1987; Elliott, 1991; Lane, 1989). In the Stephenson and Smith's (1989) study, teachers in the low bullying schools expressed considered and purposeful views on bullying, and emphasized the importance of controlling and preventing its occurrence. The action taken by schools was a key component in determining levels of bullying (Lane, 1989).

It is therefore hypothesized that the more a child views his/her school as able to handle bullying problems, the less likely he/she is to engage in bullying activities.

3.3.3 Individual difference variables

In addition to family variables, this research examines the role of individual difference variables in explaining bullying behavior among children. A review of the theoretical and empirical literature suggests the relevance of a number of

individual difference variables, such as shame-proneness, guilt-proneness, pride-proneness, self-esteem, empathy, impulsivity and internal locus of control in the child.

Shame-proneness: The relevance of shame-proneness to bullying behavior has already been discussed in Chapter 2. Both the clinical and psychological literature has suggested a positive link between shame-proneness and bullying behavior in children. The literature also links shame-proneness to experiencing abuse in the family (Fossum & Mason, 1986; Hoglund & Nicholas, 1995; Kaufman, 1989; Lee & Wheeler, 1996; Potter-Efron, 1989; Pulakos, 1996).

Family variables may affect shame-proneness, which, in turn, should increase the likelihood of bullying.

Guilt-proneness: Guilt-proneness refers to a negative affective experience associated with negatively evaluated behavior, accompanied by an implicit acceptance of responsibility for that behavior (Tangney, 1990; Tangney, 1996a, 1996b). Guilt-proneness matches the category of discharged shame in the SAST model described in Chapter 2. The shared characteristic features are the presence of taking responsibility and reparation on one hand, and the absence of externalizing blame, internalizing blame and retaliatory anger on the other.

Tangney (1990, 1991) has contrasted guilt with shame by arguing that it is less threatening to the self. Guilt involves negative evaluation of specific behaviors rather than the global self, and is, therefore less likely to invoke defensive maneuvers (e.g., externalizing blame and hostility). In a more recent work (Tangney, 1996a), guilt-prone individuals are found to be involved in a constructive and rational strategy for managing their anger. In line with this evidence, current research proposes that guilt proneness would be negatively related with bullying behavior.

Guilt-proneness is also linked with parenting styles in the developmental literature (Hoffman, 1963a, 1970, 1983; Pulakos, 1996). Where parent-child bonds are strong and characterized by warmth and reciprocity, children are more likely to

experience guilt when they contravene parental standards (Grusec & Kuzynski, 1997).

Developmental researchers have long claimed that guilt serves an adaptive function as it encourages individuals to reparate and restore social harmony as well as inhibiting aggressive impulses through moral sanctioning (Hoffman, 1982; Izard, 1977).

Pride-proneness: Pride-proneness refers to an individual's positive affective experience in response to a positively evaluated behavior (Tangney, 1990). Tangney (1990) distinguishes between beta pride and alpha pride. Beta pride emerges as a consequence of a positively evaluated behavior whereas alpha pride accompanies positive feelings toward the self. Proneness to beta pride, which has been viewed as the opposite end of the shame continuum by some researchers (Nathanson, 1987; Stipek, 1983) is most relevant to this research and is given the label pride-proneness throughout this thesis.

Pride-proneness emerges in response to positively evaluated behavior in a positively valued situation and affirms an individual's self-worth (Barrett & Campos, 1987; Heckhausen, 1984; Stipek, 1983; Stipek, Recchia, & McClintic, 1992). As such, pride-proneness should reduce the likelihood of children becoming involved in bullying behavior.

Empathy: Empathy refers to the sharing of an emotional response between the observer and the victim, and requires the cognitive ability to accurately read cues regarding the victim's particular emotional experience, the affective capacity to personally experience the victim's perspective, and the affective reaction to assist the victim (Hoffman, 1975).

Previous studies have shown that empathy is most likely to develop in families where parent-child communication is characterized by warmth, acceptance and mutual understanding and low punitiveness, hostility and discord (Feshbach, 1975a; Feshbach & Feshbach, 1987; Hoffman, 1982).

Many researchers have argued that empathy improves the quality of interpersonal relationships and increases the likelihood of prosocial behavior (Aronfreed, 1968; Eisenberg, & Miller, 1987; Eisenberg & Strayer, 1987; Hoffman, 1982). Hoffman (1975, 1982) has proposed that empathy operates on two fronts: firstly, as a base for developing altruistic behavior and, secondly, as a base for inhibiting immoral behavior. In accord with the first function of empathy, Batson (1987) noted that observing others' distress gives rise to similar feelings in oneself which trigger a desire to reduce another's distress. Miller and Eisenberg (1988) noted that empathic responding is negatively related to aggression and other forms of antisocial behavior. Enhanced capacity to feel empathy has been reported in guilt-prone individuals, while low empathy is found in those who are shame-prone (Tangney, 1991, 1995a, 1995b; Tangney et al., 1991). Therefore, empathy can be expected to be positively linked with shame acknowledgment and negatively with shame transformation. Empathy should also reduce the likelihood of bullying.

Internal locus of Control: Locus of Control, a construct originally developed by Rotter (1966), differentiates those with a belief that the events in their lives are due to uncontrollable forces from those who believe that they are in control of what happens to them thereby using effort and skill.

Parental child-rearing styles have been linked to a child's locus of control, most notably in the domain of scholastic achievement. Parents who show their interest and involvement with their children contribute to the development of an internal locus of control (Gordon et al., 1981; Grolnick et al., 1991; Rollins & Thomas, 1979; Taris & Bok, 1996). So too do authoritative parents. Children who experience love and acceptance in their relationship with their parents are more likely to consider themselves as the primary agent in controlling what happens in their lives.

Other studies have linked an internal locus of control with moral feelings of guilt (Graham, 1988; Graham, Doubleday, & Guarino, 1984), and with low scores on shame-proneness (Tangney, 1990), and delinquency (Duke & Fenhagen, 1975; Lau & Leung, 1992; Ransford, 1968), and bullying (Dodge & Frame, 1982; Pulkkinen, 1996; Slee, 1993; Tisak & Jankowski, 1996). Bullies tend to attribute the cause of bullying to an external factor (e.g., peer group pressure, victim's

characteristics) rather than any wrong in themselves (Dodge & Frame, 1982). Similarly, Slee (1993) found that bullies tended to over-attribute to situational factors compared with their own dispositional characteristics. Therefore, it seems reasonable to expect `that the greater one's sense of internal locus of control, the less the likelihood that one is involved in bullying others. Furthermore, an internal locus of control may be shaped by family factors and play a role in adaptive shame management.

Self-esteem: Self-esteem refers to a person's general evaluations of self worth in which high self-esteem is characterized by positive feelings and liking for oneself (Rosenberg, 1965, 1979, 1986). Previous studies have shown that an authoritative strategy, in particular supporting autonomy, is positively linked with self-esteem in children (Deci, Nezlek, & Sheinman, 1981). Others have shown that child-rearing strategies which are controlling and rejecting are related to children's low self-esteem (e.g., Coopersmith, 1967; Lempers, Clark-Lampers, & Simons, 1989; Punamaeki, Qouta, & El-Sarraj, 1997; Weiss, Dodge, Bates, & Pettit, 1992).

Past findings on the relationship between self-esteem and bullying behavior are inconsistent. Some have found bullying to be positively related to self-esteem (Olweus, 1978) whereas others have failed to document any significant relationship between them (Rigby & Slee, 1993b; Slee & Rigby, 1993). Other studies have found an inverse link between bullying and self-esteem (O'Moore and Hillery, 1991; Rigby & Cox, 1996).

Over the years, the aggression literature has provided a strong tradition for linking low self-esteem with aggression as well as violence (see Baumeister, Smart, & Boden, 1996, see for a review; Gondolf, 1985; Jankowski, 1991; Kirschner, 1992; Levin & McDevitt, 1993; MacDonald, 1975; Staub, 1989; Wiehe, 1991). Researchers have explained this relationship by suggesting that individuals with low self-esteem gain their status through using aggression to regulate the behavior of others (Baumeister et al., 1996). From this perspective, those with low self-esteem should more likely be involved in bullying behavior.

This proposition seems plausible from another perspective which suggests that individuals with low self-esteem are usually overwhelmed by unacknowledged and unresolved feelings (Scheff, 1996). If unacknowledged and unresolved shame is positively related to low self-esteem, anger and destructive behavior, low self-esteem can be expected to be associated with bullying.

Impulsivity: Impulsivity describes a temperament in which children are inclined to act on sudden urges without any thought and control. Their behaviors tend to show a maladaptive sense of immediacy and spontaneity without any consideration, foresight and adequate planning or regard for the possible consequences. As a consequence, they inadvertently show a lack of regard for the harmful consequences of their actions to others (V. Braithwaite, 1987; Eysenck, 1977).

In the developmental literature, it has been shown that secure parent-child attachment relationships predicted impulse control capability and an ability to delay gratification in children (Olson, Bates, & Bayles 1990). In contrast, impulsivity is an important contributor to antisocial behavior (Barratt & Patton 1983; Bjorkqvist et al., 1982; Block, Block & Keyes, 1988; Buss, 1966; Eysenck & McGurk, 1980; Eysenck, 1977; 1981; Loeber, 1990; Magnusson, 1987; Moffitt, 1993; Olweus, 1978; Schalling, Edman, Asberg, & Oreland, 1988). Olweus (1980) found that highly aggressive boys have weak control over their aggressive tendencies. Likewise, Whalen, Henker, Hinshaw, and Grange (1989) found that ratings of children's impulsivity were positively correlated with their aggressive behavior.

Deficits in impulse control are likely to produce antisocial behavior, because of an inability to control the undesirable acts as well as to think of the future consequences of those acts. Therefore, it is hypothesized that children who have difficulty in controlling impulses are more likely to be involved in bullying others.

3.3.4 Shame management variables

The social-developmental model of bullying proposes a central role of shame in understanding bullying behavior. Current research views shame as an emotion that comes into play in a social encounter signaling a real or imagined

threat to the self and/or to a bond with significant other(s). It is not an experience isolated from social context, but is rather part of a dynamic intrapersonal and interpersonal process sequentially bound up with each another.

Following principal component analyses (reported in Chapter 2), this research identifies two relatively independent shame management variables. These are shame acknowledgment and shame transformation. As mentioned in section 3.2, a reintegrative parental approach should lead children to acknowledge their shame in response to wrongdoing because such an approach builds concerns with issues of building conscience. In contrast, a non-integrative parental approach should discourage children from shame acknowledgment but should encourage transformation into something that avoids self-threatening issues.

Shame, if acknowledged and not transformed, contributes to well-being indicators and serves adaptive functions in individuals (Lewis, 1971, 1987b; Scheff, 1987, 1990; Retzinger, 1996). In contrast, shame is maladaptive if it goes unacknowledged and is transformed into blame and feelings of anger (Lewis, 1971; Nathanson, 1992; Potter-Efron, 1989; Retzinger, 1987, 1991a, 1991b; Scheff, 1987, 1990; Tangney, 1991, 1993; Tangney et al., 1992a, 1992b).

On the basis of earlier discussions of shame and its links with aggression, it is hypothesized that shame acknowledgment will decrease the likelihood of bullying while shame transformation will increase the likelihood of bullying. Furthermore, shame acknowledgment and shame transformation are considered as possible mediators between family, school and individual difference variables and bullying.

3.4 Hypotheses

The following working hypotheses will guide the current investigation:

Hypothesis 1: Parental child-rearing beliefs should be related to bullying behavior in children.

(a) Stigmatized shaming should show a positive relationship with bullying behavior. The more that parents use stigmatized shaming in response to a wrongdoing, the more likely it is that the child will bully others.

(b) Non-stigmatized shaming should show a negative relationship to bullying behavior. The more that parents use non-stigmatized shaming following a wrongdoing, the less likely it is that the child will bully others.

Hypothesis 2: Family disharmony would relate positively with bullying behavior in children.

Hypothesis 3: School variables should be related to bullying behavior in children.

(a) Liking for school and perceived control of bullying should show a negative relationship with bullying.

(b) School hassles should show a positive relationship with bullying.

Hypothesis 4: Individual difference variables should be related to bullying behavior in children.

(a) Shame-proneness and impulsivity should be positively related to bullying.

(b) Guilt-proneness, pride-proneness, empathy, self-esteem and internal locus of control should be negatively related to bullying.

Hypothesis 5: Shame management variables should be related to bullying behavior in children.

(a) Shame acknowledgment should be negatively related to bullying.

(b) Shame transformation should be positively related to bullying.

Hypothesis 6: Shame management variables should be significant predictors of bullying behavior above and beyond other sets of independent variables (e.g., family variables, school variables and individual difference variables). This hypothesis is based on the assumption that the shame management variables in the social-developmental model offer unique explanatory power.

Hypothesis 7: Shame management variables should mediate, partially if not fully, the relationships between bullying and other sets of predictor variables (e.g., family variables, school variables and individual difference variables). This hypothesis is based on the thesis that shame management variables can integrate the disparate empirical findings in bullying research.

Hypothesis 8: Bullying status (non-bully / non-victim, typical bully, typical victim and bully/victim) in children can be related to the shame management variables: shame acknowledgment and shame transformation. This hypothesis is mentioned here for completion and is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.

3.5 Summary

The present study on school bullying builds upon and expands Braithwaite's reintegrative shaming theory of crime. Integrating important and relevant existing research, this study develops an integrated model of the factors that influence a child's involvement in bullying activities. The current social-developmental model of bullying focuses on the relative impact of four sets of constructs: (1) family variables, (2) school variables, (3) individual difference variables, and (4) shame management variables. The shame management variables were believed to contribute to explaining bullying behavior above and beyond other sets of constructs. In addition, these variables were conceptualized as the most important direct predictors of bullying, with the family variables, school variables and individual difference variables having less direct effects, and as working through shame management variables.

To verify the hypotheses presented in the above section, four statistical procedures were followed: Correlational analyses were used to test hypotheses 1 to 5; hierarchical multiple regression analysis to test hypothesis 6; path modeling using AMOS to test hypothesis 7; and One way analysis of variance to test hypothesis 8. Findings from correlations, regressions and path modeling are presented and discussed in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 reports the testing of hypothesis 8 which relates the shame management variables to children's classification in terms of bully/victim status using analysis of variance. Finally, Chapter 7 summarizes the findings of this research, and discusses their limitations, implications for theory as well as practice, and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER - 4

METHODOLOGY

4.1 Participants

The sample consisted of 1402 students and their parents/guardians. Participation was voluntary. Data were collected between August and November 1996 from both public and private schools in the Australian Capital Territory (ACT). Of the 68 public schools in the ACT, 22 agreed to participate in the current study. Of the 28 private schools, 10 agreed to take part. All schools were co-educational.

Letters were sent home through schools asking students and their parents to take part in this study of school bullying. The overall rate of participation was 47.3 per cent despite several reminders from the school principals and the children's own expressed interest in participating in this research. It should be emphasized that obtaining both parent and child consent in this research involved ethically stringent participation criteria. This is consistent with previous research of this kind, where active consent from parents typically resulted in response rates, ranging between 40 per cent and 60 per cent of the target group (Donovan, Jessor, & Costa, 1988; Josephson & Rosen, 1978; Lueptow, Muller, Hammes, & Master, 1977; Severson & Biglan, 1989).

Completed questionnaires were collected from 748 girls and 630 boys (missing data on gender = 24). The mean age of the boys was 10.87 years (SD = .93) and of the girls was 10.86 years (SD = .88). The sample was drawn from students of grades four to seven: 209 children were in fourth grade (Mean age = 9.5 years); 555 children were in fifth grade (Mean age = 10.5 years); 572 children were in sixth grade (Mean age = 11.5 years); and 42 children were in seventh grade (Mean age = 12.5 years).

In regard to the fact that sample size was not equally distributed across the grades, it is of note that in some schools, particular grade students were not available as the principal did not wish to disrupt studies by giving extracurricular

activities. In addition, most of the participating schools were primary up to grade 6; only two schools combined primary and high schools and this results in the inclusion of some seventh grade children. The gender breakdown was non-significant across grades, χ^2 (3, 1) = 5.62.

The parent/guardian who most frequently engaged with the student in everyday interaction was the one invited to participate in this research. Of the original sample of 1402 students, 978 parents returned the completed questionnaires, resulting in an approximate 70 per cent return rate. The sample comprised 845 mothers (86.4 per cent), 132 fathers (13.5 per cent) and 1 guardian (.1 per cent). Not surprisingly, therefore, mothers over-represented the sample. In general, the parent sample represented the full range of educational and occupational categories reflecting the heterogeneity of the community of Canberra. The distribution of the present sample is shown in Table 4.1.

The self-chosen ethnic composition of the sample was 62.5 per cent Australian and 25 per cent non-Australian. According to records held by the ACT School Systems (ACTDET, 1996), 24.4 per cent of students are born either in a non-English speaking country or in an English speaking country with one or both parents born in a non-English speaking country. The present sample, therefore, appears representative on this dimension of ethnic diversity.

Table 4.1

Number and Percentages of Participating Children (Split by Sex and Year Level) and Their Parents

Children	Girls	%	Boys	%	Total	%	Parents	n	%
Year 4	104	7.5	105	7.6	209	15.2	Mothers	845	86.4
Year 5	292	21.2	263	19.1	555	40.3	Fathers	132	13.5
Year 6	331	24	241	17.5	572	41.5	Others	1	0.1
Year 7	21	1.5	21	1.5	42	3.0	(Missing)	(424)	-
Total	748	54.3	630	45.7	1378	100.0	Total	978	100.0

Note. Missing: children 24; parents 424

4.2 Procedures

Permission was sought from the Ethics in Human Experimentation Committee of the ANU (NHMRC), the ACT Department of Education and Training (DET), and the ACT Catholic Education Office to conduct a study of bullying throughout the ACT schools. The data were collected in the second half of the school year to give students time to get to know each other and settle into relatively established patterns of interaction.

The first stage involved the researcher meeting with the principals of the participating schools. The purpose and requirements of the research were explained and an arrangement was made for a consent form to be distributed to the parents/guardians of students attending fourth to seventh grades. The letter described the study's purpose and procedures, the voluntary nature of participation and the confidential nature of the data. The parents were asked to contact the researcher if they needed further information. Only students who returned the consent letter signed by a parent/guardian were allowed to participate.

The 'Life at School' survey for students was completed during school hours. Participating students were brought to an unoccupied and quiet classroom, hall or library room in the school separate from the non-participating students. The students sat apart from one another to complete the questionnaire in privacy. At the beginning of the survey, the researcher greeted students and explained the purpose of the research. The students were also given a written instruction that reiterated the oral explanation of the study. Students were reassured of the anonymity and confidentiality of their responses.

The students were encouraged to respond honestly and were asked not to discuss their responses with each other either during or after the survey session. To eliminate any probable discomfort for the participants, several precautions were undertaken. First, the participants were not asked to write their names on their questionnaire. Only an identification number appeared at the top of each questionnaire in order to match it with their parents' questionnaires. Second, peer nominations of bullies and victims were not sought from the students. Third, the participating students were separated from the non-participants. Finally, to ensure

the confidentiality of the given responses, the session was administered by the researcher(s)[1] and the participants were assured that none of the school teachers would have any access to the findings.

All students were administered two questionnaire booklets: one was for them to answer and the other was a packet containing a questionnaire for their parents with an additional envelope for their returned completed questionnaire. Sufficient precautions were undertaken to match identification numbers which appeared on the student's questionnaire and the parent's questionnaire. The students were asked to write down the name of their parents/guardians (the primary caregiver) on the top of the envelope so that they could identify their own packet even if the packets were mixed up during the day at school. As an additional precaution, the researcher(s) went to each student to check that the identification number on their addressed questionnaire (parent's questionnaire) matched that on the student's questionnaire.

Students were provided with the following definition of the term 'Bullying':

'We call it bullying when someone repeatedly hurts or frightens someone weaker than themselves on purpose. Remember it is not bullying when two of you about the same strength have the odd fight or quarrel. Bullying can be done in different ways: by hurtful teasing, threatening actions, namecalling or hitting or kicking.'

The survey was completed by students in the school setting and took approximately 25 to 40 minutes to complete for the older groups, and 35 to 65 minutes for the younger groups. Assistance was available to all students throughout the session.

To ensure that students who finished early did not distract others, activities were included in the questionnaire booklet, for example, doing dot-to-dots or coloring in a picture. After the session, questionnaires were collected and students were given a sticker to show appreciation for their participation.

As they left, the participating students were reminded to deliver the packet containing the questionnaire with a self-addressed envelope to their

[1] In order to ensure maximum assistance with the queries to the students and to meet the time constraints in the school settings, another researcher assisted in this survey.

parents/guardians (strictly to the primary caregiver) at home. Parents were explicitly asked to think of the son or daughter who also participated in the survey, and not any of their other children (if any). Parents were also asked to complete the questionnaires at a convenient time and to return it to the researcher by placing it in a sealed box kept at the school's main office. Parents were given two weeks to complete the questionnaire and thereafter, the box was collected by the researcher.

4.3 The 'Life at School' survey questionnaires description

Data were collected through two separate self-completion questionnaires (see Appendix 4.4 for the questionnaires) especially designed for the 'Life at School' survey, one was for students and the other was for their parents. The questions used in this research are given along with their means and standard deviations in Appendix 4.1. The following sections describe the way in which the key variables were measured.

4.3.1 Family variables

Stigmatized and non-stigmatized shaming were assessed through the stigmatized shaming and non-stigmatized shaming scales. These two shaming were measured using the 'Expression of Stigmatized versus Non-stigmatized Shaming' instrument (ESNS; Ahmed & V. Braithwaite, 1996) which was developed specifically for this study.

The ESNS presents parents with stories describing hypothetical incidents in which their own child transgressed in a peer group situation. The ESNS comprised 8 scenarios of bullying at school (see Appendix 4.2), corresponding to those scenarios used in the MOSS-SAST. Following each scenario, parents answered 4 questions on a 5-point scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). To assess parental expression of non-stigmatizing shaming, two measures were used over eight scenarios: responsibility (I would say that my child should be blamed for the behavior) and controllability (I would say that the behavior was under my child's control). The ranges of correlation coefficients across eight situations were .39 to

.66 (median = .61) for responsibility and .65 to .90 (median = .80) for controllability. To construct the non-stigmatized shaming composite, ratings were combined across the eight scenarios for both responsibility and controllability. The composite responsibility and controllability scales correlated positively ($r = .22$, $p<.001$), supporting their being combined into one measure of non-stigmatized shaming. Scores on the non-stigmatized shaming scale were obtained by averaging each parent's scores on the sixteen items (eight for responsibility and eight for controllability).

The expression of stigmatized shaming was assessed through two measures: stability (I would say my child would repeat this behavior in future) and intentionality (I would say that my child meant to do what he/she did). The range of correlation coefficients across eight scenarios were .73 to .89 (median = .82) for stability and .54 to .82 (median = .72) for intentionality. These composite measures correlated positively ($r = .16$, $p<.001$). The stigmatized shaming variable was computed by averaging parent's scores on the sixteen items (eight for stability and eight for intentionality). The descriptive statistics with the Cronbach's alpha of these two measures of stigmatized and non-stigmatized shaming are presented in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2

Number of Items, Means, SDs and Cronbach's Alpha Reliability Coefficients for Child-Rearing Belief Measures (N= 953)*

Measures	No of items	M	SD	Alpha
Stigmatized shaming	16	3.44	.72	.92
Non-stigmatized shaming	16	4.35	.57	.91

*This is the minimum sample size; the maximum is 959.

Family disharmony was assessed through children's self-reports because family cohesion perceived by young adolescents is related more strongly to parent-child cohesion than to parents' self-reports of cohesion (Gehring & Feldman, 1988). The family disharmony scale was taken from Groube (1987) which was originally developed to assess family conflict. It comprised four items (i.e., parents ignoring me, parents checking up on me, difficulties among family members, and arguments or disagreements in my home). Children responded to each item on a 3-point scale, with 1 representing never, 2 sometimes and 3 a lot of time. Therefore, a high score indicated that the family was plagued by discord. Scores on family disharmony were obtained by adding and averaging children's scores across these four items (M = 1.74; SD = .41; alpha = .65). Family disharmony was, thus, operationalized as the presence of conflict, disinterest and disagreement among the family members.

4.3.2 School variables

Liking for school was assessed through two measures each of which represented a child's identification to a set of drawings on a 5-point scale. The first was a pictorial representation of the Smiley Face Scale adapted from Mooney, Creeser, and Blatchford (1991). Students were presented with a series of five faces along with thought bubbles depicting their liking for school. The captions ranging from 'Ugh, I hate it' (1) to 'Great, I love it' (5). Thus, a high score indicates high amount of liking for school.

The second question, the School Engagement-Withdrawal scale (B. Braithwaite, 1996), was developed specifically for the Life at School survey. The scale depicted a series of five drawings of a boy and a girl bearing the postures of children who do not feel comfortable, like they do not belong at school at one end (scored as 1) and who feel very comfortable as if they belong at school at the other end (scored as 5). Students were asked to shade the child who is most like them when they are at school. Higher scores indicate a child's greater amount of feelings of belonging at school.

Both the Smiley Face scale and School Engagement-Withdrawal scale were inter-correlated (r = .46, p<.001), and therefore, were averaged to construct the index of liking for school (M = 3.15; SD = .48). The combined index had an alpha reliability coefficient of .63 (see Table 4.3).

Table 4.3

Number of Items, Means, SDs and Cronbach's Alpha Reliability Coefficients for School Measures (N=1376)

Measures	No of items	M	SD	Alpha
Liking for school	2	3.15	.48	.63
Perceived control of bullying*	7	.003	2.07	.86
School hassles	8	1.79	.29	.72

*Standardized score

Children's perceived control of bullying comprised seven items from the Peer Relations Questionnaire (Rigby & Slee, 1993a). Two of these seven items were: (1) In your view, is this school a safe place for young people who find it hard to defend themselves from attack from other students? (2) Do you think that teachers at this school are interested in trying to stop bullying? The respondents used a four-point rating scale from never (1) to always (4) to indicate their responses on these items.

Five additional questions with a three-point response format (1 = never; 2 = sometimes; 3 = always) were presented to the students as follows: (1) How often would you say that bullying happens at this school? (2) Have you noticed bullying going on in this school in any of these places? (a) in the classroom (b) at recess/lunch (c) on the way to school (d) on the way home from school. Because

these five items were scored such that a high score indicated low control of bullying, scores were reversed for this analysis.

Because some items were measured on a four-point scale and some on a three-point scale, seven items were standardized prior to summation to form a composite variable, perceived control of bullying. The standardized items were significantly inter-correlated (range = .11 to .48, $p<.001$) with an alpha of .86. Standardized scores were then averaged to create the composite variable. Higher scores indicate that children perceived their school as more effective in controlling bullying problems. Descriptive statistics of this measure are presented in Table 4.3.

School hassles were measured by an eight item index of the original thirty-one item questionnaire developed by Groube (1987). The original scale had previously been used in this population and showed moderate internal consistency as well as predictive validity. However, for the present study, eight items were chosen which focused on hassles in the scholastic and peer relationship domains.

The students were asked to rate their likelihood of experiencing hassles in the student role in terms of the following four items: (1) failing a test or exam; (2) feeling unsure about what is expected of me at school [e.g., schoolwork]; (3) doing worse in schoolwork than I expected; and (4) failing to do my homework. Hassles with peers were assessed with the following four items: (1) having no friends; (2) having things go wrong in my relationships with friends; (3) having to make new friends; and (4) disagreements or misunderstanding with friends.

Items were scored on a three-point scale from 'never' (1) to 'a lot of time' (3) with a high score indicating high levels of hassles in the particular domain. Since these items were significantly inter-correlated across the student and peer domains (range = .10 to .34 with a median of .25) producing an alpha reliability coefficient of .72, items were combined across the two domains to produce a school hassles scale. Descriptive statistics of the school hassles measure are set out in Table 4.3.

4.3.3 Individual difference variables

Children's individual differences in proneness to feel shame, guilt, pride and externalization were measured by using the Test Of Self-Conscious Affect for Children (TOSCA-C; Tangney et al., 1989) (see Appendix 4.3). The TOSCA-C is based on participant generated scenarios to which individuals respond in terms of individual differences in proneness to shame, guilt, beta pride, alpha pride, externalization and detachment. The scales for alpha pride and detachment are not of theoretical relevance to the current thesis and therefore, will not be discussed further. The descriptive statistics for the relevant scales along with their Cronbach's alpha estimates are presented in Table 4.4.

The TOSCA-C measures consist of fifteen brief scenarios (ten negative and five positive in valence) which are relevant to the everyday contexts of respondents. Each scenario was followed by a number of multiple choice responses. Respondents were asked to rate their likelihood of answering on a 5-point scale of 'very unlikely' (1) to 'very likely' (5). Some wording and some pictures[2] that make up the TOSCA-C were modified to suit Australian children.

Self-esteem was measured using a shortened version of the Rosenberg self-esteem scale (Rosenberg & Simmons, 1971). This six-item version has established reliability and validity (see Rosenberg & Simmons, 1971). The items were: (1) I feel I have a number of good qualities; (2) I feel I do not have much to be proud of; (3) I wish I could have more respect for myself; (4) On the whole, I am satisfied with myself; (5) At times I think I am no good at all; and, (6) I certainly feel useless at times.

Respondents are asked to respond on a four-point Likert scale of 'disagree a lot' (1) to 'agree a lot' (4). Items (2, 3, 5 and 6) were reverse scored to make them compatible with the other two items (1 and 4), and therefore, a high number represents high self-esteem for the individual. Descriptive statistics for this scale are given in Table 4.4.

[2] For example, in a pilot study, it became apparent that the children understood 'I'm a dobber' and not 'I'm a tattle-tale'. In addition, pictures accompanying each scenario were redrawn to make the characters gender-neutral.

Table 4.4

Number of Items, Means, SDs and Cronbach's Alpha Reliability Coefficients for Individual Differences Measures (N=1373)*

Measures	No of items	M	SD	Alpha
Shame-proneness	15	2.88	.65	.82
Guilt-proneness	15	3.72	.60	.83
Pride-proneness (beta)	5	3.62	.67	.77
Self-esteem	6	2.86	.56	.70
Empathy	3	3.35	.62	.73
Impulsivity	5	2.73	.61	.65
Internal locus of control	2	3.47	.58	.33

*This is the minimum sample size; the maximum is 1386.

Empathy was assessed using three items of the original twenty-item scale developed by Rigby and Slee (1991b). The original scale has previously been used in an Australian study which showed a moderate Cronbach's alpha of .78 (Rigby & Slee, 1991b). However, for the present purpose, three items were selected because they focus on the capacity to feel for the victims of bullying. In a pilot study, these three items worked well and hence, were included in the main study. Minor modifications were made to frame the items as statements rather than questions so that they would be consistent with other items in the questionnaire. The empathy items were: (1) I feel like standing up for kids who are being bullied; (2) I feel like helping kids who can't defend themselves; and (3) I feel like being angry when a kid is picked on without reason.

The participants responded to each statement on a four-point scale (from 1 = disagree a lot to 4 = agree a lot). Higher scores reflected a greater amount of empathy in children. As Table 4.4 indicates, the Cronbach's alpha coefficient for the empathy scale in this research was .73.

Impulsiveness was assessed using two separate scales. The first scale comprised three items which were chosen from Eysenck's Junior Impulsiveness Scale (H. J. Eysenck & S. B. G. Eysenck, 1977). The items are: (1) I often get involved in things I later wish I could get out of, (2) I often get into trouble because I do things without thinking, and, (3) I often do and say things without stopping to think.

The second scale comprised two items from Braithwaite's Scale of Emotional Arousability (V. Braithwaite, 1987) validated in Australia. These are: (1) I tend to hop from interest to interest quickly and (2) I get bored easily. These five items were intercorrelated and were combined because together they seemed to tap adequately the core concept of impulsiveness in children. The participant children used a four-point rating scale to indicate the likelihood of their doing things on impulse. The individual items are rated from 1 (disagree a lot) to 4 (agree a lot), with a high score indicating the presence of impulsivity in the child.

Perceived internal locus of control was assessed using a shortened form of the Multidimensional Measure of Children's Perceptions of Control (MMCPC; Connell, 1985). This research examined children's locus of causality in three (cognitive, social and physical) of the original four domains. The general domain was not included as the aim was to measure children's locus of control in specific domains. The items in the cognitive domain are (1) If I want to do well in school, it's up to me to do it; and (2) If I don't do well in school, it's my own fault. The items in the social domain are: (1) If someone is mean to me, it's usually because of something I did; and (2) If somebody doesn't like me, it's usually because of something I did. Finally, the items in the physical domain are (1) I can be good at sport if I try hard enough; and (2) If I try to catch a ball and I miss it, it's usually

because I didn't try hard enough. Response were made on a four-point Likert scale ranging from disagree a lot (1) to agree a lot (4). A high number represents the degree to which successes and failures in a particular domain are seen to be under control of the individual.

Internal control in the domains of cognitive, social and physical activity are scored separately. The measures of social and physical related internal locus of control were dropped from subsequent analysis because of their unsatisfactory alpha reliability. While the alpha coefficient for cognitive activities is also low (alpha = .33), it was retained pending further analyses.

4.3.4 Shame management variables

Shame acknowledgment and shame transformation were measured using the Measure Of Shame State – Shame Acknowledgment and Shame Transformation (MOSS-SAST; Ahmed, V. Braithwaite, & J. Braithwaite, 1996). In the current research, shame management variables reflects a child's *shame acknowledgment* and *shame transformation* following a wrongdoing. Detail descriptions of the MOSS-SAST and its psychometric properties have been delineated in Chapter 2.

To summarize, the MOSS-SAST comprises 8 scenarios each describing a bullying incident at school. Following each bullying scenario, the students are posed with ten questions, asking them to indicate how they would feel if they were the one doing the bullying. A total of 80 items (8 scenarios x 10 questions) made up the MOSS-SAST scale, using a no(1) / yes(2) scoring format.

A principal component analysis with a varimax rotation produced two factors, accounting for 50 per cent of the variance. The first factor represented shame acknowledgment, with high loadings for feeling shame, hiding self, accepting responsibility, internalizing others' rejection and reparation. The second factor was labeled shame transformation with loadings for externalizing blame, self-perseveration, felt anger, retaliatory anger and displaced anger. The descriptive statistics for these two measures (shame acknowledgment and shame transformation) are presented in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5

Number of Items, Means, SDs and Cronbach's Alpha Reliability Coefficients for Shame Management Measures (N=1376)

Measures	No of items	M	SD	Alpha
Shame acknowledgment	40	1.72	.32	.93
Shame transformation	40	1.21	.22	.94

4.3.5 Dependent variables

In order to assess bullying/victimization, the present research used selected questions from the Peer Relations Questionnaire (PRQ, Rigby & Slee, 1993a). Following Olweus (1987), the current research utilized a self-report questionnaire format in which respondents remained anonymous.

Within the research on bullying, the self-report procedure is accepted as an efficient measure of children's bullying involvement (Rigby, 1996). Self-reports produce sufficiently reliable and valid data for identifying young bullies and victims (Kochenderfer & Ladd, 1996a, 1996b; Olweus, 1990; Perry et al., 1988; Rigby, 1996). Ahmad and Smith (1990) compared anonymous questionnaires with individual interviews and found 90 per cent agreement for bullying and 95 per cent for victimization. There was also considerable agreement between self-reports and peer ratings on being bullied as well as bullying others, .62 and .68 respectively (Ahmad & Smith, 1990; Olweus, 1977). High agreement has also been observed in the percentages of bullies and victims identified through self-reports from teachers and children (Olweus, 1987).

Three dependent variables were of interest in this study: bullying behavior, which involves either individual bullying or group bullying or both; self-initiated bullying, where the perpetrator is a single individual; and victimization which represents children's experiences of victimization. Descriptive statistics of these three measures are reported in Table 4.6.

General bullying behavior was assessed through two questions: 'How often have you been a part of a group that bullied someone during the last year?' and 'How often have you, on your own, bullied someone during the last year?'. Response options ranged from 1 (never) to 5 (several times a week), with high scores indicating high frequency of bullying. To construct the general bullying measure, responses of these two items were averaged (r = .52, p<.001) (M = 1.59; SD = .69; alpha = .68). The general bullying measure produced a skewed distribution with 40 per cent of children scoring 'never'.

Table 4.6

Number of Items, Means and SDs for the Dependent Measures (N=1376)

Measures	No of items	M	SD
General bullying behavior	2	1.59	.69
Self-initiated bullying behavior	1	1.43	.72
Victimization index	1	2.37	1.46

Self-initiated bullying behavior was assessed using the second question of the general bullying measure (How often have you, on your own, bullied someone during the last year?) was used. On a 5-point rating scale, it asked students to report whether they had bullied others in a one-to-one situation. Scores on self-initiated bullying ranged from 1 to 5, where 'several times a week' was scored 5 and indicated the highest frequency. The examination of frequency of this measure reveals that the majority of the students (66.3 per cent) reported not being involved in bullying in a one-to-one situation. When compared with the previous bullying measure, it is clear that self-initiated bullying is less common than general bullying among school children.

In order to provide a validity check on these two indices of bullying behavior, responses to both measures were correlated with parent self-reports in response to the question, 'How often has your child been accused of bullying?'. The correlation coefficients between child and parent-reports was significant at .001 ($r = .27$ for bullying measure and $r = .25$ for self-initiated bullying). Considering that children often do not report bullying incidents to their parents (Rigby, 1996), these findings produce encouraging support for the validity of the child self-report measure used in this research.

Victimization was measured by asking students to indicate how often they had been the victims of bullying during the last year. Responses were made on a six-point scale ranging from 'most days' (1) to 'never' (6). This index was reverse scored such that a high score indicated high frequency of experiencing victimization. Parents were also asked to answer this question in relation to their child's victimization to check the validity of the measure. The response options matched the options used in the child-report[3]. The inter-correlation coefficient between child self-report and parent self-report was .40 ($p<.001$) which revealed a strong degree of concordance between child and parent-report.

[3] An additional response format was given to the parents to indicate 'don't know'.

The victimization index produced a skewed distribution (Mean = 2.37; SD = 1.46), this time with the minority of children (28 per cent) scoring at the lower end of the scale. The majority of the children (about 71 per cent) reported experiencing some level of peer group bullying. Interestingly, positive correlations were found between the victimization index and the two indices of bullying behavior ($r = .10$ for bullying measure and $r = .13$ for self-initiated bullying, $p<.001$). This is in accord with prior research (Besag, 1989; Olweus, 1978) suggesting that children may take a bully/victim role by bullying others sometimes and by being victimized other times. This issue of the bully/victim role in relation to the shame management variables will be dealt with in Chapter 7.

4.4 Data analysis

The data were analyzed using SPSS - 8 and AMOS. Before proceeding with the statistical analyses, data were cleaned and missing values[4] were dealt with. The analyses presented in this thesis do not use transformation of skewed variables, because transformations did not change the findings substantially. The first set of analyses had three primary objectives: first, to examine the association between the independent variables and the dependent variable(s); second, to investigate whether the shame management variables (shame acknowledgment and shame transformation) contribute toward understanding bullying behavior above and beyond other independent variables; and third, to test the inter-links among the variables more precisely and to examine the possibility that shame management variables mediate the relationship between the other variables and bullying. All these analyses are presented in Chapter 5.

[4] In the current research, missing values and unspecified responses were dealt with by using different procedures. Generally, the missing values were replaced by the mean score for the item. When a composite scale was constructed, missing values were handled with a mean substitution only if at least two-thirds of the items were answered. Thus, participants with more than 33 per cent missing values on a particular measure were not considered in the analysis of that measure. The three dependent measures (general bullying behavior, self-initiated bullying behavior and victimization index) were an exception. The amount of missing values on these three variables was only 1 per cent so all those with missing data were excluded from the analyses.

The second set of analyses (ANOVAs) investigated the importance of shame management variables in shaping children's involvement/non-involvement in bullying activities. In particular, it examined whether the portrayal of bullying/victimization among school children was a reflection of their poor shame management skills. These findings are presented in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER - 5

RESULTS

5.1 Plans of analyses

This chapter evaluates Hypotheses 1 to 7 which were developed in chapter 3. The testing of these predictions involved a three-stage process. In the first stage, relationships among each cluster of independent variables (family variables, school variables, individual difference variables and shame management variables) and the child's bullying behavior were examined. The objective was to identify the most important variables of each cluster and to carry these dominant variables forward for comparison with the dominant variables that emerged from analyses of other clusters. In this way, the number of predictors in the final regression model was kept within reasonable limits and the problems of multicollinearity between similar measures in the final stage of analyses were removed.

The second stage examines the variables that predict bullying behavior in a child, using a hierarchical variable entry procedure. Of central importance in this thesis were the shame management variables. They were, therefore, entered at the last step to see if they would contribute to the prediction of the dependent variables over and above the effects of other independent variables.

The third and final stage of analysis examines the extent to which the shame management variables mediate the relationship between bullying and other sets of predictors. This mediational hypothesis was tested using the AMOS (Analysis of moment structures, version 3.6) statistical package.

The sample comprised children[1] who had never bullied, had done so occasionally, and those who had seriously and persistently bullied others. Previous work has drawn a distinction between children who bully others in a one-to-one situation and children who bully in groups in terms of their underlying motivations (Rigby, 1996). Thus, the independent variables tested in this thesis might exert their influence differently, depending on how bullying is defined. This chapter therefore

[1] Only students (n = 978) who have family data available are included in analyses in this chapter.

analyzes the data at two levels. At the general level, all students (n = 978) are included in the sample and the dependent variable represents self-reported bullying behavior, regardless of whether it is done individually or in a group. At the more focused level, only students who have a bullying history[2] are included in the sample and the dependent variable represents self-initiated bullying. This second order analysis allows a deeper understanding of how more serious bullying incidents may differ from the more common incidents.

Since both the independent and dependent variables in this study vary by the child's sex and age (confirmed in a prior regression), these two demographic correlates were entered as control variables throughout the correlational as well as regression analyses. Presentation of results in this chapter is organized into the following sections. Section 5.2 presents stage 1 analyses, that is the correlation and ordinary least squares multiple regression analyses with each cluster of predictor variables in relation to Hypotheses 1 to 5. To test Hypothesis 6, section 5.3 takes the important predictor variables from each cluster, and constructs a regression model to best explain bullying behavior. Finally, section 5.4 addresses Hypothesis 7 and tests the efficacy of the mediational model. The analyses for the total sample and the self-initiating sample are presented together within each section.

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[2] This subsample consists of children who were above average on the general bullying measure and on bullying known to parents. A total of 489 children formed the sample for the prediction of self-initiated bullying. This means that these analyses focus on the prediction of the self-initiated bullying within a population of bullies excluding children who have not been involved in bullying others to any degree. Because of the technical problem in regressing self-initiated bullying in a sub-sample selected on the same measure, a composite variable was used for identification. The variable comprised two scales: child-report on general bullying behavior and parent-report on their child's being accused of bullying. The inter-correlation of these two measures is .27 ($p<.001$). Because the response format of these two scales was different, scores were standardized and then averaged. From this measure, a subsample (n = 489) is selected of children with scores greater than the mean ($\underline{M}$ = .07; $\underline{SD}$ = .75).

5.2 Correlation and ordinary least squares multiple regression analyses

In the social-developmental model presented in chapter 3, four groups of variables were outlined, each coming from a different theoretical perspective: family variables, school variables, individual difference variables, and finally, shame management variables. The intercorrelations among all these variables are provided in Appendix 5.1.

The variables belonging to each cluster were selected for their theoretical relevance and not for their empirical distinctiveness. In some cases, the variables have not been used alongside each other, and consequently, the extent to which they overlap empirically is not known. The following analyses identify the empirical redundancies in the measures and assist in identifying a subset of variables to take forward for the next stage of analysis.

5.2.1 Family variables

This comprised two variables, child-rearing belief and family disharmony. Child-rearing belief involves stigmatized shaming and non-stigmatized shaming. The correlations of these variables with the bullying outcomes after controlling for age and sex are presented in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 indicates that child-rearing beliefs of stigmatized shaming and non-stigmatized shaming are not significantly related to either dependent measure. It was of note that parental stigmatized shaming was strongly and positively correlated with parental non-stigmatized shaming ($r = .44$, $p<.001$), yet they were expected to have opposite effects on the outcome variable(s).

Table 5.1

Correlation Coefficients Between Family Variables and Child's Bullying Behavior Controlling for the Child's Sex and Age

Variables	General bullying behavior n^1	Self-initiated bullying behavior n^2
Child-rearing belief		
Stigmatized shaming	.05 (ns)	.09 (ns)
Non-stigmatized shaming	-.01 (ns)	-.08 (ns)
Family disharmony	.20***	.16***

***p<.001
n^1 = 978 (all children)
n^2 = 489 (children with a bullying history)

To examine the effect of each of these child-rearing beliefs independently of the other, further analyses were conducted, partialling out non-stigmatized shaming for the stigmatized shaming correlation and vice versa (see Table 5.2). When non-stigmatized shaming was controlled, stigmatized shaming correlated significantly with self-initiated bullying in the hypothesized direction (r = .14, p<.01). Similarly, when stigmatized shaming was controlled, non-stigmatized shaming correlated significantly with self-initiated bullying in the predicted direction (r = -.13, p<.01). Interestingly, when the same procedure was performed for general bullying, it did not make any difference to the results. Stigmatized and non-stigmatized shaming did not correlate significantly with general bullying. These findings confirm that parents of children who bully others in a one-to-one situation are more likely to employ shaming that focuses on the child's entire self. In contrast, parents who favored non-stigmatized shaming had children who were less likely to bully others in a one-to-one situation. However, the parental measures of shaming did not show any significant relationship with general bullying.

From Table 5.1, family disharmony correlated significantly and positively with both general and self-initiated bullying, after partialling out the effects of sex and age (see Table 5.1). Thus, as predicted, children brought up in a disharmonious family characterized by conflict and disrespect among family members are more likely to bully others.

Table 5.2

Correlation Coefficients Between Child-Rearing Belief Variables and Child's Bullying Behavior Controlling for the Child's Sex and Age

Variables	General bullying behavior n^1	Self-initiated bullying behavior n^2
Stigmatized shaming *(when controlled for non-stigmatized shaming)*	.06 (ns)	.14**
Non-stigmatized shaming *(when controlled for stigmatized shaming)*	-.03 (ns)	-.13**

**p<.01
n^1 = 978 (all children)
n^2 = 489 (children with a bullying history)

When this set of family variables were entered together in a multivariate regression model, only family disharmony emerged as a significant predictor for general bullying, accounting for a significant 3.7 per cent of the variance (F [953] = 26.67, p<.001). The other two variables, stigmatized shaming and non-stigmatized shaming, remained non-significant (see Table 5.3).

Table 5.3

Standardized Regression Coefficients for the Effects of Family Variables in Predicting Bullying Behavior

Variables	General bullying behavior n^1	Self-initiated bullying behavior n^2
Child's sex	-.18***	-.16**
Child's age	.12***	.13**
Child-rearing belief		
Stigmatized shaming	.04 (ns)	.16**
Non-stigmatized shaming	-.03 (ns)	-.15**
Family disharmony	.20***	.16***
Adjusted R^2	.037***	.045***

**p<.01 ***p<.001
n^1 = 978 (all children)
n^2 = 489 (children with a bullying history)

For self-initiated bullying, significant relationships emerged for all three family variables: stigmatized shaming, non-stigmatized shaming and family disharmony (see Table 5.3). Self-initiated bullying was most likely among children whose parents used stigmatized shaming and who experienced a disharmonious family environment. Self-initiated bullying was less likely when non-stigmatized shaming was employed. Together the family variables accounted for 4.5 per cent of the variance in the self-initiated bullying measure (F [459] = 8.71, p<.001).[2b]

[2b] Because of the skewness of self-initiated bullying, logarithmic and square-root transformations were performed on the data before analyses. Results were not substantially different from those obtained when the variable was not transformed. A second strategy for dealing with the skewed nature of the dependent variable was to dichotomize it and use logistic regression analysis. This approach was used in relation to all hypotheses in this thesis when self-initiated bullying was the dependent variable. These analyses confirm that the findings reported using ordinary least square regression remained the same although the strength of some associations is affected slightly.

5.2.2 School variables

Focusing on school-related variables, liking for school and perceived control of bullying were expected to lessen the likelihood of bullying, whereas school hassles should increase bullying behavior.

From Table 5.4, both general bullying and self-initiated bullying were significantly more likely to occur when children reported lower scores on liking for school and perceived control of bullying. As predicted, school hassles were higher for children involved in general bullying and self-initiated bullying.

Table 5.4

Correlation Coefficients Between School Variables and Bullying Behavior Controlling for the Child's Sex and Age

School variables	General bullying behavior n^1	Self-initiated bullying behavior n^2
School hassles	.14***	.09*
Liking for school	-.16***	-.11**
Perceived control of bullying	-.29***	-.15***

***p<.001 **p<.01 *p<.05

n^1 = 978 (all children)

n^2 = 489 (children with a bullying history)

The next stage involved entering the school variables in a multiple regression analysis shown in Table 5.5. For general bullying behavior, 8 per cent of the variance in the criterion was accounted for (F [941], = 50.41, p<.001), the major predictors being school hassles and perceived control of bullying. Liking for school dropped out of the regression because it was positively correlated with the perceived control of bullying (r = .31, p<.001).

Table 5.5

Standardized Regression Coefficients for the Effects of School Variables in Predicting Bullying Behavior

Variables	General bullying behavior n^1	Self-initiated bullying behavior n^2
Child's sex	-.18***	-.15***
Child's age	.14***	.10*
School hassles	.09**	.04 (ns)
Liking for school	-.05 (ns)	-.06 (ns)
Perceived control of bullying	-.22**	-.12**
Adjusted R^2	.08	.04

***p<.001 **p<.01 *p<.05

n^1 = 978 (all children)

n^2 = 489 (children with a bullying history)

When self-initiated bullying behavior was regressed on this same set of variables, only one of them emerged as significant, the perceived capacity of the school to control bullying. It accounted for a significant 4 per cent of variance in the outcome (F [449] = 8.78, p<.001). Perceived control of bullying correlated with liking for school, and for this reason, liking for school was non-significant in the regression model. Because liking for school has such theoretical importance in the literature, it will be reconsidered as a predictor later on in this thesis[3].

5.2.3 Individual difference variables

The correlations between the individual difference variables of guilt-proneness, shame-proneness, pride-proneness, self-esteem, empathy, impulsivity and internal locus of control and bullying are presented in Table 5.6. The findings support the hypotheses. Children involved in general bullying or in self-initiated bullying have lower self-esteem, are less likely to have an internal locus of control, are less empathic, and are more impulsive. Children involved in either type of bullying are also less likely to be guilt-prone. Pride-proneness was a factor making general bullying less likely, but it had no impact on self-initiated bullying. Shame-proneness did not correlate significantly with either bullying variable.

[3] Further regression analysis omitting perceived control of bullying as a predictor confirmed the

Table 5.6

Correlation Coefficients Between Individual Difference Variables and Bullying Behavior Controlling for the Child's Sex and Age

Variables	General bullying behavior n^1	Self-initiated bullying behavior n^2
Guilt-proneness	-.24***	-.21***
Shame-proneness	-.01(ns)	-.04 (ns)
Pride-proneness	-.18***	-.06 (ns)
Self-esteem	-.15***	-.08*
Empathy	-.14***	-.09*
Impulsivity	.28***	.10**
Internal locus of control	-.06*	-.11**

***p<.001 **p<.01 *p<.05
n^1 = 978 (all children)
n^2 = 489 (children with a bullying history)

The next step involved entering the individual difference variables in an ordinary least squares multiple regression analysis shown in Table 5.7. For general bullying behavior, 11 per cent of the variance in the criterion was accounted for (F [954], = 38.92, p<.001), the major predictors being guilt-proneness, pride-proneness and impulsivity. Children who took part in general bullying were more impulsive than others and were less likely to be shielded by either guilt-proneness or pride-proneness. When self-initiated bullying behavior was regressed on the same set of variables, a significant 5 per cent of variance in the outcome (F [483] = 7.52, p<.001) was accounted for. Guilt-proneness was the only major predictor.

theoretical relevance of liking for school (Beta = .08; p<.05).

The intercorrelations among the predictors was such that guilt-proneness dominated empathy and internal locus of control in the case of general bullying, and impulsivity and internal locus of control in self-initiated bullying[4]. Because of the theoretical importance of these variables in previous studies, they will be reconsidered in subsequent explanatory models.

Table 5.7

Standardized Regression Coefficients for the Effects of Individual Difference Variables in Predicting Bullying Behavior

Variables	General bullying behavior n^1	Self-initiated bullying behavior n^2
Child's sex	-.12***	-.10**
Child's age	.11***	.09*
Guilt-proneness	-.21***	-.24***
Shame-proneness	.03 (ns)	.06 (ns)
Pride-proneness	-.07*	.05 (ns)
Self-esteem	-.03 (ns)	-.05 (ns)
Empathy	-.05 (ns)	-.01 (ns)
Impulsivity	.24***	.06 (ns)
Internal locus of control	-.03 (ns)	-.06 (ns)
Adjusted R^2	.11***	.05***

***p<.001 **p<.01 *p<.05

n^1 = 978 (all children)

n^2 = 489 (children with a bullying history)

[4] Further regression analyses revealed that empathy, impulsivity and internal locus of control were important when guilt-proneness was omitted from the equation.

5.2.4 Shame management variables

As Table 5.8 indicates, the shame management variables of acknowledgment and transformation were both significantly correlated with general bullying and self-initiated bullying. This means that children who reported bullying were less likely to acknowledge their felt shame in relation to the wrongdoing and were more likely to transform their shame by blaming others and expressing anger (e.g., externalizing blame, retaliatory anger). The findings that bullying behavior was found more frequently in those children who bypassed their felt shame are interpreted as support for Lewis's (1971, 1987b, 1995) and Scheff's (1990) notion of bypassed shame and its role in interpersonal anger and violence.

Table 5.8

Correlations Between Shame Management Variables and Bullying Behavior Controlling for the Child's Sex and Age

Variables	General bullying behavior n^1	Self-initiated bullying behavior n^2
Shame acknowledgment	-.23***	-.17***
Shame transformation	.25***	.18***

***p<.001
n^1 = 978 (all children)
n^2 = 489 (children with a bullying history)

The degree to which children's bullying behavior can be predicted from these shame management variables was examined through OLS multiple regression analyses. For general bullying behavior, shame acknowledgment emerged as a significant negative predictor (Beta = -.21, $p<.001$) whereas shame transformation appeared as a positive predictor (Beta = .25, $p<.001$) (see Table 5.9). These two variables were found to account for a significant 13 per cent of the variance in the outcome, thus explaining a significant proportion of variation (F [959] = 76.33, $p<.001$). When these same variables were used to predict self-initiated bullying, a total of 9 per cent of the variance (F [486] = 18.28, $p<.001$) was explained, primarily by these two shame management variables.

Table 5.9

Standardized Regression Coefficients for the Effects of Shame Management Variables in Predicting Bullying Behavior

Variables	General bullying behavior n^1	Self-initiated bullying behavior n^2
Child's sex	-.04*	-.09*
Child's age	.03 (ns)	.06 (ns)
Shame acknowledgment	-.21***	-.19***
Shame transformation	.25***	.25***
Adjusted R^2	.13***	.09***

***p<.001 *p<.05
n^1 = 978 (all children)
n^2 = 489 (children with a bullying history)

In these preliminary analyses, the predictions for the most part were confirmed by present data. It is of note, however, that the predictors of general bullying did not overlap entirely with the predictors of self-initiated bullying, although they shared much in common.

On the one hand, the child-rearing belief variables of stigmatized shaming and non-stigmatized shaming correlated with self-initiated bullying, but not with general bullying.

On the other hand, the individual difference variables of pride-proneness and impulsivity were significant predictors of general bullying but not of self-initiated bullying. Similarly, school hassles was a significant predictor of general bullying but not of self-initiated bullying.

Other findings concerning the family variables (family disharmony), school variables (liking for school and perceived control of bullying) and individual difference variables (guilt-proneness, shame-proneness [ns], self-esteem [ns], empathy and internal locus of control) did not differ substantially for self-initiated bullying and general bullying.

Finally and importantly, the shame management variables, shame acknowledgment and shame transformation, showed significant and consistent relationships with general and self-initiated bullying, and accounted for more variance in the outcome variables than the other sets of predictors. The next set of analyses address the question of the relative importance of family, school, individual difference and shame management variables in the prediction of bullying behavior.

5.3 Synthesizing the predictors of bullying behavior

Having thoroughly examined the importance of the predictors within each cluster of variables, this section compares predictors and considers the extent to which shame management variables can explain bullying behavior above and beyond the other variables in the regression model. Variables which emerged as significant in prior regression analyses were entered in the final regression analyses to construct a parsimonious model for predicting bullying. Variables which were not significant or which were made reduntant by other variables were not included at this stage. Four variables, liking for schools, empathy, impulsivity and internal locus of control, were the exception because they were prominent in the research of others. The objective at this stage was to keep the number of predictors small while maximizing the opportunity to develop an integrated explanatory model of bullying behavior.

Because the analyses reported thus far suggest differences in the contribution of independent variables to explaining general and self-initiated bullying behavior, two separate hierarchical regression analyses were conducted for each criterion.

The variables entered into the model predicting general bullying are listed in Table 5.10. Three models are presented. Model 1 shows the addition of family variables after child's sex and age are controlled. Model 2 shows the addition of school and individual difference variables to the variables in Model 1. Finally, Model 3 adds the shame management variables.[4b] Table 5.10 summarizes the results from the regression analyses with the entire sample in predicting general bullying behavior. The corresponding results for the restricted sample of self-initiated bullying are summarized in Table 5.11.

[4b]This particular sequence was chosen to provide insight into the following questions: Does shame management skills explain variance above and beyond school and individual difference variables? And do these school and individual difference variables explain variance above and beyond family variables?

5.3.1 Analysis I: Prediction of general bullying behavior with the entire sample

Table 5.10

Beta Coefficients and R^2 for the Effects of Each Set of Variables in Predicting General Bullying Behavior in a Hierarchical Regression Analysis

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Control variables			
Child's sex	-.25***	-.16***	-.13***
Child's age	.16**	.14**	.14***
Family variables			
Family disharmony	.18***	.09**	.08*
School variables & Individual difference variables			
Perceived control of bullying	na	-.21***	-.18***
Liking for school		.01 (ns)	-.01 (ns)
School hassles		.01 (ns)	.02 (ns)
Guilt-proneness	na	-.18***	-.11**
Pride-proneness	na	-.07*	-.07*
Empathy	na	-.05 (ns)	-.03 (ns)
Internal locus of control		-.03 (ns)	.02 (ns)
Impulsivity	na	.20***	.17***
Shame management variables			
Shame acknowledgment	na	na	-.20***
Shame transformation	na	na	.24***
Multiple R	.36	.53	.61
Adjusted R^2	.13***	.27***	.36***
R^2 change	.04***	.14***	.09***

***p<.001 **p<.01 *p<.05

In model 1, children's general bullying behavior was regressed on one family variable, family disharmony, with sex and age as control variables. Family disharmony significantly predicted bullying behavior, accounting for 4 per cent variation in the criterion above and beyond the control variables (F [941] = 54.78, p<.001).

In model 2, the school variables (liking for school, school hassles and perceived control of bullying) and individual difference variables (guilt-proneness, pride-proneness, impulsivity, empathy and internal locus of control) were added. Together, these variables contributed an additional 14 per cent of variance in explaining the outcome variable (F [941] = 39.29, p<.001). As the second column of beta coefficients in Table 5.10 shows, the child's impulsivity, guilt-proneness, pride-proneness and perceived control of bullying were statistically significant, with impulsivity increasing bullying behavior, and guilt-proneness, pride-proneness and perceived control of bullying decreasing bullying behavior.

In this second model, four variables did not appear as significant predictors: child's liking for school, school hassles, empathy and internal locus of control. Guilt-proneness was strongly related to both empathy (r = .40, p<.001) and internal locus of control (r = .31, p<.001), giving rise to the hypothesis that both these variables might influence bullying through guilt-proneness. Similarly, liking for school is expected to influence bullying through its relationship with perceived control of bullying (r = .25, p<.001). School hassles disappears in this analysis because of its relationship with perceived control of the bullying problem. It is of note that the individual difference and school variables reduced the importance of one family variable (family disharmony) in the equation, although its beta coefficient (r = .08, p<.05) remained significant.

In the final model, the regression equation was further expanded by adding the shame management variables, shame acknowledgment and shame transformation. As Table 5.10 reveals, the child's shame acknowledgment (Beta = -.20, p<.001) and shame transformation (Beta = .24, p<.001) appeared as the most powerful predictors, accounting for an additional 9 per cent of variance in explaining general bullying (F [941] = 48.16, p<.001). Therefore, shame

management variables made a unique contribution in explaining the criterion, above and beyond that predicted by other independent variables. It is of note that the shame management variables did not show a marked change in the contribution of the individual difference, school and family variables. This final model accounted for a total of 36 per cent of the variance in general bullying behavior.

5.3.2 Analysis II: Predictions for self-initiated bullying behavior with a subsample of children with a bullying history (more serious cases)

Hierarchical regression analyses presented in section 5.3.1 focussed on the prediction of general bullying behavior with the entire sample. This section deals with another set of hierarchical multiple regression analyses performed using self-initiated bullying behavior as the criterion. Note that the analyses reported in the following were run using data from those children who have a history of bullying others.

This set of analyses comprised the variables that emerged as the most significant predictors in the series of OLS regression analyses predicting self-initiated bullying. Internal locus of control, impulsiveness, and liking for school were also included because of their theoretical significance. The variables were entered in the equation in the same order as occurred previously.

After statistically controlling for child's sex and age, three family variables were entered as a block at step 1. These were stigmatized shaming, non-stigmatized shaming and family disharmony. All emerged as significant predictors of self-initiated bullying (see Table 5.11). This set of variables accounted for 4 per cent of the variance in the outcome measure (F [449] = 9.00, p<.001).

In the next step, school variables and individual difference variables were added to the equation. These were liking for school, perceived control of bullying, guilt-proneness, impulsivity and internal locus of control. Guilt-proneness and impulsivity appeared as significant predictors contributing an additional 4 per cent to the explained variance in the outcome (F [449] = 6.74, p<.001). The addition of

these variables did not alter the importance of the family variables entered previously.

Table 5.11

Beta Coefficients and R^2 for the Effects of Each Set of Variables in Predicting Self-Initiated Bullying Behavior in a Hierarchical Regression Analysis

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Control variables			
Child's sex	-.14**	-.11*	-.08 (ns)
Child's age	.14**	.13**	.14**
Family variables			
Stigmatized shaming	.16**	.17**	.17***
Non-stigmatized shaming	-.17***	-.18***	-.18***
Family disharmony	.18***	.15**	.14**
School variables and individual difference variables			
Perceived control of bullying	na	-.08 (ns)	-.06 (ns)
Liking for school	na	.01 (ns)	-.01 (ns)
Guilt-proneness	na	-.13*	-.06 (ns)
Internal locus of control	na	-.07 (ns)	-.07 (ns)
Impulsivity	na	.10*	.08 (ns)
Shame management variables			
Shame acknowledgment	na	na	-.15***
Shame transformation	na	na	.18***
Multiple R	.32	.40	.48
Adjusted R^2	.09***	.13***	.20***
R^2 change	.04***	.04***	.07***

***p<.001 **p<.01 *p<.05

In the final step of this analysis, shame management variables were entered to see if they would contribute to the prediction of self-initiated bullying over and above the effects of other independent variables. The change in R^2 of 7 per cent suggests that both shame acknowledgment (Beta = -.15, $p<.001$) and shame transformation (Beta = .18, $p<.001$) added an important dimension beyond other independent variables in accounting for variation in the criterion (F [449] = 8.58, $p<.001$). This final model accounted for a total of 20 per cent of the variance in self-initiated bullying behavior.

In this final model, the family variables continued to be important with sizeable significant beta coefficients after the shame management variables were added to the equation. In contrast, the significant beta weights associated with guilt-proneness and impulsivity were diminished in model 3 to the point of becoming non-significant.

The fact that none of the school and individual difference variables affect the outcome in the final regression model can be attributed to the strong intercorrelation between guilt-proneness and shame acknowledgment (r = .52, $p<.001$), and between impulsivity and shame transformation (r = .20, $p<.001$). Hence, guilt-proneness and impulsivity may affect shame management which, in turn, affects self-initiated bullying behavior.

The next set of analyses tests the mediating effects of shame management. According to Baron and Kenny (1986), a mediational model requires four conditions: (a) predictors (in this case, family, school and individual difference variables) must be significantly related to the outcome of interest (in this case, bullying); (b) predictors must be significantly related to the hypothesized mediator (in this case, shame management variables); (c) the hypothesized mediators must directly predict the outcome when other predictors are in the equation; and (d) the predictor effects should be substantially reduced or, if fully mediated, no longer significant after entry of the hypothesized mediators.

Correlational analyses indicated that most predictors were significantly related to bullying as well as to shame management variables. In the hierarchical multiple regression analyses reported in Tables 5.10 and 5.11, some predictors

showed significant drops in their beta weights when shame management variables were entered. These results provide support for a partial mediational hypothesis.

The following section will evaluate the mediating effects of shame management variables more precisely[5].

5.4 Testing the mediational model of shame management variables on bullying

This section tested a mediational model (see Figure 5.1) which proposed that shame management variables would mediate the relationship between the predictor variables and bullying behavior. In order to evaluate this model, path analysis was conducted using the maximum likelihood estimation algorithm from the AMOS (Analysis of Moment Structures, version 3.6) statistical program (Arbuckle, 1997).

Three nested models were estimated: (1) the full model that included all direct and indirect paths to bullying; (2) the mediational model that included only indirect paths from predictors to bullying through the shame management variables; and (3) the non-mediational model that included all direct paths from predictors and shame management variables to bullying. These three models are called nested models because only the number of estimated path coefficients varies between any two models, not the number of observed indicators. Thus, the mediational model and the non-mediational model are nested in the full model, and each can be seen as a subset of the full model.

[5] Because the interest in the mediational hypothesis was to test the extent to which shame management variables mediate the relationship between predictors and bullying, guilt-proneness and pride-proneness were dropped from this phase of analyses. Both guilt-proneness and pride-proneness were conceptually as well as empirically strongly linked to the shame management variables.

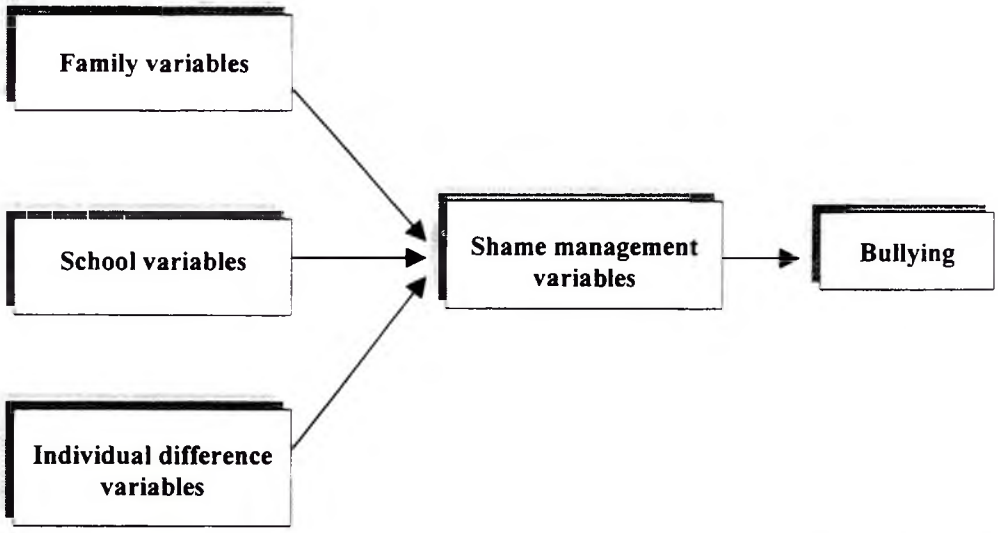

Figure 5.1 Schematic presentation of the mediational model representing the effects of predictor variables on bullying mediated by the shame management variables.

The difference in the goodness-of-fit among nested models was evaluated statistically by using the chi-square difference test – which is the difference in the chi-square values obtained between two nested models (Byrne, 1994; Hoyle & Panter, 1995). The obtained value is then evaluated by using the chi-square distribution with degrees of freedom equal to the difference in the degrees of freedom between the two nested models.

The following two sections test two mediational hypotheses each with a different dependent variable. Section 5.4.1 tests the mediational model with general bullying behavior whereas section 5.4.2 tests the model with self-initiated bullying behavior.

5.4.1 Mediational model with general bullying behavior

When the full model was compared with the mediational model, the chi-square difference, χ^2 (7, N = 822) = 95.92, was significant[6], indicating that the mediational model was not sufficient (i.e., at least some direct paths are required) to describe the correlational structure of the data.

Again, when the full model was compared with the non-mediational model, the chi-square difference, χ^2 (14, N = 822) = 193.84, was significant[7], indicating that at least some indirect paths are needed to adequately represent the data.

Therefore, as was seen in the hierarchical regressions in the previous section, a partial mediational model is supported. In order to estimate a parsimonious model which includes only non-redundant paths, a backward elimination procedure was chosen. All non-significant direct paths in the model were considered first for deletion one at a time by examination of the critical ratio. This continued until all non-significant direct paths had been deleted. The same procedure was used to delete the non-significant indirect paths as well as the covariances[8]. Following this procedure, a parsimonious model was obtained with non-reduntant paths and covariances. The goodness-of-fit indices[9] of this final model are excellent and are presented in Table 5.12 (shaded portion). The standardized path coefficients of all the paths included in this final model appear in Figure 5.2.

In the literature, there has been debate over the most appropriate goodness-of-fit statistics. The Bollen-Stein[10] bootstrap method was, therefore, used to test the null hypothesis that the final model was correct. The resulting estimate of χ^2 =

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[6] With 7 degrees of freedom, chi-square values greater than 24.32 are significant at the .001 level.
[7] With 14 degrees of freedom, chi-square values greater than 36.12 are significant at the .001 level.
[8] Note that, the covariances between all predictor variables were included in all models in keeping with the regression framework covered in earlier sections in this chapter.
[9] (1) the chi-square statistic for which a significant value indicates that the model represented an inadequate fit; (2) Jöreskog and Sörbom's (1989) Goodness of Fit Index (GFI), for which values close to 1 indicate a very good fit (Arbuckle, 1997); (3) Bentler's (1990) Comparative Fit Index (CFI), for which values close to 1 suggest a very good fit (Arbuckle, 1997); and (4) Browne and Cudeck's (1993) Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA), which is a direct measure of the discrepancy between the estimated correlation matrix and the matrix implied by the specified model (Arbuckle, 1997). This index explicitly takes the parsimony of the model into account (i,e., the number of parameters fixed vs. the number of parameters free to be estimated). Browne and Cudek (1993) suggested that a RMSEA of .05 or less indicates a close fit.
[10] The Bollen-Stine procedure is used to test the null hypothesis that the data do not depart significantly from the model at any conventional level of significance.

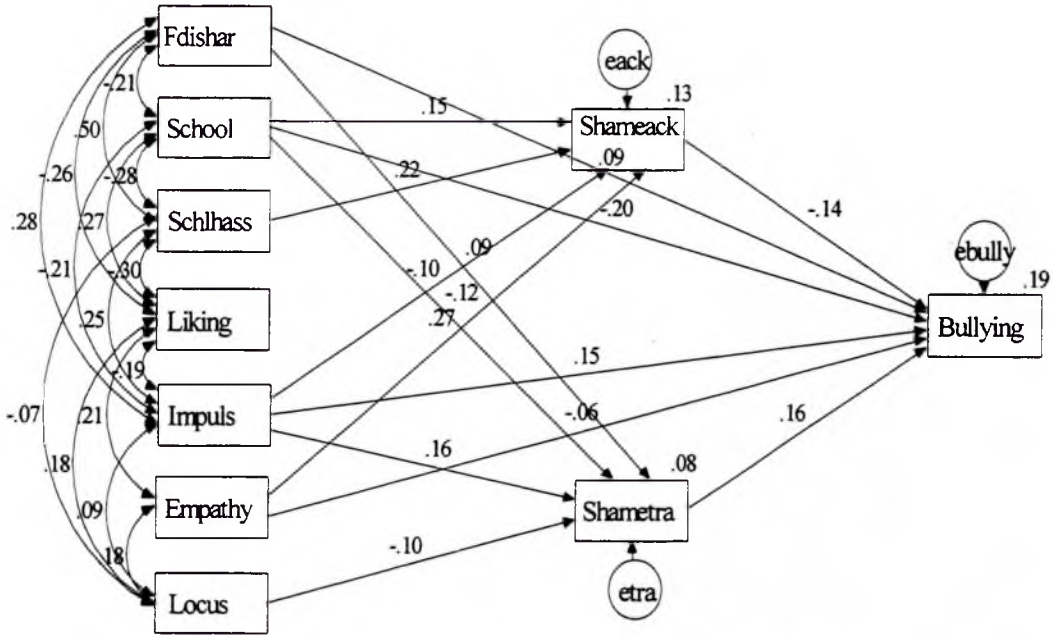
21.30 indicates that the goodness of fit statistics shown in Figure 5.2 are conservative.

Finally, in order to check that the parameter estimates from the model were not affected by non-normality, bootstrapping methodology (See Arbuckle, 1997; Efron, 1979; Pittelkow, 1991) was employed. One thousand bootstrap[11] replicates resulted in bootstrap parameter estimates and standard errors which were largely the same in the first two decimal places as those estimates calculated for the final model and the bootstrapped model.

From Figure 5.2, it is evident that shame acknowledgment and shame transformation had direct effects on general bullying, as expected. Direct effects also emerged for family disharmony, perceived control of bullying, impulsivity and empathy. Of these variables, perceived control of bullying and impulsivity had indirect effects on bullying through shame acknowledgment as well as shame transformation. In addition, empathy and family disharmony were found to be linked with shame acknowledgment and shame transformation, respectively. Two variables which influenced bullying behavior indirectly were school hassles and internal locus of control.

In sum, family disharmony and impulsivity increased shame transformation and thereby enhanced bullying activities in children. Internal locus of control and perceived control of bullying decreased shame transformation, thereby reducing bullying behavior. In the case of shame acknowledgment, three variables – perceived control of bullying, school hassles and empathy – were the enhancing factors, thereby decreasing bullying activities. Finally, impulsivity worked as a decreasing factor for shame acknowledgment, thereby increasing bullying activities in children.

[11] 1000 bootstrap samples were requested.



Chi-square = 21.24
df = 16
p = .17

Figure 5.2 Final model (General bullying behavior).

Fdishar = Family disharmony; School = Perceived control of bullying; Schlhass = school hassles; Liking = Liking for school; Impuls = Impulsivity; Empathy = Empathy; Locus = Internal locus of control; Shameack = Shame acknowledgment; Shametra = Shame transformation; Bullying = General bullying behavior; eack = error term for Shameack; etra = error term for Shametra; ebully = error term for Bullying.

Table 5.12

Chi-square Values with df and Probability Level, and the Goodness of Fit Indices of the Three Nested Models as well as the Final Model (Shaded Portion) for General Bullying Behavior

Goodness-of-Fit statistics	Full model	Mediational model	Non-mediational model	Final model
χ^2	3.82, p<.05	97.92, p<.001	197.66, p<.001	21.24, p<.17
df	1	8	15	16
GFI = Goodness of Fit Index	.999	.978	.957	.995
CFI = Comparative Fit Index	.997	.908	.812	.995
RMSEA = Root Mean Square Error of Approximation	.06	.12	.12	.02

5.4.2 Mediational model with self-initiated bullying behavior

The mediation hypothesis concerning self-initiated bullying was evaluated following the same procedure as above. When the full model was compared with the mediational model, the chi-square difference ($\chi^2 = 72.78$) was significant[12], indicating that the mediational model was not adequate (i.e., at least some direct paths are required) to describe the correlational structure of the data.

Again, when the full model was compared with the non-mediational model, the chi-square difference ($\chi^2 = 93.77$) was significant[13], indicating that at least some indirect paths are needed to sufficiently represent the data.

Following the same procedure as was followed for developing a model to explain general bullying, a parsimonious model was obtained with non-redundant paths and covariances. The goodness-of-fit indices[14] of this final model are excellent and are presented in Table 5.13 (shaded portion). The standardized path coefficients of all the paths included in this final model appear in Figure 5.3.

Given the concern about an appropriate goodness-of-fit statistic, the Bollen-Stein[15] bootstrap method was used to test the null hypothesis that the final model was correct, the estimate was $\chi^2 = 23.71$, indicating that the goodness of fit statistic in Figure 5.3 is conservative.

Finally, bootstrapping methodology (See Arbuckle, 1997; Efron, 1979; Pittelkow, 1991) was employed to check that parameter estimates from the model were not affected by non-normality. As was found for the general bullying model, one thousand bootstrap[16] replicates resulted in bootstrap parameter estimates and

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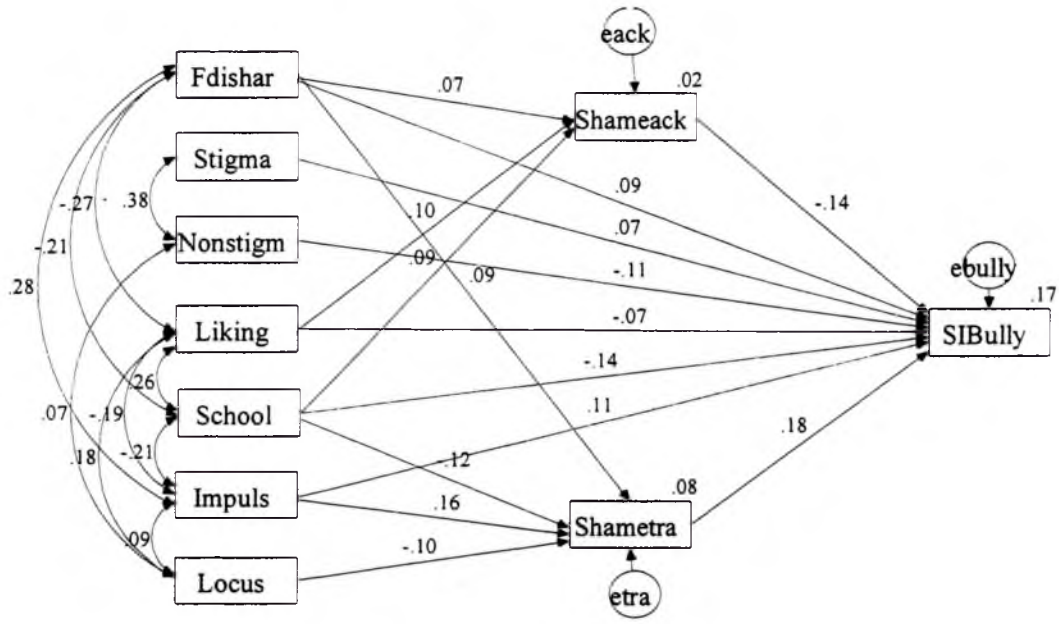
[12] With 7 degrees of freedom, chi-square values greater than 24.32 are significant at the .001 level.
[13] With 14 degrees of freedom, chi-square values greater than 36.12 are significant at the .001 level.
[14] (1) the chi-square statistic for which a significant value indicates that the model represented an inadequate fit; (2) Jöreskog and Sörbom's (1989) Goodness of Fit Index (GFI), for which close to 1 indicates a very good fit (Arbuckle, 1997); (3) Bentler's (1990) Comparative Fit Index (CFI), for which close to 1 suggests a very good fit (Arbuckle, 1997); and (4) Browne and Cudeck's (1993) Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA), which is a direct measure of the discrepancy between the estimated correlation matrix and the matrix implied by the specified model (Arbuckle, 1997). This index explicitly takes the parsimony of the model into account (i,e., the number of parameters fixed vs. the number of parameters free to be estimated). Browne and Cudek (1993) suggested that a RMSEA of .05 or less indicates a close fit.
[15] The Bollen-Stine procedure is used to test the null hypothesis that the data do not depart significantly from the model at any conventional level of significance
[16] 1000 bootstrap samples were requested.

standard errors which were in keeping with those calculated for the final model and the bootstrapped model.

Figure 5.3 confirms earlier findings that shame acknowledgment reduces bullying behavior and shame transformation increases bullying. From Figure 5.3, stigmatized and non-stigmatized shaming by parents showed direct effects on bullying, and neither of them operated through either of the shame management variables: shame acknowledgment and shame transformation. All other family, school and individual difference variables showed direct paths to bullying with the exception of internal locus of control. Internal locus of control showed an indirect effect on bullying through shame transformation: it reduced the likelihood of shame transformation which in turn led to less bullying behavior. Family disharmony and perceived control of bullying were associated with both shame management variables. Children coming from a home where there is family disharmony were more likely to both acknowledge shame[17] and transform their shame. Two other variables, liking for school and impulsivity, operated through shame management variables, in addition to their direct effects on bullying. Liking for school increased shame acknowledgment thereby decreasing bullying behavior. Impulsivity increased shame transformation thereby increasing bullying behavior in children.

[17] The positive relationship between family disharmony and the composite measure of shame acknowledgment seems to be due to the shame response to the item 'internalizing others' rejection'. In Chapter 2, individuals with persistent shame were characterized as perceiving rejection from others. Such rejection is likely to be felt by individuals who report having a disharmonious family ~~are~~. environment.



Chi-Square = 23.68
df = 20
p = .26

Figure 5.3 Final model (Self-initiated bullying behavior).

Fdishar = Family disharmony; Stigma = Stigmatized shaming; Nonsitgm = Non-stigmatized shaming; School = Perceived control of bullying; Liking = Liking for school; Impuls = Impulsivity; Locus = Internal locus of control; Shameack = Shame acknowledgment; Shametra = Shame transformation ; SIBully = Self-initiated bullying; eack = error term for Shameack; etra = error term for Shametra; ebully = error term for SIBully.

Table 5.13

Chi-square Values with df and Probability Level, and the Goodness of Fit Indices of the Three Nested Models as well as the Final Model (shaded portion) for Self-initiated Bullying Behavior

Goodness-of-Fit statistics	Full model	Mediational model	Non-mediational model	Final model
χ^2	2.39, p<.12	75.17, p<.001	96.16, p<.001	23.68, p<.26
df	1	8	15	20
GFI = Goodness of Fit Index	.999	.983	.978	.994
CFI = Comparative Fit Index	.998	.891	.869	.994
RMSEA = Root Mean Square Error of Approximation	.04	.10	.08	.02

5.5 Summary

Findings presented so far, using hierarchical regression analyses, describe two separate models to explain general bullying behavior and self-initiated bullying behavior. All clusters of variables, family, school, individual differences and shame management, were useful and significant in explaining bullying behavior.

When comparing findings on general bullying and self-initiated bullying, family variables were less important for general bullying and more important for self-initiated bullying. For the child variables, the opposite was the case. Individual difference variables were important in predicting general bullying but they did not play a significant role in predicting self-initiated bullying. Finally, school variables showed more significant relations with general bullying than self-initiated bullying. Specifically, perceived control of bullying showed its importance in predicting general bullying, but did not play a significant role in predicting self-initiated bullying. Of particular interest in the current research were the shame management variables: shame acknowledgment and shame transformation. In both regression models, these two variables consistently emerged as the most significant predictors, even when a wide range of other variables were entered first.

Finally, the mediating role of the shame management variables was examined in relation to family, school and individual difference variables and their influence on bullying behavior. While some support was found for the mediational hypothesis in relation to both general bullying and self-initiated bullying, many of the variables maintained direct effects on the outcome variables.

The findings are now summarized in relation to the hypotheses. Concerning family variables, parents who use stigmatized shaming in response to a wrongdoing are more likely to have children involved in bullying others. In contrast, children whose parents report using non-stigmatized shaming are less likely to engage in bullying behavior. These findings provide support for hypothesis 1. Findings also provide support for hypothesis 2 indicating that children from a disharmonious family are more likely to bully their peers.

Findings regarding school variables are also in accord with hypothesis 3. It was found that school hassles is positively whereas liking for school and perceived

control of bullying are negatively related to bullying behavior in children. Hypothesis 4 concerning individual difference variables also received support. According to the data, impulsivity is positively whereas guilt-proneness, pride-proneness, empathy, self-esteem and internal locus of control are negatively related to bullying. The findings concerning shame-proneness and bullying did not provide support for the hypothesis.

The most compelling findings can be found in the shame management variables of shame acknowledgment and shame transformation. As the data show, shame acknowledgment decreases bullying whereas shame transformation increases it, which is in accord with the prediction (hypothesis 5). Also as hypothesis 6 predicts, both shame management variables exert their significant influence on bullying outcomes even when other family variables, school variables and individual difference variables were controlled. Finally, shame management variables partially mediated the relationships between bullying and other sets of predictor variables, such as family variables, school variables and individual difference variables. This provides support for hypothesis 7.

Hypothesis 8 predicts a relationship between different facets of shame management and different categories of children in relation to their bullying status (bully, victim, bully/victim and non-bully / non-victim). This will be tested in the next chapter.

CHAPTER - 6

BULLIES, VICTIMS, BULLY/VICTIMS AND NON-BULLY / NON-VICTIMS

6.1 Overview

In Chapter 2, ten shame responses extracted primarily from the clinical, sociological and psychological literatures were collapsed into two shame dimensions, shame acknowledgment and shame transformation. The SAST framework was useful for capturing elements of certain types of shame that were of interest in the context of bullying: discharged, persistent, bypassed and denied-bypassed (detailed in Chapter 2). The first two types, discharged and persistent, constitute what is referred to as acknowledged shame, but differ in terms of the transformation of feelings of shame. In discharged shame, the feelings are not transformed into externalizing and/or anger, but rather dissipate as the individual acts to repair the damage that has been done. In persistent shame, feelings of shame are acknowledged and continue to be transformed into anger.

The remaining two types, bypassed and denied-bypassed, represent unacknowledged shame, again differing in terms of transformation. Bypassed shame involves no acknowledgment, combined with blame of others and expression of anger. Denied-bypassed shame initially involves a failure to acknowledge and transform, but is likely to move to the expression of anger as the denial mechanism is challenged. This chapter examines the degree to which different types of shame responses are associated with bullying/victimization in children.

The SAST framework can not only be applied to describe poor shame management in those who bully others, it can also be used to investigate the shame management skills in those who are victimized. Because victims have been characterized by feeling ashamed (Olweus, 1992), depressed (Slee, 1995), and using aggressive strategies (Craig, 1998; Crick, Bigbee, & Howes, 1996), they can be expected to have high scores on both MOSS-SAST variables: shame acknowledgment and shame transformation. In describing case studies, Mann (1997) focuses on victims' feelings of shame as a concomitant of an underlying rage toward those who have engendered the feelings. He explained how rage can be

found in a shameful state where an individual (victim) holds a sense of unpleasant feelings and an abasement of his/her entire self in their own eyes as well as in the eyes of others.

Although it may be too early to draw strong conclusion regarding the emotional responses of the victims, it seems reasonable to expect that victims would transform their shame, possibly into inward or non-focussed anger, to protect self from expressing retaliatory anger toward bullies who they consider venturesome. According to the SAST framework, individuals who acknowledge their shame following wrongdoing but transform it, even into inward anger, have poor skills in shame management. SAST views shame transformation, whether it is acknowledged or not, as a maladaptive strategy of dealing shame.

6.2 Grouping children according to their involvement in bullying

Self-reports of bullying and victimization were used to group children into four categories: (a) those who bullied others, but were not victimized themselves (bully); (b) those who were victims of bullies but did not bully others (victim); (c) those that both bullied and were victimized (bully/victim), and (d) those that neither bullied nor were victimized (non-bully / non-victim).

For the present purposes of grouping, the frequency for bullying (group bullying and/or self-initiated bullying) was set at 'once or twice' or more often in response to the bullying question(s) (described in Chapter 4). This follows the operational definition of Stephenson and Smith (1991) who argue that 'If only a single incident of bullying takes place, it is still important to consider'. Further to this, the act of bullying had to be unprovoked. In other words, the bullying classification did not apply to actions initiated in order to get even. If the intention behind the bullying act was to cause distress, and not to get even or to defend oneself, it was considered bullying.

Classifying children on whether or not they were victimized relied on responses to the question 'How often have you been bullied by another student or group of students?' The frequency of victimization was set at 'every now and then' or more often. As with bullying, the reason for being bullied had to be unprovoked.

The victimization classification did not apply to those incidences which were provoked.

Following this strategy, four groups of children were identified as follows:

(1) the 'non-bully / non-victim' group that neither bullied anyone nor was victimized by others;

(2) the 'bully' group who had never been victimized; this means the bullying act, either general or self-initiated bullying, was performed without provocation;

(3) the 'victim' group who had been victimized without provocation and who had never bullied anyone;

(4) the 'bully/victim' group who both bullied others and were bullied themselves.

By adopting the above criteria, it was possible to categorize 57 per cent of the children (n = 798) as fitting one of the four categories, with no child belonging to more than one group. The categories to be described in the current research are 'typical' classifications, meaning that belonging to one category means a child typically responded to bullying in that manner. The number and percentages of children in each group are presented in Table 6.1: 15 per cent of the sample were categorized as non-bully / non-victim, 13 per cent as bully, 21 per cent as victim and 8 per cent as bully/victim. It was not possible to classify the remaining 43 per cent of children's responses as fitting one of the four categories, and hence, they were dropped from the following analyses. As many bullying and victimization incidents are complex social phenomena, the most common reason for cases not fitting in one of the four categories was where bullying and victimization occurred as a result of provocation.

While estimates of the prevalence rate of bullying vary from study to study, reflecting respondents' age, sex, ethnicity and locality as well as methodology (Boulton, 1993), the prevalence results reported in Table 6.1 fall within the bounds suggested by past research.

Table 6.1

Percentages of Children Involved in Bullying Problems During the Last Year

Categories	Total	%
Children who neither bullied nor are bullied (non-bully / non-victim)	210	15.1
Children who bully others (bully)	181	12.9
Children who are bullied (victim)	294	21.0
Children who bully others and are bullied (bully/victim)	113	8.15
Total	798	57.15

Note. Total excluded 43 per cent

Yates and Smith (1989) reported figures close to those reported in Table 6.1, about 12 per cent and 22 per cent for bullying and victimization, respectively. Boulton and Underwood (1992) identified 21 per cent of children as being victimized and Smith (1991) concluded that a victim figure of 20 per cent is representative of the school population.

When the cut-off for bullying or being victimized is made more stringent by requiring that incidents occur more than once, the percentages of bullies and victims drop substantially. Using the stricter criterion of bullying 'sometimes' or more often, 8.6 per cent of children in the present data reported that they had bullied others. This compares favorably with the findings of Rigby and Slee (1993a) using the same question (see Rigby & Slee, 1993b). When the cut-off for victimization was set at 'once a week' or more, the prevalence rate was 11.2 per cent which is much the same as that reported by other researchers (Perry et al., 1988; Rigby & Slee, 1993b). When the frequency for being bullied is set at '1 - 2 days a week' or more, the prevalence of victimization decreases to 5.5 per cent which is in accord with the rate reported by Slee (1993).

In addition to the bully and victim groups, previous researchers (Besag, 1989; Bowers et al., 1992, 1994; Olweus, 1991) have identified another sub-group of children: those who bully others and are bullied as well. While recognizing the existence of the bully/victim subgroup, only a few studies have examined this group in any detail (e.g., Bowers et al., 1992, 1994; Olweus, 1991; Rican, 1995; Rican et al., 1993). Bully/victims in the current sample comprised a relatively small number of children (8.15 per cent) which is, in fact, consistent with prior research (Olweus, 1991; Stephenson & Smith, 1989). For example, in Olweus's (1991) study, the bully/victims constituted 8 per cent of the whole population.

6.3 Relation of bullying status and shame management variables

In the previous analyses, the MOSS-SAST (Measure Of Shame State – Shame Acknowledgment and Shame Transformation) scales were formed into two composite variables: shame acknowledgment and shame transformation. This section compares means for shame acknowledgment and shame transformation for the four groups of children: non-bully / non-victim, bully, victim and bully/victim. The statistical procedure used is Oneway Analysis of Variance across the four groups. The means and standard deviations of each of these two scales for the four groups of children are shown in Table 6.2. All means were found to be significantly different ($p<.001$). Post hoc tests (Scheffés, $p<.05$) were performed to ascertain which pairs of means for the four groups were significantly different.

The specific aim is to test hypotheses about shame management variables among the four groups of children. Hypothesis 8 (presented in Chapter 3) predicted that children's bullying status would be related to their shame management. More specifically, bullies are expected to have low scores on shame acknowledgment but high scores on shame transformation; victims are expected to have high scores on both shame acknowledgment and shame transformation; bully/victims are expected to share characteristics from both bullies and victims; and finally, non-bully / non-victims are expected to have high scores on shame acknowledgment but low scores on shame transformation.

Shame acknowledgment: In the present research, shame acknowledgment includes five scales measuring feeling shame, hiding self, taking responsibility, internalizing others' rejection and reparation, all of which reflect owning shame over a wrongdoing. Table 6.2 reveals that all groups rated higher than bully status children on this dimension [F (3, 795) = 13.21, p<.001]. A post hoc Scheffés comparison indicated significant group differences between bullies (M = 1.64) and non-bully / non-victims (M = 1.75), victims (M = 1.76) and bully/victims (M = 1.74). No significant differences were observed among non-bully / non-victims, victims and bully/victims.

Shame transformation: In this research, shame transformation has five scales measuring externalizing blame, blame-perseveration, felt anger, retaliatory anger and displaced anger specifically related to transforming shame. Table 6.2 shows that the bully and bully/victim status children were more likely (Ms = 1.25 & 1.28 respectively) to transform shame than the non-bully / non-victim and victim status children (Ms = 1.15 & 1.17, respectively) (F [3, 795] = 16.68, p<.001). The fact that victims reported relatively low scores on shame transformation was contrary to expectations.

Table 6.2

Mean Scores and SDs for the Shame Management Variables Among the Four Groups of Children

Variables	*Bullying status of children*				F (3,795)
	Non-bully / non-victim	Victim	Bully	Bully/victim	
Shame acknowledgment					
Mean	1.75[1]	1.76[1]	1.64[2]	1.74[1]	13.21***
SD	.17	.20	.25	.22	
Shame transformation					
Mean	1.15[1]	1.17[1]	1.25[2]	1.28[2]	16.68***
SD	.18	.19	.22	.23	

***p<.001

To summarize, the non-bully / non-victims showed high scores on shame acknowledgment but low scores on shame transformation as expected. In sharp contrast, bullies showed low scores on shame acknowledgment but high scores on shame transformation, again as predicted. Surprisingly, there were no significant differences between victims and non-bully / non-victims on the composite measure of either shame acknowledgment or shame transformation. Finally, bully/victims behaved like victims in having high scores on shame acknowledgment and like bullies in having high scores on shame transformation.

These findings raise questions as to why the composite measures of shame acknowledgment and shame transformation were not able to adequately distinguish among the different bullying-status groups as hypothesized? In particular, why did victims and non-bully / non-victims show similar patterns of scores on both measures? Further analyses were undertaken to provide insight into how these groups differed in their shame responses.

In Chapter 2, individuals with persistent shame were described as those who were more likely to acknowledge feelings of shame and to transform it to inward-anger. Processes captured in the MOSS-SAST which represent this type of 'high acknowledgment with high transformation' are internalizing others' rejection, blame-perseveration and felt anger. Being bothered by what one perceives as others' rejection, such individuals question themselves about their blameworthiness (blame-perseveration) which reduces exaggerated feelings of shame (others' rejection thoughts). At the same time, shame transformation occurs, taking the form of internalized anger. This description was considered to be consistent with what is known of the victims of bullying.

In the delineation of the SAST dimensions, internalization of others' rejection was subsumed by shame acknowledgment. Blame-perseveration and felt anger were subsumed by transformation, a dimension dominated by externalizing responses. As noted in Chapter 2, the MOSS-SAST does not perform well in clearly identifying internalized anger and blame. Perhaps, through analyzing individual scales of the MOSS-SAST, progress can be made toward differentiating victims from non-bully / non-victims. Table 6.3 presents mean scores for the four groups of children across the ten MOSS-SAST scales (the scale was the average over eight bullying scenarios for each item). Significant F-values were obtained for all scales.

Post hoc comparisons (Scheffés) were used to identify the pairs of means that were significantly different from each other.

Table 6.3

Mean Scores and SDs for the MOSS-SAST Scales for the Four Groups of Children

MOSS-SAST scales	*Bullying status of children*				F (3, 795)
	Non-bully / non-victim n = 210	Victim n = 294	Bully n = 181	Bully/victim n = 113	
Feeling shame					
Mean	1.94[1]	1.91[1]	1.80[2]	1.89[1]	12.23***
SD	.18	.23	.34	.28	
Hiding self					
Mean	1.66[1]	1.65[1]	1.54[2]	1.66[1]	4.61**
SD	.39	.40	.43	.39	
Acceptance of responsibility					
Mean	1.89[1]	1.87[1]	1.78[2]	1.79[2]	6.82***
SD	.23	.26	.31	.31	
Internalizing others' rejection					
Mean	1.32[1]	1.46[2]	1.27[1]	1.44[2]	14.95***
SD	.39	.42	.35	.41	
Reparation					
Mean	1.92[1]	1.90[1]	1.81[2]	1.82[2]	7.66***
SD	.21	.24	.31	.28	

Table 6.3

Mean Scores and SDs for the MOSS-SAST Scales for the Four Groups of Children

MOSS-SAST scales	*Bullying status of children*				F (3, 795)
	Non-bully / non-victim n = 210	Victim n = 294	Bully n = 181	Bully/victim n = 113	
Externalizing blame					
Mean	1.05[1]	1.09	1.12[2]	1.14[2]	5.36***
SD	.15	.22	.25	.26	
Blame-perseveration					
Mean	1.18[1]	1.24[2]	1.27[2]	1.31[2]	8.86***
SD	.31	.36	.38	.36	
Felt anger					
Mean	1.36[1]	1.39[1]	1.41[1]	1.56[2]	7.59***
SD	.43	.43	.42	.41	
Retaliatory anger					
Mean	1.07[1]	1.08[1]	1.19[2]	1.19[2]	13.00***
SD	.21	.22	.33	.32	
Displaced anger					
Mean	1.09[1]	1.08[1]	1.19[2]	1.17[2]	7.92***
SD	.26	.23	.35	.34	

From Table 6.3, victims pictured themselves as having significantly higher scores on internalizing others' rejection. This was a core characteristic of persistent shame described in Chapter 2. Also as expected, victims showed significantly higher scores on blame-perseveration than non-bully / non-victims, which was postulated as being responsible, at least in part, for their shame transformation. What was not expected were their lower scores on another scale, felt anger. Victims did not differ significantly from non-bully / non-victims on felt anger.

This finding appears to be in accord with previous research which showed that passive victims tend to be characterized by a pervasively submissive behavior pattern (Olweus, 1978; Schwartz, Dodge, Pettit, & Bates, 1997). The result that victimized children did not show shame transformation may represent a passive emotional strategy for dealing with shame by these victims. These victims may allow anger to remain hidden; they disavow this shame-based anger like many other needs and desires (Clark, 1995). One point to note with the victim subgroup is that they comprised children who were passive recipients of bullying from peers; these passive victims reported neither outward nor inward aggression. Future research needs to further examine the characteristics of passive victims who are non-aggressive to their peers.

6.4 Summary

The purpose of the above analyses was to relate the SAST propositions to children's bullying status in peer groups. It was based on the premise that children acquire behavioral orientations of bullying/victimization as a consequence of their shame management skills. Table 6.4 summarizes the obtained findings.

The findings demonstrated that discharged shame indices were especially evident in the non-bully / non-victim status children. Such children placed more emphasis on a style where they acknowledged their felt shame, offered reparation and accepted responsibility for their wrongdoing. Also, they were less attracted than other groups to transforming their shame. This is particularly evident as they reported lower scores on the measures in the shame transformation scales, such as, externalizing blame, self-perseverance, retaliatory anger and displaced anger. These data suggest that non-bully / non-victims were the most socially as well as

emotionally competent children, were those who were capable of releasing their shame adequately. This idea of discharged shame complements Braithwaite's conception of conscience, and supports the idea that having a sense of shame enables an individual to be moral which is very important in regulating interpersonal relationships (Schneider, 1977).

Table 6.4

Summary of the Results Concerning SAST Dimensions and Bullying Status in Children

Bullying status	Summary results
Non-bully / non-victim	More shame acknowledgment; less shame transformation.
Victim	More shame acknowledgment; less shame transformation.
Bully	Less shame acknowledgment; more shame transformation.
Bully/victim	More shame acknowledgment; more shame transformation.

For victims, findings showed some support for the existence of persistent shame in these children. They followed the same general pattern of scores on shame acknowledgment and shame transformation as was evident with the non-bully / non-victims. However, victims scored significantly higher on two scales: internalizing others' rejection and blame-perseveration. Internalizing others' rejection represented a rejected aspect of self in the victims who try to deflect it through blame-perseveration. However, no evidence for internalized anger was found. Victims did not fit into the specific pattern of persistent shame perfectly. At this stage, the measuring instrument may require further elaboration. More items on this inward deflection should be added in the next version of MOSS-SAST in order to clarify this issue. Perhaps sensitivity should also be given to victims being able to label anger as anger, regardless of whether it is directed at the self or other.

A pattern of bypassed shame - low shame acknowledgment with high shame transformation - was evident in the bully status children. Such children were less likely to feel shame, and therefore, less likely to take responsibility for what happened and to offer reparation. Because of the failure to own shame in these children, there is not much opportunity for shame to be discharged; rather there arises a need to defend the self from humiliation through externalizing blame and outward anger, and therefore, shame is bypassed. These maladaptive efforts to manage shame in bully status children support the postulates of bypassed shame in the SAST framework and mirror the clinical literature which implicates bypassed shame with conflict and violence (Lansky, 1987; 1995; Lewis, 1971; Nathanson, 1992; Retzinger, 1996; Scheff, 1991).

Finally, a mixed pattern of shame responses was found in the bully/victim status children. This study has demonstrated that bully/victims share some of the characteristics of both the bully status children and the victim status children. While bully/victims were more like victim status children in expressing shame acknowledgment, they were also like bully status children in transforming their shame. When they acknowledge their shame, showing a sense of being exposed in particular, they take a victim role; when they transform their shame, deflecting shame outside the self through externalizing and hostile anger, they adopt a bully role. This seems a comorbidity of acknowledging shame as well as transforming it. Within the clinical literature, there is increasing evidence of 'comorbidity' or the co-occurrence of two or more distinct disorders or syndromes in the same individual; for example, externalizing and the internalizing problems (see Achenbach, 1991, 1993; Caron & Rutter, 1991; Kovacs, Paulauskas, Gatsonis, & Richardo, 1988; McBurnett, Lahey, Frick, Risch, Loeber, Hart, Christ, & Hanson, 1991; Puig-Antich, 1982; Russo & Beidel, 1994; Walker, Lahey, Russo, Frick, Christ, McBurnett, Loeber, Stouthamer-Loeber, & Green, 1991; Woolston, Rosenthal, Riddle, Sparrow, Cicchetti, & Zimmerman, 1989; Zoccolillo, 1992).

In the present research, shame transformation characteristics (e.g., externalizing blame, retaliatory anger) coupled with shame acknowledgment properties (feeling shame, internalizing others' rejection) may be responsible for bully/victims' noncontingently responding to peers, bully at one moment, victim at another. Because bully/victims display both types of problems, it is likely that they

will find more serious difficulties than children with a single type of problem (those associated with being just a bully or just a victim). Accordingly, poor shame management skills (e.g., shame transformation) and high levels of behavioral problems (bullying/victimization) may put these children at risk of developing severe psychopathology and of difficulty in establishing and maintaining social relationships in adulthood.

To sum up, the present research provides valuable insights in relation to shame management skills, as proposed by the SAST framework, and children's bullying status. SAST offers a promising explanation of individual differences in children's involvement/non-involvement in bullying/victimization. Children who have sufficient skill to manage shame accept their shame following wrongdoing without any transformation. This makes them able to avoid bullying/victimization behavioral orientations.

While the effects found in this chapter are statistically significant and theoretically coherent, effect sizes are small. The hope is that with further refinement of measures effect sizes may increase. There is no warrant for pessimism on this score. After all, what we are doing in this Chapter is breaking down what lies behind overall effects of stigmatized and non-stigmatized shaming, shame acknowledgment and shame transformation, that are strong effects in Chapter 5. Indeed, in the self-initiated bullying regressions, the shame management variables are the most potent variables in the final model, having greater explanatory power than perennially important predictors of delinquency such as impulsivity, school variables and sex. This chapter shows that we are on the right track for refining the relational underpinnings of a SAST model with genuine explanatory power. There is still a long way to travel before we reach our destination, however.

In conclusion, the SAST framework represents both adaptive and maladaptive functions in individuals. In order to attain adaptive outcomes, individuals need to develop competencies in managing shame through acknowledging the harm done. Maladaptive outcomes, in contrast, are considered to be due to absence of shame acknowledgment and/or presence of shame transformation. All these findings contribute to furthering our understanding of the role of shame management skills in bullying/victimization involvements. However,

the findings suggest that it is worth pursuing the internal structure of the shame construct in future, and commence a reorientation of the SAST framework so that the items in the next version of the MOSS-SAST can capture more of the covert aspects of shame state.

CHAPTER - 7

NEW FINDINGS, NEW VIEWS: TOWARD THE NEXT GENERATION OF THEORY AND POLICY

7.1 Overview

This chapter summarizes the findings and describes their contribution to our understanding of school bullying and its prevention. A deep understanding of the bullying problem is beyond the capacity of any single discipline and hence the theory underlying this research draws together a diverse array of perspectives, ranging from Lewis's (1971) and Scheff's (1979) works on shame to Braithwaite's reintegrative shaming theory (1989) to other relevant social-developmental empirical works.

In what follows, findings are discussed not only from a psychological standpoint, but also from an applied perspective which seeks to resolve problems of individuals and the social/organizational system in which they are embedded. Four sets of results concerning family variables, school variables, individual difference variables and shame management variables are described along with their implications. Finally, the limitations, strengths and future directions from the research are presented.

7.2 Summary of the findings

7.2.1 Importance of the family variables

This research demonstrates that parental child-rearing beliefs of shaming are important for understanding variation in bullying behavior. The findings showed that stigmatized shaming is associated with higher levels of bullying whereas non-stigmatized shaming is related to lower levels of bullying (see Table 5.11). This was particularly evident for those children who bully others in a one-to-one situation.

To elaborate on this finding, parents who attribute their child's wrongdoing to stable and intentional factors convey that the child would repeat the wrongdoing and has performed it on purpose. Such an attributional pattern in which parents actually stigmatize the child's entire self is associated with a greater amount of bullying behavior in children. In contrast, parents who consider that the child can control the wrongdoing and therefore, can be held responsible for it, do not stigmatize the child's self. This non-stigmatizing was related to lesser amounts of bullying behavior in children. These findings provide strong support for reintegrative shaming theory (Braithwaite, 1989).

More interesting is the finding that the relationships between these two parent variables (stigmatized and non-stigmatized shaming) and bullying is not mediated by shame acknowledgment and shame transformation. Stigmatized and non-stigmatized shaming are related directly to self-initiated bullying and do not act through either of the shame management variables. This suggests the strong independent effect of these two variables in shaping children's bullying activities. Their influence is not dependent on how children respond to the message in terms of their own feelings of shame.

Family disharmony as perceived by children is positively related to a high amount of bullying. In addition to its direct effect on bullying, family disharmony was found to exert its impact on bullying through shame transformation. Children from a family in conflict may perceive its members as externalizers. They may then model this and consequently, exhibit some acting-out expressions and bullying. The analyses with self-initiated bullying leaves a question mark over the relationship between shame acknowledgment and family disharmony. Interestingly, an unexpected positive relationship between family disharmony and shame acknowledgment was evident in the case of self-initiated bullying. One possible reason is that children from disharmonious families are likely to feel rejection from parents and therefore view others' rejection toward them. This "viewing others' rejection" could possibly lead to a loss of self-esteem in such children, and thereby increase their involvement in bullying activities. This appears to be a realistic explanation because such positive links between low self-esteem, shame acknowledgment and self-initiated bullying are suggested by the results of the present research. Future attention needs to be paid to exploring how a child's self-esteem moderates the link between family disharmony, shame acknowledgment and bullying. Also needed is a test of the mediational impact of family disharmony upon the link between shaming variables, shame management variables and bullying.

This pattern of findings suggests the utility of educational workshops and seminars which aim at building family effectiveness. For example, parents can be informed that some child-rearing beliefs are maladaptive for their children's development, such as beliefs which demean a child's entire self. Educating parents not to ascribe the causes of transgression to their child's 'evil self' but to attribute it to a 'good child' who has done a 'bad deed' can provide an important tool to reduce risks of bullying involvement.

Furthermore, programs that help parents to establish a harmonious family environment may be particularly important to reduce shame transformation as well as bullying in children. This may include providing parents with improved skills in

monitoring their children; for example, increased care and concern among family members combined with fewer family disputes.

7.2.2 Importance of the school variables

While family variables are important, the effect of school variables upon the level of bullying is also important. In looking at what aspects of school life might have contributed to bullying, three issues were of interest: school hassles, liking for school and perceived control of bullying.

According to the findings of this thesis, children who bully others expressed greater levels of school hassles. Such children viewed themselves as being less successful in scholastic achievement and reported having greater problems in relations with peers at school. The impact of school hassles on general bullying was entirely mediated through shame acknowledgment. This suggests that the effect of school-related hassles is not direct but rather depends on its relation with shame acknowledgment. School hassles were not relevant to understanding more serious bullying.

The findings also revealed that if children have a sense of belonging at school and if they perceive their school as able to intervene in bullying occurrences, bullying is less likely to occur. Possibly, children's feelings that they are the priorities in the school and are cared for by school personnel lead them to own a sense of self-worth. In relation to mediating effects. the findings provide partial support showing that although liking for school and perceived control of bullying have direct effects on bullying, both of them exert some of their influence through shame management variables.

The lack of an effect of liking for school on general bullying was most surprising. It was neither related directly to general bullying, nor was it related to any of the mediators. It is possible that liking for school is a contributor to empathy ($r = .19$, $p < .001$) which, in turn, exerts a direct effect on general bullying behavior. This would mean that feelings of belonging at school inspire children to be sensitive to others' feelings. This is quite consistent with the child development literature in which parent-child bonds or warmth in the relationship influence the development

of empathy in children (see reviews by Radke-Yarrow et al., 1983; Zahn-Waxler & Radke-Yarrow, 1990; Zahn-Waxler & Robinson, 1995).

Feelings of belonging at school seem to be related to children's positive school experiences in several aspects, such as academic attainment and peer relationships. Therefore, disliking school among bullies can be minimized by introducing remedial educational programs for such children. Schools might also set up different standards (particularly, non-academic) for approval, for example helping others, in addition to conventional academic success. Most importantly, schools should establish a safe and welcoming learning place for children. Schools in which bullies and victims remain unnoticed by school personnel become stressful and unsafe in general. Given the importance of shame management variables in mediating (though only partially) the impact of school variables on bullying, a systematic whole of school intervention approach to bullying is necessary (Olweus, 1993).

7.2.3 Importance of the individual difference variables

With regard to a child's individual difference variables, this research shows the importance of three attributes: empathy, impulsivity and internal locus of control. Children who have empathic concern and expressions of caring for the victims are found less likely to bully others; however, empathy did not appear as an important factor for serious bullying. In addition, children who act on impulse without any thoughts on possible consequences are more likely to be involved in bullying activities. Findings concerning internal locus of control suggest that children who do not externalize the causes of their scholastic performances, either successes or failures, are less likely to bully peers. Impulsivity and internal locus of control were important for both general bullying and self-initiated bullying.

Both empathy and impulsivity have shown direct as well as indirect effects on general bullying. The findings provide support for a partial mediating effect in which empathy exerts some of its influence through shame acknowledgment, whereas both shame management variables were found as mediators between impulsivity and bullying. Findings concerning internal locus of control indicate no

evidence for a direct effect on bullying. Instead shame transformation appears to mediate the link between internal locus of control and bullying.

Given that empathy and impulsivity are linked to bullying behavior, there is value in training bullies to control impulses and pointing out to them the harmful consequences of acting on impulse. An attempt to promote empathic concern may be advisable for an intervention aimed at bullies. Because the findings are consistent with a partial mediational interpretation, it can be recommended that bullies must be trained to acquire shame management skills to achieve maximum success in reducing the bullying problem.

7.2.4 Importance of the shame management variables

This research reveals a significant relationship between bullying and the shame management variables: shame acknowledgment and shame transformation. The shame acknowledgment measure assesses whether individuals own their felt shame, whereas the shame transformation measure assesses whether individuals transform their shame following wrongdoing. The results have demonstrated that children who bully others are less likely to acknowledge their shame. They do not feel shame, do not take responsibility for their wrongdoing and report that they do not have a desire for reparation. Furthermore, these children are more likely to transform shame which they felt but did not acknowledge. This means they externalize blame for the wrongdoing and wish to retaliate on their victims. This supports the view that when shame is transformed, it becomes toxic and dehumanizing (Bradshaw, 1988). The significant role of these two shame management variables in understanding bullying affirms the value of incorporating them into a social-developmental model.

The findings also indicate that both of these variables explained a significant amount of variation in bullying behavior, above and beyond other variables. Notwithstanding the importance of these two shame management variables, certain family variables, school variables and individual difference variables are also important to understanding bullying behavior adequately.

This was particularly evident in the mediational analyses which provide a precise evaluation of how the independent variables in the social-developmental model influence bullying behavior. The data provide support for a partial mediational hypothesis suggesting that some aspects of family, school and individual attributes are tied to either or both shame management variables which, in turn, link to bullying, whereas others exert direct impact in developing bullying behavior.

Shame management variables are not only important in furthering our understanding of the development of bullying behavior, they also contribute to explaining the individual differences in shame management skills between bullies, victims, bully/victims and non-bully / non-victims. The findings show that bullies do not acknowledge shame following a wrongdoing, rather they ward off their felt shame to protect the self from humiliation. While bullies are found to off-load their felt shame, victims are found to absorb too much shame as they persistently appraise and interpret an adverse experience as viewed by others. This excessive shame in children was found as central to taking a victim role in this research. Bully/victims had something in common with both bullies and victims: they appeared to show an excess of shame on the one hand, and a tendency to ward it off on the other.

7.3 Importance of the SAST framework

This research has developed a theoretical framework on shame (SAST: Shame Acknowledgment and Shame Transformation) which contributes toward a deeper understanding of the shame construct. At a theoretical level, it offers a set of responses to deal with shame which threatens self. These features of shame were derived from clinical, sociological and psychological literatures.

At an applied level, SAST associates different responses to shame with different categories of children involved in bullying/victimization. Bullies showed bypassed shame (low acknowledgment, high transformation) while non-bully / non-victims showed discharged shame (high acknowledgment, low transformation). The other two categories, persistent shame and denied-bypassed shame, were partially

found in the victims and bully/victims, respectively. Like non-bully / non-victims, victims were characterized by high acknowledgment and low transformation being different in terms of individual shame responses. Finally, the bully/victims were characterized by high scores on both shame acknowledgment and shame transformation.

These findings provide some guidance for future intervention programs. Where preventive efforts target bully status children, the program should aim at training shame acknowledgment, taking personal responsibility for their own behavior and reparation. Several researchers have pointed out the significance of reparation and taking responsibility to crime prevention and justice (Braithwaite & Pettit, 1990; A. Jenkins, 1990, 1991; P.H. Jenkins, 1997; Maines & Robinson, 1998; Morgan, 1995; Pearce, 1991; Ross, 1996). Specific attention should also be directed to dealing constructively with problems without externalizing causes of events, feeling retaliatory and/or displaced anger. An emphasis on reducing the offender's projection of blame onto others is evident in Gibbs' (1991) writing.

Braithwaite's (1989) theory is essentially a theory of shaming practices to the neglect of an explicit theory of the emotion of shame. This thesis tackles that neglect. Braithwaite also focuses on the shaming of offenders to the neglect of a relational analysis of shame in a victim/offender nexus. Hence, whereas Braithwaite maps the structure of shaming onto an offender status, this thesis maps the structure of the emotion of shame onto victim/offender status. Adding the SAST framework to reintegrative shaming theory enables a richer analysis of the phenomenon with a larger number of research and policy implications.

Other theorists focus on parts of the SAST framework that emerged from this study. An example is the work of Scheff, Retzinger, Lewis and others on the pathological effects of bypassed shame. The association demonstrated between bypassed shame and bullying affirms their emphasis on this shame configuration. However, it also shows that this is only one part of a two dimensional story of shame.

When targeting victim status children, the intervention plan might aim to minimize self-critical thoughts following wrongdoing. Because victims are left with a feeling of marred self and an abasement in their own eyes as well as in the eyes of

others (Mann, 1997), there seems value in empowering such children with skills to feel that they belong to their social group – acceptance of self and others. Finally, preventive efforts with bully/victims might include a combined training package designed for the bullies as well as victims. This requires thorough exploration, however, as disentangling the emotions associated with bully experiences from those associated with victim experiences may be no simple matter.

Creating restorative justice institutions is exposed by these findings to have the potential to jointly benefit different categories of children. A key objective of restorative justice is to create a ritual which encourages offenders to apologize to victims – symbolic reparation as more important than material reparation. An apology can arrest the feelings of abasement that victims have been found here to suffer in their own eyes. It can heal the scars of self-rejection. For offenders, apology is the most powerful and symbolically meaningful form of shame acknowledgment. Moreover, apology-reparation-forgiveness sequences can give bullies and victims access to both the benefits on the victim side and on the bully side of restoration.

Current research lays the foundation of empirical information and knowledge from which preventive intervention program can be designed. Such a design for a Program for Reintegration and Individual Shame Management (PRISM) is presently underway, funded by the Australian Institute of Criminology. Briefly, PRISM is an integration of two ideas, restorative justice (Braithwaite, 1989; Braithwaite & Pettit, 1990; Zehr, 1990) and the SAST framework. According to the theory of restorative justice, instead of offenders and victims suffering due to formal sanctions, both of them should be reintegrated into the community (Braithwaite, 1989; Braithwaite & Pettit, 1990). Restorative justice is an informal criminal justice system based on an offender's reparative attitudes and/or acts to repair, at least some of the damage caused by the criminal acts, either materially or symbolically (Wright, 1996). Scattered emphasis on some of these proposed features can be seen in Foster and Thompson's (1991) works who recommend bringing bullies and victims together to work out some type of atonement that the bully can make to the victim.

Derived from the SAST model, the principle of 'acknowledging shame' is another basic assumption of the PRISM project. The current research shows that bypassed shame is particularly evident in those children who are involved in bullying others. Therefore, the sense of acknowledging shame combined with other relevant and beneficiary strategic skills (e.g., accepting responsibility for their own behavior, reparation, no blame to others and no outward anger) would be most helpful for the target children who bully others.

Thus, PRISM rests on a foundation of theoretical as well as empirical work that might strengthen intervention efforts and also provide a framework for implementation. Through combining the ideas of reintegrating bullies and victims in the school community and providing training for shame management, a better solution for the etiology of this complex problem of school bullying may be achievable. It may be useful if PRISM can be integrated and attached into the structure of an established justice system (e.g., a restorative justice system) or an organization (e.g., a school) as a part of its regular service system. The incorporation of PRISM into an existing system may raise ethical issues about informed consent. An evaluative research design should include collecting data from those children who do not participate. The evaluation then can proceed with before-and-after measurements and comparisons of experimental and control groups.

7.4 Limitations of the current study

The current findings provide strong support for the social-developmental model of bullying which is of critical importance to researchers in relevant fields. However, this study is not without its drawbacks.

The research does not provide information about the actual processes of how children become involved in bullying their peers. As with all cross-sectional studies, the data can not confirm the causal pattern. As an initial step in understanding the relationship between family variables, school variables, individual difference variables, shame management variables and bullying, focus has been placed upon

the patterns of concurrent association between predictor variables and the outcome. Future research in this field, therefore, should adopt a longitudinal design which is needed 'to study the development of bullying and victimization careers, the effects of life events on these careers, and particularly developmental sequences linking bullying, victimization, and other behaviors' (Farrington, 1993).

Although longitudinal studies would generally provide a stronger test of the direction of causal effects linking family variables and bullying behavior, they will not however solve the problems of confounded measures or constructs. Progress in understanding how family variables are related over the course of development requires greater attention to the conceptual and measurement issues as well as to the processes linking socialization experiences to bullying. For example, sufficient recognition had not been given to 'forgiveness' which is an important constituent of reintegrative shaming. According to Braithwaite (1989; p. 12), reintegrative shaming is that which '... sharply terminates disapproval with forgiveness, ...'. Therefore, future measures should include such items to capture the essence of reintegrative and disintegrative shaming.

Although the current results provide great support for child-rearing variables, caution must be exercised in interpreting those findings. In this study, child-rearing variables are interpreted as having a main effect upon children's bullying behavior. However, these findings can also be posited as a child main effect. Ample evidence from the developmental literature indicates that difficult children elicit poor parenting (Bell & Chapman, 1986; Buss, 1981; Eron et al., 1991; Lytton, 1990; Snyder & Patterson, 1990) and it is easy for parents of difficult children to become less effective due to the influence of their child (Landy and Peters, 1992; Patterson, 1992). Thus, it is very possible that the children who bully others elicit conflicting parent-child relationships and therefore, perceive their family as disharmonious (disharmony in the family that they themselves have elicited).

This thesis proposed a framework that incorporates a range of variables affecting bullying, and has focused attention on understanding main and mediational effects. The next stage should give consideration of variables that act as moderator(s) of some of these relationships. For instance, how do family and school

variables interact with shame management variables in the production of bullying/victimization? And how are these interactions affected by conditions such as the nature of bullying/victimization and the nature of the individual difference variables? Consideration of these issues will have a valuable role in informing bullying prevention initiatives.

Finally, the parent sample in this study was self selected and it is possible that parent respondents and non-respondents differed in terms of some variables (e.g., family factors, personal characteristics) in addition to their demographic characteristics, and importantly, their children's involvement in bullying activities. Self-selection of the sample is an impediment to the external validity of this study and it may limit the generalizability of the results, at least to some extent. However, it is very difficult to control for self-selection in bullying research, especially as the ethical issues require participants to give their consent to take part.

7.5 Strengths of the current study

In spite of this study's limitations, there are several strengths of this research which offset, at least in part, the weaknesses just mentioned. Most important is the integrated social-developmental framework on which the current research is based. The current social-developmental model of bullying was built on relevant theoretical as well as empirical literature. Such a comprehensive theoretical framework has seldom been used previously in an investigation of bullying.

Another strength of this research is the sample of 1402 itself. These are reasonably representative data, collected from a developmentally important age group for studying bullying behavior (see Olweus, 1993 for details). Additionally, the sample was composed of a heterogeneous group of school students and their parents reflecting the cultural diversity in Australia. In this representative sample of students from both public and private schools, children were drawn from the full range of social class backgrounds. Hence, in this respect, the findings can be generalized to a diverse population of students, in spite of the limitations noted in the previous section.

Importantly, this study develops the SAST framework which provides a structure that assists in predicting different styles of shame management. It also demonstrates a new way to relate shame dimensions to bullying status in children. The findings provide a shame-based interpretation suggesting that bullying/victimization is a reflection of the differential features of shame. Application of the SAST framework in practice would empower children involved in bullying/victimization to manage their felt shame adequately.

Additionally, parents' self-reports of their own child-rearing beliefs are rare in this area, especially on bullying behavior that has occurred. Hence, the findings

based on parent-reports are particularly convincing because they eliminate the possibility that the findings are affected by the children's perceptual biases. This lends additional strength to this research as the information was collected from the party's own perspectives.

The final strength of the current study is its use of multivariate analyses which made it possible to see what factors exert unique and independent effects on developing bullying behavior. This integrated understanding can not be obtained from bivariate analyses. Because of the large sample, the research was also able to employ an appropriate and sophisticated statistical method and a full multivariate model, including controls for the variables which were hypothesized to affect the outcome.

7.6 Future directions

The results and limitations of this investigation which have been discussed so far suggest some additional directions for future research. The role of stigmatized versus non-stigmatized shaming affecting bullying behavior requires further exploration to understand the underlying processes of how they operate on bullying. A relevant question is, therefore, what 'element' in the parental shaming process is responsible for the occurrence/non-occurrence of bullying acts, and how is this 'element' established in children.

One possibility is that parents (as well as school) have an impact on developing bullying behavior in a child by affecting his/her self-identity. It seems likely that stigmatized shaming would cause the child to experience a deficiency message whereby the child knows that he/she is no good and therefore, not likely to be esteemed by the authority figure(s). It has been argued that all individuals want to have good feelings about themselves (Tyler, 1997) and what children need from the relationship with their significant others is to have their magnificence appreciated and their shortcomings accepted and understood (Stipek, 1983). A negative relationship between a parent and a child is likely to establish a negative identity in the child which, in turn, increases the risk of bullying activities. The major

determinants of self have generally been found in parent-child relationships as well as school experiences (Reid, 1982). Research also shows a relationship between having an imbalanced self and deviant behavior (Oyserman & Markus, 1990; Oyserman & Saltz, 1993; Stein, Roeser, & Markus, 1998). Unfortunately, there is little information in psychology concerning identity as the subjective experience of one's essential self (Blasi & Glodis, 1995). The exploration of such a variable in the bullying context would seem to present both a theoretical and empirical challenge for future researchers.

It would also be interesting to explore whether and how feelings of shame and self-identity are linked to each other. When shame is acknowledged, it is owned by the self. When shame is unacknowledged, it is disowned by the self. Owning and disowning have been suggested as potential sources of positive and negative identity, respectively (Kaufman, 1996). According to Kaufman, negative identity turns the self against the self. Individuals with negative identity are likely to disown shame-bound parts of the self in which disintegration is the outcome. In contrast, individuals with a positive identity are likely to own and embrace the shameful aspect of the self, thereby the self is oriented toward integration (Kaufman, 1996). This shame-based identity addressed by Kaufman seems to have important implications for research in the field of bullying. Future researchers, therefore, might introduce this concept and search for its psychological as well as behavioral correlates.

With respect to why some children become able to release their shame while others do not, it is important to explore whether releasing shame primarily depends upon children's socialization experiences or whether it is due to something in their own personal affective-cognitive style. Future studies, therefore, need to investigate thoroughly the processes involved in having a sense of shame or in acquiring the skill to discharge the felt shame following wrongdoing, in both the social and cognitive domains.

Future research is needed to address whether the unacknowledged shame categories (bypassed and denied-bypassed) represent the inability to feel shame or a kind of defense mechanism, such as repression. It is likely that individuals with unacknowledged shame actually developed the capacity to feel shame, but they

made it inaccessible through a defense mechanism. This is what Malatesta and Wilson (1988) call the 'Ward - off pathology'. If bypassers are regarded as repressors, they can be characterized by high cognitive avoidance, and withdrawal of attention from threat-related cues (Baumeister & Cairns, 1992; Bonanno & Singer, 1995; Krohne, 1993). This is worthy of further exploration.

On the other hand, unacknowledged shame can just be an inability to feel shame, what is called an 'underdeveloped deficiency pathology' (Malatesta & Wilson, 1988). Perhaps, an individual has simply never developed the capacity to feel a particular emotion. Another possibility is that it might be a manifestation of perceptual blindness (Malatesta & Wilson, 1988). It may be that such children felt so much shame that they did not identify their feeling state as shame.

Also at issue is the extent to which externalizing as well as internalizing difficulties are responsible for the onset of problems of bullying and victimization. This issue was not examined in this study, partly because data on both externalizing and internalizing had not been thoroughly collected; rather each was just a component of shame management skill. Future work should focus on the extent that difficulties experienced by these children with externalizing and internalizing problems affect the onset and course of bullying behavior.

7.7 Concluding comments

Findings from the thesis contribute to a better understanding of bullying behavior from a multi-disciplinary perspective. In an attempt to integrate the insights of a reintegrative shaming theory of crime with other clinical as well as psychological theories, a social-developmental model of bullying was developed. Findings provide support for the model suggesting that family variables, school variables and individual difference variables represent potential antecedent factors of bullying behavior in children. Of central importance are the findings concerning the impact of shame management variables which highlight their roles in affecting bullying involvement/non-involvement.

This study suggests some new ways to think about bullying interventions. It led to the design of an experimental intervention (PRISM) and its evaluation concerned with shame acknowledgment as well as shame transformation. PRISM takes a step in that direction by suggesting how shame can operate in bullying events. Unaddressed feelings of shame tend to escalate with time resulting in greater personal and interpersonal costs. If these patterns of shame management are not challenged during childhood, then they may be even harder to change later in life. The confidence in these results would, however, increase more if the finding were replicated in future studies. It would also be useful to supplement data from a survey methodology with experimental data.

In conclusion, this research adds to a growing body of knowledge showing the importance of shame as a valuable complement in understanding bullying behavior. This demonstration of shame as a powerful predictor of bullying behavior motivates another series of inquiries into a deeper understanding of this construct. Is bullying behavior the consequence of a need to defend feeling shame? What are the processes involved in this defense? Is it possible that bullying behavior is a reflection of the inability to recognize feelings of shame? Answers to such questions would be important for the next generation of theory as well as policy within a broad range of research fields, such as, psychology, sociology and criminology.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX - 2.1

Measure Of Shame State: Shame Acknowledgment and Shame Transformation (MOSS-SAST)

Section - 5

In this section, we are going to ask about how you feel when you do a bad thing. Remember that everyone sometimes does things that they wouldn't normally do.

Here are some situations that do not usually happen, but happen sometimes. As you read each story, try to imagine yourself in that situation. Then indicate your feelings in that situation. Please answer the questions by putting a tick (✓) in the 'Yes' or 'No' box following the question. There are no right or wrong answers to these questions.

Here is an example: "Imagine that you are in the playground during lunchtime. You hit a student from your class for no good reason. You then realize that your class teacher saw what you did."

"Would you feel ashamed of yourself?" ☐ Yes$_1$ ☑ No$_2$

In this example 'No' has been ticked by a student who would not feel ashamed of him/herself. A student who thinks that he/she would feel ashamed of him/herself would tick 'Yes'.

Now start:

1. Imagine that you are walking along the corridor at school and you see another student. You put your foot out and trip the student. Then you realize that the class teacher has just come into the corridor and saw what you did.

a)	Would you feel ashamed of yourself?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
b)	Would you wish you could just hide?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
c)	Would you feel like blaming yourself for what happened? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
d)	Do you think others would reject you?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
e)	Would you feel like making the situation better? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
f)	Would you feel like blaming others for what happened? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
g)	Would you be unable to decide if you were to blame? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
h)	Would you feel angry in this situation?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
i)	Would you feel like getting back at that student? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
j)	Would you feel like doing something else, for example, throwing or kicking something? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$

2.	Imagine that this is lunchtime at school and you see a younger student. You grab the sweets from his/her hand . Then you realize that the class teacher saw what you did.		
a)	Would you feel ashamed of yourself?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
b)	Would you wish you could just hide?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
c)	Would you feel like blaming yourself for what happened? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
d)	Do you think others would reject you?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
e)	Would you feel like making the situation better? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
f)	Would you feel like blaming others for what happened? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
g)	Would you be unable to decide if you were to blame? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
h)	Would you feel angry in this situation?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
i)	Would you feel like getting back at that student? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
j)	Would you feel like doing something else, for example, throwing or kicking something? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$

3.	Imagine that you are in the school playground and you get your friends to ignore another student from your class. You then realize that the teacher on duty has been watching you.		
a)	Would you feel ashamed of yourself?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
b)	Would you wish you could just hide?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
c)	Would you feel like blaming yourself for what happened? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
d)	Do you think others would reject you?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
e)	Would you feel like making the situation better? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
f)	Would you feel like blaming others for what happened? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
g)	Would you be unable to decide if you were to blame? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
h)	Would you feel angry in this situation?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
i)	Would you feel like getting back at that student? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
j)	Would you feel like doing something else, for example, throwing or kicking something? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$

4.	Imagine that you are on the way home from school and see a younger student carrying something important that he/she has made at school. You knock the thing out of the child's hands. Then you realize that one of your teachers saw what you did.		
a)	Would you feel ashamed of yourself?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
b)	Would you wish you could just hide?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
c)	Would you feel like blaming yourself for what happened? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
d)	Do you think others would reject you?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
e)	Would you feel like making the situation better? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
f)	Would you feel like blaming others for what happened? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
g)	Would you be unable to decide if you were to blame? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
h)	Would you feel angry in this situation?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
i)	Would you feel like getting back at that student? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
j)	Would you feel like doing something else, for example, throwing or kicking something? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$

5.	Imagine that you have been making rude comments about a student's family. You find out that your class teacher heard what you said.		
a)	Would you feel ashamed of yourself?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
b)	Would you wish you could just hide?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
c)	Would you feel like blaming yourself for what happened? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
d)	Do you think others would reject you?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
e)	Would you feel like making the situation better? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
f)	Would you feel like blaming others for what happened? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
g)	Would you be unable to decide if you were to blame? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
h)	Would you feel angry in this situation?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
i)	Would you feel like getting back at that student? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
j)	Would you feel like doing something else, for example, throwing or kicking something? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$

6. Imagine that a younger student is going to the canteen to buy something. You grab his/her money. You warn the student not to tell or else. Then you realize that your class teacher saw you and heard what you said.

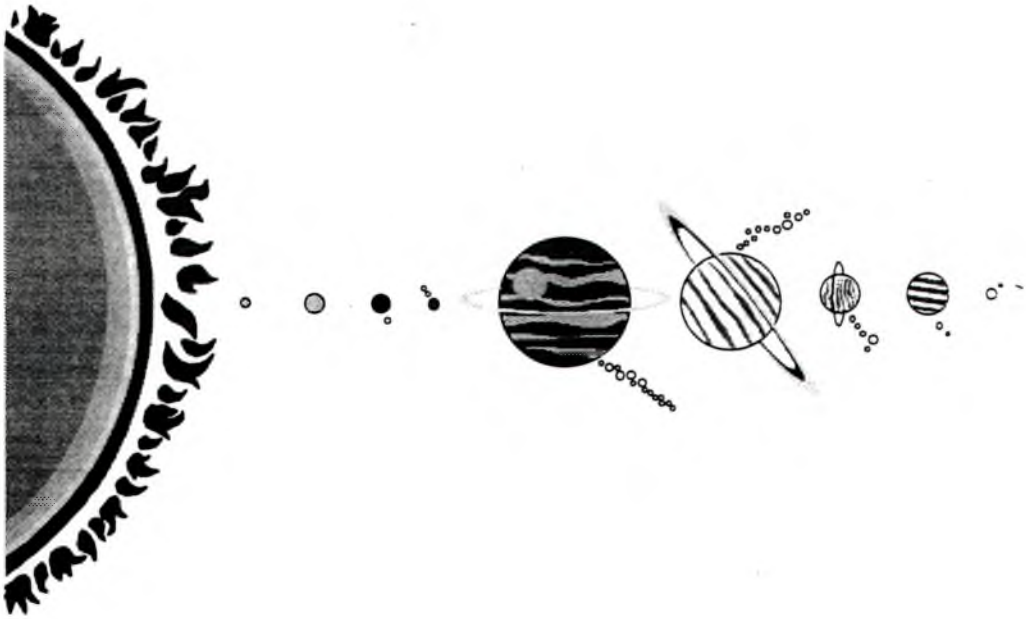
a)	Would you feel ashamed of yourself?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
b)	Would you wish you could just hide?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
c)	Would you feel like blaming yourself for what happened? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
d)	Do you think others would reject you?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
e)	Would you feel like making the situation better? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
f)	Would you feel like blaming others for what happened? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
g)	Would you be unable to decide if you were to blame? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
h)	Would you feel angry in this situation?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
i)	Would you feel like getting back at that student? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
j)	Would you feel like doing something else, for example, throwing or kicking something? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$

7. Imagine that you started an argument in class with another student. Then you exclude the student from doing the class project with you. Suddenly the teacher comes in and is told what you did.

a)	Would you feel ashamed of yourself?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
b)	Would you wish you could just hide?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
c)	Would you feel like blaming yourself for what happened? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
d)	Do you think others would reject you?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
e)	Would you feel like making the situation better? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
f)	Would you feel like blaming others for what happened? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
g)	Would you be unable to decide if you were to blame? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
h)	Would you feel angry in this situation?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
i)	Would you feel like getting back at that student? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
j)	Would you feel like doing something else, for example, throwing or kicking something? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$

8. Imagine that you are left in the classroom alone with a student. You think that the teacher has gone and so you start teasing the student. Then you realize that the teacher is still in the classroom.

a)	Would you feel ashamed of yourself?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
b)	Would you wish you could just hide?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
c)	Would you feel like blaming yourself for what happened? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
d)	Do you think others would reject you?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
e)	Would you feel like making the situation better? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
f)	Would you feel like blaming others for what happened? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
g)	Would you be unable to decide if you were to blame? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
h)	Would you feel angry in this situation?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
i)	Would you feel like getting back at that student? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
j)	Would you feel like doing something else, for example, throwing or kicking something? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$



APPENDIX - 2.2

Intercorrelations for each question item (MOSS-SAST) across eight situations

Intercorrelations for the question item "Would you feel ashamed of yourself?" across eight situations.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	-							
2	.65	-						
3	.62	.54	-					
4	.63	.68	.51	-				
5	.66	.66	.57	.66	-			
6	.60	.70	.52	.73	.75	-		
7	.54	.48	.60	.50	.58	.52	-	
8	.64	.65	.59	.67	.71	.70	.61	-

All intercorrelations are significant at .001.

Intercorrelations for the question item "Did you wish you could just hide?" across eight situations.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	-							
2	.79	-						
3	.58	.63	-					
4	.67	.72	.63	-				
5	.64	.68	.58	.71	-			
6	.65	.69	.57	.73	.74	-		
7	.57	.60	.65	.64	.65	.63	-	
8	.65	.70	.62	.71	.72	.75	.70	-

All intercorrelations are significant at .001.

Cont. Appendix - 2.2

Intercorrelations for the question item "Would you feel like blaming yourself for what happened?" across eight situations.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	-							
2	.62	-						
3	.47	.50	-					
4	.55	.58	.48	-				
5	.52	.54	.50	.58	-			
6	.52	.57	.48	.67	.66	-		
7	.40	.42	.49	.49	.55	.49	-	
8	.51	.56	.47	.59	.64	.61	.55	-

All intercorrelations are significant at .001.

Intercorrelations for the question item "Do you think that others would reject you? across eight situations.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	-							
2	.65	-						
3	.57	.62	-					
4	.55	.67	.62	-				
5	.54	.58	.61	.65	-			
6	.51	.64	.58	.69	.70	-		
7	.56	.61	.63	.66	.66	.68	-	
8	.56	.61	.61	.68	.67	.67	.70	-

All intercorrelations are significant at .001.

Cont. Appendix - 2.2

Intercorrelations for the question item "Would you feel like making the situation better?" across eight situations.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	-							
2	.66	-						
3	.49	52.	-					
4	.62	.64	.49	-				
5	.54	.57	.56	.66	-			
6	.54	.58	.48	.70	.64	-		
7	.50	.50	.59	.58	.61	.60	-	
8	.52	.54	.50	.64	.65	.64	.64	-

All intercorrelations are significant at .001.

Intercorrelations for the question item "Would you feel like blaming others for what happened?" across eight situations.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	-							
2	.55	-						
3	.45	.48	-					
4	.44	.57	.49	-				
5	.49	.53	.49	.57	-			
6	.44	.52	.47	.60	.63	-		
7	.37	.46	.42	.49	.53	.55	-	
8	.38	.45	.41	.51	.59	.61	.55	-

All intercorrelations are significant at .001.

Cont. Appendix - 2.2

Intercorrelations for the question item "Would you be unable to decide if you were to blame?" across eight situations.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	-							
2	.63	-						
3	.50	.61	-					
4	.55	.62	.60	-				
5	.53	.59	.56	.72	-			
6	.55	.62	.59	.74	.72	-		
7	.46	.54	.57	.66	.65	.70	-	
8	.53	.59	.58	.71	.69	.75	.70	-

All intercorrelations are significant at .001.

Intercorrelations for the question item "Would you feel angry at this situation?" across eight situations.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	-							
2	.70	-						
3	.63	.67	-					
4	.68	.68	.70	-				
5	.68	.67	.70	.79	-			
6	.65	.68	.67	.79	.81	-		
7	.58	.60	.64	.68	.73	.73	-	
8	.64	.67	.65	.74	.77	.77	.74	-

All intercorrelations are significant at .001.

Intercorrelations for the question item "Would you feel like getting back at that student?" across eight situations.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	-							
2	.66	-						
3	.69	.68	-					
4	.60	.69	.66	-				
5	.64	.63	.62	.73	-			
6	.63	.68	.64	.73	.73	-		
7	.52	.55	.58	.57	.62	.63	-	
8	.61	.69	.66	.70	.67	.71	.66	-

All intercorrelations are significant at .001.

Intercorrelations for the question item "Would you feel like doing something else, for example, throwing or kicking something?" across eight situations.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	-							
2	.77	-						
3	.70	.75	-					
4	.69	.74	.77	-				
5	.70	.74	.75	.81	-			
6	.64	.73	.77	.82	.82	-		
7	.64	.67	.72	.74	.77	.75	-	
8	.67	.71	.78	.77	.77	.79	.78	-

All intercorrelations are significant at .001.

APPENDIX - 2.3

Factor loadings for the MOSS-SAST scales across eight situations

Factor loadings for situation 1

Scales	Factor 1 (Shame acknowledgment)	Factor 2 (Shame transformation)
Feeling shame	.77	-.15
Hiding self from others	.57	.19
Accepting personal responsibility	.69	-.20
Internalizing others' rejection	.44	.30
Willingness for reparation	.63	-.10
Externalizing blame	-.11	.67
Blame-perseveration	.13	.48
Felt anger	.26	.51
Retaliatory anger	-.24	.69
Displaced anger	-.14	.59
Eigenvalues	*2.30*	*1.83*
Variance explained	*23%*	*18.3%*

Cont. Appendix - 2.3

Factor loadings for situation 2

Scales	Factor 1 (Shame acknowledgment)	Factor 2 (Shame transformation)
Feeling shame	.77	-.12
Hiding self from others	.51	.14
Accepting personal responsibility	.70	-.24
Internalizing others' rejection	.39	.26
Willingness for reparation	.68	-.08
Externalizing blame	-.15	.68
Blame-perseveration	.13	.54
Felt anger	.28	.51
Retaliatory anger	-.17	.70
Displaced anger	-.11	.63
Eigenvalues	*2.30*	*1.87*
Variance explained	*23%*	*18.7%*

Cont. Appendix - 2.3

Factor loadings for situation 3

Scales	Factor 1 (Shame acknowledgment)	Factor 2 (Shame transformation)
Feeling shame	.80	-.14
Hiding self from others	.70	.17
Accepting personal responsibility	.74	-.19
Internalizing others' rejection	.49	.23
Willingness for reparation	.67	-.11
Externalizing blame	-.09	.65
Blame-perseveration	.08	.52
Felt anger	.31	.51
Retaliatory anger	-.19	.69
Displaced anger	-.04	.62
Eigenvalues	*2.46*	*1.95*
Variance explained	*24.6%*	*19.5%*

Cont. Appendix - 2.3

Factor loadings for situation 4

Scales	Factor 1 (Shame acknowledgment)	Factor 2 (Shame transformation)
Feeling shame	.77	-.10
Hiding self from others	.55	.25
Accepting personal responsibility	.68	-.16
Internalizing others' rejection	.35	.28
Willingness for reparation	.65	-.16
Externalizing blame	-.18	.65
Blame-perseveration	.13	.57
Felt anger	.23	.57
Retaliatory anger	-.24	.68
Displaced anger	-.09	.63
Eigenvalues	*2.30*	*1.92*
Variance explained	*23.1%*	*19.3%*

Cont. Appendix - 2.3

	Factor loadings for situation 5	
Scales	Factor 1 (Shame acknowledgment)	Factor 2 (Shame transformation)
Feeling shame	.74	-.14
Hiding self from others	.63	.17
Accepting personal responsibility	.72	-.20
Internalizing others' rejection	.46	.27
Willingness for reparation	.67	-.14
Externalizing blame	-.17	.64
Blame-perseveration	.12	.54
Felt anger	.25	.57
Retaliatory anger	-.19	.69
Displaced anger	-.10	.66
Eigenvalues	*2.42*	*1.99*
Variance explained	*24.2%*	*19.9%*

Cont. Appendix - 2.3

Factor loadings for situation 6

Scales	Factor 1 (Shame acknowledgment)	Factor 2 (Shame transformation)
Feeling shame	.73	-.14
Hiding self from others	.58	.21
Accepting personal responsibility	.73	-.13
Internalizing others' rejection	.42	.27
Willingness for reparation	.62	-.17
Externalizing blame	-.15	.66
Blame-perseveration	.13	.54
Felt anger	.26	.56
Retaliatory anger	-.22	.70
Displaced anger	-.09	.64
Eigenvalues	*2.30*	*1.96*
Variance explained	*23%*	*19.6%*

Cont. Appendix - 2.3

Factor loadings for situation 7

Scales	Factor 1 (Shame acknowledgment)	Factor 2 (Shame transformation)
Feeling shame	.79	-.13
Hiding self from others	.67	.18
Accepting personal responsibility	.75	-.25
Internalizing others' rejection	.52	.23
Willingness for reparation	.69	-.17
Externalizing blame	-.16	.65
Blame-perseveration	.15	.53
Felt anger	.20	.59
Retaliatory anger	-.21	.70
Displaced anger	-.10	.59
Eigenvalues	*2.67*	*1.95*
Variance explained	*26.7%*	*19.5%*

Cont. Appendix - 2.3

Factor loadings for situation 8

Scales	Factor 1 (Shame acknowledgment)	Factor 2 (Shame transformation)
Feeling shame	.76	-.10
Hiding self from others	.58	.20
Accepting personal responsibility	.71	-.20
Internalizing others' rejection	.44	.25
Willingness for reparation	.66	-.16
Externalizing blame	-.13	.69
Blame-perseveration	.16	.55
Felt anger	.26	.57
Retaliatory anger	-.18	.70
Displaced anger	-.12	.60
Eigenvalues	*2.33*	*2.03*
Variance explained	*23.3%*	*20.3%*

APPENDIX - 2.4

Question items in the MOSS-SAST (real situation)

Remember the incident when you bullied that child and please answer the followings:

a)	Did you feel ashamed of yourself?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
b)	Did anyone see you bully that child?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
c)	At that time, did youwish you could just hide? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
d)	Did you feel like blaming yourself for what happened? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
e)	At that time, did you think that others would reject you? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
f)	Did you feel like making the situation better? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
g)	Did you feel like blaming others for what happened? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
h)	Did you find yourself unable to decide if you were to blame?...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
i)	Did you feel angry about what happened	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
j)	Did you feel like getting back at that student? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
k)	Did you feel like doing something else, for example, throwing or kicking something? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$

APPENDIX - 4.1

Descriptive statistics of the measurements used in this research

Means, SDs and Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficients of the family variables

Family variables	M	SD	Alpha
Child-rearing belief variables (ESNS; Ahmed & V. Braithwaite, 1996)[a]			
Stigmatized shaming	3.44	.72	.92
Non-stigmatized shaming	4.35	.57	.91
Family disharmony (Groube, 1987)	1.74	.41	.65

[a] See Appendix 4.2 for the 'Estimates of Stigmatized versus Non-stigmatized Shaming' (ESNS)

Descriptive statistics of the items in the family variables

Stigmatized shaming items	M	SD
Stability		
I would say that my child will repeat this behavior in future*	2.90	1.04
Intentionality		
I would say that my child meant to do what he/she did	3.97	.83

Non-stigmatized shaming items	M	SD
Reponsibility		
I would say that my child should not be blamed for the behavior*	4.60	.56
Controllability		
I would say that the behavior was under my child's control	4.10	.88

Family disharmony items	M	SD
Parents checking up on me	1.80	.62
Parents ignoring me	1.56	.64
Difficulties among family members	1.91	.58
Arguments or disagreements in my home	1.72	.63

* reverse score

Means, SDs and Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficients of the school variables

School variables	M	SD	Alpha
School hassles (Groube, 1987)	1.79	.29	.72
Liking for school (B. Braithwaite, 1996; Mooney, Creeser & Blatchford, 1991)	3.15	.48	.63
Perceived control of bullying* (Rigby & Slee, 1993)	.003	2.07	.86

* Standardized score

Descriptive statistics of the items in the school variables

School hassles items	M	SD
Failing a test or exam	1.72	.55
Feeling unsure about what is expected of me at school (e.g., schoolwork)	1.84	.57
Doing worse in some schoolwork than I expected	1.90	.50
Failing to do my homework	1.71	.61
Having no friends	1.52	.63
Having things go wrong in my relationships with friends	1.94	.53
Having to make new friends	1.73	.61
Disagreements or misunderstandings with friends	1.96	.44

Liking for school items	M	SD
Look at these pictures and shade the face which is most like you when you are at school? (Mooney, Creeser and Blatchford, 1991)	3.74	.96
Look at these pictures and shade the child who is most like you when you are at school? (B. Braithwaite, 1996)	4.05	.90

Perceived control of bullying items	M	SD
How often would you say that bullying happens at this school?	1.70	.51
Have you noticed bullying going on in this school in any of these places?		
In the classroom	2.08	.55
At recess/lunch	1.66	.56
On the way to school	2.71	.51
On the way home from school	2.45	.65
In your view, is this school a safe place for young people who find it hard to defend themselves from attack from other students?	3.05	.63
Do you think that teachers at this school are interested in trying to stop bullying?	3.43	.87

Means, SDs and Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficients of the individual difference variables

Individual difference variables	M	SD	Alpha
Shame-proneness [a]	2.88	.65	.82
Guilt-proneness [a]	3.72	.60	.83
Pride-proneness [a]	3.62	.67	.77
Self-esteem (Rosenberg & Simmons, 1971)	2.86	.56	.70
Empathy (Rigby & Slee, 1991b)	3.35	.62	.73
Impulsivity: (V. Braithwaite, 1987; Eysenck & Eysenck, 1978)	2.73	.61	.65
Internal locus of control (Connel, 1985)	3.47	.58	.33

[a] These are the measures taken from TOSCA-C. Copy of the measures are given in Appendix - 4.3

Descriptive statistics of the items in the Individual difference variables

Self-esteem items	M	SD
I feel I have a number of good qualities	3.32	.66
I feel I do not have much to be proud of*	3.31	.91
I wish I could have more respect for myself*	2.27	.99
On the whole, I am satisfied with myself	3.38	.75
At times I think I am no good at all*	2.44	1.02
I certainly feel useless at times	2.51	1.00

Empathy items	M	SD
I feel like standing up for kids who are being bullied	3.40	.74
I feel like helping kids who can't defend themselves	3.35	.75
I feel like being angry when a kid is picked on without reason	3.30	.81

* reverse score

Impulsivity items	M	SD
I often get involved in things I later wish I could get out of	2.92	.89
I often get into trouble because I do things without thinking	2.50	1.05
I tend to hop from interest to interest quickly	2.67	.93
I get bored easily	2.63	1.03
I often do and say things without stopping to think	2.91	.87

Internal locus of control items	M	SD
If I want to do well in school, it's up to me to do it	3.76	.54
If I don't do well in school, it's my own fault	3.18	.92

Means, SDs and Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficients of the Shame management variables

Shame management variables (MOSS-SAST[a]; Ahmed, V. Braithwaite & J. Braithwaite, 1996)	M	SD	Alpha
Shame acknowledgment	1.72	.32	.93
Shame transformation	1.21	.22	.94

[a] Full MOSS-SAST is given in Appendix - 2.1.

Descriptive statistics of the items in the dependent variables

Dependent variables	M	SD
Child report of victimization: Looking back over your life at school in the last year (1995-96), how often have you been bullied by another student or group of students?	2.37	1.46
Child report of bullying: How often have you been part of a group that bullied someone during the last year?	1.75	.87
How often have you, on your own, bullied another child during the last year?	1.43	.72
Parent report of bullying: How often has your child been accused of being a bully?	1.56	.77

APPENDIX - 4.2

Expression of Stigmatized versus Non-stigmatized Shaming (ESNS)

Section C: What would you say in these imaginary situations?

The next set of questions describes eight hypothetical situations. We would like you to pretend that you see your child behaving in the way described, but your child hasn't seen you. It does not matter if this has actually happened or not. Nor does it matter if you think it likely or not. Please imagine each situation has happened and answer the questions by circling a number that is closest to your opinion. Use the scale below to select your answer:

1 — Strongly disagree
2 — Disagree
3 — Neither disagree nor agree
4 — Agree
5 — Strongly agree

Situation 1: *Your child is walking along the corridor at school and sees another student. Your child puts his/her foot out and trips that student. You see this happen.*

[Please answer to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements]

[a] I would say that my child should not be blamed for the behavior

1 2 3 4 5

[b] I would say that my child will never repeat this behavior in future

1 2 3 4 5

[c] I would say that my child meant to do what he/she did

1 2 3 4 5

[d] I would say that the behavior was under my child's control

1 2 3 4 5

Situation 2: *Your child grabs the sweets from another student. You see this happen.*

[Please answer to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements]

[a] I would say that my child should not be blamed for the behavior

1 2 3 4 5

[b] I would say that my child will never repeat this behavior in future

1 2 3 4 5

[c] I would say that my child meant to do what he/she did

1 2 3 4 5

[d] I would say that the behavior was under my child's control

1 2 3 4 5

Code for answering:

1 — Strongly disagree
2 — Disagree
3 — Neither disagree nor agree
4 — Agree
5 — Strongly agree

Situation 3: *Your child is on the school playground and he/she is getting friends to ignore another student from his/her class. You see this happen.*

[Please answer to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements]

[a] I would say that my child should not be blamed for the behavior

1 2 3 4 5

[b] I would say that my child will never repeat this behavior in future

1 2 3 4 5

[c] I would say that my child meant to do what he/she did

1 2 3 4 5

[d] I would say that the behavior was under my child's control

1 2 3 4 5

Situation 4: *Your child is on the way home from school and sees a younger student carrying something important that he/she has made at school. Your child knocks the thing out of his/her hands. You see this happen.*

[Please answer to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements]

[a] I would say that my child should not be blamed for the behavior

1 2 3 4 5

[b] I would say that my child will never repeat this behavior in future

1 2 3 4 5

[c] I would say that my child meant to do what he/she did

1 2 3 4 5

[d] I would say that the behavior was under my child's control

1 2 3 4 5

Situation 5: *Your child makes rude comments about a student's family which upsets that student. You see this happen.*

[Please answer to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements]

[a] I would say that my child should not be blamed for the behavior

1 2 3 4 5

[b] I would say that my child will never repeat this behavior in future

1 2 3 4 5

[c] I would say that my child meant to do what he/she did

1 2 3 4 5

[d] I would say that the behavior was under my child's control

1 2 3 4 5

Code for answering:

1 — Strongly disagree
2 — Disagree
3 — Neither disagree nor agree
4 — Agree
5 — Strongly agree

Situation 6: *A younger student is going to the canteen to buy something. Your child grabs the student's money and warns not to tell or else. You see this happen.*

[Please answer to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements]

[a] I would say that my child should not be blamed for the behavior

1 2 3 4 5

[b] I would say that my child will never repeat this behavior in future

1 2 3 4 5

[c] I would say that my child meant to do what he/she did

1 2 3 4 5

[d] I would say that the behavior was under my child's control

1 2 3 4 5

Situation 7: Your child starts an argument in class with another student. Your child gets so mad that he/she excludes the student from doing the class project with him/her.You see this happen.

[Please answer to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements]

[a] I would say that my child should not be blamed for the behavior

1 2 3 4 5

[b] I would say that my child will never repeat this behavior in future

1 2 3 4 5

[c] I would say that my child meant to do what he/she did

1 2 3 4 5

[d] I would say that the behavior was under my child's control

1 2 3 4 5

Situation 8: Your child is left in the classroom alone with a student. Your child thinks that the teacher has gone and so he/she starts teasing the student. You see this happen.

[Please answer to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements]

[a] I would say that my child should not be blamed for the behavior

1 2 3 4 5

[b] I would say that my child will never repeat this behavior in future

1 2 3 4 5

[c] I would say that my child meant to do what he/she did

1 2 3 4 5

[d] I would say that the behavior was under my child's control

1 2 3 4 5

APPENDIX - 4.3

Test Of Self Conscious Affect – Child version (TOSCA-C)

Section - 4

Here are some situations that might happen to you once in a while. And here are some different ways that people might think or feel. Please put a tick (✓) in the circle that best describes how you would feel. The largest circle means that you are very likely to think or feel that way and the smallest circle means that you are not at all likely to think or feel that way.

Sample

Imagine this situation: You wake up very early one morning on a school day.

	Very unlikely$_1$	Unlikely$_2$	Maybe$_3$ (half & half)	Likely$_4$	Very likely$_5$
a) I would jump out of bed and eat breakfast right away.	○	○	○	○	○
b) I would get up and turn on the television.	○	○	○	○	✓
c) I would not feel like getting out of bed.	○	○	✓	○	○

Now please imagine yourself in some other situations. Remember everyone has good days and bad days. There are no right or wrong answers to these questions.

1) You know who threw the tennis ball through the window and you tell the teacher.

	Very unlikely$_1$	Unlikely$_2$	Maybe$_3$ (half & half)	Likely$_4$	Very likely$_5$
a) I'd worry about what would happen to them.	○	○	○	○	○
b) I'd think, "They deserved it."	○	○	○	○	○
c) I'd think " I am a dobber."	○	○	○	○	○
d) I'd feel good about myself.	○	○	○	○	○
e) I'd feel I did a good job.	○	○	○	○	○

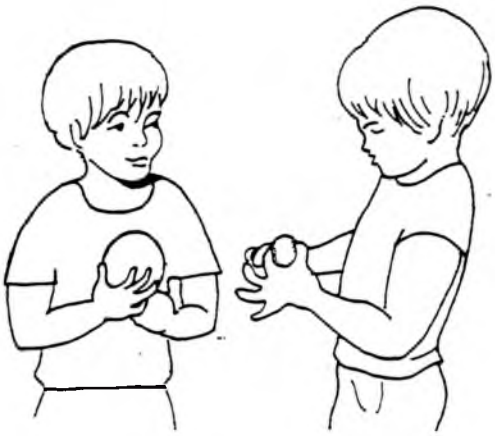
2) Your aunt is giving a big party. You are carrying drinks to people and you spill one all over the floor.

	Very unlikely$_1$	Unlikely$_2$	Maybe$_3$ (half & half)	Likely$_4$	Very likely$_5$
a) I'd think that I should have been more careful.	○	○	○	○	○
b) I'd think that my aunt wouldn't mind that much.	○	○	○	○	○
c) I'd run upstairs to be away from everybody.	○	○	○	○	○
d) I'd say that the tray was too heavy.	○	○	○	○	○

3) You get a test back in school and you didn't do well.

	Very unlikely$_1$	Unlikely$_2$	Maybe$_3$ (half & half)	Likely$_4$	Very likely$_5$
a) I'd feel that I should have done better. I should have studied more.	○	○	○	○	○
b) I'd feel stupid.	○	○	○	○	○
c) I'd think that it's only one test.	○	○	○	○	○
d) I'd think that the teacher doesn't like me and so gave me a low mark.	○	○	○	○	○

4) All the time, you play with someone who doesn't have any friends.



		Very unlikely$_1$	Unlikely$_2$	Maybe$_3$ (half & half)	Likely$_4$	Very likely$_5$
a)	I'd feel bad because it's not fair to forget about one friend when you make another.	○	○	○	○	○
b)	I'd feel that I did something good.	○	○	○	○	○
c)	I'd think that new kid had lots of fun games that I wanted to play.	○	○	○	○	○
d)	I'd think that my other friends might think I'm weird, playing with somebody who doesn't have any friends.	○	○	○	○	○
e)	I'd feel that I'm a really nice person because I played with someone who didn't have any friends.	○	○	○	○	○

5) You wake up one morning and remember it's your mother's birthday. You forgot to get her something.

	Very unlikely$_1$	Unlikely$_2$	Maybe$_3$ (half & half)	Likely$_4$	Very likely$_5$
a) I'd feel that it's not the gift that matters. All that really matters is that I care.	○	○	○	○	○
b) I'd think that after everything she's done for me, how could I forget her birthday.	○	○	○	○	○
c) I'd feel irresponsible and thoughtless.	○	○	○	○	○
d) I'd think that someone should have reminded me.	○	○	○	○	○

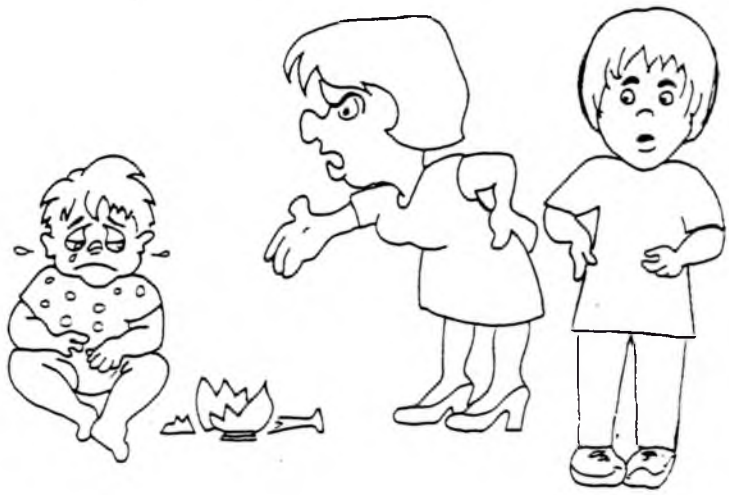
6) You are eating at lunchtime. You bend over to pick up something and you knock over your friend's milk.

		Very unlikely$_1$	Unlikely$_2$	Maybe$_3$ (half & half)	Likely$_4$	Very likely$_5$
a)	I'd be thinking that everyone is watching me and laughing.	○	○	○	○	○
b)	I'd feel sorry, very sorry. I should have watched where I was going.	○	○	○	○	○
c)	I wouldn't feel bad because milk doesn't cost very much.	○	○	○	○	○
d)	I'd feel I couldn't help it. The floor was slippery.	○	○	○	○	○

7) You were talking in class and your friend got blamed. You go to the teacher and tell him the truth.

	Very unlikely$_1$	Unlikely$_2$	Maybe$_3$ (half & half)	Likely$_4$	Very likely$_5$
a) I'd feel that the teacher should have got the facts straight before blaming my friend.	○	○	○	○	○
b) I'd feel like I always get people in trouble.	○	○	○	○	○
c) I'd feel that I did a very good thing by telling the truth.	○	○	○	○	○
d) I'd be proud of myself that I'm able to tell the teacher something like that.	○	○	○	○	○
e) I'd think that I'm the one who should get into trouble. I shouldn't have been talking in the first place.	○	○	○	○	○

8) You accidentally break your aunt's vase. Your aunt scolds your little cousin instead of you.



	Very unlikely$_1$	Unlikely$_2$	Maybe$_3$ (half & half)	Likely$_4$	Very likely$_5$
a) I'd think that if I didn't tell the truth, something inside would bother me.	○	○	○	○	○
b) I'd think that no one is going to like me if my cousin tells them.	○	○	○	○	○
c) I'd think that she only scolded him; it's no big deal.	○	○	○	○	○
d) I'd think that she should find out what happened before she starts yelling.	○	○	○	○	○

9) Your report card isn't as good as you wanted. You show it to your mother when you get home.

	Very unlikely$_1$	Unlikely$_2$	Maybe$_3$ (half & half)	Likely$_4$	Very likely$_5$
a) I'd think that everyone gets a bad report once in a while.	○	○	○	○	○
b) I'd think that I really didn't deserve the bad report; it wasn't my fault.	○	○	○	○	○
c) I'd think that I've got a bad report card, I'm worthless.	○	○	○	○	○
d) I'd think that I should listen to everything the teacher says and study harder.	○	○	○	○	○

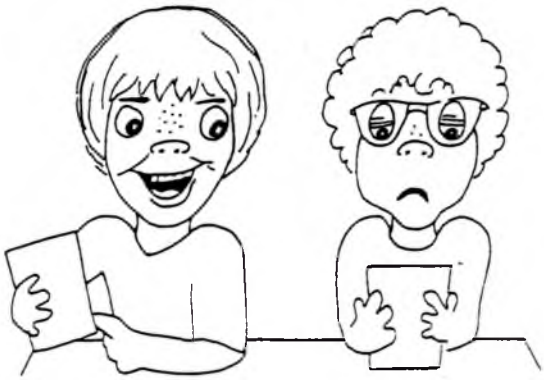
10) You and your best friend get into an argument at school.

	Very unlikely$_1$	Unlikely$_2$	Maybe$_3$ (half & half)	Likely$_4$	Very likely$_5$
a) I'd think that it was my friend's fault.	○	○	○	○	○
b) I'd think that we do it all the time and we always make up.	○	○	○	○	○
c) I'd feel sorry and feel like I shouldn't have done it.	○	○	○	○	○
d) I'd probably feel badly about myself.	○	○	○	○	○

11) Your teacher writes your name on the board for chewing gum in class.

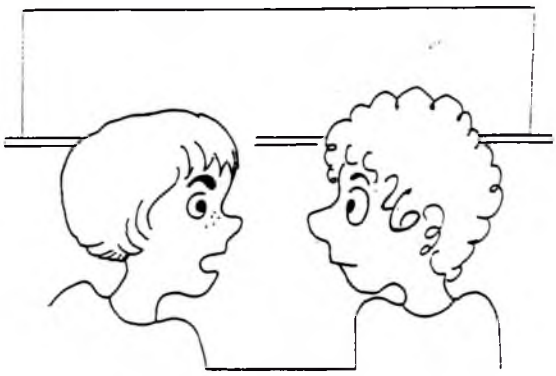
	Very unlikely$_1$	Unlikely$_2$	Maybe$_3$ (half & half)	Likely$_4$	Very likely$_5$
a) I'd think that my teacher was unfair to write my name on the board.	○	○	○	○	○
b) I'd slide down in my chair, embarrassed.	○	○	○	○	○
c) I'd think that if I was chewing gum it would serve me right because it's a rule.	○	○	○	○	○
d) I wouldn't care. People at school chew gum all the time.	○	○	○	○	○

12) You get your report card and tell your best friend you got excellent marks for everything. You find out your friend did not.



	Very unlikely$_1$	Unlikely$_2$	Maybe$_3$ (half & half)	Likely$_4$	Very likely$_5$
a) I'd think that it's my friend's fault for not getting an excellent report.	○	○	○	○	○
b) I'd feel bad because I was bragging about it and I made my friend unhappy.	○	○	○	○	○
c) I'd feel good about myself for being such a good student.	○	○	○	○	○
d) I'd be proud of my excellent report.	○	○	○	○	○
e) I'd think that my friend might think I'm a show-off.	○	○	○	○	○

13) You and your friend are talking in class and you get into trouble.

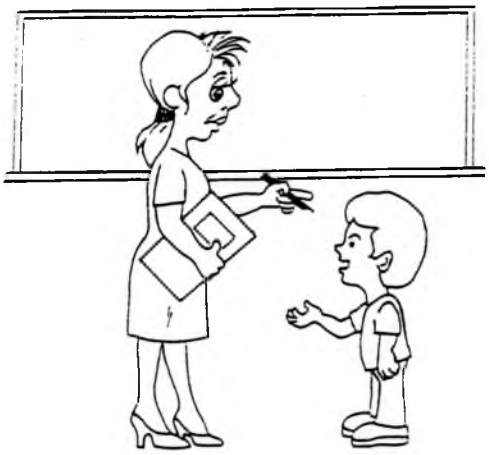


	Very unlikely$_1$	Unlikely$_2$	Maybe$_3$ (half & half)	Likely$_4$	Very likely$_5$
a) I'd think that I shouldn't have talked in the first place. I deserve to get into trouble.	○	○	○	○	○
b) I'd think that we were only whispering.	○	○	○	○	○
c) I'd think that the teacher is mean and unfair.	○	○	○	○	○
d) I'd feel like everyone in the class was looking at me and they were about to laugh.	○	○	○	○	○

14) You invited a friend to sleep over. But when you ask your mother she says no.

	Very unlikely$_1$	Unlikely$_2$	Maybe$_3$ (half & half)	Likely$_4$	Very likely$_5$
a) Since I already asked my friend, I'd feel embarrassed.	○	○	○	○	○
b) I'd feel my mother is not fair.	○	○	○	○	○
c) I'd feel sorry I asked my friend before I asked my mother. Now my friend will be disappointed.	○	○	○	○	○
d) I'd think that my friend can always sleep over another time.	○	○	○	○	○

15) Your teacher picks one student to do something special. She picks you.



	Very unlikely$_1$	Unlikely$_2$	Maybe$_3$ (half & half)	Likely$_4$	Very likely$_5$
a) I'd be wondering how the other students felt - the ones who didn't get picked.	○	○	○	○	○
b) I'd feel that my friends will think I'm a teacher's pet.	○	○	○	○	○
c) I'd feel that I must have done a good job to have the teacher pick me.	○	○	○	○	○
d) I would feel good about myself and that I'm special.	○	○	○	○	○
e) I'd feel that the teacher must really like me.	○	○	○	○	○

Next section please

APPENDIX - 4.4

The 'Life at School' Survey questionnaires

For office use only

Questionnaire : __ __ __ __ __ __

Division of Psychology

The Australian National University

Canberra, A.C.T. 0200 Australia

"Life at school: child survey"

* 1996 *

Dear *Student*,

This questionnaire asks you about yourself and your school.

While you answer the questions, remember that this is an anonymous questionnaire. You are not being asked to put your name on it. Nobody will know who has answered each questionnaire.

Sometimes you will be asked to write your answer on the dotted line. Most times you will be asked to tick (✓) in the box/circle that is closest to what you think. There are no right or wrong answers.

This questionnaire will take about one hour to complete. Please do not talk about your answers with anyone else. Raise your hand if you have anything to ask.

Now begin the questionnaire and do not leave any questions unanswered. Please check when you turn a page to be sure that you do not miss any question.

Thank you,

Ms Eliza Ahmed &
Dr Valerie Braithwaite
The Australian National University

Section - 1

1. Are you a boy or a girl? *[Please tick (✓) in a box]* ☐ Boy$_1$ - ☐ Girl$_2$

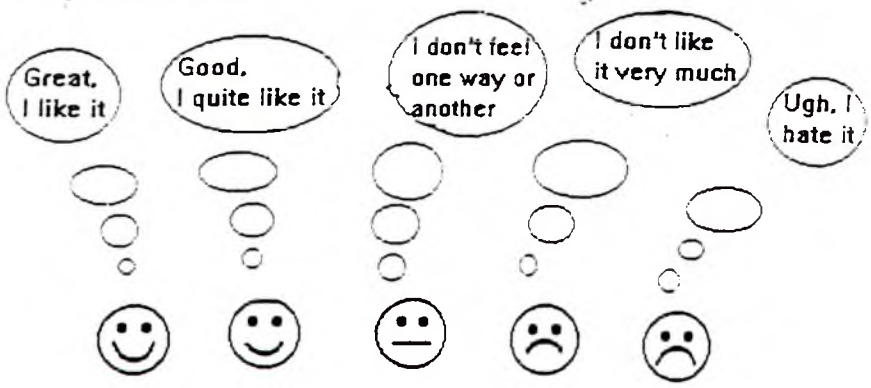
2. How old are you? ------- years

3. What grade are you in at your school? --------th grade

4. How many grades have you done in this school? *[tick (✓) in a box]*

   ☐ Less than a grade$_1$ ☐ 1 to 2 grade(s)$_2$ ☐ 3 to 4 grades$_3$ ☐ 5 or more grades$_4$

5. Now look at these pictures and <u>shade the face</u> with a pencil which is <u>most like you</u> when you are at school.



5. How many good friends do you have in your class? *[tick (✓) in a box]*

   (a) ☐ None at all$_1$
   (b) ☐ I have one good friend in my class$_2$
   (c) ☐ I have two or three good friends$_3$
   (d) ☐ I have many good friends in my class$_4$

6. Please indicate which parent you spend most time with? *[tick in a box]*

   ☐ Mother$_1$ ☐ Father$_2$ ☐ Both equally$_3$ ☐ A guardian$_4$

STOP! Please wait for your teacher's instruction.

Section - 2

In this section, you will be given some statements which describe certain feelings that you have about yourself. Please read each sentence carefully and think about yourself.

> If you disagree a lot with the statement, tick (✓) in the 'Disagree a lot' box.
>
> If you disagree a bit with the statement, tick (✓) in the 'Disagree a bit' box.
>
> If you agree a bit with the statement, tick (✓) in the 'Agree a bit' box.
>
> If you agree a lot with the statement, tick (✓) in the 'Agree a lot' box.

Now start:

1. I feel I have a number of good qualities.

☐	☐	☐	☐
Disagree a lot$_1$	Disagree a bit$_2$	Agree a bit$_3$	Agree a lot$_4$

2. If I want to do well in school, it's up to me to do it.

☐	☐	☐	☐
Disagree a lot$_1$	Disagree a bit$_2$	Agree a bit$_3$	Agree a lot$_4$

3. I often get involved in things I later wish I could get out of.

☐	☐	☐	☐
Disagree a lot$_1$	Disagree a bit$_2$	Agree a bit$_3$	Agree a lot$_4$

4. I feel like standing up for kids who are being bullied.

☐	☐	☐	☐
Disagree a lot$_1$	Disagree a bit$_2$	Agree a bit$_3$	Agree a lot$_4$

5. If somebody is my friend, it is usually because of the way that I treat him/her.

☐	☐	☐	☐
Disagree a lot$_1$	Disagree a bit$_2$	Agree a bit$_3$	Agree a lot$_4$

6. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.

☐ Disagree a lot[1] ☐ Disagree a bit[2] ☐ Agree a bit[3] ☐ Agree a lot[4]

7. I often get into trouble because I do things without thinking.

☐ Disagree a lot[1] ☐ Disagree a bit[2] ☐ Agree a bit[3] ☐ Agree a lot[4]

8. I feel like helping kids who can't defend themselves.

☐ Disagree a lot[1] ☐ Disagree a bit[2] ☐ Agree a bit[3] ☐ Agree a lot[4]

9. I can be good at any sport if I try hard enough.

☐ Disagree a lot[1] ☐ Disagree a bit[2] ☐ Agree a bit[3] ☐ Agree a lot[4]

10. I wish I could have more respect for myself.

☐ Disagree a lot[1] ☐ Disagree a bit[2] ☐ Agree a bit[3] ☐ Agree a lot[4]

11. I tend to hop from interest to interest quickly.

☐ Disagree a lot[1] ☐ Disagree a bit[2] ☐ Agree a bit[3] ☐ Agree a lot[4]

12. If I don't do well in school, it's my own fault.

☐ Disagree a lot[1] ☐ Disagree a bit[2] ☐ Agree a bit[3] ☐ Agree a lot[4]

13. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.

☐ Disagree a lot[1] ☐ Disagree a bit[2] ☐ Agree a bit[3] ☐ Agree a lot[4]

14. I get bored easily.

☐ Disagree a lot[1] ☐ Disagree a bit[2] ☐ Agree a bit[3] ☐ Agree a lot[4]

15. I feel like being angry when a kid is picked on without reason.

☐ Disagree a lot1 ☐ Disagree a bit2 ☐ Agree a bit3 ☐ Agree a lot4

16. If somebody doesn't like me, it's usually because of something I did.

☐ Disagree a lot1 ☐ Disagree a bit2 ☐ Agree a bit3 ☐ Agree a lot4

17. At times I think I am no good at all.

☐ Disagree a lot1 ☐ Disagree a bit2 ☐ Agree a bit3 ☐ Agree a lot4

18. I often do and say things without stopping to think.

☐ Disagree a lot1 ☐ Disagree a bit2 ☐ Agree a bit3 ☐ Agree a lot4

19. If I try to catch a ball and I miss it, it's usually because I didn't try hard enough.

☐ Disagree a lot1 ☐ Disagree a bit2 ☐ Agree a bit3 ☐ Agree a lot4

20. I certainly feel useless at times.

☐ Disagree a lot1 ☐ Disagree a bit2 ☐ Agree a bit3 ☐ Agree a lot4

21. If someone is mean to me, it's usually because of something I did.

☐ Disagree a lot1 ☐ Disagree a bit2 ☐ Agree a bit3 ☐ Agree a lot4

Next section please

Section – 3

Now some questions about bullying.

We call it bullying when someone repeatedly hurts or frightens someone weaker than themselves on purpose.

Remember that it is not bullying when two young people of about the same strength have the odd fight or quarrel.

Bullying can be done in different ways: by hurtful teasing, threatening actions or gestures, name-calling or hitting or kicking.

Remember this is private. No one will see your answers. Please answer the questions by putting a tick (✓) in a box as you did before.

1. How often would you say that bullying happens at this school?

   ☐ Never$_1$ ☐ Sometimes$_2$ ☐ Often$_3$

2. Have you noticed bullying going on in this school in any of these places?

Place			
(a) In the classroom	☐ Never$_1$	☐ Sometimes$_2$	☐ Often$_3$
(b) At recess/lunch	☐ Never$_1$	☐ Sometimes$_2$	☐ Often$_3$
(c) On the way to school	☐ Never$_1$	☐ Sometimes$_2$	☐ Often$_3$
(d) On the way home from school	☐ Never$_1$	☐ Sometimes$_2$	☐ Often$_3$

3. In your view, is this school a safe place for young people who find it hard to defend themselves from attack from other students?

   (a) ☐ It is never safe for them$_1$

   (b) ☐ It is hardly ever safe for them$_2$

   (c) ☐ It is usually safe for them$_3$

   (d) ☐ Yes, it is a safe place for them$_4$

4. Do you think that teachers at this school are interested in trying to stop bullying?

(a) ☐ Not really$_1$

(b) ☐ Only sometimes$_2$

(c) ☐ Usually they are$_3$

(d) ☐ They always are$_4$

> Now we would like you to tell us how often <u>you</u> have been bullied by other students at school.
> Remember that it is <u>not</u> bullying when two young people of about the same strength have the odd fight or quarrel.
> <u>Bullying occurs when a stronger person repeatedly hurts someone who is weaker by saying or doing hurtful things on purpose.</u>

5. Looking back over your life at school <u>in the last year</u> (1995-96), how often have you been bullied by another student or group of students?

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Most days$_1$	1 or 2 days a week$_2$	About once a week$_3$	About once every few weeks$_4$	Every now and again$_5$	Never$_6$

<u>If you answered 'Never', please go to question no. 15.</u>

6. Did any of these things happen to you while you were being bullied?

(a)	Teased in an unpleasant way	☐ Never$_1$	☐ Sometimes$_2$	☐ Often$_3$
(b)	Called hurtful names	☐ Never$_1$	☐ Sometimes$_2$	☐ Often$_3$
(c)	Left out of things on purpose	☐ Never$_1$	☐ Sometimes$_2$	☐ Often$_3$
(d)	Threatened with harm	☐ Never$_1$	☐ Sometimes$_2$	☐ Often$_3$
(e)	Hit or kicked	☐ Never$_1$	☐ Sometimes$_2$	☐ Often$_3$

7. Think back to the time when you were bullied. Please tell us how long it lasted.

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
A few days$_1$	A week$_2$	A few weeks$_3$	A month$_4$	A few months$_5$	More than a few months$_6$

8. Why do you think that you were bullied?

(a)	I did something hurtful to someone	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
(b)	I am smaller, weaker or younger	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
(c)	I guess I just deserved it	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
(d)	I look or act different	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
(e)	I always do well in class	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
(f)	I don't know	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$

(g) Other reason (please write) .....

.....

If there are any other things that you want to tell us about what happened when you were bullied, please write them in the space below:

.....

.....

.....

.....

Bullying is sometimes done by an individual person, sometimes by a group.

9. Were you ever bullied by a group of students?

☐	☐	☐
Yes often$_1$	Yes sometimes$_2$	No never$_3$

10. Were you ever bullied by an individual student?

☐	☐	☐
Yes often$_1$	Yes sometimes$_2$	No never$_3$

If you answered 'no never', please go to question 12.

11. In the case of an individual bully, was the student doing it:

(a) ☐ Always a boy$_1$

(b) ☐ Always a girl$_2$

(c) ☐ Sometimes a boy, sometimes a girl$_3$

12. Have you ever stayed away from school because of bullying?

(a) ☐ No, I have never thought of doing so$_1$

(b) ☐ No, but I have thought of doing so$_2$

(c) ☐ Yes, I have stayed away from school once or twice$_3$

(d) ☐ Yes, I have stayed away from school more than twice$_4$

13. Have you ever told anyone you have been bullied?

(a) ☐ Yes$_1$

(b) ☐ No$_2$

14. Have you told any of the following people about your being bullied?

Person		
(a) Your mother	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
(b) Your father	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
(c) A teacher	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
(d) A counsellor	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
(e) A friend or friends	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$

15. Sometimes we may find ourselves getting involved in bullying other children.

How often have you been part of a group that bullied someone during the last year?

(a) ☐ I haven't been part of any group that bullied anyone$_1$

(b) ☐ It has happened once or twice$_2$

(c) ☐ Sometimes$_3$

(d) ☐ About once a week$_4$

(e) ☐ Several times a week$_5$

16. How often have you, on your own, bullied another child during the last year?

(a) ☐ I haven't, on my own, bullied anyone during the last year$_1$

(b) ☐ It has happened once or twice$_2$

(c) ☐ Sometimes$_3$

(d) ☐ About once a week$_4$

(e) ☐ Several times a week$_5$

17. Why do you think you bullied that child?

(a)	I think it's fun to bully	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
(b)	So he/she knows who is powerful	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
(c)	To get even	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
(d)	He/she looks or acts different	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
(e)	It's okay to hurt someone who bothers me	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
(f)	I don't know	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$

(g) Other reason (please write).....

.....

Remember the incident when you bullied that child and please answer the followings:

a)	Did you feel ashamed of yourself?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
b)	Did anyone see you bully that child?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
c)	At that time, did you wish that you could just hide? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
d)	Did you feel like blaming yourself for what happened? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
e)	At that time, did you think that others would reject you? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
f)	Did you feel like making the situation better? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
g)	Did you feel like blaming others for what happened? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
h)	Did you find yourself unable to decide if you were to blame?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
i)	Did you feel angry about what happened? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
j)	Did you feel like getting back at that student? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
k)	Did you feel like doing something else, for example, throwing or kicking something? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$

18. How able are you to bully other children, if you wanted to do so?

(a) ☐ Less able than most students$_1$

(b) ☐ About as able as most students$_2$

(c) ☐ More able than most students$_3$

19. Have you ever felt like hurting or upsetting another student?

(a) ☐ No, never$_1$

(b) ☐ Yes, sometimes$_2$

(c) ☐ Yes, often$_3$

20. How many children in your class are bullies? ----------

21. How many children in your class get picked on by bullies? ----------

22. Do you think that bullying causes harm to other children?

☐ Not at all$_1$ ☐ Slightly$_2$ ☐ Moderately$_3$ ☐ Very much$_4$

23. If you could do one thing to stop bullying in your school, what would you do?
(Please write on the space below):

.....

.....

.....

.....

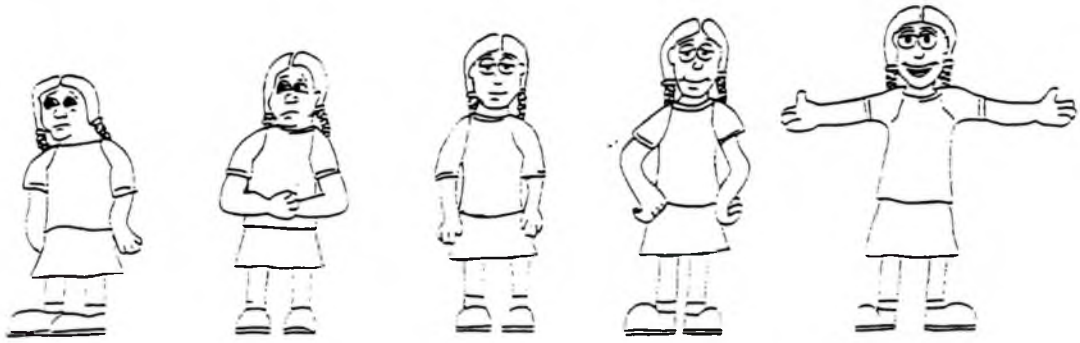
.....

24. Now look at these pictures and shade the child who is most like you when you are at school.

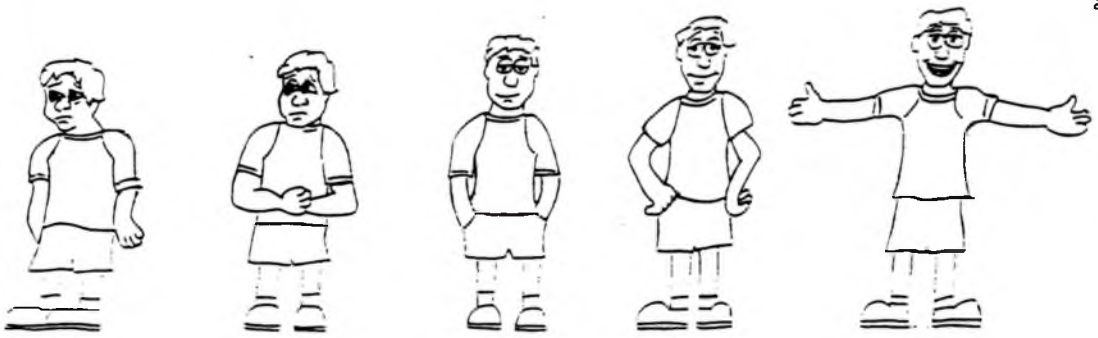
If you are a girl please shade the girl version.

If you are a boy please shade the boy version.

Girl version:



Boy version:



With thanks to Ben

Next section please

Section - 4

Here are some situations that might happen to you once in a while. And here are some different ways that people might think or feel. Please put a tick (✓) in the circle that best describes how you would feel. The largest circle means that you are very likely to think or feel that way and the smallest circle means that you are not at all likely to think or feel that way.

Sample

Imagine this situation: You wake up very early one morning on a school day.

	Very unlikely$_1$	Unlikely$_2$	Maybe$_3$ (half & half)	Likely$_4$	Very likely$_5$
a) I would jump out of bed and eat breakfast right away.	⊘	○	○	○	○
b) I would get up and turn on the television.	○	○	○	○	✓
c) I would not feel like getting out of bed.	○	○	✓	○	○

Now please imagine yourself in some other situations. Remember everyone has good days and bad days. There are no right or wrong answers to these questions.

1) You know who threw the tennis ball through the window and you tell the teacher.

	Very unlikely$_1$	Unlikely$_2$	Maybe$_3$ (half & half)	Likely$_4$	Very likely$_5$
a) I'd worry about what would happen to them.	○	○	○	○	○
b) I'd think, "They deserved it."	○	○	○	○	○
c) I'd think " I am a dobber."	○	○	○	○	○
d) I'd feel good about myself.	○	○	○	○	○
e) I'd feel I did a good job.	○	○	○	○	○

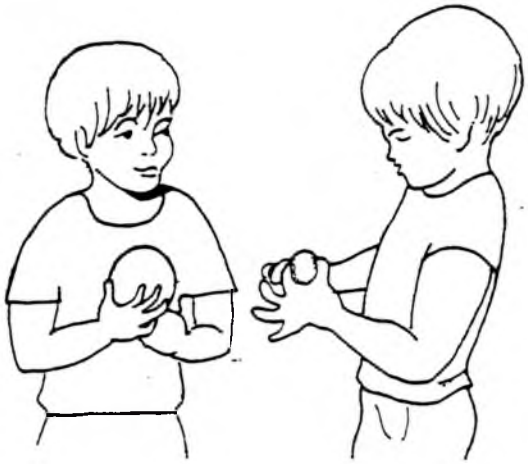
2) Your aunt is giving a big party. You are carrying drinks to people and you spill one all over the floor.

	Very unlikely$_1$	Unlikely$_2$	Maybe$_3$ (half & half)	Likely$_4$	Very likely$_5$
a) I'd think that I should have been more careful.	○	○	○	○	○
b) I'd think that my aunt wouldn't mind that much.	○	○	○	○	○
c) I'd run upstairs to be away from everybody.	○	○	○	○	○
d) I'd say that the tray was too heavy.	○	○	○	○	○

3) You get a test back in school and you didn't do well.

	Very unlikely$_1$	Unlikely$_2$	Maybe$_3$ (half & half)	Likely$_4$	Very likely$_5$
a) I'd feel that I should have done better. I should have studied more.	○	○	○	○	○
b) I'd feel stupid.	○	○	○	○	○
c) I'd think that it's only one test.	○	○	○	○	○
d) I'd think that the teacher doesn't like me and so gave me a low mark.	○	○	○	○	○

4) All the time, you play with someone who doesn't have any friends.



	Very unlikely$_1$	Unlikely$_2$	Maybe$_3$ (half & half)	Likely$_4$	Very likely$_5$
a) I'd feel bad because it's not fair to forget about one friend when you make another.	○	○	○	○	○
b) I'd feel that I did something good.	○	○	○	○	○
c) I'd think that new kid had lots of fun games that I wanted to play.	○	○	○	○	○
d) I'd think that my other friends might think I'm weird, playing with somebody who doesn't have any friends.	○	○	○	○	○
e) I'd feel that I'm a really nice person because I played with someone who didn't have any friends.	○	○	○	○	○

5) You wake up one morning and remember it's your mother's birthday. You forgot to get her something.

	Very unlikely$_1$	Unlikely$_2$	Maybe$_3$ (half & half)	Likely$_4$	Very likely$_5$
a) I'd feel that it's not the gift that matters. All that really matters is that I care.	○	○	○	○	○
b) I'd think that after everything she's done for me, how could I forget her birthday.	○	○	○	○	○
c) I'd feel irresponsible and thoughtless.	○	○	○	○	○
d) I'd think that someone should have reminded me.	○	○	○	○	○

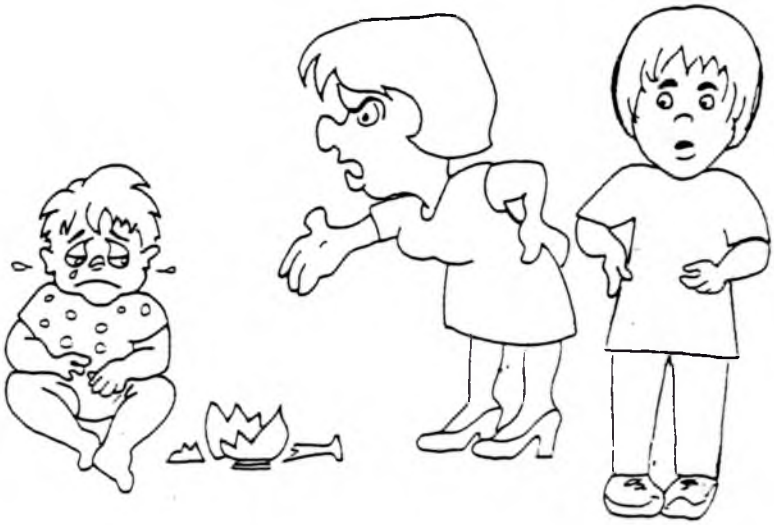
6) You are eating at lunchtime. You bend over to pick up something and you knock over your friend's milk.

		Very unlikely$_1$	Unlikely$_2$	Maybe$_3$ (half & half)	Likely$_4$	Very likely$_5$
a)	I'd be thinking that everyone is watching me and laughing.	○	○	○	○	○
b)	I'd feel sorry, very sorry. I should have watched where I was going.	○	○	○	○	○
c)	I wouldn't feel bad because milk doesn't cost very much.	○	○	○	○	○
d)	I'd feel I couldn't help it. The floor was slippery.	○	○	○	○	○

7) You were talking in class and your friend got blamed. You go to the teacher and tell him the truth.

	Very unlikely$_1$	Unlikely$_2$	Maybe$_3$ (half & half)	Likely$_4$	Very likely$_5$
a) I'd feel that the teacher should have got the facts straight before blaming my friend.	○	○	○	○	○
b) I'd feel like I always get people in trouble.	○	○	○	○	○
c) I'd feel that I did a very good thing by telling the truth.	○	○	○	○	○
d) I'd be proud of myself that I'm able to tell the teacher something like that.	○	○	○	○	○
e) I'd think that I'm the one who should get into trouble. I shouldn't have been talking in the first place.	○	○	○	○	○

8) You accidentally break your aunt's vase. Your aunt scolds your little cousin instead of you.



	Very unlikely$_1$	Unlikely$_2$	Maybe$_3$ (half & half)	Likely$_4$	Very likely$_5$
a) I'd think that if I didn't tell the truth, something inside would bother me.	○	○	○	○	○
b) I'd think that no one is going to like me if my cousin tells them.	○	○	○	○	○
c) I'd think that she only scolded him; it's no big deal.	○	○	○	○	○
d) I'd think that she should find out what happened before she starts yelling.	○	○	○	○	○

9) Your report card isn't as good as you wanted. You show it to your mother when you get home.

	Very unlikely$_1$	Unlikely$_2$	Maybe$_3$ (half & half)	Likely$_4$	Very likely$_5$
a) I'd think that everyone gets a bad report once in a while.	○	○	○	○	○
b) I'd think that I really didn't deserve the bad report; it wasn't my fault.	○	○	○	○	○
c) I'd think that I've got a bad report card, I'm worthless.	○	○	○	○	○
d) I'd think that I should listen to everything the teacher says and study harder.	○	○	○	○	○

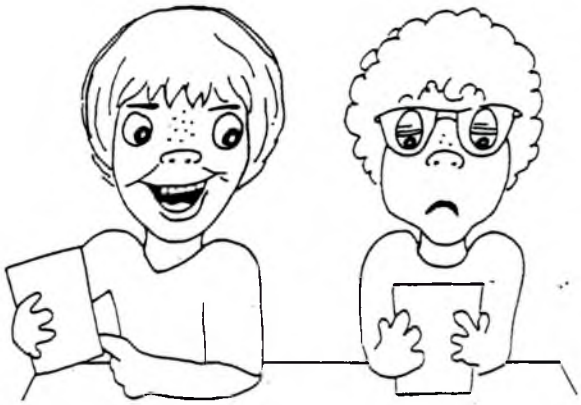
10) You and your best friend get into an argument at school.

	Very unlikely$_1$	Unlikely$_2$	Maybe$_3$ (half & half)	Likely$_4$	Very likely$_5$
a) I'd think that it was my friend's fault.	○	○	○	○	○
b) I'd think that we do it all the time and we always make up.	○	○	○	○	○
c) I'd feel sorry and feel like I shouldn't have done it.	○	○	○	○	○
d) I'd probably feel badly about myself.	○	○	○	○	○

11) Your teacher writes your name on the board for chewing gum in class.

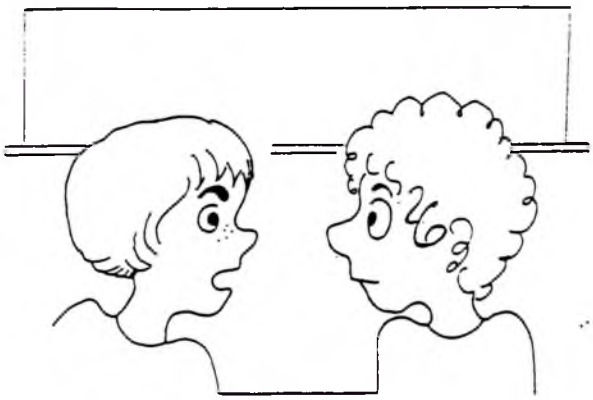
	Very unlikely$_1$	Unlikely$_2$	Maybe$_3$ (half & half)	Likely$_4$	Very likely$_5$
a) I'd think that my teacher was unfair to write my name on the board.	○	○	○	○	○
b) I'd slide down in my chair, embarrassed.	○	○	○	○	○
c) I'd think that if I was chewing gum it would serve me right because it's a rule.	○	○	○	○	○
d) I wouldn't care. People at school chew gum all the time.	○	○	○	○	○

12) You get your report card and tell your best friend you got excellent marks for everything. You find out your friend did not.



	Very unlikely$_1$	Unlikely$_2$	Maybe$_3$ (half & half)	Likely$_4$	Very likely$_5$
a) I'd think that it's my friend's fault for not getting an excellent report.	○	○	○	○	○
b) I'd feel bad because I was bragging about it and I made my friend unhappy.	○	○	○	○	○
c) I'd feel good about myself for being such a good student.	○	○	○	○	○
d) I'd be proud of my excellent report.	○	○	○	○	○
e) I'd think that my friend might think I'm a show-off.	○	○	○	○	○

13) You and your friend are talking in class and you get into trouble.

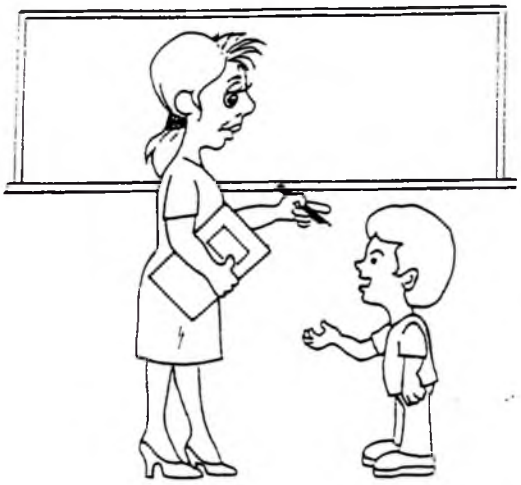


	Very unlikely$_1$	Unlikely$_2$	Maybe$_3$ (half & half)	Likely$_4$	Very likely$_5$
a) I'd think that I shouldn't have talked in the first place. I deserve to get into trouble.	○	○	○	○	○
b) I'd think that we were only whispering.	○	○	○	○	○
c) I'd think that the teacher is mean and unfair.	○	○	○	○	○
d) I'd feel like everyone in the class was looking at me and they were about to laugh.	○	○	○	○	○

14) You invited a friend to sleep over. But when you ask your mother she says no.

	Very unlikely$_1$	Unlikely$_2$	Maybe$_3$ (half & half)	Likely$_4$	Very likely$_5$
a) Since I already asked my friend, I'd feel embarrassed.	○	○	○	○	○
b) I'd feel my mother is not fair.	○	○	○	○	○
c) I'd feel sorry I asked my friend before I asked my mother. Now my friend will be disappointed.	○	○	○	○	○
d) I'd think that my friend can always sleep over another time.	○	○	○	○	○

15) Your teacher picks one student to do something special. She picks you.



	Very unlikely$_1$	Unlikely$_2$	Maybe$_3$ (half & half)	Likely$_4$	Very likely$_5$
a) I'd be wondering how the other students felt - the ones who didn't get picked.	○	○	○	○	○
b) I'd feel that my friends will think I'm a teacher's pet.	○	○	○	○	○
c) I'd feel that I must have done a good job to have the teacher pick me.	○	○	○	○	○
d) I would feel good about myself and that I'm special.	○	○	○	○	○
e) I'd feel that the teacher must really like me.	○	○	○	○	○

Next section please

Section - 5

In this section, we are going to ask about how you feel when you do a bad thing. Remember that everyone sometimes does things that they wouldn't normally do.

Here are some situations that do not usually happen, but happen sometimes. As you read each story, try to imagine yourself in that situation. Then indicate your feelings in that situation. Please answer the questions by putting a tick (✓) in the 'Yes' or 'No' box following the question. There are no right or wrong answers to these questions.

Here is an example: "Imagine that you are in the playground during lunchtime. You hit a student from your class for no good reason. You then realize that your class teacher saw what you did."

"Would you feel ashamed of yourself?" ☐ Yes1 ☑ No2

In this example 'No' has been ticked by a student who would not feel ashamed of him/herself. A student who thinks that he/she would feel ashamed of him/herself would tick 'Yes'.

Now start:

1. Imagine that you are walking along the corridor at school and you see another student. You put your foot out and trip the student. Then you realize that the class teacher has just come into the corridor and saw what you did.

a)	Would you feel ashamed of yourself?	☐ Yes1	☐ No2
b)	Would you wish you could just hide?	☐ Yes1	☐ No2
c)	Would you feel like blaming yourself for what happened? ...	☐ Yes1	☐ No2
d)	Do you think others would reject you?	☐ Yes1	☐ No2
e)	Would you feel like making the situation better? ...	☐ Yes1	☐ No2
f)	Would you feel like blaming others for what happened? ...	☐ Yes1	☐ No2
g)	Would you be unable to decide if you were to blame? ...	☐ Yes1	☐ No2
h)	Would you feel angry in this situation?	☐ Yes1	☐ No2
i)	Would you feel like getting back at that student? ...	☐ Yes1	☐ No2
j)	Would you feel like doing something else, for example, throwing or kicking something? ...	☐ Yes1	☐ No2

2. Imagine that this is lunchtime at school and you see a younger student. You grab the sweets from his/her hand . Then you realize that the class teacher saw what you did.

a)	Would you feel ashamed of yourself?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
b)	Would you wish you could just hide?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
c)	Would you feel like blaming yourself for what happened? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
d)	Do you think others would reject you?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
e)	Would you feel like making the situation better? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
f)	Would you feel like blaming others for what happened? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
g)	Would you be unable to decide if you were to blame? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
h)	Would you feel angry in this situation?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
i)	Would you feel like getting back at that student? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
j)	Would you feel like doing something else, for example, throwing or kicking something? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$

3. Imagine that you are in the school playground and you get your friends to ignore another student from your class. You then realize that the teacher on duty has been watching you.

a)	Would you feel ashamed of yourself?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
b)	Would you wish you could just hide?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
c)	Would you feel like blaming yourself for what happened? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
d)	Do you think others would reject you?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
e)	Would you feel like making the situation better? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
f)	Would you feel like blaming others for what happened? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
g)	Would you be unable to decide if you were to blame? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
h)	Would you feel angry in this situation?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
i)	Would you feel like getting back at that student? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
j)	Would you feel like doing something else, for example, throwing or kicking something? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$

4. **Imagine that you are on the way home from school and see a younger student carrying something important that he/she has made at school. You knock the thing out of the child's hands. Then you realize that one of your teachers saw what you did.**

a)	Would you feel ashamed of yourself?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
b)	Would you wish you could just hide?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
c)	Would you feel like blaming yourself for what happened? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
d)	Do you think others would reject you?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
e)	Would you feel like making the situation better? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
f)	Would you feel like blaming others for what happened? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
g)	Would you be unable to decide if you were to blame? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
h)	Would you feel angry in this situation?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
i)	Would you feel like getting back at that student? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
j)	Would you feel like doing something else, for example, throwing or kicking something? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$

5. **Imagine that you have been making rude comments about a student's family. You find out that your class teacher heard what you said.**

a)	Would you feel ashamed of yourself?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
b)	Would you wish you could just hide?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
c)	Would you feel like blaming yourself for what happened? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
d)	Do you think others would reject you?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
e)	Would you feel like making the situation better? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
f)	Would you feel like blaming others for what happened? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
g)	Would you be unable to decide if you were to blame? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
h)	Would you feel angry in this situation?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
i)	Would you feel like getting back at that student? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
j)	Would you feel like doing something else, for example, throwing or kicking something? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$

6. **Imagine that a younger student is going to the canteen to buy something. You grab his/her money. You warn the student not to tell or else. Then you realize that your class teacher saw you and heard what you said.**

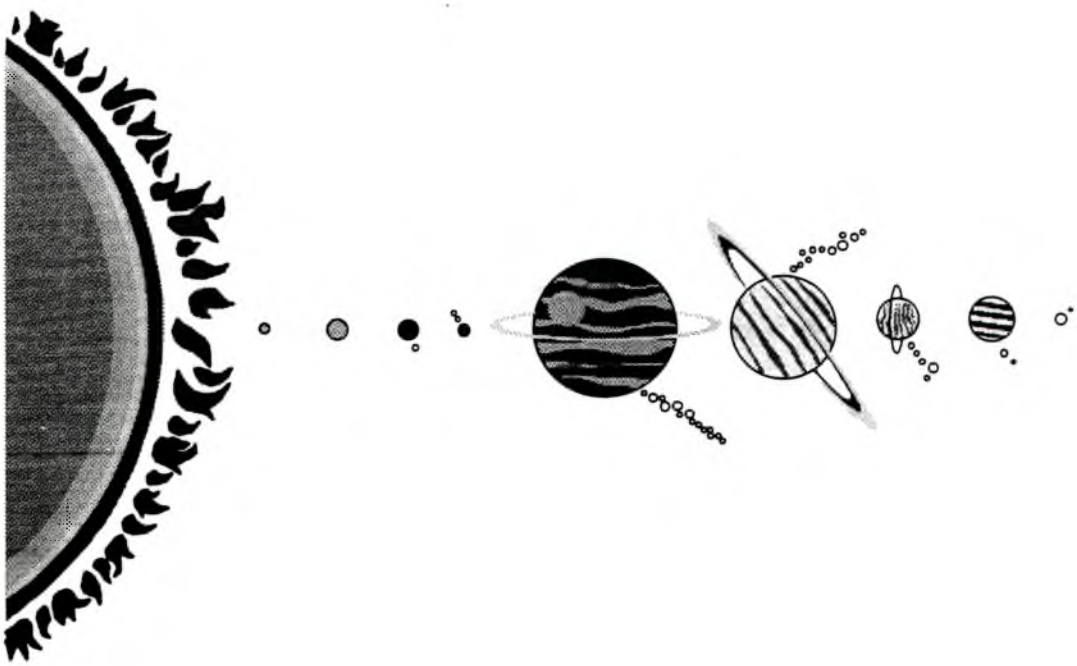
a)	Would you feel ashamed of yourself?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
b)	Would you wish you could just hide?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
c)	Would you feel like blaming yourself for what happened? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
d)	Do you think others would reject you?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
e)	Would you feel like making the situation better? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
f)	Would you feel like blaming others for what happened? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
g)	Would you be unable to decide if you were to blame? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
h)	Would you feel angry in this situation?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
i)	Would you feel like getting back at that student? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
j)	Would you feel like doing something else, for example, throwing or kicking something? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$

7. **Imagine that you started an argument in class with another student. Then you exclude the student from doing the class project with you. Suddenly the teacher comes in and is told what you did.**

a)	Would you feel ashamed of yourself?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
b)	Would you wish you could just hide?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
c)	Would you feel like blaming yourself for what happened? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
d)	Do you think others would reject you?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
e)	Would you feel like making the situation better? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
f)	Would you feel like blaming others for what happened? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
g)	Would you be unable to decide if you were to blame? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
h)	Would you feel angry in this situation?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
i)	Would you feel like getting back at that student? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
j)	Would you feel like doing something else, for example, throwing or kicking something? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$

8. **Imagine that you are left in the classroom alone with a student. You think that the teacher has gone and so you start teasing the student. Then you realize that the teacher is still in the classroom.**

a)	Would you feel ashamed of yourself?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
b)	Would you wish you could just hide?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
c)	Would you feel like blaming yourself for what happened? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
d)	Do you think others would reject you?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
e)	Would you feel like making the situation better? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
f)	Would you feel like blaming others for what happened? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
g)	Would you be unable to decide if you were to blame? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
h)	Would you feel angry in this situation?	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
i)	Would you feel like getting back at that student? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$
j)	Would you feel like doing something else, for example, throwing or kicking something? ...	☐ Yes$_1$	☐ No$_2$



Below are a list of hassles that children may have in their lives. Please indicate how often you have to deal with these hassles by putting a tick (✓) in the box that best fits you.

1. Failing a test or exam ....

☐ Never$_1$ ☐ Sometimes$_2$ ☐ A lot of time$_3$

2. Having no friends ....

☐ Never$_1$ ☐ Sometimes$_2$ ☐ A lot of time$_3$

3. Parents checking up on me ....

☐ Never$_1$ ☐ Sometimes$_2$ ☐ A lot of time$_3$

4. Doing badly at sport....

☐ Never$_1$ ☐ Sometimes$_2$ ☐ A lot of time$_3$

5. Feeling unsure about what is expected of me at school (e.g. schoolwork) ....

☐ Never$_1$ ☐ Sometimes$_2$ ☐ A lot of time$_3$

6. Having things go wrong in my relationships with friends ....

☐ Never$_1$ ☐ Sometimes$_2$ ☐ A lot of time$_3$

7. Parents ignoring me ....

☐ Never$_1$ ☐ Sometimes$_2$ ☐ A lot of time$_3$

8. Forgetting to bring things to school ....

☐ Never$_1$ ☐ Sometimes$_2$ ☐ A lot of time$_3$

9. Doing worse in some schoolwork than I expected ....

☐ Never$_1$ ☐ Sometimes$_2$ ☐ A lot of time$_3$

10. Having to make new friends ....

☐ Never$_1$ ☐ Sometimes$_2$ ☐ A lot of time$_3$

11. Difficulties among family members ....

☐ Never$_1$ ☐ Sometimes$_2$ ☐ A lot of time$_3$

12. Getting myself organized to do things ....

☐ Never$_1$ ☐ Sometimes$_2$ ☐ A lot of time$_3$

13. Failing to do my homework ....

☐ Never$_1$ ☐ Sometimes$_2$ ☐ A lot of time$_3$

14. Disagreements or misunderstandings with friends ....

☐ Never$_1$ ☐ Sometimes$_2$ ☐ A lot of time$_3$

15. Arguments or disagreements in my home ....

☐ Never$_1$ ☐ Sometimes$_2$ ☐ A lot of time$_3$

16. Lack of spare time ....

☐ Never$_1$ ☐ Sometimes$_2$ ☐ A lot of time$_3$

You are at the end of this questionnaire! Please let us ask you one more question.

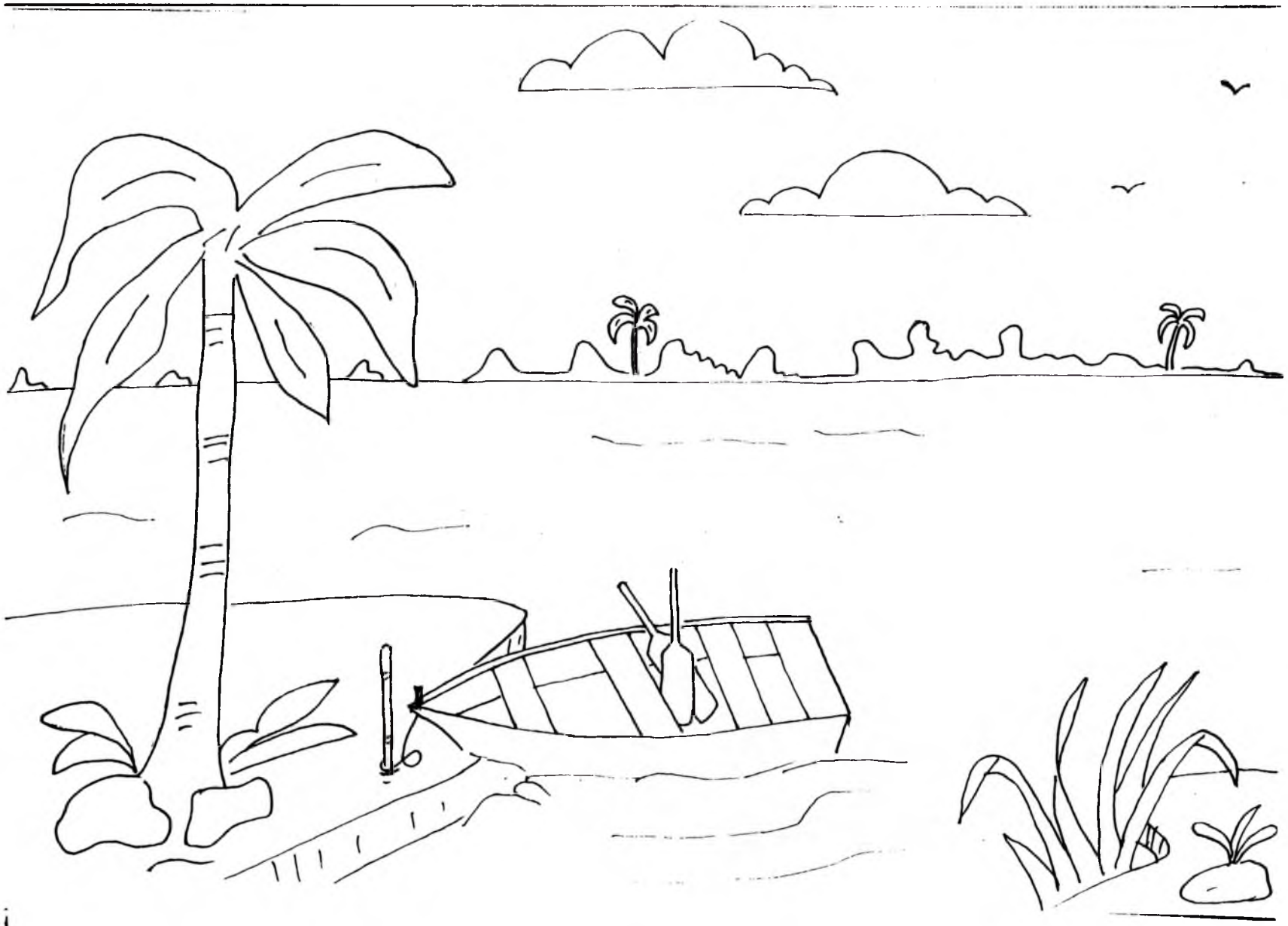
17. We would like to know how do you feel about your life as a whole?

(please tick in a box which best represent your answer)

- ☐ Terrible$_1$
- ☐ Mostly unsatisfied$_2$
- ☐ Mixed$_3$
- ☐ Mostly satisfied$_4$
- ☐ Delighted$_5$

Thank you for completing this questionnaire.
Your help is very much appreciated.

Join the dots and then color.



Solve the puzzle

For office use only

Questionnaire : _ _ _ _ _ _ _

Division of Psychology

The Australian National University

Canberra, A.C.T. 0200 Australia

"Life at school: parent survey"

*** 1996 ***

An introduction to this questionnaire

The experiences that children have in school are often very different from the experiences children have at home. At this stage, we know relatively little about how parents prepare children for school experiences, particularly in relation to school bullying. We know even less about what works and what doesn't work with children who bully others and children who find themselves being bullied. This is why we need your cooperation in completing this questionnaire.

The questionnaire asks you, as a parent, about your experiences of bullying in your child's school. It also asks how you would like to see bullying problems handled and how you would respond in a series of hypothetical situations that could involve your child. In addition, there are questions on your parenting styles and your personal values.

In most of the questions that follow, we will ask you to circle the answer that is closest to what you think. Sometimes you may need to write an answer in the space provided. Please answer the questionnaire as honestly as you can. There are no right or wrong answers. Your answers to this questionnaire are completely CONFIDENTIAL and the obtained information will only be used for research purposes.

If you would like to ask or discuss anything with regard to this survey, please phone Ms Eliza Ahmed on 249-3827, or Dr Valerie Braithwaite on 249-4601, at the Australian National University.

Please complete this questionnaire within two weeks of receipt.

When you have finished, put the questionnaire in the envelope provided, seal it and return it to a special box "Life at school: parent survey" at the front office of your child's school.

Section A: Bullying in schools

Bullying in schools is a significant and pervasive problem involving many school children. Research indicates that one in 10 students is regularly bullied. Children who are bullied, or worried about being bullied, or even who see their friends being bullied have a difficult time in concentrating on their school work. Similarly, children who bully others often pay a heavy price for their actions.

The questions below aim to elicit information about your experience and opinion about bullying in school. Your answers to the questions throughout this survey are very important to develop effective strategies to respond to the bullying phenomenon.

Before you start, we must tell you what we mean by bullying. We call it bullying when someone repeatedly hurts or frightens someone weaker than themselves on purpose. It is NOT bullying when two young people of about the same strength have the odd fight or quarrel. Bullying can be done in different ways: by hurtful teasing, threatening actions or gestures, name-calling, hitting or kicking.

Q 1. How often has your child been bullied by another student or a group of students in the last year (1995-96)? *[please circle a number]*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Most days	One or two days a week	About once a week	About once every few weeks	Every now and again	Never	Don't know

[If you have answered 'Never' or 'Don't know', please go to question 5]

Q 2. Did you find out about the bullying from.....

[Please tick (✓) the correct box alongside each statement] Yes$_1$ No$_2$

[a] The complaint of my child

[b] The appearance of my child

[c] Other student(s)

[d] Teacher(s)

[e] Sibling(s)

[f] Other (please specify): .....

Q 3. When you found out about the bullying, which of the following did you do?

[Please tick the correct box alongside each statement] Yes1 No2

[a] Talked with my child to find out exactly what happened

[b] Talked with my child about what he/she should do if it happened again

[c] Talked with the child who did the bullying

[d] Talked with both children (the bullied and the bully)

[e] Talked with the parent(s) of the child who did the bullying

[f] Talked with a school teacher

[g] Talked with the school counsellor

[h] Discussed the case with other children at the school

[i] Took no action

[j] Other (please specify): .....

Q 4. What type of action was taken by the principal or the teacher in charge? *[please specify]:*

.....

.....

.....

.....

Q 5. How often has your child been accused of being a bully? *[please circle a number]*

1	2	3	4
More than once	It has happened	Never	Don't know

[If you have answered 'Never' or 'Don't know', please go to question 8]

Q 6. Did you find out about your child being accused of bullying from.....

[Please tick (✓) the correct box alongside each statement]

Yes1 No2

[a] My child

[b] The complaint of the child who was bullied

[c] The complaint of parent(s) of the child who was bullied

[d] Other student(s)

[e] Teacher(s)

[f] Sibling(s)

[g] Other (please specify): .....

Q 7. When you found out about your child being accused of bullying, which of the following did you do?

[Please tick the correct box alongside each statement]

		Yes1	No2
[a]	Talked with my child to find out exactly what happened		
[b]	Talked with my child about why he/she has been accused of bullying		
[c]	Talked with the child who was bullied		
[d]	Talked with both of them		
[e]	Talked with the parent(s) of the child who was bullied		
[f]	Talked with a school teacher		
[g]	Talked with a school counsellor		
[h]	Took no action		
[i]	Other (please specify):		

Q 8. How important would you consider each of the following school actions to be in dealing with bullying? Please use the following code to decide which number to select:

1 — Undesirable, would make things worse
2 — Neither desirable nor undesirable
3 — Somewhat desirable, not a high priority
4 — Desirable, high priority
5 — Essential, the highest priority

[Circle a number for each statement]

[a]	Improved supervision of play areas during breaks	1	2	3	4	5
[b]	Confidential support services for victims and others concerning bullying	1	2	3	4	5
[c]	Meetings about bullying between staff and parents	1	2	3	4	5
[d]	Class rules against bullying, e.g., taking away privileges from children who bully others	1	2	3	4	5
[e]	Role-playing and story telling which explains why bullying is bad	1	2	3	4	5
[f]	Formal confrontation of students who 'bully' others by the principal in his/her office	1	2	3	4	5

Code for answering:

1 — Undesirable, would make things worse
2 — Neither desirable nor undesirable
3 — Somewhat desirable, not a high priority
4 — Desirable, high priority
5 — Essential, the highest priority

[g] Encouragement of 'neutral' students to help break up fights in the playground

1 2 3 4 5

[h] Organizing discussion groups for parents of students who bully or are bullied

1 2 3 4 5

[i] Consulting with parents and children to develop guidelines for how bullying should be handled

1 2 3 4 5

[j] A school contract signed by each student and their parents not to be involved in bullying in any form

1 2 3 4 5

[k] Training courses for teachers to improve classroom management skills

1 2 3 4 5

[l] Training courses for parents to improve parenting skills

1 2 3 4 5

[m] Expulsion of children who have repeatedly been reported as bullies of other children

1 2 3 4 5

[n] Suspension for a week or two of children who have bullied other children

1 2 3 4 5

[o] Insistence on bullies acknowledging the harm they have done and apologizing to those they have bullied and their families

1 2 3 4 5

[p] Meetings that make bullies commit to changing their behavior and playing a constructive role in the school rather than a destructive one

1 2 3 4 5

[q] Others (please specify): .....

1 2 3 4 5

Q 9. If your child's school has already undertaken some of the above, please indicate which one(s) in the space below. Use the letters (from a to q) to indicate the implemented action.

.....

Q 10. How do YOU think that a bullying problem should be brought under control?

[Please circle a number to indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements]

[a] Through discussions involving teachers, students and parents to sort out problems between children who bully and the children who are bullied

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Strongly agree

[b] Through enforcing strict rules that forbid bullying and through disciplining guilty parties

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Strongly agree

[c] Through discussions first and then through stricter enforcement of rules if the problem is not resolved

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Strongly agree

Q 11. How do you think that MOST PEOPLE want to see a bullying problem brought under control?
[Please circle a number to indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of the following statements]

[a] Through discussions involving teachers, students and parents to sort out problems between children who bully and the children who are bullied

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Strongly agree

[b] Through enforcing strict rules that forbid bullying and through disciplining guilty parties

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Strongly agree

[c] Through discussions first and then through stricter enforcement of rules if the problem is not resolved

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Strongly agree

Q 12. What do you think are the chances of changing children who bully others into good citizens in the school? *[please circle a number that is closest to your answer]*

1	2	3	4	5
10% chance	25% chance	50% chance	75% chance	90% chance

Q 13. How much can you trust the following groups to control the problem of school bullying?

[please circle a number that is closest to your answer]

[a]	Students	1 Not at all	2 Not very much	3 A fair amount	4 A great deal
[b]	Parents of bullies	1 Not at all	2 Not very much	3 A fair amount	4 A great deal
[c]	Parents of victims	1 Not at all	2 Not very much	3 A fair amount	4 A great deal
[d]	School teachers	1 Not at all	2 Not very much	3 A fair amount	4 A great deal
[e]	School principals	1 Not at all	2 Not very much	3 A fair amount	4 A great deal
[f]	Professional counsellors	1 Not at all	2 Not very much	3 A fair amount	4 A great deal
[g]	Parents & Citizens Associations	1 Not at all	2 Not very much	3 A fair amount	4 A great deal
[h]	School disciplinary boards	1 Not at all	2 Not very much	3 A fair amount	4 A great deal
[i]	The ACT Department of Education and Training	1 Not at all	2 Not very much	3 A fair amount	4 A great deal
[j]	Other (please specify):	1 Not at all	2 Not very much	3 A fair amount	4 A great deal

Section - B(1) Goals for our community and society

Below are 18 goals that refer to our society as a whole. Please indicate the extent to which you accept or reject each of the following as principles that guide your judgments and actions. Do this by circling the number that comes closest to the way you feel about each goal. Use the following code to decide which number to select:

1	I reject this	5	I accept this as important
2	I am inclined to reject this	6	I accept this as very important
3	I neither reject nor accept this	7	I accept this as of the utmost importance
4	I am inclined to accept this		

Quickly read through the list before you start. This will give you an opportunity to decide which are the more important principles for you personally.

[1]	A good life for others [improving the welfare of all people in need]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[2]	Rule by the people [involvement by all citizens in making decisions that affect their community]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[3]	International cooperation [having all nations working together to help each other]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[4]	Social progress and reform [readiness to change our way of life for the better]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[5]	National greatness [being a united, strong, independent, and powerful nation]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[6]	A world at peace [being free from war and conflict]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[7]	A world of beauty [having the beauty of nature and the arts: music, literature, art, etc.]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[8]	Reward for individual effort [letting individuals prosper through gains made by initiative and hard work]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Code for answering:

1	I reject this	5	I accept this as important
2	I am inclined to reject this	6	I accept this as very important
3	I neither reject nor accept this	7	I accept this as of the utmost importance
4	I am inclined to accept this		

[9]	**Human dignity** [allowing each individual to be treated as someone of worth]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[10]	**National security** [protection of your nation from enemies]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[11]	**Equal opportunity for all** [giving everyone an equal chance in life]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[12]	**Freedom** [being able to live as you choose whilst respecting the freedom of others]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[13]	**Greater economic equality** [lessening the gap between the rich and the poor]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[14]	**The rule of law** [punishing the guilty and protecting the innocent]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[15]	**National economic development** [having greater economic progress and prosperity for the nation]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[16]	**Preserving the natural environment** [preventing the destruction of nature's beauty and resources]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Section - B(2) Personal goals and ways of living

Listed below are goals and ways of living that different people use as guiding principles in their daily lives. Please indicate the extent to which you accept or reject each of these goals as a principle that you try to live by. Do this by circling one of the following numbers as you did before. Before you start, quickly read through the entire list to get a feel for how to score your answers:

Code for answering:

1	I reject this	5	I accept this as important
2	I am inclined to reject this	6	I accept this as very important
3	I neither reject nor accept this	7	I accept this as of the utmost importance
4	I am inclined to accept this		

[1]	Wisdom [having a mature understanding of life]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[2]	Conscientious [being hardworking]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[3]	Authority [having power to influence others and control decisions]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[4]	Recognition by the community [having high standing in the community]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[5]	Polite [being well-mannered]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[6]	The pursuit of knowledge [always trying to find out new things about the world we live in]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[7]	Self-knowledge/self-insight [being more aware of what sort of person you are]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[8]	Economic prosperity [being financially well-off]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[9]	Self-respect [believing in your own worth]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[10]	Patriotic [being loyal to your country]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Code for answering:

1	I reject this	5	I accept this as important
2	I am inclined to reject this	6	I accept this as very important
3	I neither reject nor accept this	7	I accept this as of the utmost importance
4	I am inclined to accept this		

[11]	Self-improvement [striving to be a better person]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[12]	Efficient [always using the best method to get the best results]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[13]	Forgiving [willing to pardon others]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[14]	Ambitious [being eager to do well]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[15]	Prompt [being on time]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[16]	Refined [never being coarse or vulgar]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[17]	Inner harmony [feeling free of conflict within yourself]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[18]	Showing foresight [thinking & seeing ahead]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[19]	Resourceful [being clever at finding ways to achieve a goal]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[20]	Knowledgeable [being well-informed]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[21]	Trusting [having faith in others]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[22]	Clean [not having dirty habits]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[23]	Giving others a fair go [giving others a chance]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Code for answering:

1	I reject this	5	I accept this as important
2	I am inclined to reject this	6	I accept this as very important
3	I neither reject nor accept this	7	I accept this as of the utmost importance
4	I am inclined to accept this		

[24]	Self-disciplined [being self-controlled]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[25]	Generous [sharing what you have with others]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[26]	Reliable [being dependable]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[27]	Neat [being tidy]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[28]	Competitive [always trying to do better than others]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[29]	Understanding [able to share another's feelings]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[30]	Logical [being rational]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[31]	Helpful [always ready to assist others]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
[32]	Cooperative [being able to work in harmony with others]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Section C: What would you say in these imaginary situations?

The next set of questions describes eight hypothetical situations. We would like you to pretend that you see your child behaving in the way described, but your child hasn't seen you. It does not matter if this has actually happened or not. Nor does it matter if you think it likely or not. Please imagine each situation has happened and answer the questions by circling a number that is closest to your opinion. Use the scale below to select your answer:

1 — Strongly disagree
2 — Disagree
3 — Neither disagree nor agree
4 — Agree
5 — Strongly agree

Situation 1: *Your child is walking along the corridor at school and sees another student. Your child puts his/her foot out and trips that student. You see this happen.*

[Please answer to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements]

[a] I would say that my child should not be blamed for the behavior

1 2 3 4 5

[b] I would say that my child will never repeat this behavior in future

1 2 3 4 5

[c] I would say that my child meant to do what he/she did

1 2 3 4 5

[d] I would say that the behavior was under my child's control

1 2 3 4 5

Situation 2: *Your child grabs the sweets from another student. You see this happen.*

[Please answer to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements]

[a] I would say that my child should not be blamed for the behavior

1 2 3 4 5

[b] I would say that my child will never repeat this behavior in future

1 2 3 4 5

[c] I would say that my child meant to do what he/she did

1 2 3 4 5

[d] I would say that the behavior was under my child's control

1 2 3 4 5

Code for answering:

1 — Strongly disagree
2 — Disagree
3 — Neither disagree nor agree
4 — Agree
5 — Strongly agree

Situation 3: *Your child is on the school playground and he/she is getting friends to ignore another student from his/her class. You see this happen.*

[Please answer to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements]

[a] I would say that my child should not be blamed for the behavior

1 2 3 4 5

[b] I would say that my child will never repeat this behavior in future

1 2 3 4 5

[c] I would say that my child meant to do what he/she did

1 2 3 4 5

[d] I would say that the behavior was under my child's control

1 2 3 4 5

Situation 4: *Your child is on the way home from school and sees a younger student carrying something important that he/she has made at school. Your child knocks the thing out of his/her hands. You see this happen.*

[Please answer to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements]

[a] I would say that my child should not be blamed for the behavior

1 2 3 4 5

[b] I would say that my child will never repeat this behavior in future

1 2 3 4 5

[c] I would say that my child meant to do what he/she did

1 2 3 4 5

[d] I would say that the behavior was under my child's control

1 2 3 4 5

Situation 5: *Your child makes rude comments about a student's family which upsets that student. You see this happen.*

[Please answer to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements]

[a] I would say that my child should not be blamed for the behavior

1 2 3 4 5

[b] I would say that my child will never repeat this behavior in future

1 2 3 4 5

[c] I would say that my child meant to do what he/she did

1 2 3 4 5

[d] I would say that the behavior was under my child's control

1 2 3 4 5

Code for answering:

1 — Strongly disagree
2 — Disagree
3 — Neither disagree nor agree
4 — Agree
5 — Strongly agree

Situation 6: *A younger student is going to the canteen to buy something. Your child grabs the student's money and warns not to tell or else. You see this happen.*

[Please answer to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements]

[a] I would say that my child should not be blamed for the behavior

1 2 3 4 5

[b] I would say that my child will never repeat this behavior in future

1 2 3 4 5

[c] I would say that my child meant to do what he/she did

1 2 3 4 5

[d] I would say that the behavior was under my child's control

1 2 3 4 5

Situation 7: Your child starts an argument in class with another student. Your child gets so mad that he/she excludes the student from doing the class project with him/her.You see this happen.

[Please answer to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements]

[a] I would say that my child should not be blamed for the behavior

1 2 3 4 5

[b] I would say that my child will never repeat this behavior in future

1 2 3 4 5

[c] I would say that my child meant to do what he/she did

1 2 3 4 5

[d] I would say that the behavior was under my child's control

1 2 3 4 5

Situation 8: Your child is left in the classroom alone with a student. Your child thinks that the teacher has gone and so he/she starts teasing the student. You see this happen.

[Please answer to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements]

[a] I would say that my child should not be blamed for the behavior

1 2 3 4 5

[b] I would say that my child will never repeat this behavior in future

1 2 3 4 5

[c] I would say that my child meant to do what he/she did

1 2 3 4 5

[d] I would say that the behavior was under my child's control

1 2 3 4 5

Section D: Child rearing inventory

This section contains questions about your child-rearing styles. Please answer to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements by circling a number that best represents you. Use the following code to decide which number to select:

1 — Strongly disagree
2 — Disagree
3 — Inclined to disagree
4 — Inclined to agree
5 — Agree
6 — Strongly agree

1.	I want my child to be independent of me.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2.	I try to stop my child from playing rough games or doing things where he/she might get hurt.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3.	I think one has to let a child take many chances as he/she grows up and tries new things.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4.	I make sure my child knows that I appreciate what he/she tries or accomplishes.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5.	I encourage my child to be curious, to explore and question things.	1	2	3	4	5	6
6.	I do not allow my child to question my decisions.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7.	My child and I have warm, intimate times together.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8.	I let my child make many decisions for him/herself.	1	2	3	4	5	6
9.	I express affection by hugging kissing and holding my child.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10.	I do not allow my child to say bad things about his/her teachers.	1	2	3	4	5	6
11.	I teach my child to keep control of his/her feelings at all times.	1	2	3	4	5	6
12.	I find some of my greatest satisfactions in my child.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Code for answering:

1	— Strongly disagree	4	— Inclined to agree
2	— Disagree	5	— Agree
3	— Inclined to disagree	6	— Strongly agree

13.	I feel a child should have time to think, daydream, and even loaf sometimes.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14.	I often feel angry with my child.	1	2	3	4	5	6
15.	I let my child know how ashamed and disappointed I am when he/she misbehaves.	1	2	3	4	5	6
16.	If my child gets into trouble, I expect him/her to handle the problem mostly by him/herself.	1	2	3	4	5	6
17.	I try to keep my child away from children of families who have different ideas or values from our own.	1	2	3	4	5	6
18.	I control my child by warning him/her about the bad things that can happen to him/her.	1	2	3	4	5	6
19.	I believe my child should be aware of how much I sacrifice for him/her.	1	2	3	4	5	6
20.	I feel that it is good for a child to play competitive games.	1	2	3	4	5	6
21.	I believe it is unwise to let children play a lot by themselves without supervision from grown-ups.	1	2	3	4	5	6
22.	I expect a great deal of my child.	1	2	3	4	5	6
23.	I joke and play with my child.	1	2	3	4	5	6
24.	I believe children should not have secrets from their parents.	1	2	3	4	5	6
25.	I believe in praising a child when he/she is good and think it gets better results than punishing him/her when he/she is bad.	1	2	3	4	5	6
26.	There is a good deal of conflict between my child and me.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Code for answering:

1	— Strongly disagree	4	— Inclined to agree
2	— Disagree	5	— Agree
3	— Inclined to disagree	6	— Strongly agree

27.	I give my child a good many duties and family responsibilites.	1	2	3	4	5	6
28.	I punish my child by taking away a privilege he/she otherwise would have had.	1	2	3	4	5	6
29.	I teach my child that he/she is responsible for what happens to him/her.	1	2	3	4	5	6
30.	I encourage my child to wonder and think about life.	1	2	3	4	5	6
31.	I expect my child to be grateful and appreciate all the advantages he/she has.	1	2	3	4	5	6
32.	When I am angry with my child, I let him/her know it.	1	2	3	4	5	6
33.	I think it is good practice for a child to perform in front of others.	1	2	3	4	5	6
34.	I punish my child by putting him/her off somewhere by him/herself for a while.	1	2	3	4	5	6
35.	I do not allow my child to get angry with me.	1	2	3	4	5	6
36.	I think a child should be encouraged to do things better than others.	1	2	3	4	5	6
37.	I am easy - going and relaxed with my child.	1	2	3	4	5	6
38.	I want my child to make a good impression on others.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Section E *Some daily life-situations*

Below are some experiences that parents may have had at some time or another. Please indicate how often you have each of these experiences. Please circle the number that is closest to your experience.

[1]	Having too little time to myself	1	— Never
		2	— Rarely
		3	— Sometimes
		4	— Frequently
		5	— A lot of the time
[2]	Having too little time to spend with the rest of the family	1	— Never
		2	— Rarely
		3	— Sometimes
		4	— Frequently
		5	— A lot of the time
[3]	Giving up interests, leisure activities or hobbies that I enjoy	1	— Never
		2	— Rarely
		3	— Sometimes
		4	— Frequently
		5	— A lot of the time
[4]	Fearing what would happen if I was unable to provide care for my child(ren)	1	— Never
		2	— Rarely
		3	— Sometimes
		4	— Frequently
		5	— A lot of the time
[5]	Being constantly on call to assist my child(ren)	1	— Never
		2	— Rarely
		3	— Sometimes
		4	— Frequently
		5	— A lot of the time
[6]	Being unable to get my household chores done	1	— Never
		2	— Rarely
		3	— Sometimes
		4	— Frequently
		5	— A lot of the time
[7]	Losing patience with the family	1	— Never
		2	— Rarely
		3	— Sometimes
		4	— Frequently
		5	— A lot of the time
[8]	Being unable to rest when ill myself	1	— Never
		2	— Rarely
		3	— Sometimes
		4	— Frequently
		5	— A lot of the time
[9]	Feeling that I cannot get on top of all the things I have to do	1	— Never
		2	— Rarely
		3	— Sometimes
		4	— Frequently
		5	— A lot of the time

[10]	Feeling that I have total responsibility for the well-being of my child(ren)	1 — Never 2 — Rarely 3 — Sometimes 4 — Frequently 5 — A lot of the time
[11]	Having to change my plans at the last minute	1 — Never 2 — Rarely 3 — Sometimes 4 — Frequently 5 — A lot of the time
[12]	Being unable to get enough sleep	1 — Never 2 — Rarely 3 — Sometimes 4 — Frequently 5 — A lot of the time
[13]	Feeling that I have lost control over my life	1 — Never 2 — Rarely 3 — Sometimes 4 — Frequently 5 — A lot of the time
[14]	Feeling guilty about what I have or have not done for my child(ren)	1 — Never 2 — Rarely 3 — Sometimes 4 — Frequently 5 — A lot of the time
[15]	Feeling that I am not doing anything as well as I should	1 — Never 2 — Rarely 3 — Sometimes 4 — Frequently 5 — A lot of the time

Below are some daily hassles that children may experience. Please indicate how often your child has to deal with these hassles by circling a number that applies most accurately to your child.

[1]	Failing a test or exam	1 ... Never 2 ... Sometime 3 ... Often
[2]	Having no friends	1 ... Never 2 ... Sometime 3 ... Often
[3]	Parents checking up on him/her	1 ... Never 2 ... Sometime 3 ... Often
[4]	Doing badly at sport	1 ... Never 2 ... Sometime 3 ... Often

[5]	Feeling unsure about what is expected of him/her at school (e.g. schoolwork)	1 ... Never 2 ... Sometime 3 ... Often
[6]	Having things go wrong in his/her relationships with friends	1 ... Never 2 ... Sometime 3 ... Often
[7]	Parents ignoring him/her	1 ... Never 2 ... Sometime 3 ... Often
[8]	Forgetting to bring things to school	1 ... Never 2 ... Sometime 3 ... Often
[9]	Doing worse in some schoolwork than he/she expects	1 ... Never 2 ... Sometime 3 ... Often
[10]	Having to make new friends	1 ... Never 2 ... Sometime 3 ... Often
[11]	Difficulties among other family members	1 ... Never 2 ... Sometime 3 ... Often
[12]	Getting him/herself organized to do things	1 ... Never 2 ... Sometime 3 ... Often
[13]	Failing to do his/her homework	1 ... Never 2 ... Sometime 3 ... Often
[14]	Disagreements or misunderstandings with friends	1 ... Never 2 ... Sometime 3 ... Often
[15]	Arguments or disagreements in the family	1 ... Never 2 ... Sometime 3 ... Often
[16]	Lack of spare time	1 ... Never 2 ... Sometime 3 ... Often

Section - F Tell us more.....

Parents differ in how easy they think it is to change some aspects of a child's behavior. Please indicate how easy you think it is to change the following characteristics in a child. (Please note that we are not talking about your child, but children in general).

[Circle a number that is closest to your answer]

[i]	Improving a child's standard of school work	1 — Difficult to change 2 — Somewhat difficult to change 3 — Somewhat easy to change 4 — Easy to change
[ii]	Improving a child's ability to get along with friends	1 — Difficult to change 2 — Somewhat difficult to change 3 — Somewhat easy to change 4 — Easy to change
[iii]	Improving the way a child feels about him/herself as a person	1 — Difficult to change 2 — Somewhat difficult to change 3 — Somewhat easy to change 4 — Easy to change
[iv]	Improving a child's ability to get him/herself organized to do things	1 — Difficult to change 2 — Somewhat difficult to change 3 — Somewhat easy to change 4 — Easy to change
[v]	Improving a child's ability in sports	1 — Difficult to change 2 — Somewhat difficult to change 3 — Somewhat easy to change 4 — Easy to change
[vi]	Improving a child's ability to think before acting	1 — Difficult to change 2 — Somewhat difficult to change 3 — Somewhat easy to change 4 — Easy to change
[vii]	Improving a child's ability to make friends	1 — Difficult to change 2 — Somewhat difficult to change 3 — Somewhat easy to change 4 — Easy to change
[viii]	Improving a child's ability to accomplish things	1 — Difficult to change 2 — Somewhat difficult to change 3 — Somewhat easy to change 4 — Easy to change
[xi]	Improving a child's ability to control his/her impulses	1 — Difficult to change 2 — Somewhat difficult to change 3 — Somewhat easy to change 4 — Easy to change
[x]	Improving a child's ability to feel sympathetic to others when they are having trouble	1 — Difficult to change 2 — Somewhat difficult to change 3 — Somewhat easy to change 4 — Easy to change

Personal background **: Here are some background questions that we haven't asked elsewhere. Please answer the following by circling a number that fits you.**

[1] **Are you the mother or father of the child?**

1 ... Mother
2 ... Father
3 ... Other (please specify) : .....

[2] **What is your current work status?**

1 ... Employed full-time
2 ... Employed part-time
3 ... Self-employed
4 ... Unemployed
5 ... Home-duties
6 ... Other (please specify) : .....

[3] **What is the highest level of education you have completed?**

1 ... Never went to school
2 ... Completed primary
3 ... Some secondary
4 ... Completed secondary
5 ... Some further education beyond secondary school
6 ... University degree
7 ... Other (please specify): .....

[4] **How long have you lived in this suburb?** _____ Years _____ Months

[5] **What is your child's ethnic background?** *[If your child has a mixed ethnic background, please specify the one that you consider your child to belong to]*

.....

[6] **What language does your child usually speak at home? (please specify)**

.....

[7] **What other languages does your child speak well? (please specify)**

.....

[8] **Would you be willing to be contacted in the future?**

We are hoping to follow the experiences of the primary school children in this survey through to high school. We would do this by sending a brief questionnaire to you and your child through the mail. If you are willing to be part of our future survey, would you please write your name, address and contact number below as well as the name, address and contact number of a relative or friend who is likely to know your new address in case you have moved by then. Your name and address, and that of the contact person will be kept confidential. No information that can be identified will be given to anyone.

YOUR NAME (please print): .....

YOUR ADDRESS (Number & Street): .....

.....

Town: ..... Postcode: .....

YOUR CONTACT NUMBER (Work) ..... (Home) .....

NAME OF CONTACT PERSON (please print): .....

ADDRESS (Number & Street): .....

.....

Town: ..... Postcode: .....

CONTACT NUMBER (Work) ..... (Home) .....

Comments on the "Life at school: Parent survey"

If there is anything you would like to add, please write on the space below.

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Thank you very much for filling out the questionnaire.
Please put the completed questionnaire in the envelope provided, seal it and return it to a special box "Life at school: parent survey" at the front office of your child's school.

APPENDIX - 5.1

Intercorrelations among the independent variables and the dependent variables

Intercorrelations among the independent variables (family variables, school variables, individual difference variables and shame management variables) and the dependent variables (general bullying and self-initiated bullying)

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1. Stigmatized shaming	-																
2. Non-stigmatized shaming	40***	-															
3. Family disharmony	.06	.06	-														
4. School hassles	.05	.03	.48***	-													
5. Liking for school	-.02	-.06	-.23***	-.29***	-												
6. Perceived control of bullying	.03	-.02	-.20***	-.25***	.31***	-											
7. Guilt-proneness	-.06	-.01	.06*	.13***	.18***	.09**	-										
8. Shame-proneness	-.04	.01	.24***	.32***	-.15***	-.10***	.53***	-									
9. Pride-proneness	-.06	-.04	-.01	-.03	.17***	.06*	.41***	.11***	-								
10. Self-esteem	.03	-.01	-.31***	-.43***	.34***	.24***	-.07*	-.37***	.14***	-							
11.Empathy	-.03	.06	-.01	.05*	.19***	-.03	.40***	.17***	.28***	.02	-						
12. Impulsivity	.02	.03	.27***	.26***	-.18***	-.18***	-.03	.14***	-.04	-.33***	.01	-					
13. Internal locus of control	-.04	.05	-.03	-.04	.19***	.09**	.31***	.12***	.16***	.04	.19***	.07**	-				
14. Shame acknowledgment	-.01	-.01	.01	.16***	.10***	.13***	.52***	.39***	.27***	-.11***	.30***	-.07**	.12***	-			
15. Shame transformation	-.03	-.04	.15***	.16***	-.11***	-.15***	-.14***	.15***	-.03	-.17***	-.08**	.21***	-.09**	.01	-		
16. General bullying	.05	-.01	.18***	.15***	-.19***	-.27***	-.24***	-.01	-.15***	-.12***	-.15***	.28***	-.08**	-.23***	.27***	-	
17. Self-initiated bullying	.05	-.03	.17***	.13***	-.19***	-.24***	-.23***	-.02	-.13***	-.12***	-.12***	.22***	-.08**	-.21***	.25***	.84***	-

***p<.001 **p<.01 *p<.05