

An investigation into whether the 'Iceberg' system of peer mediation training, and peer mediation, reduce levels of bullying, raise self-esteem, and increase pupil empowerment amongst upper primary age children.

Hilary Stacey-Cremin, December 1999

Ph.D. Thesis

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Hilary Stacey. An investigation into whether the 'Iceberg' system of peer mediation training, and peer mediation, reduce levels of bullying, raise self-esteem, and increase pupil empowerment amongst upper primary age children.

This thesis evaluates the effectiveness of peer mediation programmes in 3 primary schools in Birmingham. It investigates whether the 'Iceberg' system of peer mediation training, and the setting up of a peer mediation service, can reduce bullying, and have an effect on the self-concept of Year 5 pupils.

The literature review section of the study reviews existing literature concerning peer mediation, humanism in education (humanistic values underpin the mediation process) behaviour management in schools and bullying. These are all areas that are revisited as part of the empirical research.

The empirical research has a quasi-experimental research design which uses both quantitative and qualitative analysis. The experiment was set up to answer the main research questions as objectively as possible, given the author's existing wider involvement in this area of work. Pre-test and post-test measures include pupil questionnaires and interviews with teachers and headteachers. The positivist framework of the main experiment, however, proved to be somewhat restrictive in answering some interesting new questions which emerged as a result of the programme not being implemented as planned in 2 of the experimental schools.

The findings suggest that peer mediation can be used as a strategy to reduce bullying and improve pupil feelings of empowerment and self-esteem provided it forms part of a wider strategy to empower pupils and improve their personal and social skills. The difficulties of carrying out an experiment in a school setting, however, make the results inconclusive and more research is recommended in order to understand the links between peer mediation, humanistic practices in the classroom, and the apparently central role of the headteacher.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Mediation is a voluntary process in which two disputants are helped to come to a resolution of their dispute by a neutral third party, or mediator. As a means for resolving conflicts and disputes, it has become a subject of growing general interest. Its simplicity and its non-adversarial humanistic roots (which place an emphasis on the disputants remaining in charge of their own problems and solutions) make it an appropriate tool for use in a fast-changing world. It is considered to be of value in a number of fields, including Social Science, Business Management, Law, and of course, Education. The aim of this research is to inform and support the increasing number of schools and community projects setting up peer mediation schemes. Topping (1996) has indicated that evaluating the effectiveness of peer mediation is no easy task, given that peer education in general is difficult to evaluate because it is beyond adult monitoring. Research in this country to date has tended to be informal and anecdotal (e.g. Southwark Mediation Centre, 1993, Burrell and Vogel, 1990) and more rigorous research will be needed if peer mediation in the U.K. is to move from the fringes of education into the mainstream.

The author has been involved in teacher training and pupil support in the field of peer mediation since 1990. Her interest began when she was co-ordinating the West Midland Quaker Peace Education Project. Peer mediation was seen by her, and the project steering group, as a means of giving young people the skills they need both as children and as adults, to resolve conflicts peacefully. Since 1993, the author has worked in a business partnership (Catalyst Consultancy and Training) which specializes in promoting positive relationships and ethos in schools through conflict resolution skills training for teachers, pupils and parents. 1993 was also the year that the research in hand was undertaken, so that the research has both been informed by, and in turn informed, the author's practical work in hundreds of primary and secondary schools.

The Literature Review section here reviews the existing literature concerning peer mediation, humanism in education (which underpins peer mediation), and behaviour management and

bullying in schools. These are all areas that are revisited empirically. The literature review draws out the themes and issues that both justify the empirical research and place it in context.

The empirical research design uses both quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis in order to attempt to combine rigour with flexibility. Pupil questionnaires and teacher and headteacher interviews are used to address the core research question of whether or not the 'Iceberg' method of peer mediation training, and peer mediation itself, can influence the frequency of bullying and levels of pupil self esteem and feelings of empowerment. A quantitative and qualitative examination of data is meant to reveal whether or not the teachers involved believe that their pupils have gained general conflict resolution skills (notably the 'Iceberg' skills of communication, affirmation, and co-operation) as a result of participating in the programme.

The main aims of the empirical research are, therefore: to use a range of quantitative and qualitative research methods to evaluate the effectiveness of the 'Iceberg' method of peer mediation training, and the practice of peer mediation itself, in reducing the incidence of bullying among upper primary age children, and in improving pupils' self-esteem and feelings of empowerment through developing a more internal locus of control. Subsidiary empirical aims are: to use qualitative research methods to further evaluate the effectiveness of the 'Iceberg' method of peer mediation training, and the practice of peer mediation itself, in improving pupils' awareness of conflict resolution techniques and in improving a number of further related abilities. These consist of the ability to mediate disputes for each other, to give and receive positive comments (affirm each other), to co-operate with each other, to communicate feelings and needs to each other in ways that will de-escalate conflict situations, and to listen to each other in focused and supportive ways. Interviews with headteachers are analyzed to give an added dimension to the information from the teachers and pupils, and the level of agreement between all three is determined. This qualitative dimension of study did reveal some unexpected findings which highlight some themes and issues that emerged as a result of carrying out the main experiment. These will be explored in the penultimate chapter.

Literature Review

Chapter Two: Mediation and Peer Mediation

This chapter will begin by defining what mediation is, and in particular how it differs from other forms of conflict resolution such as negotiation and arbitration. It will give a brief history of the development of mediation as a process for resolving disputes, both in schools and in society at large, before moving on to review the research to date into the effectiveness of peer mediation in schools.

A Definition of Mediation

The process of mediation that is commonly used in peer mediation schemes in schools is the same as the process that is used in mediation in the community. Technically, mediation is a structured process in which a neutral third party assists voluntary participants to resolve their dispute (Cohen 1995, Stacey 1996a). Mediators do not set out to decide right or wrong, apportion blame, or even focus on the past any more than is necessary to help the disputants to work out a way forward for the future. Critically, mediators do not offer solutions, and their only control over the process is their insistence that the disputants adhere to the ground rules. These are that each must allow the other to speak without interruption, speak about the other with respect, and talk about the problem from their own point of view without blaming or accusing. Mediation allows the disputants to define the problem from their point of view, identify and express their feelings and needs, hear the feelings and needs of the other person, acknowledge each other's point of view, create solutions, agree a course of action, and evaluate progress at the end if necessary. Haynes (1993), writing about family mediation has defined it as follows:

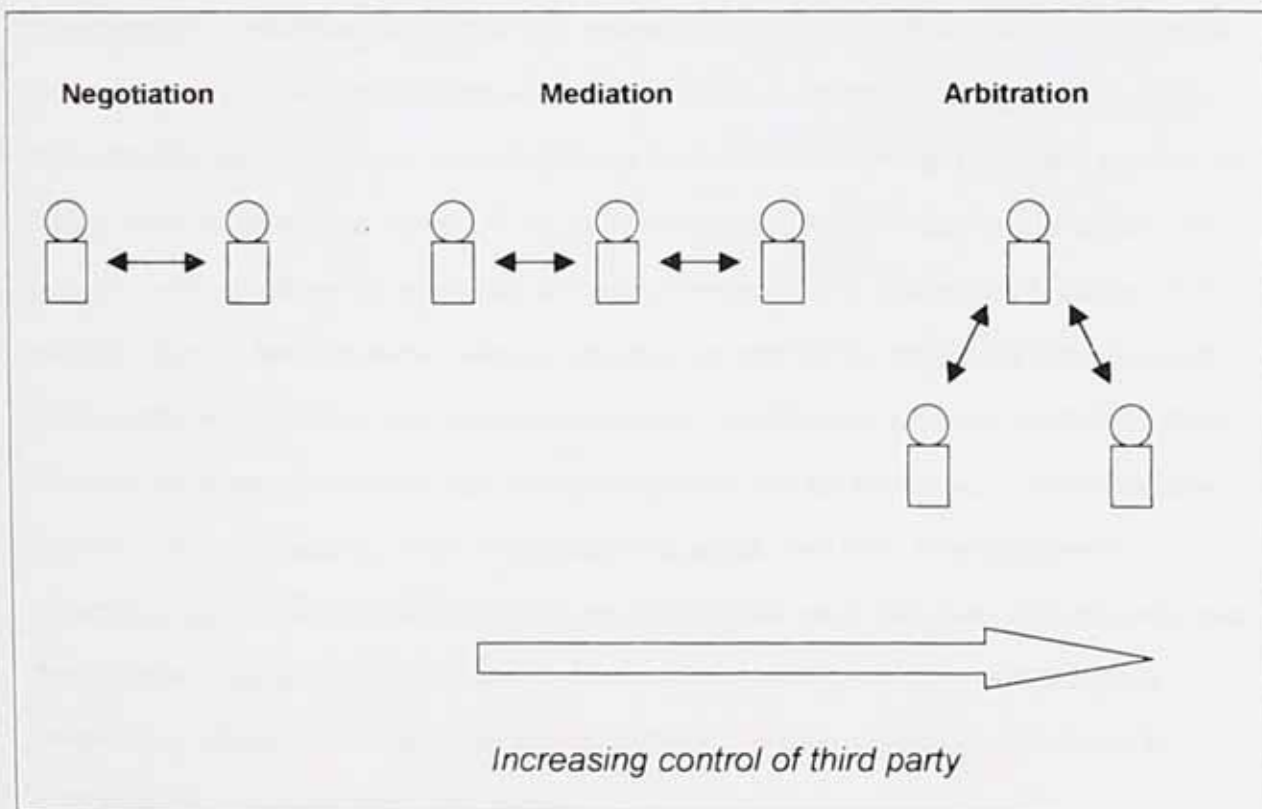
"Mediation is a process in which a third person helps the parties in a dispute to resolve it.

The outcome of a successful mediation is an agreement that is satisfactory to all the

disputants. The agreement addresses the problem with a mutually acceptable solution and is structured in a way that helps to maintain the relationships of the people involved" (p.3).

It is common for people writing about mediation (Acland, 1990, Cohen 1995, Stacey, 1996a, Save the Children/West Yorkshire Probation Service, 1993) to compare it with more traditional or widespread methods of conflict resolution in order to clarify its particular qualities. Cohen (1995, p.28) represents the difference between negotiation, mediation, and arbitration diagrammatically as shown in Figure 2:1. Figure 2:1 shows the increasing role and control of the third party. Whilst Cohen makes it clear that all three methods of conflict resolution are part of a continuum and equally valid, he goes on to say: "Proceeding from negotiation to mediation to arbitration, the process becomes increasingly formal and disempowering to the parties." Mediation, then, unlike negotiation, requires a third party, and, unlike arbitration, requires an equal balance of power between the mediator and the disputants.

Figure 2:1 Cohen's Comparison of Negotiation, Mediation and Arbitration



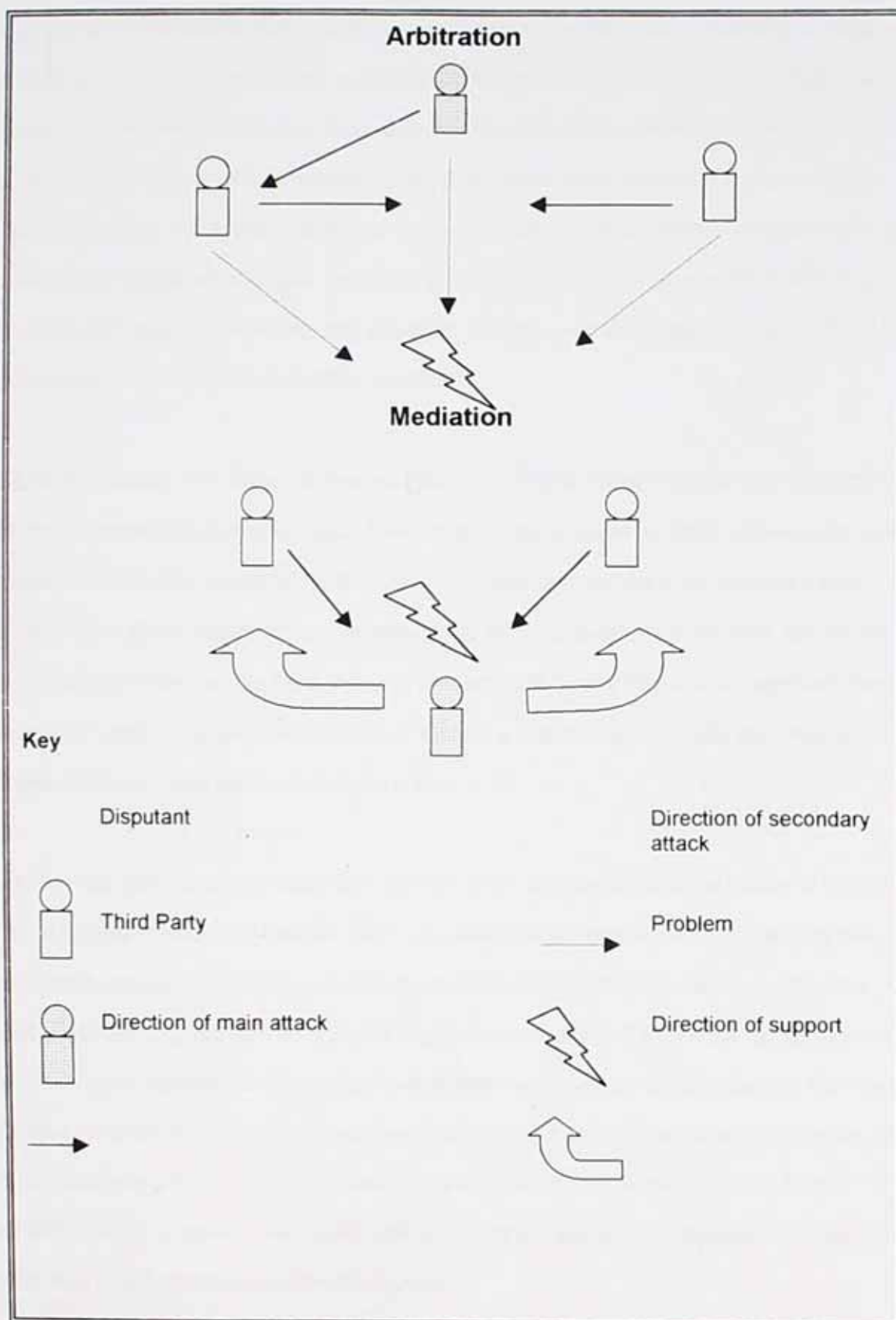
Both Cohen (1995) and Acland (1990) compare mediation with arbitration. Acland sees it as more effective than arbitration because it is flexible (it can be formal or informal depending on the circumstances), voluntary (it offers the disputants a risk-free means of finding out more about the other disputant's position), cost-effective, fast, and finds common-sense creative solutions. He also feels that mediation builds relationships through aiming for 'win-win' solutions. Cohen (1995) compares the two as shown in Table 2:2. Stacey (1996b, p.3) has represented the sharing of power in mediation and arbitration as shown in Figure 2:3. The main difference between mediation and arbitration as processes for dealing with disputes is that in mediation two disputants attack the problems that they share rather than each other. In Figure 2:3 the arrows representing the focus of the attack show that the mediator is able to support the disputants to attack the problem rather than each other by not taking sides. This involves a certain level of social and emotional maturity for the disputants (Goleman 1996) and the role of the mediator is central to ensuring that the process will not break down.

Save the Children / West Yorkshire Probation Service (1993) compares the 'old retributive' and the 'new restorative' paradigms of justice in their victim-offender mediation handbook. The differences between retributive justice and restorative justice are similar to the differences between mediation and arbitration quoted above. In particular, they stress that under the traditional system of retributive justice, crime is defined as a violation of the state: it focuses on establishing blame and guilt, and uses adversarial methods to impose pain and punishment to deter and prevent future crime. Both the victim and the offender remain passive, with the victim and his/her community largely ignored, and the offender dependent upon a proxy professional. The offence is defined in purely legal terms, devoid of moral, social, economic and political dimensions, and the interpersonal conflictual nature of crime is obscured and repressed. Under retributive justice there is no encouragement for repentance and forgiveness and offender accountability is defined as taking an abstract punishment that is unconnected to the original crime. Under restorative justice, they suggest that crime is defined as a violation of one person by another and justice is defined as conciliation based on outcomes that are agreeable to both parties.

Table 2.2 Cohen's Comparison of the Main Elements of Mediation and Arbitration

	MEDIATION	ARBITRATION
Distribution of Power	Disputants retain power over the process and outcome.	Arbitrator retains power over the process and outcome
Impartiality	Mediators guard against taking sides	Arbitrators may aspire to impartiality, but often have obligations to the system in which they work
Third Party Judgements	Mediators remain non-judgemental throughout the process	Arbitrators' primary function is to formulate a sound judgement about the disputants' situation.
Disciplinary Function	Non-punitive	Punitive. Arbitrators often have power to enforce punishment
Temporal Orientation	Future-orientated	Focus on past actions, and blame.
Winners and Losers	'Win-win' solutions based on negotiation and compromise.	Solutions imposed by arbitrator may make one or both disputants feel like losers.
Voluntariness	Voluntary participation in process	Participation often mandatory
Definition of the Dispute	Dispute defined by the disputants, underlying issues teased out and explored.	Arbitrators define the dispute in accordance with rules they are expected to uphold.
Confidentiality	Disputants informed in advance of limits to confidentiality	Confidentiality often not raised as an issue.

Figure 2:3 Stacey's Comparison of Power-sharing in Mediation and Arbitration



Dialogue and negotiation enable the victim and offender to identify offender liabilities and obligations and to identify a means of restitution. Crime is recognised as interpersonal conflict, and the offence is understood in a moral, social economic and political context. Offender accountability is defined in terms where offenders understand the harmful consequences of their actions and decide how, as far as possible, to repair the injury. A victim's rights and needs are central to the process, and there is scope for repentance and forgiveness which can remove both the stigma and the hurt of the original crime. Again, participating in this process requires a certain level of social and emotional maturity from victims and offenders, and the general support and skills of the mediator are necessary to ensure safety and trust.

It will be evident from the above that teachers are more likely to choose arbitration than mediation as their first response in a conflict situation. Traditionally, schools have taken their guidance for conflict resolution from models structured hierarchically such as those involved in the retributive legal system (Polan, 1989). Arbitration may sometimes be the most appropriate response, but if over-used it will deny young people the opportunity of learning to resolve their own disputes effectively. Schools intending to use peer mediation as a method of dispute resolution may well need to review attitudes towards power, justice, and punishment.

Mediation has its roots in humanistic psychology, which developed out of the writing of individuals such as Rogers (1951) and Maslow (1962). Humanistic psychology is a reaction against the mechanistic theories of behaviourism and psychoanalysis. Whilst behaviourism emphasises conditioned learning, and psycho-analysis emphasises the effect of early experiences stored in the unconscious, humanistic psychology implies that human beings are complex and capable of exercising choice, rather than being victims of past experience. Humanistic psychology has, as a guiding principle, that the individual possesses a natural ability to develop to his or her full potential, a process that Maslow called 'self-actualisation,' and in this it represents an optimistic rather than a pathological view of human nature.

Humanistic therapy relies on the quality of the relationship between the therapist and the client. The humanistic therapist shows 'unconditional positive regard' (Rogers, 1951) towards his client, and aims above all to restore the client's feelings of self-worth and empowerment. In order to achieve this, a therapist avoids making judgements about the client's behaviour, and giving advice. In humanistic counselling, the client gains clarity about his problem, has his feelings validated and accepted, and moves on to create options for future action. Messing (1993) has compared the mediation and the counselling process. The characteristics which mediation has in common with most forms of counselling, including humanistic counselling, are acceptance, active-listening, the development of rapport and empathy, the interpretation of interactive dynamics, role-modelling, and an emphasis on the present and future, not the past.

Both mediation and humanism have their philosophical roots in phenomenology, which grew out of the existentialism of the forties and fifties (for example Sartre, 1948). Phenomenology, which has more recently been written about by such thinkers as Ihde (1979) holds that we are all unique in the way that we make sense of our experience (Hall and Hall, 1988). Phenomenologists value the recognition of the subjectivity of experience over the quest for objective truth, accepting that there are differing possible interpretations of the same events. Humanistic therapists, teachers, and mediators use a phenomenological approach in conflict situations which does not attempt to discover 'right' answers or impose fixed moral rules.

A History of Mediation as a Process for Resolving Disputes

Mediation is relatively new in the U.K., both in schools and in the wider community (in 1997 Mediation UK, the Umbrella Organisation for community mediation schemes, had 110 member organisations, with 25 schools mediation training services). The philosophy of non-violence, which underpins mediation, has, however, much older roots. These can be traced to many world religions, especially eastern religions. In this country, Quakers have long experience of using mediation in their work, and many of the schools' mediation services that are members of Mediation U.K. are

funded and supported by the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers). The Quaker tradition of non-violence goes back to the 17th century when George Fox, the founder member, testified to Charles II in 1661: "We utterly deny all outward wars and strife and fightings with outward weapons, for any or under any pretence whatsoever... the spirit of Christ, which leads us into all Truth, will never move us to fight and war against any man with outward weapons, neither for the kingdom of Christ, nor for the kingdoms of this world." This pacifism has continued to the present day, with a long tradition of informal Quaker mediation in many of the trouble spots of the world. John McConnell and Adam Curle (a Quaker who has held professorships at Exeter, Ghana, Harvard and Bradford) are two such mediators who have written about their work and beliefs (Curle, 1981, McConnell 1992).

The process of mediation that is currently used in this country in schools and community projects came from the United States in the 1980s. In the 1970s, the administration of President Jimmy Carter encouraged the creation of the first Neighbourhood Justice Centres. The goal of these centres, often known as 'community mediation programmes,' was to provide an alternative to court proceedings where citizens could meet to resolve their disputes. Some of the most active of these centres were in New York, Los Angeles, and Philadelphia. In the typical community mediation programme, a cross-section of neighbourhood volunteers was trained to mediate the disputes that arose in their community, including disputes between neighbours, family members, tenants and landlords / landlords, consumers and salespeople, friends and small businesses. Some disputes were referred directly to the centre by local residents; others came through an affiliation with local courthouses and social service agencies. The success of these early programmes was impressive (Cohen, 1995). They thrived in a post 1960s climate that demanded non-violent, localised responses to conflict. Exponents in the field (see for example Beer, Steif, and Walker, 1987) were often motivated by strong personal convictions, and sought to enskill and empower citizens to resolve their own disputes in a way that would strengthen communities, and enable individuals to live more satisfying lives.

In the 1980s and early 1990s American lawyers and business-people coined the term Alternative

Dispute Resolution or A.D.R. (Adler, 1987, Acland 1990) to describe the growing number of non-adversarial approaches to conflict and alternatives to litigation that were being used in the business community. The field of conflict resolution which had its origin in the 1960s and 1970s with the work of writers such as Deutsch (1973) Druckman (1977) and Boulding (1962) also became a growing area of study in its own right in both the United States and other parts of the world (Burton, 1990, Sandole and Sandole, 1987, Fisher and Ury, 1981). The Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution at George Mason University in America continued to support research in this field and The Centre for the Study of 'Conflictology' was established in Moscow in 1990. Community mediation as a concept also spread to other countries in the 1980s. It is now widespread in Norway, for example; and in Australia the centre set up in New South Wales by Wendy Faulkes (Faulkes, 1991) is the largest in the world, employing 17 administrative staff and 250 paid mediators in 1991.

Acland (1997) outlines six current areas of mediation in the UK: community, family, commercial, organisational, environmental, and international / political. The area of community mediation, which includes victim-offender mediation, continues to grow. The Criminal Justice Act in 1991 recommended that magistrates consider wider use of community and combined probation disposals rather than using custodial disposals. There is a growing interest amongst sociologists in victim-offender mediation (de Haan, 1990, Davis, Messmar, Umbreit and Coates, 1992, Cook, 1995). The use of family mediation is also set to rise sharply over the next few years with proposed changes in the Family Law Act currently being piloted in Wales (Evans, 1997). There is a growing interest in this area of mediation amongst both sociologists, and the general public (Kelly, 1990, Haynes, 1993, Severson and Bankston, 1995, Manesca, 1995). Alternative Dispute Resolution is now a multi-million dollar business in America, and the School of Law in the University of Missouri-Columbia publishes the Missouri Journal of Alternative Dispute Resolution which is dedicated to this field. There are currently a number of British companies offering a commercial mediation service (the Centre for Dispute Resolution, C.E.D.R., in London, for example, which lists a number of large companies as its clients including British Rail) and

mediation is increasingly being used as a management strategy (Ross 1996). Young people currently in U.K. schools will almost certainly have more exposure to mediation in their adult lives than has hitherto been the case. Peer mediation initiatives in schools will have an increasing role to play in preparing young people for changing attitudes towards conflict in the future.

A History of Peer Mediation

In the 1980s, in the United States, a range of social, political and pedagogical influences combined to create ideal conditions for the growth of peer mediation (Cohen, 1995). Social problems were causing numerous problems for schools. Despite the educators' best efforts, student conflicts and violence were increasing, and as a result schools were more willing than usual to look outside the educational establishment for assistance. Peer mediation was seen as an additional tool that did nothing to detract from existing structures of conflict management in school. It was seen as a practicable and measurable process (in contrast to peace education that was seen as vague and politically charged) and it had the added advantage of being visible and media-friendly. Peer education programmes generally had captured the interest of educators (Johnson and Johnson, 1980) and the growth in community and business mediation programmes mentioned above led to an increased understanding amongst the general public. In 1984, a small group of community mediators and educators formed the National Association for Mediation in Education. At that time, only a handful of peer mediation programmes existed. Currently there are many thousands located in schools in every state of the United States.

Throughout the late 1980s and the 1990s the use of peer mediation spread to other parts of the world. Its use is widespread in Canada (Osborne, 1984), Australia and New Zealand (Cameron and Dupuis, 1991, McMahon, 1997) and educational practices which involve peer mediation are growing more common in Europe (ENCORE, 1997). In the U.K., the Kingston Friends Workshop Group was amongst the first to adapt American peer mediation training materials for British pupils (KFWG, 1988). In 1989, Walker's paper on violence and conflict resolution in schools,

commissioned by the European Union, included documentation about peer mediation and led to the formation of the European Network of Conflict Resolution in Education which is supported by British Quakers and continues to meet annually for a conference. There has been a particular interest in conflict resolution training and peer mediation in Northern Ireland as part of the Education for Mutual Understanding (EMU) curriculum (Tyrrell and Farrell, 1995).

In the early 1990s, the climate in U.K. schools was receptive to peer mediation, as the climate in American schools had been ten years earlier. There were other initiatives in education at that time based on a similar humanist value-system. A greater emphasis on group-work, co-operative games and problem-solving (for example Mashedi, 1986, Leimdorfer, 1990, Bennett and Dunne, 1992, Horbury and Pears, 1994) aimed to improve young people's ability to co-operate.

Classroom practice encouraging individualised and autonomous learning tried to give young people a more internal locus of control (Waterhouse, 1983, Brandes and Ginnis, 1990, Roberts, 1994, Maines and Robinson, 1994). A focus on speaking and listening skills (Barnes, 1984, N.C.C., 1989, Bliss and Tetley, 1993, Powell and Makin, 1994) aimed to improve pupils' ability to communicate, and a growing awareness of the importance of high self-esteem (Maines and Robinson, 1988a, White, 1991) meant that many teachers were working to establish positive 'affirming' relationships with young people. Other links can be found with initiatives involving schools councils, democratic schooling (Acton, 1989, Andrews, 1989), anti-bullying drives (see Chapter Five), peer tutoring and peer counselling (Cowie and Ruddock, 1988, Topping, 1996, Cowie and Sharp, 1996, Webb and Kaye, 1996, McNamara, 1996), education for citizenship (White, 1989), world studies (Nutall, 1990, Bobbett, 1996) and Circle Time (see Chapter Three). Above all, what these initiatives stress is the importance of pupil empowerment. Some schools, which had begun the process of empowering pupils to take more responsibility for the quality of life in school, found that peer mediation was a natural next step to take.

American and British Peer Mediation Contrasted

A typical American peer mediation programme is outlined and evaluated by Araki in 1990. Peer mediation services were set up in a school complex in the Honolulu district of Hawaii by the Dispute Management Schools Project (DMSP). The school complex was made up of a high school, one of its feeder intermediate schools and one of its feeder elementary schools. The programme was initiated because Araki felt that a serious 'frustration gap' existed between the students' expectations of being involved in decisions affecting them and the extent to which they really were. The programme aimed to enable students to participate in the resolution of their own disputes giving them a sense of determining their own destiny, as a response to Araki's observation that:

"Although students' rights have been legitimised by our society, and educators in general have supported the notion that students should be given a greater role in determining their own destiny, few schools have modified their administrative attitudes and structures to provide the support and interaction network required to translate students' rights into successful action" (p.58).

A case study analysis of the project showed that the initial installation of such a programme requires someone working in conjunction with it, who has expertise in mediation, understands the intake process, and is fully committed to the programme. Additional resources and a strong leader actively involved in the programme were also felt to be essential. The full-time co-ordinator of the project had a wide range of roles. The most important of these were conducting the start-up activities; orientating the staff to the programme; training the staff and student mediators; ensuring that the intake, execution and follow-up of the mediation service were executed effectively; and advocating the importance of the project, not only at school level, but also at district and state levels. The analysis also revealed that communicating regularly with staff and parents about the project was essential to its success, as were on-going training for the mediators, and adapting the programme to fit in with other areas of school life. The importance of informing and involving

everyone affected by the programme is also stressed by Levy (1989):

"It is important for the designer to attempt to involve all participants from the outset. This is usually done through a values clarification meeting at which those involved can freely express concerns. If overlooked, the designer runs the risk of unforeseen criticism and damage to the curriculum and, ultimately, to the students involved" (p.80).

The student mediators, who were identified as 'perceived leaders' and who volunteered to participate, completed a training programme of 20 hours. They had to be on call to mediate throughout the school day, agree to make up any schoolwork missed, and behave in a supportive manner throughout the training and implementation of the programme. Case study analysis revealed that the mediators were significantly empowered and improved academically, and that they demonstrated improvements in attitude. The disputants who used the service also demonstrated these improvements in attitude. A total of 136 cases were mediated between 1986 and 1988. Twelve of these were teacher-student disputes, mediated by a teacher and a student, and the rest were student-student disputes, mediated by two students. Overall, there was a 92.6% success rate. The project co-ordinator and school counsellors identified the following characteristics of an effective mediator: s/he is confident; has a good understanding of the mediation process; is able to write agreements clearly; has leadership abilities (but not the same as a student councillor or representative); is directive; is responsible; is caring; is a good listener; and knows how to ask questions. Many disputants were identified as being non-listeners who had a history of conflicts and poor problem-solving skills. They were also not usually involved with school activities.

A 2x2 chi-square test revealed that, at the .05 level, significantly more females than males participated in the programme as disputants, and that there was a significant correlation between gender and types of conflict that come to mediation. Overall, there were 8 major categories of conflict addressed: gossip / rumour, arguments, dirty looks, poor classroom behaviour, harassment,

jealousy, fights, and invasion of privacy. The 3 highest types of conflict experienced by females were gossip / rumour, arguments and harassment, and the most noticeable type of conflict experienced by males was harassment. The highest proportion of disputes was found to occur among pupils in grade 8 (11-12 year olds). The conflicts occurring most frequently at high school level were arguments, with gossip / rumour occurring most frequently at intermediate school level and harassment at elementary level. The mediation process was not found to work especially well or badly when used with any specific ethnic group.

Difficulties encountered by the project organisers included a lack of 'experience' training sessions for the mediators. There was also a limited number of cases relative to the numbers of mediators trained which meant that they were unable to sharpen their skills. Whether or not mediation was used was dependent on the intake personnel, and the on the teachers' willingness to release students from class for mediation. Scheduling mediation sessions at the convenience of all parties was a major problem. Araki concludes that the DMSP was largely successful in avoiding the potential pitfalls to successful peer mediation programmes outlined by Davis and Porter (1985). They took account of the need for an active, committed, and skilled co-ordinator; the need for the full support of the school administrative team, staff and parents; and the need for intricate and on-going training. Araki concludes that:

"The Dispute Management Schools Project (DMSP) demonstrated that the school can operationalize the notion of sociolegal informalism, where it acts more as a facilitator of private accords than as an arbiter of disagreement. The DMSP also showed that the values emanating from ADR, namely, empowerment and voluntarism, can be realised by students" (p.62).

Robinson, Stacey and Cremin (1997) outline some guidelines for setting up peer mediation services in schools based on their experience of setting up services in the U.K., mainly in the Birmingham Local Education Authority between 1991 and 1996. They agree with Araki that peer

mediation services need to be integrated into school life, suggesting that peer mediation services need to be more than a 'bolt-on' feature. They add that they should be included in the school development plan, and written into school policies on behaviour management, anti-bullying, and pastoral care. In the schools where they feel the services have been most successful, the staff, including the lunchtime supervisors, have had at least one in-service training session after school, dedicated to peer mediation, and ideally a full training day. They give an example of this when the pupil mediators from Alston Junior and Infants school came in on a training day and taught the whole staff mediation skills. Farley-Lucas, Tardy, and Hale (1996) also suggest a holistic approach is needed as it values perspectives on conflict from across the whole school community, but particularly from pupils.

In the services that Stacey and Robinson have supported, the 'peer' in peer mediation can either refer to a small number of pupils within a year group trained to offer a service to others of the same age, or to older pupils mediating younger pupils throughout the school (Robinson, Stacey and Cremin, 1997). It can also refer to a team made up of pupils drawn from across the year groups. Pupils will normally have covered foundation work in conflict resolution and have had an introduction to the mediation process before they nominate themselves or others for further training which takes place off-timetable over three days. An intensive period of time such as this allows for team building, proper rehearsal of counselling skills and for the pupils to develop their own guidelines for effective practice. Included in this training are the members of staff who will support the peer mediators throughout the year, lunchtime supervisors, and any other adults or ancillary staff offering their support (Education Social Workers, School Nurse, Secretarial staff, parents, governors, home/school liaison workers etc.). Although peer mediators have ownership of their service and make decisions about the way in which the service runs, they also have regular adult support and supervision. This support varies according to the age of the pupils involved, but all have a weekly team-meeting to debrief, to share experiences, and to keep up a regular programme of review and development.

When the services are initially set up, decisions are made about what sorts of problems are appropriate for pupil mediators to deal with and how pupils access the service. The finer details of rota and responsibilities for running the scheme from day to day are also considered (see for example Haigh, T.E.S. November 1994). In many models, the service takes place at lunchtime four times a week. Some choose to withdraw into a quiet room or private corner, whilst other services operate out in play areas at a designated spot (see for example Brace, 1995, who describes how the pupils at Highfield Junior and Infants school in Birmingham mediate under a tree in the playground). Stacey Robinson and Cremin (1997) found, (as did Araki), that peer mediation services are more likely to be well used when a high profile was maintained throughout the school year. In many of these successful initiatives teams of mediators gave themselves a clear identity, choosing names (Trouble Busters, Helping Hands, and Untanglers) logos, slogans ('Release the peace and be strong') and forms of identification such as baseball caps, badges and sweatshirts.

The usual stage at which pupils are trained to become peer mediators is at top junior level or secondary level. Stacey and Robinson (1997) do, however, give one example of top infant children (7 year olds) being trained to mediate successfully for their peers in a rudimentary way. Uniquely, Stacey and Robinson (1997) differentiate between an infant, junior and secondary mediation process. In this differentiated process, infants mediate in the sense that they can support two people in disagreement to hear each other's feelings and agree what to do for the best. Juniors, however, are able to provide a neutral, non-judgemental service in which they can help disputants to understand what the problem is about, appreciate each others point of view, and choose a way forward. Secondary pupils use their growing maturity, perception, and sophistication, to reach underlying issues as well as to identify unexpressed needs. A mediation between primary pupils may be over in a matter of minutes. Older pupils may need recourse to several sessions of mediation before reaching a resolution to their dispute.

There are both similarities and differences between American and British peer mediation projects.

The main difference is that many of the American peer mediation projects are part of a wider community mediation service and have on-going support. Many U.K. schools use their school budget to fund peer mediation, and do not have this outside support. There is also a difference in focus. Stacey and Robinson (1997), for example, are concerned with pedagogy and developmental skills-training through the curriculum, while Araki (1990) is more concerned with the role of the peer mediation programme as part of a community-wide approach to dealing with conflict. The U.K. model also relies less on adults, and mediation occurs over lunch and break times rather than during the school day. Clearly, there are advantages in having an outside agency provide on-going training and support, ensuring that the profile of the programme is high both within the school and in the wider community, but there are also advantages in a school being forced to take early ownership of the programme. It is hoped that the research in hand will reveal the extent to which schools can take on and run a peer mediation programme after an initial period of training and support.

Research Into the Effectiveness of Peer Mediation

Research into the effectiveness of peer mediation programmes tends to be descriptive and informal, and most of it has been carried out in the United States. Where programmes have been evaluated, the responses are consistently positive. Gentry and Benenson (1993) found that 27 grade 4 to 6 'conflict managers' experienced a decline in the frequency and intensity of conflicts with siblings as a result of peer mediation training at school, and that parents perceived a similar decline in the frequency of such conflicts and in their need to intervene. Crary (1992) evaluated the effects of a peer mediation programme conducted in a large, culturally diverse, urban middle school. He found that all of the 125 disputants who used the service managed to resolve their conflicts and were satisfied with the outcomes. Teachers also indicated that the amount of conflict in school was lowered. Miller (1993) describes a Maryland middle school that initiated a peer mediation programme in response to increasing numbers of fights. She found that after one year both the number of suspensions given by teachers, and pupil arguments observed in school, decreased. School climate and the quality of pupil relationships improved, and many pupils used

the mediation process both within and outside of school. Thompson (1996) and Rogers (1996) also report positive results for the use of a peer mediation programme. Stuart (1991) is one of the few researchers into peer mediation to use quantitative data analysis. She used interviews and questionnaires to evaluate a 'Conflict Manager' programme developed for third to fifth grade pupils in an elementary school in Virginia. The results showed that the programme reduced tension, enhanced pupil self-esteem, increased pupil levels of responsibility, increased the teaching time for staff, and improved pupils' problem-solving, communication, co-operation, and critical thinking skills.

Johnson and Johnson (1994, 1996) review a number of evaluations of, and studies on, peer mediation. The overall findings of their research in 1994 show that 85% to 95% of disputes mediated by peers resulted in lasting and stable agreements. Pupils trained in mediation engaged in less anti-social and more prosocial behaviour in school. Violence and other serious discipline problems decreased. Referrals to the principal were reduced by 60%. Generally, the most frequent conflicts were found by Johnson and Johnson to result from gossip/rumour, harassment, arguments, threats of physical violence, and negative behaviour in the classroom. Johnson and Johnson go on to strike a note of caution, however, warning that most of these studies were of poor quality methodologically. Where more rigorous research methods are used, and all pupils (not just a team of mediators) are trained in negotiation and mediation skills, Johnson, Johnson, Dudley and Acikgoz found, in 1994, that 92 first to sixth grade pupils, in 4 multi-age classes in an American suburban middle-class elementary school, were able to transfer the procedures and skills to their own peer conflicts, having participated in a peer mediation training programme. Prior to the training programme, which took place over 6 weeks for 30 minutes a day, frequent conflicts involving academic work, physical aggression, playground activities, access to or possession of objects, turn-taking, and put-downs and teasing, were reported. Careful observation of hallways, the dining room, the playground, and the gymnasium revealed that four months after the training, pupils seriously and carefully used their training to resolve highly emotional and prolonged conflicts with their peers. The frequency of student-student conflicts that teachers had to manage dropped by 80% after the training and the number of conflicts referred to the principal was reduced to zero.

To determine how well they learned to negotiate and mediate, pupils were videotaped negotiating a resolution of two conflicts immediately after the training and six months later. They were also given a questionnaire in which two conflicts were described and pupils wrote down how they would mediate the conflicts. The results demonstrate that the pupils knew the mediation process, and were able to apply it. Many of the pupils and their parents reported that the pupils were using the negotiation and mediation skills at home with their siblings, family, and friends. A measure of the success of the programme was that many parents whose children were not part of the project requested that their children receive the training next year, and a number of parents requested the training for themselves to use with their family. Johnson and Johnson (1994) feel that, although their training was largely successful, pupils continued to be disinclined to express their feelings, and sometimes did not think to reverse perspectives in conflict situations.

In New Zealand, staff from 12 Auckland schools who set up peer mediation programmes describe the changes that they saw (Duncan, 1993) "I don't have so many children rushing up to me on duty." "I often hear the children say 'Let's find the mediators, they'll help.'" "Incidents have lessened in the playground, children are much more responsible." "Mediators take their job seriously and excellent training has helped them to 'solve' many types of problems. I am impressed with how they handle situations. I have not yet had to step in." One of the principals of the schools describes the concerns that led him to initiate a peer mediation programme. "My concern was always that the children's problems were not being addressed at earlier stages, and occasionally incidents of 'bullying' would emerge which could have been caught if the child concerned had someone to take that problem to other than a duty teacher" (p.2). After the peer mediation service was implemented, he notes a change:

"The difference as I see it is that children, particularly the younger ones, feel more secure in the playground. They now know where to take their problems and be heard. My deputy principal follows through the reports and discusses any patterns or concerns arising. These days the discussions are few and far between as the incidents are

becoming minor. The older children have learned skills to empower them to deal with their peers. Therefore I have my schedule back!" (p.3).

In 1993, Southwark Mediation Centre reported on their project to develop peer mediation programmes in three local secondary schools (Southwark Mediation Centre, 1993). The project co-ordinator gives an example of a successfully-mediated dispute:

"In one dispute, insults such as 'slag' 'bitch,' etc. had been regularly exchanged and the whole class had become involved. Feelings in the mediation session became very heated, but the mediators were successful in bringing down the temperature and getting the two sides to talk calmly to each other. At the end, both girls said 'thank-you' to the mediators and they have since become friends. One of the mediators said of this case: 'getting this problem resolved made me feel really good" (p.14).

The School Counsellor who was responsible for the peer mediation programme in one of the schools says of the programme:

"I have seen that the teaching of mediation skills begins to alter young people's attitudes and the way in which they conduct themselves. This is an exciting project because it puts the responsibility back to the pupils and they have shown they are willing to take it. They will respond more to each other and it is very valuable that they, rather than adults, will be doing the mediation. It also develops respect for other people's viewpoints and can address the many serious and highly disruptive conflicts in the school. It makes it possible for these conflicts to be resolved by thinking and not by fighting" (p.14).

Tyrrell and Farrell (1995) used action research to evaluate peer mediation programmes in two primary schools in Ulster, Northern Ireland. The research involved interviews with pupils, teachers, and other adults in school, and pupil questionnaires. At the end of the first year they make a

number of recommendations based on their research findings. These are that peer mediation should be established in Northern Ireland schools, and that Northern Ireland-based resources should be developed. They also concluded that as many children as possible should be trained in each school, that appropriate procedures should be developed for the selection of those who will function as mediators, and that those not selected should have complementary functions in the service's provision. They equally stress the importance of research, and of ensuring that schools are clear from the outset of their role in assisting this research.

Silcock, Stacey, and Wyness (forthcoming) have evaluated the effectiveness of peer mediation in improving social competence in Birmingham schools. Teachers in 12 schools where the system is well-established completed a questionnaire concerning aims and expected outcomes. Results were triangulated against the views of the peer mediators themselves, gained from questioning 108 peer mediators at a 'Children's Conference,' and interviewing 7 in more depth. On their own judgements, and on those of the adults observing them, the peer mediators have improved social perspective-taking skill, increased awareness of their own social status, improved socio-behavioural skills, and a growing sense of social-responsibility. Birmingham teachers evaluate peer mediation equally favourably in 1997. Stacey and Robinson (1997) give a number of examples of teacher and pupil evaluations. The behaviour co-ordinator of a Birmingham primary school says:

"Mediation began as an aspect of school life, a taught element, and has become something which they use as part of their everyday lives, as useful as language and maths. Their skills at whatever level, have extended into their homes and lives outside school" (p.157).

The headteacher of the school adds:

"We were looking for ways to further enhance our behaviour policy when we first became involved with mediation... Our first mediators were brilliant. It was wonderful to watch them

grow in confidence as the scheme got underway and was successful. Our third group of mediators has just started. The children never fail to amaze us. They get better every year... The whole process of mediation has made a huge difference to our school. We find it almost impossible to say exactly why it has worked so well. It is a combination of many things. Perhaps the most important is that we did it as a whole school. I can't imagine our school without mediation. We feel really proud of what our children have achieved using the process of mediation" (p.158).

The head of Year 7 at a Birmingham secondary school states:

"The peer mediation process has proved to be a valuable tool since it began 7 months ago. The skills taught to all of the pupils have helped to create a positive and pleasant atmosphere within classrooms and around the school. The chosen mediators themselves have grown in stature, assuming responsibility for operating the scheme. Their mature approach has been appreciated by disputants and their success has certainly eased my pastoral workload" (p.158).

These quotes from people who have had direct experience of peer mediation show that it is certainly perceived to be of value. Of particular interest to teachers are the often-repeated advantages for the mediators themselves, and the positive effect the mediators appear to have on the quality of life in school. Some caution does, however, need to be exercised in interpreting some of the results gained from the earlier research projects, as the methodology was often of poor quality, and there is an on-going lack of any longitudinal research. Lyon (1991) describes how, in an inner-city middle school, the positive effects of a peer mediation service were lost when the programme ceased to function. She concludes that, to be successful in reducing disputes, interventions must be long term and consistently available.

Conclusion

In summary, mediation is an approach to conflict resolution that is growing in popularity, both in the community and in schools, due to its simplicity, effectiveness, and non-adversarial nature. Not only is it seen as effective in resolving disputes, but also in preserving relationships and teaching important personal and social skills. Research to date has been supportive of the approach, although it is sketchy. This research aims to use rigorous research methods to go some small way towards discovering if there are real changes in pupil behaviour and self-concept as a result of their participating in a peer mediation programme in 3 British primary schools.

Chapter Three: Humanism in Education: Self-esteem and locus of control

As already stated, mediation has its roots in humanistic psychology. The pupil questionnaires that are used for this research test for self-esteem and locus of control, two core concepts in humanistic psychology which have been applied to education (Rogers and Freiberg, 1994). This chapter will give an overview of the ways that humanism has influenced education generally, and, in particular, the ways that it theoretically underpins the peer mediation training programme being evaluated here.

Self-esteem

Self-esteem is central to humanistic psychology. William James (1890) first brought the self out of the realms of philosophy and defined it as a legitimate study for the psychologist. Since Freud, a number of psychologists (notably Rogers, 1951 and Maslow 1962) have attempted to define the concept, but it wasn't until the work of Diggory (1966) and other social psychologists, that the particular aspect of the self, known as self-esteem, became a common subject of study. The self (or self-concept) has been seen (e.g. by Rogers, 1951) to be made up of three major components: self image, self-esteem and ideal self. Whereas the self-image and the ideal-self are descriptive concepts, referring to the kind of person the individual thinks he is, or would like to be, self-esteem is essentially evaluative, referring to the extent to which the individual likes or accepts himself. Accordingly, an individual's self-esteem will be high if the discrepancy between his ideal-self and his self-image is small, and low if the discrepancy between his ideal-self and his self-image is large. Coopersmith (1967) has defined self-esteem as a personal judgement of worthiness, that is expressed in the attitudes the individual holds towards himself. Lawrence (1987), whose definition grew out of his clinical counselling work with 8 to 11 year olds, has defined it as the child's affective evaluation of the sum total of his or her characteristics both mental and physical. It is Lawrence's LAWSEQ questionnaire that is being used as part of this

research to test for levels of self-esteem amongst the children in the experimental and control classes.

Dewhurst (1991) has argued that it is not always desirable for teachers to focus exclusively on raising children's self-esteem. Teachers should, he proposes, encourage their pupils to develop a positive, but realistic, sense of self-esteem. Thus, self-acceptance becomes more important than self-esteem:

"Teachers may... believe that education has something to do with self-knowledge, including the assessment of oneself and one's place in the world... pupils will be less vulnerable to correction if they have sufficient reserves of self-acceptance... To say that they will be less vulnerable is not to say that the problem can ever be completely solved, but if pupils can be encouraged to accept themselves regardless of how they are assessed by others or how they assess themselves, much will have been done to mitigate it" (p.10).

One of the aims of the peer mediation programme being tested here is to encourage the pupils participating to develop a more positive and realistic self-esteem, both through affirmation activities, and through enabling them to feel better about themselves as a result of resolving their own problems using peer mediation.

Locus of Control

The 'client-centred' approach (Rogers, 1951) used by humanistic therapists allows the client to express emotions safely (and have them validated by the therapist) and, in doing so, to gain sufficient clarity of the issues involved to resolve difficulties confidently without advice or direct intervention from the therapist. Thus, the client is able to develop a more internal locus of control through expressing and resolving his own problems. Mediation enables the same humanistic

process to occur. Teachers wishing to develop peer mediation will need to facilitate processes whereby pupils explore and express emotions in a safe environment, and invent their own solutions to their own problems.

The development of an internal locus of control has been shown to be directly related to the attribution made by the individual as to what was responsible for success or failure in a given situation (Phares 1957). The notion of locus of control grew out of an experiment by Phares, who showed that subjects changed their expectations of how well they would manage a simple task significantly if they believed that their performance was due to skill rather than to chance. Research into this area was given a boost by the development of a questionnaire to measure locus of control by Rotter and his associates (1966). This I-E Scale places the respondent on a continuum from 'internality' to 'externality.' A person who scores highly on 'internality' takes responsibility for what happens to him or her, whereas a person who scores highly on 'externality' perceives more of life's happenings as the result of luck, chance, fate, as under the control of powerful others, or as unpredictable because of the great complexity of the forces surrounding him (Rotter, 1966). The individual's perception of the causation of events has been widely researched (see for example Garber and Seligman, 1980) and has given rise to 'attribution theory' which is closely linked to the notion of locus of control. Hall and Hall (1988) suggest that the degree to which an individual feels in control of his life is dependent on the degree to which he attributes problems to factors within himself, or to factors inherent in the broader situation (and therefore beyond his sphere of influence). It is dependent on the degree to which he sees the problem as applying to specific, limited situations, or to all situations (and therefore unchangeable) and on the degree to which he sees the problem as part of an unstable, or a stable situation (and therefore, once again, unchangeable). An internal, specific, unstable attribution leaves scope for change, whereas an external, global, stable attribution implies a fixed view of the world, in which the individual feels he has little control.

Although an accurate external view is healthier than a deluded internal view, it has nevertheless been shown by Phares (1984) that internals tend to be better adjusted, less anxious and have fewer psychiatric symptoms than externals. Externals tend to be more conforming and easily persuadable, and are more vulnerable to 'learned helplessness,' a notion developed out of the work of Seligman (1975) which suggests that prolonged experiences of failure, punishment or pain can produce apathy, depression and result in early mortality. Weiss et al. (1992) also found that children who were depressed tended to have a more external locus of control.

Rotter's I-E scale has been used in the formulation of questionnaires to test the locus of control of children. The questionnaire being used for this research is a case in point. It was developed by Nowicki and Strickland (1973) and has been used extensively (for example Chien, 1984, Simmons, 1991, Howerton, Enger and Cobbs, 1993, Kornhaber, LeChanu *et al*, 1994). The questions describe reinforcement situations across interpersonal and motivational areas such as affiliation, achievement, and dependency. Broadly, the research findings suggest that an internal score on the Nowicki-Strickland scale is significantly related to academic competence and social maturity, and appears to be a correlate of independent, striving, self-motivated behaviour.

Humanistic Education

Just as the process of counselling and the relationship between the client and the therapist is central to the success of humanistic therapy, humanistic approaches in the classroom take into account the process of learning, and the quality of the relationship between the learner and the teacher, and not merely the content of what is being taught. Greenhalgh (1994) has used the term 'process thinking' to refer to a humanistic approach to teaching that requires reflective consideration of our attitudes, approaches and the way in which communications are made, rather than the easy application of techniques picked from a shelf. Progressivism, perhaps the best-known movement based on humanistic principles (Simpson, 1996), also values pupils' relationships with knowledge over the knowledge itself. Kelly (1989) believes that progressivism

can empower individuals to control their own learning, so that knowledge is gained in ways most likely to ensure its grasp and application. Topping (1996) believes that information technology has usurped the teacher's traditional role as a transmitter of curriculum content, leading to a more process-oriented role as organiser and quality controller of effective learning. Stacey and Robinson (1997) have stressed the importance of 'process thinking' in relation to peer mediation training. They recommend that activities from peer mediation training manuals should not be seen as a prescriptive or dogmatic set of instructions. The choice of activities, the starting points and the rate of progress should vary from group to group. Appropriate activities should be based on observations of the group, and difficulties in doing things well (e.g. all keeping the ground rules, or mixing with others) should be seen as development points and not as failures. Teachers are encouraged not to feel that they are responsible for providing all the solutions to observed problematic behaviour. The nature of the process that classes are engaged in is such that the pupils are encouraged to appraise their own performance in achieving skills and to develop strategies to ensure that everyone succeeds. By involving the group in this process of reflection and appraisal, the seeds of problem solving, co-operation and collaborative responsibility are sown.

Historically, education has largely been concerned with fixed bodies of knowledge, taught using formal teaching methods, in order to meet the requirements of formal examinations (Hall and Hall, 1988). Humanistic education, however, values the process of choice, personal responsibility and the education of the whole person. Equal emphasis is placed on developing the intellect and the emotions, and the role of the teacher is seen as facilitating her pupils' cognitive and affective progress in the classroom, often in conjunction with each other. Rogers and Freiberg (1994) stress three core conditions for the humanistic therapist and the humanistic teacher. The first is realness or genuineness, where the teacher presents herself as a real person without any front or façade, and where she is in contact with her feelings and able to communicate them where appropriate. The second is prizing, acceptance or trust, where the teacher regards each pupil positively regardless of their behaviour. The third is empathic understanding (defined by Cox and Theilgaard in 1987 as affective resonance and a partial, temporary fusion of perspectival worlds),

where the teacher is able to appreciate the feelings of her pupils and validate their right to feel them, even if they differ from her own feelings in a given situation. These core conditions have been accepted and developed by many working in the field of education and educational psychology. Dockar-Drysdale (1990), for example, has suggested that genuineness on the part of the teacher is particularly important for children with poor ego development who need to strengthen their newly emerging sense of self through relating to another who is able to present themselves as real.

A strong element in humanistic education is active learning, which aims to develop an internal locus of control amongst pupils by encouraging them to take responsibility for their own learning, and to feel at the centre of their education, rather than on the periphery of an impersonal education system. Moves towards more active, child-centred, teaching and learning styles became popular in schools in the 1970s and 1980s, prompted by the Plowden Report (1968) which emphasised the importance of children learning through discovery, group-work and discussion). Writers such as Blyth (1988) and Kelly (1989) stressed that learning is a natural process occurring best when a child is intrinsically motivated and following a personal interest, rather than when a child is directed by the constraints of an external curriculum. More recently, Brandes and Ginnis (1990) have compared and contrasted what they call *traditional attitudes* and *student-centred attitudes* amongst teachers. A teacher with the former attitude believes that she has the information and/or skills that her pupils need, and that her role is to transmit these to them, using punitive measures where necessary to ensure that the pupils carry out the work. She believes that she is responsible for her pupils' learning, and that as an adult and as a professional she has the expertise to make the right judgements and decisions about her pupils. A teacher with the latter attitude believes that she may not have all the information and/or skills that her pupils want to develop, and that her role is accordingly to facilitate her pupils' learning through providing resources and support. She trusts that her pupils will want to learn, and, without external constraints and pressure, will enjoy and take responsibility for their own learning. The humanistic belief that the individual will 'self-actualise,' given the right conditions is fundamental

to teachers who use student-centred methods.

In order to facilitate the self-actualisation of individuals, however, teachers, like humanistic therapists, need to be non-directive, and this involves an abdication of power. Burns (1982), Combs (1965), Carkhuff (1969) and Rogers and Freiberg (1994) have shown that there is a relationship between a teacher's self-esteem and her ability to raise her pupils' self-esteem. Working with and supporting an empowered group of pupils is a challenging situation that requires skilled teachers who feel equally empowered. Rogers (1961) believes that the degree to which a therapist or teacher can create relationships which facilitate the growth of others as separate persons is a measure of the growth that the therapist or teacher has achieved in him/herself. Kyriacou and Cheng (1993) show that student teachers in particular find that there is a distinction between holding humanistic attitudes as ideals and the difficulty of behaving consistently with such attitudes when constrained by the realities of classroom life. Hopson and Scally (1981) suggest that a great deal of what happens in society, and in particular in education, is a 'depowering' process, and there are those (Curle, 1973, Hall and Hall, 1988, Rogers and Freiberg, 1994) who believe that there is neither the political nor the professional will amongst teachers to create generations of young people who are aware of their personal power, and likely to act in unpredictable and challenging ways:

"Unfortunately, in our view, a majority of people involved in the teaching profession would not agree with the idea that there should be more sharing of responsibility in educational settings. They may agree with our views in a statement of their aims of education, but their actual behaviour involves a reinforcement of existing patterns of behaviour... Simply put, a person in a teaching situation who gives students responsibility for their own learning... is giving away power. Giving away power seems to cause a great deal of disturbance in the wider institution and forces are mobilised to destroy those situations which may be genuinely empowering for the individual' (Hall and Hall, 1988, p.41).

The peer mediation programme being evaluated here uses a model of training that starts with the training needs of staff. By training staff in humanistic teaching methods, it is anticipated that they, in turn, will train the pupils in mediation skills. This model aims to ensure the maximum congruence between the content of the curricular materials being used and the teaching methods and attitudes of the staff. This is distinct from the model that has been most widely used in the United States, in which pupils are withdrawn to be trained by community mediators in isolation of the teaching staff of the school.

Humanistic teaching methods, and progressivism in particular, are not currently in vogue amongst many educationalists in the U.K. The 'constructivism' of Pollard (1985) and Bennett (1994), the 'constructionism' of Galton (1989) and the neo-Vygotskian thrust of Bruner (1986) are founded on Vygotsky's contention that mind is structured by society (1978) rather than society being a product of mind. This pragmatic social-constructivist ideology holds that children only develop cognitively through the direct intervention of others. Alexander's attack on child-centredness (for example Alexander, 1992) is typical of many in recent years which give public credibility to the death of 'Plowden' progressivism as a mainstream ideology and to speeches made by political reformers (Clarke, 1991, Major, 1991, Blunkett, 1998). A climate has been created in which teacher control of curricula, and government control of teachers, are welcomed. It is this climate that has forced progressivism to develop in ways which marry learner autonomy to prescribed curricula. Teachers using progressivist methods still seek to empower individuals, but 'new progressivism' (Silcock, 1996) empowers individuals in context. Pupils remain in charge of their own learning, but they also benefit from the careful intervention of teachers. Silcock (1996) says of new progressivism that:

"Teachers will simultaneously educate and empower pupils by making them partners in the pedagogic task. We can enable learners to acquire prescribed knowledge and skills (there is no argument about the fact that they should) while making sense of these in terms of individual purpose and experience, such that – sooner rather than later- they can

gain access to and apply the knowledge for themselves" (p. 210).

It is in this somewhat problematic environment that peer mediation as a humanist intervention is being introduced into the three Birmingham schools being evaluated for this piece of research.

Skills Training

Curricular materials to support humanistic approaches in the classroom were first developed in the United States in the 1970s (Brown, 1972, Castillo, 1974, Canfield and Wells, 1976) but in the 1980s similar schemes were developed in the United Kingdom (Baldwin and Wells, 1979, Button, 1982, Hopson and Scally, 1980). These curricular materials are usually delivered as part of Personal and Social Education, and are designed to be taught actively to enable the pupils to learn affective as well as social cognitive skills experientially. Eisenberg (1989) stresses the importance of teaching what she refers to as 'prosocial skills' (voluntary actions that are intended to benefit or help another individual or group of individuals) using active humanistic teaching methods. She argues that it is not enough for teachers to teach *about* prosocial behaviour (lecturing, proselytising) they need to give pupils skills-training and opportunities to exercise this complex set of skills. Wooster, Leech and Hall (1986) make a similar point when they state that the assumption that children will pick up adequate social skills automatically, as a by-product of education, has little foundation. Goleman (1996) stresses the importance of using opportunities in and out of the class to help students turn moments of personal crisis into lessons in emotional competence. Humanistic skills-training programmes have as a central theme that they place the process of education and problem-solving above the content of what is taught. Once key skills have been acquired, typically through games and role-play, pupils can consolidate them in an authentic setting. It is to be noted that where 'skills' are referred to here and elsewhere, a more complex set of skills and related values and attitudes are assumed.

According to the theories of humanistic therapy, clients with problems begin to resolve their difficulties

once they have had their feelings and needs validated by the 'unconditional positive regard' of the therapist. The more internal process of exploring inner thoughts and feelings is thus followed by a more external process of making decisions and acting on them. In a similar way, many humanistic education programmes begin with an exploration of the self and the emotions before moving on to help students develop problem-solving and social skills, although clearly affective and social cognitive skills remain linked.

There are those who argue that the teaching of social skills is more important in the 1990s than it was in the preceding decades. Stacey and Robinson (1997) have stated that teachers can no longer assume (if they ever could) that children come to school with the level of affective and social skills that the curriculum, and the smooth running of the school, demands. An increase in requests from headteachers for the author to provide training in creative and co-operative play is perhaps one symptom of a society in which children's leisure time is largely spent in front of a television or a computer in isolation from other young people. The streets and parks where children traditionally honed their social skills with their peers are no longer perceived to be safe, and children are arguably growing up with an increasingly impoverished range of social skills. Goleman (1996) suggests that the growing rate of divorce and the perceived break-down in family values have also led to a greater need for schools to teach core personal and social skills. Speaking about American society, he suggests that children need to develop 'emotional literacy':

"As family life no longer offers growing numbers of children a sure footing in life, schools are left as the one place communities can turn to for correctives to children's deficiencies in emotional and social competence. Emotional literacy implies an expanded mandate for schools, taking up the slack for failing families in socialising children" (p.279).

Goleman feels that the teaching of 'emotional literacy' (affective skills) in the classroom is more important now than it ever was, given the social problems that many children face. He points out that poor affective skills can lead to depression and/or violence in young people, and that both

are increasing. Lewinsohn et al. (1993) in a cross national study have shown that in many countries those born after 1955 are more than three times more likely to suffer from a major depression at some point in their lives. Related problems of eating disorders, teenage pregnancy, dropping-out, drinking and drugs, Goleman argues, need to be tackled through personal and social skills-training programmes which have a focus on prevention rather than on crisis intervention. He feels that giving young people information about the dangers of damaging and anti-social practices is not enough. Young people need the self-confidence and skills to avoid being drawn into such anti-social practices in the first place.

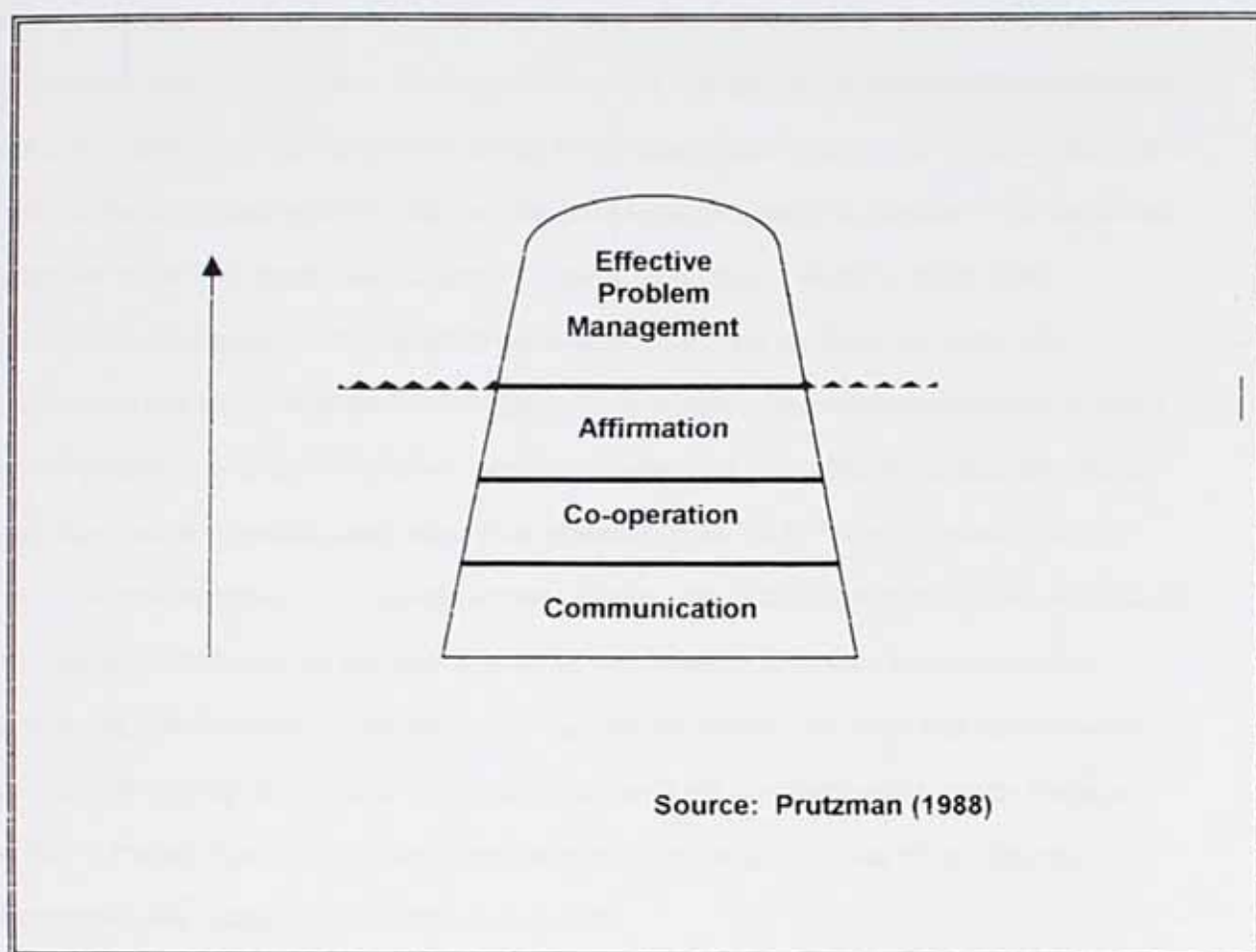
Peer mediation training programmes typically work within a humanistic framework. The method most widely used, which continues to be most widely used in both the United States and Great Britain (see for example the Kingston Friends Workshop Group, 1988, Stacey, 1990, Tyrrell and Farrell, 1995), is the 'Iceberg' method developed by Prutzman (1988, see figure 3:1). Those using the 'Iceberg' method of peer mediation training encourage young people to review their feelings towards themselves and their relationships before moving on to learn problem-solving skills. Stacey and Robinson (1997, p.7) have added the ability to keep class ground rules as an extra layer of skills at the bottom of the Iceberg. It is this method which is being evaluated by the research in hand. The Iceberg Principle was conceived by Prutzman as part of her work for the Children's Creative Response to Conflict Project in New York in response to inner-city violence. The Iceberg Principle assumes that the three skills beneath the water line in figure 3:1 have to be acquired by pupils in order for mediation and effective problem management to take place. The symbolism of the Iceberg implies that the problem-management skills are only the tip of the iceberg, and that they are underpinned by the other three skills, which will be 'below the surface', once they have become assimilated by the problem-solving process. The skills of communication (the ability to express feelings and needs), affirmation (the ability to give and receive affirmation) and co-operation (the ability to function as part of a wider group) are taught with an emphasis on strengthening the self-concept and affective and social skills of pupils. The expectation is that pupils will increasingly be able to tackle real issues that affect them and their peers, culminating in their being able to operate

a peer mediation scheme in which they resolve their own difficulties, without direct adult intervention.

Figure 3:2 (Stacey and Robinson, 1997, p.10) shows how the Iceberg method of mediation skills training (modified by Stacey and Robinson to include the agreement of class ground rules) and the mediation process are linked and how both work within a humanistic framework. Both the 'Iceberg' method of peer mediation training and the mediation process move from basic matters of communication, through the exploration and affirmation of feelings, into problem-solving. In the 'Iceberg' method of peer mediation training the skills that the mediators and disputants revisit during the mediation process are first taught using humanistic teaching methods. By breaking each skill area down into related skills and activities an extended programme is delivered, either as intensive peer mediation training, or as an ongoing part of teaching peer mediation skills to all pupils through the curriculum. The activities and targets within each of these skill areas depend on the starting points of the class or group. Where peer mediation and conflict resolution skills training have been integrated into a whole-school approach delivered through the curriculum, this work can begin with infant children and progress developmentally throughout the school. Where schools want peer mediation in place relatively quickly, as was the case for the programme being evaluated here, the skills can be taught more intensively within a year group (see for example The West Midlands Quaker Peace Education Project, 1992).

The affective skill of affirmation (the ability to affirm oneself and others) has been seen by many advocating humanistic methods as a core skill in improving self-esteem and in developing positive attitudes and behaviour in school, particularly in America, where increases in self-esteem have frequently been connected with social performance indicators such as attendance, achievement and drug usage.

Figure 3:1 Prutzman's Iceberg Principle



Reasoner (1990), for example, wrote a paper for the National Council for Self-Esteem in America in which he reviewed the research linking self-esteem and school achievement and behaviour in the 1980s and early 1990s. He reviews 7 humanistic programmes which all show positive changes as a result of a conscious drive to improve pupil levels of self-esteem. One example is Silver Creek High School in San Jose, California, where a self-esteem programme was implemented with approximately 10% of the pupils who were considered of average ability. At the end of four years researchers found clear differences between the achievements of the students participating in the programme and those of the other students. 75% of the programme students compared with 26% of the other students were completing 90% of their homework. The programme-students were having one absence for every 16

of the other students, and were mentioned twice as many times on the 'honor roll.' Twenty six percent of the programme-students compared with 6% of other students were participating in at least 20 extra-curricular activities, and 75 % of them compared with 25% were student body officers. Sixty % compared with 2% graduated. Another of Reasoner's examples is the Moreland School District in San Jose, California, which adopted the raising of self-esteem as a primary goal for 3,750 students in 1985. At the end of the 5-year programme, the district was designated the highest achieving school district out of the 29 in Santa Clara County. 7 of the 8 schools were identified by the State Department of Education as Distinguished Schools, ranking in the top 3% of the state, and achievement test scores increased 10% - 15% to the point where all grade levels tested at or above the 94th percentile in all basic skill areas. Vandalism decreased from \$16,000 per year to less than \$2,000 per year and average daily attendance increased to 99.7% for the last 3 years. Moreland District Schools averaged three reported crimes per year against a state average of more than 20 per year, and discipline problems significantly declined, with fewer suspensions than in any of the surrounding school districts. In the last 3 years the average teacher used less than half her entitled sick leave, and at high school level, the dropout rate was 5.4% compared with a county average of 16.8%. In the last 3 years, no students were reported to be using drugs and the percentage of students entering college increased from 65% to 89%.

Maines and Robinson (1988b) have reviewed American research (e.g. Clark and Walberg, 1968, Lawrence, 1973, Hartley, 1986) that came up with similar findings, linking improved self-esteem with improved achievement and social skills. They suggest that teachers should spend more time analysing and improving their pupils' self-esteem. In this country, there has been research into this area, but it is limited. Murfitt (1979) investigated the progress achieved in self-concept and reading attainment by slow learning pupils through the stimulus of peer counselling used in addition to classroom-based general education. He found that the secondary-aged counselled pupils made more positive progress in reading attainment and gained a more positive self-concept than the matched control group. The primary-aged counselled pupils made less negative progress in reading (as both counselled and non-counselled groups made losses) and achieved a

higher gain in self-concept than did the control group. Wooster (1988) describes a humanistic programme that was carried out by a teacher in Nottingham with an unpopular class of 8-year-olds. Her aim was to create a positive climate of trust in the classroom, and she achieved this by teaching the children affective and social skills. Wooster says that the activities that she did with the children went beyond the cognitive. Conversely, a cross-sectional study of 6 primary schools using the LAWSAQ questionnaire (Lawrence, 1981) in 1992 found that the self-esteem of Year Two pupils involved in SATs dropped significantly compared to cohorts of pupils not required to take SATs.

The teaching of affective skills alongside cognitive skills has been shown to enhance both. Writers such as Freire (1977) have demonstrated that illiterate adults can be taught to read more quickly using books that contain personally relevant issues, such as their living conditions. In an update of an earlier book which inspired many educators, Rogers and Freiberg (1994) sum up the research that followed their early work (Aspy and Roebuck, 1977, for example) and give a number of case-studies to illustrate the effectiveness of their approach in terms of teaching affective skills and improving academic achievement. Clearly, what pupils experience in school does influence their level of self-esteem, and their levels of self-esteem are in turn connected with their academic and social skills. It is perhaps ironic that in the current political drive to raise standards and improve behaviour through a return to more 'traditional' teaching, assessment, and behaviour management styles (Blunkett 1998), children may suffer alienation and anxiety which will reduce their levels of self-esteem, and therefore their performance.

Skills' training programmes aimed at teaching prosocial skills through improving empathy and co-operation have been developed and researched in the 1980s and early 1990s in the United States. The Empathy Training Program was evaluated in 1988 (Feshbach and Feshbach). The findings show that in the groups that received empathy training, prosocial actions increased, and both the self-concept and the social understanding of pupils improved. Neither of the control groups showed these positive effects. The empathy training was effective for children who were average in aggression as well as for those who were initially highly aggressive. Hertz-Lazarowitz and Sharan

evaluated a co-operative learning programme, developed by The Small Group Teaching project (SGT), in 1984. They found that, compared with a control group of comparable children, those in the co-operative learning programme performed better in academic tests and scored higher in thinking tests and creativity. More significantly for this research, tension and conflict were reduced in the SGT classrooms, compared with controls, and helping behaviour and motivation increased, as did co-operation in experimental game situations. A longitudinal field-experimental study of schools' role in developing prosocial behaviour was carried out in San Francisco Bay in 1986 and 1987 (Solomon et al.). The programme involved co-operative activities, developmental discipline (where the children are given more power to develop class rules and values), activities to promote social understanding, and activities in which children were encouraged to help others. The teachers involved modelled prosocial values in the classroom. The programme began when the children were in the kindergarten and is on-going. It displayed that during the first 5 years of school, children in the programme showed significantly more prosocial behaviour than the control children, and that the differences were maintained across the years. Children in the programme schools were more supportive of each other, more spontaneously helpful and co-operative, and more concerned about others. In addition, when presented with hypothetical interpersonal conflict situations in interview, the programme school children offered more prosocial strategies for resolution. Their strategies involved less aggression, more compromise, more mindfulness, and more attention to the needs of all individuals in the conflict. Their questionnaire responses revealed that they were more concerned with democratic values and that they were more able to state their positions in a group.

In this country, Higgins, Power & Kohlberg (1984) and Kohlberg and Higgins (1987) describe the 'just communities' that they set up in schools. The children had more responsibility for establishing and reinforcing the rules, with the result that both their level of moral reasoning and their behaviour improved. This is demonstrated again by a peer counselling scheme in a school, reviewed by Croall (1996), which dealt with such issues as pressure from exams, bullying, personal relationships, difficulties with individual teachers, and problems at home. The success of this scheme was noted in the school's Ofsted report which scored the school highly on social and moral education, and noted

that children's feelings of self-worth were encouraged by their being given responsibility. Eisenberg (1989) reviewing these programmes, believes that:

"The success of these experimental programmes is compelling evidence that schools and teachers can, with some effort and with minimal interference with the regular curriculum, help raise the level of their students' prosocial behaviour and values" (p.102).

One of the most popular techniques of humanistic education, which has become widespread in the 1990s, is Circle Time. Circle Time was first named and formalised as an approach by Ballard in the United States (1982). He encouraged pupils to use Circle Time to listen supportively to each other, and to develop social skills and a more positive self-concept. Circle Time was designed to use the principles of humanistic therapy (creating a safe environment in which the individual feels valued, listened to and supported, unconditional positive regard, an emphasis on self-expression and in particular expression of the emotions, and creative problem-solving in which the individual feels in charge of the process) in a group setting. The aim was for pupils to develop a higher self-esteem, a more internal locus of control, and greater problem-solving and general co-operative skills. The success of these early initiatives has been documented (Ballard, 1982, Thacker, 1985). In this country, Circle Time has been developed and extended throughout the 1980s and 1990s (Bliss and Tetley, 1993, Moseley, 1994, Lang and Mosley, 1993) and is now commonly used in many schools throughout the U.K. The author of this thesis was involved in the training of Stockport teachers wanting to embark on Circle Time. Following a series of teacher training days in Stockport schools between October 1996 and February 1997, Sue Gamon, Senior Advisor for curriculum and professional development, held a special meeting in which the headteachers of the ten schools who had been involved in developing Circle Time evaluated its benefits and drawbacks. The main findings of the resulting document (Gamon, 1997) in which the headteachers give feed-back based on their informal interviews with staff and pupils, have been summarised in Table 3.3:

Table 3.3 A Summary of Teacher Observations and Children's Reactions to Circle Time, as Perceived by Stockport Headteachers

TEACHERS' OBSERVATIONS	CHILDREN'S REACTIONS
Improved behaviour, e.g. turn-taking.	Circle Time has had a quietening effect.
Improved speaking and listening skills.	Children enjoy the activities, and appreciate being listened to.
Improved concentration.	
More positive peer relationships	Children know each other better.
Improved conflict resolution skills for minor conflicts.	Children feel safer to express emotions, air their problems, and discuss incidents as they occur.
Greater emotional development.	Children feel ownership of Circle Time, and see it as a private and special time.
Raised self-esteem.	
Gains in confidence for more reserved children.	All children join in with Circle Time.
Improved group identity amongst the class.	

The headteachers also reported that their teachers found that Circle Time is adaptable, and can be used both to deliver the National Curriculum (English in particular) and to explore the issues and conflicts that arise as part of a school day. Although the teachers generally felt that the school day is already full, their enthusiasm for Circle Time had continued, and they were keen to find ways of fitting it in. In the main, those staff who initially had reservations about the benefits of Circle Time were surprised at how enjoyable they found it, and their reticence disappeared. The two drawbacks that the headteachers identified were that the layout and size of the school can cause difficulties (particularly where the school is open plan) and that it relies on a high degree of commitment and skill on the part of the staff, which, for a small number of teachers, is not always

in evidence. The benefits of Circle Time that the Stockport headteachers identified can be understood in terms of humanistic education. Humanism in education (in the form of Circle Time) is still viable in the 1990s, despite the constraints of the National Curriculum, and it can be used as a teaching tool both to deliver the skills and content of the curriculum, and to implement aspects of a school behaviour management policy.

Conclusion

Peer mediation and peer mediation training programmes, then, have been shown to work within a humanistic framework, providing similar benefits to those that can be achieved through humanistic therapy. The raising of self-esteem and the encouragement of an internal locus of control have been shown here to be central to both. Some Neo-Vygotskian ideologies which are currently in vogue, and the drive of both the Conservative and Labour party to raise educational standards through a return to more traditional teaching methods, have, however, made humanistic teaching methods problematic for teachers of the 1990s to use. Despite the fact that most primary teachers now sit children around small tables designed to promote more active group-work, the reality of what is actually happening in primary schools has been revealed by HMI and research to be that children are in fact mostly working independently, and not interacting in any meaningful way with each other (DES, 1978, Galton and Simon, 1980, Lunn, 1984). The need for teacher training in humanistic teaching methods appears to be stronger than ever. Burns and Housego (1994) identify a need for teachers to be properly trained before using techniques such as Circle Time, suggesting that, in certain cases, Circle Time is adopted because it is fashionable, or because it has superficial appeal, rather than because the teacher understands and values its underpinning philosophy. They propose that if teachers are to take full advantage of what Circle Time can offer, they will need to re-examine their theories of learning, their management and organisation of the classroom, and their own values and attitudes. The research in hand will investigate the level to which teachers are able to use humanistic teaching

methods at a time when the ideology behind them is apparently set in opposition to political trends in education.

Chapter Four: Behaviour Management

The ways that pupils approach conflict with their peers undoubtedly reflect the ways in which the adults in charge of their learning approach conflict in school. Perhaps the most common cause of conflict between adults and children in school is the discrepancy between the needs of pupils, as perceived by themselves, and their needs, as perceived by teachers. Where this discrepancy is large, teachers will almost certainly be compelled to deal with challenging or withdrawn behaviour. It is in both the size of this discrepancy, and in the way that teachers respond to the resulting behaviour, that the culture of the school is set. The culture of the school is also set by organisational features that can either minimise or maximise opportunities for creative conflict resolution. Behaviour management, then, is concerned with both the strategies that teachers use when incidents occur, and the management of the school and the classroom. This chapter will review different approaches to behaviour management in schools, and, in particular, will review humanistic methods, which are congruent with peer mediation programmes. In terms of humanism, if a pupil feels unconditionally accepted as a person (independently of his behaviour) and if he feels in control of resolving his own conflicts with support, he will be able to self-actualise in ways that are mindful of the needs of others. The research in hand investigates how peer mediation fits in with the behaviour management policy of the experimental schools, and the extent to which humanistic policies are needed in order to support the successful implementation of peer mediation.

Children Demonstrating Challenging Behaviour

Perceptions of children demonstrating challenging behaviour have varied in relation to changing attitudes in society, and government legislation. In the period immediately after the Second World War, the prevailing perception of children seen as 'maladjusted' was that they were ill. This perception was owed to the predominant role that a medically oriented model of education played in the work of relevant professionals. Between 1945 and 1970, many more children were

regarded as maladjusted or as suffering from neuroses than would appear to have been the case. Greenhalgh (1994) suggests that many of these children may well have been reacting in a healthy way to environmental factors. In the 1960s, perspectives began to change. For example, Becker (1963) suggested that deviance does not lie in behaviour, but in the interaction between the person who commits an act and those who respond to it. Similarly, Ullman and Krasner (1965) made the case that so-called 'abnormal' behaviour is an interaction between the behaviour itself, its social context, and an observer who is in a position of power. During the 1970s there was a resurgence in the influence of the behaviourist school of psychology which emphasised the significance in a person's life of learned behaviour, and therefore challenged the belief that children with behavioural difficulties were handicapped or abnormal. The Warnock report (DES 1978) spoke of children with special needs (as distinct from children with a disability or a disorder) and took the view that one in five children have special educational needs at some time in their school career. It was therefore recommended that children with special needs were catered for, as far as possible, within the mainstream. The report chaired by Fish (ILEA 1985) did much to influence the perception of the importance of context in defining special educational needs. The report emphasised the dynamic and relative aspects of development and viewed special educational needs as a function more of context than of factors in the child:

'Disabilities and difficulties become more or less handicapping depending on the expectations of others and on social contexts... Individuals with disabilities or significant difficulties may be handicapped by their own attitude to them and by the attitude of others. Of equal significance, the degree to which the individual is handicapped is determined by the educational, social, physical and emotional situations which he or she encounters. Handicapping effects will vary from situation to situation and may change over time.' (p.3-4)

This social psychological view of special educational needs echoes a trend in psychology that began with McDougall (1908) at the turn of the century. Social psychology has been growing as

a discipline since then, with Kurt Lewin (1948) being the first fully to appreciate the previously underestimated influence of any group in shaping the psychology of individuals who are a part of that group. Fromm in 1970 disputes the thesis that psychology only deals with the individual, while sociology only deals with society saying that just as psychology always deals with a socialised individual, so sociology also deals with a group of individuals whose psychic structures and mechanisms must be taken into account. He compares and contrasts Freud and Marx, suggesting that in the latter half of the twentieth century it is no longer sexual drive that is repressed:

"In present day society it is the *other* impulses that are repressed; to be fully alive, to be free, and to love. Indeed if people today were healthy in the human sense, they would be less, rather than more, capable of fulfilling their social role. They would... protest against a sick society, and demand such socio-economic changes as would reduce the dichotomy between health in a social and health in a human sense." (p.37).

In a similar vein, Fontana (1994) has warned that we run the risk of categorising behaviour as undesirable or deviant in children simply because it goes against our own prejudices, social habits or professional convenience, and that we often condemn behaviours in children that would be perfectly acceptable – even desirable - in adults (such as the ability to show originality and independence, to speak up for oneself, to show determination and courage, to be humorous and iconoclastic). Social class underlies a number of related issues. In a study of the social-class struggle of 40 low-income and 34 high-income pupils from two primary and two secondary schools in a medium-sized city in the Midwest of the United States, Brantlinger (1993) found that 57% of the misbehaviour of low-income pupils originated in hostility and anger, while only 8% of high-income pupils' misbehaviour could be attributed to these causes. Brantlinger describes a cycle that led low-income pupils in her study to fights and aggression. Initially, they felt more vulnerable and had greater sensitivity to comments and actions by others; and when provoked they retaliated. Usually, the pupils who retaliated received the more severe punishment. They

became angry with themselves and others, began to see themselves as unworthy, and experienced greater feelings of vulnerability. Low-income adolescents reported that public humiliation, academic failure, and favouritism towards others by teachers and headteachers increased the level of misbehaviour and conflict in the classroom. Both high-income (57%) and low-income (80%) adolescents stated that discipline in the form of punishments was unfairly dispensed to the low-income students.

In general terms, schools have been able to consider their practices in response to these changing notions of special educational needs (Galloway 1990). It has been widely accepted that the interaction between teachers and learners has an impact on the creation and meeting of special educational needs, and curriculum modification has been targeted at teaching methods and materials in general rather than exclusively at the lower attainers (Greenhalgh 1994). The 1988 Education Reform Act provided a legal framework for an entitlement to a broad and balanced curriculum for all children, which, if implemented sensitively, can mean that special educational needs are met through differentiated activities for all pupils in mixed-ability classrooms. ERA, however, also heralded the 'enterprise culture' in schools, and increased pressure on teachers to teach to targets and subject-matter at the expense of responding to needs. As Greenhalgh points out:

"In this climate, when children with special educational needs have become so vulnerable, those with emotional and behavioural difficulties are potentially at the most risk, not only since these children can be difficult to work with, but because of the potential negative impact upon perceptions of the school and its public persona" (p.7).

There is therefore a current danger that gains made through the Warnock report and the 1981 Act may be lost, and that a return will be made towards a general feeling that the 'problem' of special educational needs, and in particular emotional and behavioural difficulties, is located with the individuals with those needs and their families, rather than with the institution within which they

are educated. This is borne out by the dramatic increase in the rate of expulsions (Association of Educational Psychologists, 1992). Witty and Menter (1991) fear that these children could well become the educational underclass of the future, as headteachers simply refuse to educate children demonstrating challenging behaviour. Even in schools which are able to contain these types of behaviour, the National Curriculum Council (1989) has warned that there are dangers in over-emphasis on 'managing' behaviour without attempts to understand the child's feelings. Greenhalgh has argued (1994) that excluding, containing and managing children with emotional and behavioural difficulties are no substitutes for working with them in order to fully understand the roots of their problems, and for creating schools that are sensitive to the needs of all children:

"We are summoned towards renewal, towards a more holistic pattern of connections in helping us to make sense of emotional growth and learning. The challenge lies in developing our language and understanding in ways which acknowledge and reflect the meaning of children's dilemmas; which help us to return the humanity to our thinking and practice; which enable us to make effective use of our relationships and the curriculum; and which help us to provide responsive yet flexible services in a rapidly changing environment" (p.10).

Humanistic programmes, and peer mediation in particular, with their emphasis on building a positive self-concept, and on the importance of feelings, and the quality of relationships, offer a means by which all children, but particularly those with emotional and behavioural difficulties, can benefit from developing their affective and social cognitive skills. Fontana (1994) has claimed that challenging behaviour has its origins in both the social and emotional needs of children and in the ways that schools are run. She lists the main causes of challenging behaviour in children as learnt attention-seeking, failures of attainment, poor self-concept, inadequacies of personal adjustment, social influences, negative group dynamics, limit-testing and the growth of independence, developmental / cognitive factors, and affective factors (those associated with both emotion and personality, e.g. extroversion and introversion, emotional stability and cognitive

style). All of these potential origins of challenging behaviour can be positively influenced by the 'Iceberg' method of peer mediation training and peer mediation itself.

Circle Time which features quite strongly in many 'Iceberg' skills training materials, has been outlined as follows by Stacey and Robinson (1997):

"In Circle Time the pupils sit in a circle. One pupil starts and then each pupil around the circle has a chance to make a contribution or pass. The advantage of this is that the pupils learn to speak one at a time and quieter pupils, who may find it hard to make a space to be heard, have an automatic opportunity to contribute. All contributions are treated with equal respect. This develops inclusiveness, acceptance, and a whole-group approach...

...An affirming atmosphere is very important. Thanking pupils for contributions and warm eye-contact help build up good feelings. Focussing on the positive and giving frequent praise helps pupils feel more able to share things. Above all Circle Time should be about having fun together, sharing and valuing each other's experiences and insights and moving forward together as a whole class" (p.14).

Children who are born into an environment where their human need to gain and hold the attention of others can only be met through aggressive and demanding behaviour (Schwarz, 1989) can be re-educated into gaining the positive attention and acceptance of their peers through Circle Time. They can also benefit from the attention of peer mediators, who will have more time at their disposal than pressurised teachers. Children who consistently fail in school and those with negative self-concepts can gain through the affirmation work of Circle Time in which they are encouraged to consider what they are good at or proud of. Stacey and Robinson (1997) suggest that a wide range of skills are considered, including personal qualities (determined, energetic, witty), practical abilities (wash the car, make my own packed lunch), sports abilities (keep myself

fit, can keep the rules of a game), artistic abilities (colouring in, designing and making a model), intellectual abilities (curious to discover new things, know how things work), social strengths (join in playing, try to be a good friend), and emotional strengths (can recognise how I am feeling, know how and when to let off steam safely). If the classroom and wider school environment can begin to value each area of human achievement equally, then children who have experienced failure in academic areas of school life, and who may have low self-esteem, can develop a more positive self-concept. White (1990) has suggested that children with positive self-concepts are less likely to suffer from emotional and behavioural difficulties, and more likely to take the risk of engaging in problem-solving techniques such as peer mediation when difficulties do occur. Success in resolving difficulties further enhances self-esteem, which reduces the likelihood of difficulties occurring in the future, leading to an upward spiral of positive feelings and behaviour. Children who are suffering from affective factors such as excessive introversion or inadequacies of personal adjustment to problems at home can also benefit from Circle Time (when run by a skilled professional) through its safe and unpressured sharing of small pieces of personal information and feelings in an atmosphere of respect and inclusivity (Bliss and Tetley, 1993).

Social difficulties both of individuals and groups of children can be ameliorated through the use of Circle Time and peer mediation. Stacey and Robinson (1997) say of the teaching of the co-operation (one of the three 'Iceberg' skills that underpin problem-management and mediation skills):

"Co-operation in the classroom has three elements: pairwork, small group work, and whole group work. All three are important and require slightly different skills. The third element is particularly important for developing class cohesion and for countering the effect of sub-groups, cliques and gender or ethnicity divides. Circle Time is a powerful tool in this context" (p.71).

The ability to work with any other member of the class (regardless of personal likes and dislikes, race, gender, social class and ability) is a social skill that many upper primary children find difficult (Selman 1980) and a cause of disruption in the classroom. As comments from headteachers in Stockport quoted in the previous chapter show, Circle Time can help overcome this difficulty (Gamon, 1998). Where conflicts between peers from different sub-groups within the class do occur, peer mediation enables the young people concerned to hear a different perspective and to brainstorm a solution that is mutually acceptable. Stacey and Robinson (1997) say of this:

"The need to teach co-operation skills is strong. The idea that two people experiencing conflict can come to a solution where they are both winners (a win-win solution) is central to re-educating young people who believe that there is only one right answer to difficulties or problems and that only the strongest and toughest will survive" (p.71).

Children's social cognitive skills can be enhanced by teaching them how to co-operate, initially through games, and ultimately through working out real problems as a peer group. Stacey and Robinson (1997) give as examples schools that use 'agenda boards' to give a structure to Circle Time (a blank agenda pinned to the notice board at the beginning of each week which the pupils write on as and when an issue arises). Behavioural difficulties which are the result of limit testing and the growth of independence should respond to activities in Circle Time such as this, and to peer mediation itself. Both processes seek to empower young people to share thoughts feelings and ideas, and, with support, to make the decisions that affect their lives.

Social Cognitive Development

One of the difficulties a teacher faces in facilitating children's learning and dealing with challenging behaviour is that the level at which children are able to think and reason may be different from her own. Piaget (1950) suggests, for example, that at the age of around 12 the child of normal development passes from the concrete operational stage through into the formal

operational stage, and thus becomes increasingly able to handle hypotheses and concepts even though he may not have had concrete experience of them. Some challenging behaviour may therefore be the result of a teacher expecting a child to function at a developmental level, which he may not yet have attained.

Piaget's contention that the stages of cognitive development follow a predetermined order has been much analysed and discussed. Meadows (1988) highlights the fact that training can accelerate progress through Piaget's stages which can be considerable, long-term, and pervasive. Turiel (1966) has also shown that, under certain conditions, exposing young people to moral arguments one stage above their own level of reasoning can lead to an increase in their level of moral judgement. It is therefore possible to hypothesise that by training young people in the prosocial skills of the 'Iceberg,' and in peer mediation itself (and thereby exposing them to the sometimes conflictual feelings and viewpoints of their peers) it may be possible to increase social cognitive development and perhaps moral awareness.

The three Piagetian stages of how children understand themselves are mirrored in the ways that children describe others, and talk about their friendships. Among pre-school children, friendships seem to be understood in terms of physical characteristics, i.e. who they spend the most time with or live nearest to. Selman's research (1980) and extensive studies by Berndt (1983 1986) show that in primary school, these views change to a greater focus on reciprocal trust. Friends now become special people who have qualities other than mere proximity. In adolescence, Berndt finds a further change to the need for friends to understand each other. Friendships become more intense, long-term, and exclusive. The primary years, then, are the time when most children are getting a sense of the conservation of personality of their peers, and of their different identities and needs. The 'Iceberg' method of peer mediation training, and peer mediation itself, should facilitate this process.

A key skill for both disputants and mediators is the ability to empathise. Hoffman (1982 & 1988) has identified stages in the development of empathy, which again suggest that children in the primary

years are in transition between stages. Although children as young as two or three may be able to respond to another's feelings in non-egocentric ways, over the primary years children learn to distinguish a wider and wider range of emotions, with empathy for another's life condition beginning in late childhood or early adolescence. Again, the 'Iceberg' method of peer mediation training, and peer mediation itself, should facilitate this process of change.

According to Piaget (1950), children's moral reasoning also progresses through three stages. During the primary years children generally progress from heteronomous morality, or moral realism, to autonomous morality, or the morality of reciprocity. Children change from being moral absolutists who think that rules are sacred and unchangeable, and that actions are either totally right or totally wrong, regardless of the intentions of the person who did it, to seeing social rules as arbitrary and changeable, with the intent of the person performing an action taken into account in judging its morality. They also change from believing in immanent justice (i.e. if they break a rule, punishment will inevitably follow) to understanding that rule violations do not result in inevitable punishment. Kohlberg's description of moral development (1976) overlaps Piaget's, but extends into adolescence and adulthood. People who are in Kohlberg's stage of preconventional morality decide what is right and wrong on the basis of reward and punishment. Those who are in the conventional stage of morality make judgements on the basis of mutual expectations agreed in the family or in society at large. Those who are in the principled or postconventional stage (and many adults do not reach this stage) make judgements on the basis of the rights of the individual and the greater good of humanity. At this stage, conscience dominates over law, where the two are in conflict, and the individual has a consistent system of ethical values. The humanistic nature of the 'Iceberg' system of peer mediation training and peer mediation itself should aid the moral development of primary children by supporting them to develop a personal moral code. The process of developing a sense of right and wrong in the absence of an arbitrator is one of Piagetian and Kohlbergian moral maturity. Unlike Vygotsky (1978), Piaget (1950) sees that the achievement of mature, autonomous concepts of justice is, to a large extent, the product of co-operation, reciprocity, and role-taking amongst peers. He believes that the

absence of absolute authority figures in peer groups helps children develop ideas of equality, co-operation, and group solidarity.

Whole School Issues of Behaviour Management

As stated above, Fontana (1994) lists both problems originating with young people and problems originating with schools as potential causes of challenging behaviour. Rutter (1979) found that, irrespective of children's home background, schools may become a key factor in whether or not certain pupils become disruptive or uncooperative. Amongst the 'problems' associated with schools which have to be met by pupils are the curriculum, and whether or not children perceive it to be of interest and relevant to their needs, the examination system, which continues to be summative rather than formative (Black and Dylan), teacher behaviours, which include such aspects as voice tone, lesson preparation and lesson presentation, school and classroom management, which includes physical arrangement of the classroom, time-tabling and so on. Peer mediation, then, cannot be seen as a panacea, which will inevitably lead to a decrease in challenging behaviour in school. It may well be of positive value to well-run schools, but common sense suggests that it will not flourish in a school that has not got the basics of good educational practice in place.

In the late 1980s public concern about violence and indiscipline in schools and the problems faced by the teaching profession led to the commissioning of the Elton Report (D.E.S. 1989). It aimed to make recommendations about how schools can achieve good order, promote good behaviour and tackle bad behaviour. As part of this, a cross-phase national survey of teachers was carried out in order to attempt to quantify the problem. Some of the results (from p.224) are shown in Table 4:1. What is perhaps striking about these results is that, seriously though we have to take them, incidents of verbal and physical aggression do not occur as frequently as popular opinion would suggest.

Table 4.1 Disruption During Lessons: Types and Frequency Adapted from the Elton Report (D.E.S.

1989)

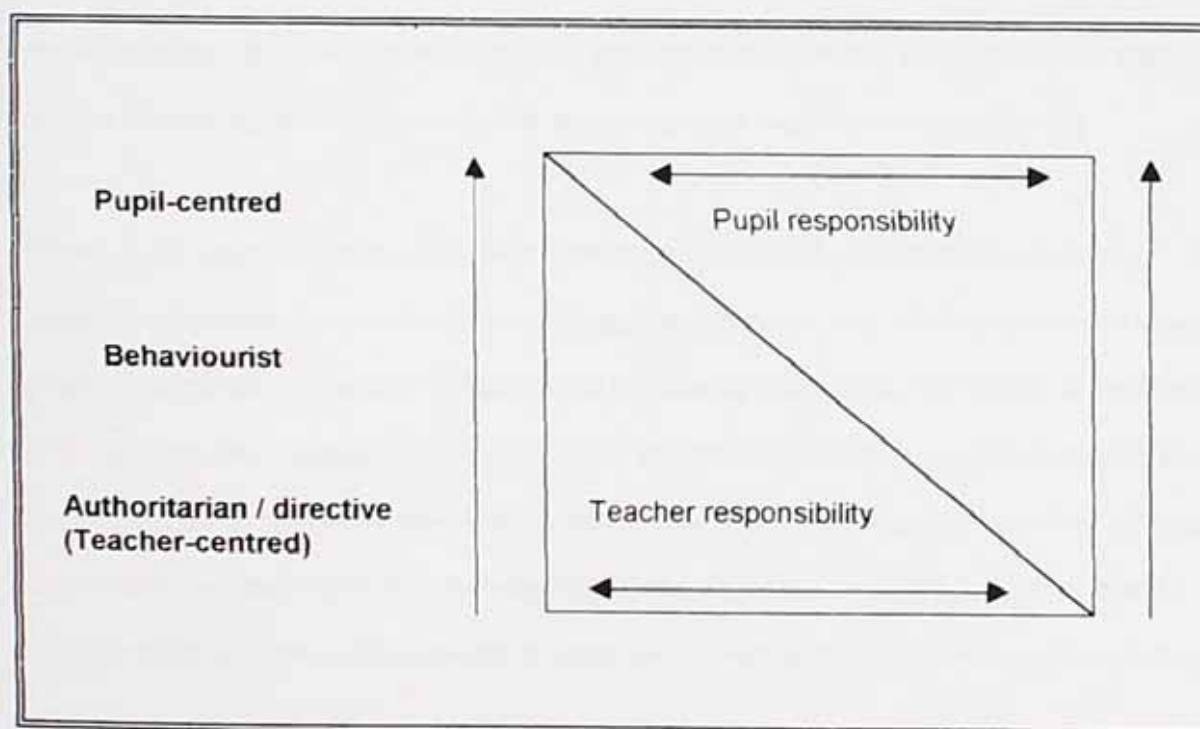
TYPE OF PUPIL BEHAVIOUR	FREQUENCY DURING LESSONS.	FREQUENCY DURING LESSONS.
	% OF TEACHERS EXPERIENCING AT LEAST WEEKLY.	% OF TEACHERS EXPERIENCING AT LEAST DAILY.
Talking out of turn	97	53
Idleness or work avoidance	87	25
Hindering other pupils	86	26
Unpunctuality	82	17
Unnecessary noise	77	25
Breaking school rules	68	17
Out-of-seat behaviour	62	14
Verbal abuse of other pupils	62	10
General rowdiness	61	10
Impertinence	58	10
Physical aggression to other pupils	42	6
Verbal abuse of teacher	15	1
Physical destructiveness	14	1
Physical aggression towards teacher	1.7	0

According to the Elton Report, the more pervasive problems are those associated with off-task behaviour and the breaking of school rules. The 'Iceberg' model of peer mediation and peer mediation itself, may well benefit children with emotional and behavioural difficulties (as shown above) but it also aims to improve the general level of good behaviour maintained by a majority of

children. Ronaldson and Kelly (1989) report that teachers in Newcastle upon Tyne participating in an INSET course entitled 'Emotional Growth and Behaviour Management' felt that a whole-school policy which caters for the needs of all pupils will also be most likely to benefit those with special needs. Peer mediation aims (as did this course) to support pupils with behavioural and emotional difficulties by supporting the positive behaviour of the majority of pupils.

General good behaviour in school is usually defined and upheld by a school's behaviour management policy, which all schools are required by the 1988 Education Reform Act law to have. Stacey and Robinson (1997, p.17) identify three main styles of behaviour management: 'authoritarian,' 'behaviourist,' and 'pupil-centred.' They relate the three styles to each other as Figure 4:2 shows. It shows how pupils are able to take increasing responsibility for their behaviour as teachers use less directive methods of behaviour management. It also shows that in the move away from teacher-centred methods into pupil-centred methods, behaviourist strategies can be used as a middle ground where teachers and pupils meet each other to define rules, rewards, and punishments.

Figure 4:2 Three Styles of Behaviour Management in Relation to Teacher and Pupil Responsibility (Stacey and Robinson 1997)



Stacey and Robinson (1997) do not deny that all three styles of behaviour management have their place, although the general move needs to be towards more pupil-centred methods if pupils are to take responsibility for their own behaviour, and if the ground for peer mediation is to be set:

"We feel that adults who are serious in their intentions to help pupils become independent learners and confident autonomous young people, will be equally serious about changing their behaviour management style to suit and support their pupils' emerging independence..." (p.17).

Authoritarian methods, whilst providing the necessary boundaries for safety in school, can be counterproductive if they are exclusively relied on. Fontana (1994) argues that the disadvantages of authoritarian methods are that pupils, and often staff, are excluded from the process of making and maintaining the rules, and that punishment inhibits the development of a positive teacher-pupil relationship. In addition, punishment rarely encourages pupils to change their behaviour (other than learning to be more proficient at not getting caught) and does not encourage young people to behave well when they are out of the punisher's influence. Indeed, Rutter (1979) found that, in schools where punishment was having an effect, the effect was to make the situation worse. For these reasons, Maines and Robinson (1993) propose that punishments should be as mild as possible. Mild punishments, they suggest, are equally as effective in behaviour management as more serious punishments, and are not as damaging to pupil-teacher relationships.

Finally, in punishing, teachers often model the kind of behaviour of which they say they disapprove. The importance of adults modelling the behaviour they seek to develop in young people is borne out in research by Moore and Eisenberg (1984) who found that, in experiments where children were exposed to a model acting prosocially, children generally emulated that behaviour more in situations where the model was seen to be in a position of power, or who was experienced as being nurturing. Yarrow (1973) also found amongst pre-schoolers that the optimal condition for the development of sympathetic helping behaviour was one in which children

observed an adult manifesting altruism at every level - in principle and in practice, both toward the child and toward others in distress. Stacey and Robinson (1997) and, Stacey Robinson and Cremin (1997) relate this idea (i.e. that children learn through adult modelling) specifically to bullying in a way that is of particular interest to the research in hand:

"Children learn far more from observing what we do than by listening to what we say. If we respond to a child who has been bullying, for example, by bullying him or her in turn (humiliating, using verbal violence) then we are modelling behaviour of which we say we disapprove. Our behaviour management strategies must be clear, just and assertive; that is recognising our right to teach, the pupils' right to learn and our shared right to be treated with respect" (Stacey and Robinson, 1997, p.17).

"An unremitting authoritarian approach blocks the development of an internal locus of control. Where young people have all their judgements and operating codes set for them externally it is easy to see how they may more easily succumb to power of another kind, in the form of pressure to engage in acts of verbal or physical violence perhaps, or in the form of bullying to gain status and control. It is ironic to think that the seeds of bullying and aggressive behaviour may be sown by caring parents and teachers who are doing their best to impose and maintain standards of good behaviour in their homes and schools" (Robinson, Stacey and Cremin, 1997, p.79).

Behaviourist methods of behaviour management can be equally damaging if relied on exclusively and if they are overly punitive. These methods have grown out of experiments on the conditioning of animals, most famously involving Pavlov's dogs (classical conditioning) and Skinner's rats (1974, operant conditioning) and entail the manipulation of rewards and punishments to encourage desirable behaviour. Although operant conditioning has formed the basis of behaviourist techniques that have been developed for use in the classroom, there are those who argue that their use with children is unethical. Hall and Hall (1988) state that students

in school responding to traditional rewards and punishments, however, are not behaving like one of Skinner's rats. Unlike the rat, they have insight into the situations that relate to rewards and punishments. Indeed, the rewards and punishments in a given situation may work to produce the opposite of what is wanted, because of lack of insight into what is rewarding in a given situation. If the adults using behaviourist techniques have a flawed perception of what the pupils in their charge consider rewarding, then the approach will not achieve the desired outcome. Hall and Hall believe that if the pupils involved decide for themselves the changes they would like to make in their behaviour, and also decide what the rewards will be, then most of these ethical considerations melt away. Thorenson and Mahoney (1974) use the term 'behavioural humanism' to describe processes whereby the control of a behaviour modification programme is put into the hands of the person whose behaviour is being modified, and provide some evidence to suggest that if pupils are in control of their own behaviour management programme, learning is more effective.

Some humanist educationalists, however, go further and suggest that behaviourist methods of behaviour management should be avoided. Rogers and Freiberg (1994) oppose the use of external rewards and punishments altogether. They argue that 'fixed consequences' for undesirable behaviour, used in many behaviourist programmes, operate as if all students were the same, with identical needs and intent. They suggest that consequences for undesirable behaviour should be 'rational consequences:'

"Unlike fixed consequences, rational consequences have the students try to undo what has been done. If a student spills something, then he or she knows to clean it up. Placing a child's name on the board or adding a check does little to remedy the situation" (p.239).

Likewise, external rewards operate in isolation of the quality of teaching and learning, and should not be necessary in the humanistic classroom:

"Learning that is interesting and comes from the learner requires no external incentives. Learning that is boring and is externally determined seems to require enhanced external rewards to keep a minimal level of pupil engagement" (p.234).

This point is echoed in the conclusion of Walter Doyle's research on incentives for student learning (1986) in which he suggests that using rewards for desired behaviour or academic performance can have deleterious effects on intrinsic motivation. Emmer and Aussiker (1987) also found that students like school least when behaviouristic discipline programmes are used. Robinson and Maines (1995) contest the validity of Assertive Discipline (Cantor, 1989) which is the most widely used behaviourist programme in the UK, pointing out the flawed perception that children who do not know how to do their work are worthy of our support, whereas children who do not know how to behave in the classroom are deliberately being difficult. They give as an example that when a pupil gets a Maths problem wrong, a teacher's first strategy is to teach. When it is the behaviour that is wrong, the tendency is to criticise or punish. Although most of the reviews of Assertive Discipline are positive (Bush and Hill, 1993, Melling and Swinson, 1995), Dore (1994) points out that a growing number of critics are accusing Cantor of inhumanity through seeking control by humiliation, and even of failing pupils under the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, because circumstances mean that not every child can always make decisions about his behaviour. Such critics (Martin, 1994, Wheeler, 1996) highlight the fact that Assertive Discipline assumes that it is the child and sometimes the parent who has the problem, never the teacher. Dore (1994) quotes Dr. Dennis Lawrence, a former county chief educational psychologist, who saw Assertive Discipline in action in Australia, where it is the most widely used scheme of classroom management:

"Classes are quiet. You can't hear the kids' voices. When they go outside all Hell is let loose. It's a pretty dangerous business. You are controlling their behaviour and not teaching anything. You aren't helping kids to come to terms with their problems" (p.2).

As the term itself suggests, pupil-centred methods of behaviour management have their roots in person-centred Rogerian psychology. Rogers and Freiberg (1994) define the person-centred classroom as follows:

"Person-centred classroom management advances the facilitative conditions needed to encourage active participation in a co-operative learning environment... Person-centred classrooms emphasise caring, guidance, co-operation, and the building of self-discipline that is developmentally appropriate for all members of the classroom. Person-centred classrooms encourage students to think for themselves and help each other" (p.239-240).

Stacey and Robinson (1997) describe pupil-centred behaviour-management as follows:

"...Pupil-centred behaviour management is a long term, on-going process, but pupils who have acquired speaking and listening skills through Circle Time can ultimately use them to create, evaluate and modify school rules, help each other to stick to them, acknowledge and reward each other's good behaviour, achievements and personal qualities, give each other tips on effective anger-management and solve problems together democratically" (p.18).

Pupil-centred behaviour management, then, is achieved through teachers setting up a co-operative classroom environment, and through training and supporting pupils in the skills needed to reflect on and modify behaviour. It is this training and support which are often the missing link in schools who have high expectations of pupil behaviour, without considering the means by which their pupils will achieve it. As Stacey, Robinson, and Cremin (1997) suggest:

"In our anxiety to 'stamp out' undesirable behaviour and qualities, we may invest too little of our time and energy in helping our... pupils to learn desirable ones; disproportionately shouting about the negative things rather than 'shouting about' or giving attention to what

is attempted positively or successfully" (p.79).

Critically, pupil-centred discipline involves an equalising of power between the teacher and the pupil. The quest for discipline imposed by teachers becomes the quest for self-discipline sought by pupils. Rogers and Freiberg (1994) suggest that, although self-discipline is what most teachers would say they are aiming for, the methods they use to achieve it may well be counterproductive:

"The goal of most teachers is to encourage self-discipline, but the path many take to this goal is misdirected. Too often the co-operation teachers seek from students in order to teach does not allow for real engagement in the learning process. Teachers find themselves imposing their requirements for order without relating them to student requirements for learning. Discipline becomes mandated rather than developed" (p.221).

In imposing discipline, they suggest, teachers deny pupils the opportunity to develop an internalised set of behavioural norms. Self-discipline requires a learning environment that nurtures opportunities to learn from one's experiences – including mistakes – and to reflect on these experiences. Rigby (1996) applies these principles to bullying, also suggesting that humanistic methods are more effective than punitive methods in changing bullying behaviour, due to their avoidance of imposing discipline. A No Blame method, he suggests, is more likely than other methods to result in the development of sustainable behaviour grounded in a process of internalisation rather than identification or compliance.

Rogers and Freiberg (1994, p.240) compare discipline in teacher-centred and person (pupil) centred classrooms, as shown in Table 4.3. For Rogers and Freiberg, a humanistic classroom is a place where the need for behaviour management recedes as pupils are routinely treated with respect, given control over their own learning, and encouraged to develop self-discipline through negotiating rules and reflecting on their own behaviour. They add, however, that the development of

humanistic practices in schools requires teachers with particular skills and a particular view of education:

"The freedom to learn requires a special understanding of what it takes to establish an open learning environment. Granting freedom is not a method, it's a philosophy. Unless you really believe that students can be trusted with responsibility, you won't be successful" (p.230).

The key issue for the research in hand is whether or not the teachers in the experimental classrooms need, *a priori*, to share this 'humanistic' philosophy in order for the peer mediation programme to have a measurable effect on pupil behaviour and attitudes, and whether or not it is possible for teachers who are initially sceptical to develop this philosophy as a result of participating in the programme.

Stacey and Robinson (1997) suggest that the language teachers use in the classroom is critical to developing self-discipline. It is also the key to establishing an open and caring environment in which pupils feel that they are valued and accepted as *people* (unconditional positive regard) even when their *behaviour* has become unacceptable. They propose that when a pupil is challenging or uncooperative, teachers use the opportunity to model the language that pupils are taught to use in conflict situations. This should focus on a description of the behaviour, its effect (in terms of both its consequences and the feelings it generates) and the needs/wants of the group in the context of an agreed code of behaviour. They give an example of such an intervention during Circle Time:

"John, we like you and want you in our circle/group, but we don't like insults (the behaviour) because they are very hurtful and stop people from feeling that they can talk about things they care about (the effect). In this group we have no put-downs or insults, and we listen with respect to what people are saying" (p.20).

Table 4:3 Rogers and Freiberg's Comparison of Discipline in Teacher-Centred and Person-Centred Classrooms

TEACHER-CENTRED CLASSROOMS	PERSON-CENTRED CLASSROOMS
Teacher is the sole leader	Leadership is shared
Management is a form of oversight	Management is a form of guidance
Teacher takes responsibility for all the paperwork and organisation	Pupils are facilitators for the operations of the classroom
Discipline comes from the teacher	Discipline comes from the self
A few pupils are the teacher's helpers	All pupils have the opportunity to become an integral part of the management of the classroom.
Teacher makes the rules.	Rules are developed by the teacher and pupils in the form of a classroom contract
Consequences are fixed for all pupils	Consequences reflect individual differences
Rewards are mostly extrinsic	Rewards are mostly intrinsic.
Pupils are allowed limited responsibilities	Pupils share in classroom responsibilities
Few members of the community enter the classroom.	Partnerships are formed with business and community groups to enrich and broaden the learning opportunities of pupils.

They also propose that the related concepts of rights and responsibilities are used to support the development of self-discipline.

"The focus on responsibility as well as rights and rules means that the pupils can be given a clear message that it is not enough to avoid doing wrong. Each pupil is also responsible for ensuring that the rights of others are not infringed. In the case of bullying, for example, the pupils can be given the message that it is their responsibility, not only to avoid bullying others, but also to tell a teacher if they witness bullying.

Instead of having a profusion of class rules imposed by the teacher which need constant updating and enforcing, when an incident does occur the teacher can simply ask the pupil – "Whose rights did you infringe here?" or "What responsibility did you avoid?" Pupils will be more motivated to keep to any rules that were made by them with their class" (p.18).

These strategies facilitate teachers to be less directive in imposing discipline. They create the psychological space for pupils to think through the consequences of their behaviour in a supportive environment, and to take more responsibility for their actions. In so doing, pupils develop a set of internalised behavioural norms which they are able to evaluate and adapt as circumstances change. In humanist terms, pupil-centred discipline therefore develops an internal locus of control and leaves self-esteem intact. Writing about their research into 'developmental discipline' (a form of pupil-centred discipline) Schaps and Solomon (1990) found that, as part of a wider Child Development Project (CDP) in 7 primary schools in California, it brought about many of the benefits highlighted above:

"It helped them to improve social competence, interpersonal behaviour... and understanding, endorsement of democratic values, and high level reading comprehension. They also reported themselves to be significantly less lonely in class and less socially anxious. Overall we believe the programme is fostering a healthy balance between the

tendencies to attend to their own needs and to attend to the needs and rights of others"

(p.40).

Conclusion

Pupil-centred behaviour management, then, avoids the labelling and isolation of children presenting challenging behaviour, and seeks to involve all pupils in the devising and maintenance of an agreed code of behaviour in school. Based on humanistic principles, it provides an environment in which pupils can review the sometimes negative effects of their behaviour whilst feeling valued and accepted by their teacher and peers. It focuses on the development of an internalised moral code and set of behavioural norms, and therefore encourages an internal locus of control. It requires pupils to have acquired the necessary social cognitive skills to engage in the process of reviewing behaviour as a peer group, and it requires teachers to provide pupils with the psychological space to develop self-discipline as opposed to imposed discipline. More directive methods of behaviour management, such as authoritarian and behaviourist methods, may well be necessary to maintain pupil safety in extreme cases, but the adverse effects of punishment, and even of extrinsic rewards, support the early introduction of pupil-centred discipline wherever possible. The research in hand will investigate the extent to which pupil-centred methods of behaviour management are required in order to create a classroom culture in which peer mediation will thrive.

Chapter Five: Bullying

This chapter will begin by attempting to define bullying, before moving on to provide an overview of research into the nature and frequency of bullying in schools. Finally, it will review both humanist and other approaches to reducing bullying, with the aim of placing the technique of peer mediation within a wider context of anti-bullying strategies.

A Definition of Bullying, Bullies and Victims

Bullying is difficult to define (Arora 1994), but a clear definition is needed for anyone wishing to analyse its incidence in schools, and to implement measures to reduce it (Madsen, 1996) as is the case here. There is no one direct translation for the word in many European languages, and there is general disagreement internationally about what does and does not constitute bullying. In Scandinavia, where there has probably been more research into bullying than anywhere else, it is generally believed that there needs to be a gang or 'mob' of bullies before bullying can be said to have taken place. In the U.K., some feel that bullying must, by definition, occur over a prolonged period of time rather than it being identified with a single aggressive act (DfE 1994, Besag 1989). Others, like the children's charity 'Childline,' and headteacher Peter Upton (1993), believe that the definition should be centred on the (sometimes one-off) experiences of victims. Peter Upton states:

"Too often the definition of bullying has limited our ability to perceive the problems of students and it has created a curious notion that particular identifiable models of anti-social behaviour over a period of time are bullying and if they occur only once or twice, they are not. This is not how victims perceive the issue. It is ironic that we as adults are imposing upon victims of bullying **our** definition of their problem, not theirs." (p.3)

The U.K. charity 'Childline,' which established a special telephone 'Bullying Line' in 1990 in

response to a large number of calls from children about bullying, use a wider definition of bullying which originates from young people's own perceptions (La Fontaine, 1991). It points out that most definitions of bullying focus on the bully's intentions (for example "the wilful conscious desire to hurt, threaten or frighten someone," Tattum and Herbert, 1990). It prefers to focus on the victim's experience, regardless of whether or not the child in question was intending to bully.

The difficulty, in practical terms, is in finding a definition that is wide enough to cover all aspects of bullying - from physical to verbal to indirect or psychological bullying - without the definition becoming too wide to be meaningful. For these reasons, Arora (1994) prefers not to define bullying generically, but to elicit information about specific behaviour from pupils. She feels that if pupils are asked: 'are you bullied?', there are so many different types of bullying that the answer to such a question does not give any precise information about what is actually happening to pupils. The bullying questionnaire that will be given to children as part of this research breaks bullying down into specific behaviours in order to gain more precise information.

The DfE Sheffield Bullying Research Project (1994) funded between 1991 and 1993, used a definition adapted from Olweus (1990) which covers all areas of bullying whilst making it clear that there must be a power imbalance for bullying to occur (the definition is written to be understood by both adults and pupils):

"A pupil is being bullied, or picked on, when another pupil or group of pupils say nasty things to him or her. It is also bullying when a pupil is hit, kicked, threatened, locked inside a room, sent nasty notes, when no-one ever talks to them and things like that. These things can happen frequently and it is difficult for the pupil being bullied to defend him or herself. It is also bullying when a pupil is teased repeatedly in a nasty way. However, if two pupils of equal power or strength have an occasional fight or quarrel this is not bullying" (p.131)

Besag (1989) and Smith and Sharp (1994) also use the imbalance of power as a central defining

feature of bullying. Smith and Sharp say that bullying can be defined as "the systematic abuse of power," and Besag defines it as:

"The reflected attack, physical, psychological, social or verbal, by those in a position of power, which is formally or situationally defined, on those who are powerless to resist, with the intention of causing distress for their own gain or gratification." (p.3)

These definitions do not limit themselves to pupil-to-pupil bullying. They also take account of adult use, or misuse, of power in the classroom. Stainton-Rogers (1991) maintains that teachers can and do bully pupils:

"Whenever a teacher deliberately humiliates a pupil, then the teacher is, quite simply, engaging in bullying. It really does not matter to the pupil whether the intention is merely to exert control, or to gain personal gratification." (p.51)

Walker (1989) writing about bullying, also suggests that teachers should not exclude their own behaviour from a review of violence in school:

"It is clear then, that teachers cannot be expected to 'teach' children the methods of non-violent conflict resolution if they themselves are not given the opportunity to be confronted with their own behaviour in relation to communication and problem-solving in the classroom." (p.132)

Robinson, Briggs, & Fudge in 1993 found that shouting by teachers and ancillary staff was perceived as bullying by a selection of pupils in four secondary and 8 primary schools in Birmingham. They were asked not to use the term bullying, but to describe instead actual bullying behaviour, when reflecting on what made them most reluctant to attend school. High in the ranking (top 2) across all the age groups (7 to 15 year olds) appeared 'shouting' teachers and

ancillary staff, as much a cause of anxiety (tummy upsets, headaches, sleep problems) as having no friends and 'taxing' (having your money taken from you). Misuse of power by adults will, accordingly, also be considered here as bullying.

Indeed, this research uses the misuse of power as a central defining feature of bullying. This enables usage the victim's experience of powerlessness to be taken account of, without a need for the bully's intentions to be established and it enables one-off experiences to be counted as bullying. In addition, it encompasses adult misuse of power in the classroom. Besag's definition is therefore used when reviewing bullying as a concept. Byrne (1993) also found Besag's definition to be the most useful of all the definitions he reviewed. The DfE definition (which is encompassed by Besag's definition) is used here empirically when trying to gain more accurate information about specific pupil-to-pupil bullying behaviour.

It is worthy of note, however, that power imbalances amongst young people can be subtle and difficult for adults outside of the young peoples' social system to detect (Stacey, Robinson and Cremin, 1997). Selman's research (1980) and extensive studies by Berndt (1983) show that throughout their school lives pupils are moving from early developmental stages when friendship is based on physical characteristics (such as with whom they share the most time or live nearest to) to more advanced developmental stages, when friendship is based on ever more sophisticated levels of reciprocal trust. Stacey, Robinson and Cremin (1997) point out that, as part of practising and developing these social skills, particularly at upper primary level, a child may feel distress due to power struggles within sub-groups and cliques, and his friendships blowing hot and cold. The skilful teacher will be aware of the range and extent of children's experiences of bullying.

Throughout this research, the labels 'bully' and 'victim' are avoided as much as is possible without linguistic overcomplication, as these terms locate the problem of bullying within individual pupils rather than within a school, and the focus here is on peer mediation as a social psychological

intervention technique meant to reduce bullying. The ways that a school or class tolerates, or even promotes, bullying behaviour is investigated qualitatively, and the label 'bully' is avoided wherever possible, although it is acknowledged that some children may display more bullying behaviour than others. Referring to a child who 'has become' a bully (Kidscape, 1993) implies that the problem is chronic and focussed on that child. Tuthill and Howe (1994) reinforce the dangers of our making this assumption:

"Convention tends to polarise the issue of bullying by focusing on the children involved i.e. the *bullies* and the *victims*. In many ways, this is not helpful, as the terms tend to label the whole person, rather than the behaviour. As such it is a label that can stick with a person for life, making it harder for them to change their attitude to themselves, as well as other people's attitudes towards them." (p.9)

Research into the Nature and Frequency of Bullying

There was very little research into bullying prior to the late 1980s. In the Elton report (1989) for example, there is just one small paragraph about bullying. The earliest reported research was carried out in Scandinavia, with an interest growing in the U.K. from around 1989 onwards following media attention about the suicides of young victims of bullying, and the publication of key texts on the topic of bullying (Tattum and Lane, 1989, Roland and Munthe, 1989, Besag, 1989). Ranzen, who in 1990 launched 'Childline's' 'Bullying Line,' said in the Times on April 24th 1992 after the death by suicide of Katherine Bamber who had been badly bullied beforehand:

"We know from the children who ring Childline how desperately unhappy bullying can make young people and how impotent their families sometimes feel. It is terribly important that this problem is not covered up. For too long bullying has been regarded as a natural part of growing up."

There are many possible reasons why bullying was regarded as a natural part of growing up and not taken seriously before the late 1980s. One possible reason is that a belief in the biological basis of human aggression was promoted in the 1960s by Lorenz (196) and in the 1970s by the sociobiologists, notably Wilson (197) and Dawkins (1976). Their ideas caught the popular imagination, even though they were criticised for making human aggression and competitiveness appear inevitable and part of the natural order without any supporting experimental evidence (Axelrod 1981, Rose et al 1984). Klama (1989) suggests that public attitudes towards aggression have been resistant to change in the twentieth century because modern science has found an expression for a deep psychological archetype, namely the myth of the 'beast within,' which has its origins in the Christian Church. He suggests that: "By replacing the legendary past of the Garden of Eden with the prehistoric past of our evolutionary ancestry, these accounts reproduce the dualism of nature and grace in Christianity as the opposition between an ancient core of biological impulses and a modern overlay of cultural constraints." It is possible that, apart from in the Scandinavian countries and Finland, bullying was seen as an inevitable part of human experience, whose frequency could therefore not be reduced through interventionist policies.

The research tradition in Scandinavia, goes back to Sweden in 1969 (Heinemann, 1969). Significantly, Heinemann, a doctor of medicine, was interested in a phenomenon, which he named 'mobbing,' a term borrowed from Lorenz who had used it to describe animal behaviour. Since then several research programmes into 'mobbing' have been carried out in Scandinavia (for example Olweus, 1978, 1985). In 1993, Olweus gives the results of his nation-wide survey of bullying in Norway, and an extensive survey of bullying in Sweden. 85% of all primary and secondary schools in Norway responded, and 17,000 pupils in Sweden took part. The numbers of pupils reporting bullying behaviour and being victims of bullying are recorded in Table 5:1. Table 5:1 shows that, although there has been more research into bullying carried out in Scandinavia, the problem there is not as serious as in the U.K. The numbers of pupils experiencing bullying in both countries, however, are high enough to warrant concern, and to justify research into strategies to reduce bullying.

The results of this extensive research found that the typical child who experiences bullying is more anxious and insecure than students are in general. The psychological traits of children who have bullied others are: a strong need for power and dominance; hostility towards the environment; and a desire to inflict suffering on others. There is also often a 'benefit component' which can be either physical, such as money, or intangible, such as prestige. Olweus found that other traits often associated with bullies, such as a low self-esteem and social deprivation, were not in evidence.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s countries outside of Scandinavia began to carry out research into the extent of bullying in schools. There has now been research in America (Perry et al. 1988), Canada (Ziegler and Rosenstein-Manner, 1991), The Netherlands (Haeselager and van Lieshout, 1992), Japan (Hirano, 1992), Spain (Ruiz, 1992), and Australia (Rigby and Slee, 1991), amongst other countries. It is common for the incidence of bullying to be higher in countries outside of Scandinavia. The DfE-funded Sheffield Bullying Research Project's findings (1994) and the research of Whitney and Smith (1993) represent together the largest piece of research into bullying in the U.K. to date. These findings were based on a large survey in late 1990 into the extent of bullying amongst 2,623 primary pupils and 4,135 secondary pupils in 24 schools in Sheffield (17 junior/middle, 7 secondary). In a questionnaire adapted from Olweus' pupil questionnaire, the pupils were asked about their experiences of bullying that term. The results for pupils reporting being bullied and bullying others at least sometimes are set out in Table 5:1. The table includes another set of results from urban middle and secondary schools in Yorkshire (Boulton and Underwood 1992) and results from Olweus' research as a comparison (1993).

Whitney and Smith found that the most common perpetrators of bullying behaviour are individual boys and groups of several boys. Girls who bully others are more usually in a group than on their own; often using indirect bullying. In primary schools, the pupils who bully are often in the same class as their victims. In secondary schools, the pupils are often in the same year group.

Table 5:1 Percentages of Pupils Experiencing bullying at Least Sometimes in Research by the D.F.E and Others

	D.F.E (WHITNEY AND SMITH)	BOULTON AND UNDERWOOD	OLWEUS
Primary victims	27%	26%	11.6%
Primary bullies	12%		7.4%
Secondary victims	10%	15%	5.4%
Secondary bullies	6%		7%

Whitney and Smith found, in common with Olweus, that children who bully others do not come from any particular social class or cultural background, but that some may experience poor discipline at home and/or excessive physical punishment or abuse by a parent or older sibling. They may also experience little warmth in family relationships generally. Whitney and Smith also found that some children who bully might simply take part in bullying because their friends do so, or because the opportunity presents itself.

Whitney and Smith found that name-calling is the most common direct form of bullying, with physical bullying occurring frequently too. Indirect or psychological bullying (being isolated, deliberately left out, or being the subject of malicious rumours) are also frequent, with extortion and being locked in a room or a cupboard occurring less frequently. La Fontaine (1991) in her review of the 1,639 logged calls from children calling Childline's 'Bullying Line' during its three-month existence, found that teasing was the most common form of bullying at 40%. She found that a further 25% of calls were about bullying connected with problems in on-going relationships (rivalry for friends, pressure to conform, etc.) 24% were about physical assault and 11% were about extortion or threat. Name-calling and psychological bullying, often occurring in on-going relationships, are the most frequent and pernicious forms of bullying, although they may not be

the most visible. They are also the forms of bullying most likely to be experienced by girls (Whitney and Smith, 1993).

Whitney and Smith's findings show that bullying occurs most typically in school, with up to three-quarters of it taking place in the playground in primary schools. They make it clear that any child can be bullied, whilst pointing out that there are certain risk factors which make bullying more likely. These include a child's lacking close friends in school, being shy, coming from an over-protective family environment, being from a different racial or ethnic group, or being different in some other way from the majority, having special educational needs, and being a 'provocative victim' – a child who behaves inappropriately with others, barging in on games or being a nuisance.

Whitney and Smith found that most pupils do not like bullying going on, with 75% - 80% saying that they would not join in bullying, or would like to help a bullied child. Fewer say they would actually help a bullied child. Boulton and Underwood (1992), found that 80% of pupils did not like bullying. Whitney and Smith found that bullies are less aware of the motives and feelings of others than victims are, or than children not involved as either bullies or victims. 48% of bullies said that they did not think that bullied children would experience negative emotions (for example unhappiness) as a result of being bullied, whereas 92% of victims and 88% of uninvolved children felt that bullied children would feel unhappy. Whitney and Smith found that families are more likely to be told about bullying than teachers, and that many bullied pupils have not told anyone in authority that they have been bullied.

More recently, Randall (1995) has carried out a factor study on the attitudes of children to bullying, Boulton (1996) has carried out research into bullying in mixed-sex groups of children, and Joseph and Austin (1996) have assessed bully/victim problems in 8 to 11 year-olds. Research and interest in the area of bullying appears to be on-going.

Humanist and Social Psychological Approaches to Bullying

Humanist and social psychology in education have been shown in previous chapters to be concerned with the quality of relationships in the classroom. Both, therefore, provide a useful framework for understanding the wider issues of bullying, power and relationships in schools. Social psychological approaches to bullying work with what Lewin, Lippitt and White (1939) called 'group process,' assuming that the culture and norms of the group will have as much, if not more, influence on whether bullying takes place than the psychological make-up of individual children and adults in the school. If the cultural norm of the school within its community is that bullying is part of the rough-and-tumble of life and a natural part of growing up, then it will be hard to eradicate. If, however, a majority of adults and pupils in a school, and the school's wider community, support a culture which does not accept the inevitability of bullying, then individuals within that community are empowered to take action against it, within their own particular sphere of influence, knowing that their voices echo a common consensus.

Over the late 1980s and early 1990s, there have been a growing number of people writing about the importance of creating an 'anti-bullying' culture in schools, rather than merely focussing on 'bullies' and 'victims.' Besag (1989) speaks of the importance of children learning about co-operation and respect for others as an anti-bullying strategy, but warns:

"If the ideology is not to be lost the school itself must be a pastoral system. The sharing of ideas, the encouragement of supportive comment, the suspension of judgement, a respect for the opinion of others, and a co-operative rather than a competitive approach to success, will be far more effective than a time-tabled lesson." (p.119)

She goes further to suggest that:

"If, as it would appear, children develop self-respect and responsibility for others in response to their experiences, it is essential that the school offers situations in which the child experiences success and opportunities to practise taking responsibility, preferably not only through a specific curriculum input but through the daily functioning of the school." (p.120)

Besag is suggesting that, if bullying in school is to be reduced, there has to be congruence between what pupils are being taught in Personal and Social Education, and other related subjects, and their experiences of life in school. Where there is incongruence between the taught curriculum and the 'hidden curriculum,' real change cannot occur. Others have argued the same point. Upton (1993) for example, identifies the move towards a market-oriented philosophy in schools in the 1990s and continuing gender inequalities amongst staff in positions of authority as antithetical to reducing bullying. He states:

"Bullying is promoted in schools where there is inequality, where the hidden culture of the school supports traditional images of independent males and subordinate females. This is damaging to students; it is damaging to schools because it sustains a negative culture... Our refusal to confront in a meaningful manner the problem of gender discrimination within our schools and communities is encouraging the creation of bullying cultures." (p.9)

Stainton-Rogers (1991) points out that anti-bullying strategies which are overly punitive of bullies are counterproductive, as they promote bullying behaviour whilst appearing to censure it:

"Teachers who themselves bully are saying, in their actions 'Powerful people are those who get their own way by using their power,' or possibly more insidiously, 'It's alright to gain satisfaction or the approval of others by making another feel humiliated.'" (p.51)

Macleod (1994), writing in the Guardian newspaper, quotes Andrew Mellor, the anti-bullying development officer for Scotland, as making a similar point. He states that although most schools

have an anti-bullying policy in place, many of these policies are cosmetic and do not get to the roots of the problem:

"Schools have to take a completely new look at relationships within the school if they want to do something about bullying. If we encourage kids to be open about bullying they will be open about other things as well – what happens at home, what they think about the school, what they think about the teachers. It is often a much bigger change than schools have contemplated." (p.2)

Later in the same article, Judith Belk, a teacher at Rainbow Forge School in Sheffield is quoted as saying "we call ourselves a telling school." A school, which identifies itself so strongly with an anti-bullying ethos, is giving all children and adults within the school community unambiguous messages about expectations of behaviour in school. Likewise, Frank Abel, headteacher of King Ecgberg School in Sheffield is quoted as saying:

"We can hope to raise everybody's expectations about the climate in which we live and the way we treat one another, and we can certainly educate people not to turn a blind eye when they see others being bullied and to consider this a problem that everyone can do something about." (p.3)

In the empirical section of this research, a social psychological approach will be used to draw conclusions about possible links between the school culture and ethos (as described by the teachers in the school and the headteacher) and the success of each programme. The research in hand recognises that, for any anti-bullying strategy to work, it has to support, and be supported by, the overall culture of the institution in which it is functioning.

The findings of Olweus (1989) and Whitney and Smith (1993) summarised above suggest that social psychological approaches to reducing bullying in general, and peer mediation in particular may well be successful. The characteristics of bullies and victims, for example (the insecurity of

many victims, their lack of close friends in school, shyness, being different in some way from the majority; the strong need of bullies for power, dominance, and prestige, and their frequent lack of warmth in family relationships) are all characteristics that peer mediation aims either to improve, or to deal with positively by empowering children through whole-group intervention. Peer mediation programmes aim to generate feelings of inclusivity and tolerance within a tutor group, raise the self-esteem of all pupils, strengthen relationships, and create a culture that is intolerant of bullying. It remains to be seen whether this can reduce the anxiety and insecurity of potential victims, and therefore lead to less bullying. It remains also to be seen whether creating a culture within the group that is less tolerant of bullying leads to cognitive dissonance on the part of potential bullies therefore reducing for them the benefit component of prestige. Enskilling young people to resolve their own disputes might help 'bullies' to gain more socially useful feelings of power and control. If, as the findings suggest, a large percentage of children who are involved in bullying is unaware of the effects of bullying behaviour on others, peer mediation, which enables children to hear about the feelings of victims, should reduce bullying.

Peer mediation programmes are perhaps one of the most appropriate anti-bullying strategies for the commonest form of bullying, notably name-calling and teasing, usually occurring amongst 'friends.' Peer mediation encourages the expression of feelings, empathy, and creative problem solving as part of restoring and maintaining on-going relationships. It may therefore be particularly useful in reducing female bullying. Physical violence and extortion cannot be dealt with directly using peer mediation, as most schools would rightly want adult intervention in these cases. These forms of bullying are more likely to be experienced by boys.

The peer mediation programme being evaluated here uses trained mediators in the playground, and therefore directly targets the place where bullying is most likely to occur. It should reduce bullying. Also, in the light of the numbers of witnesses of bullying who are antithetical towards it (but who do not necessarily have either the confidence or the knowledge of how to intervene) teaching pupils safe and positive ways to reduce bullying should be an important key to enabling

pupils to act on their desire to help. Peer mediation should also lead to more pupils feeling able to share their problems without having to tell an adult, at least in the first instance.

A Review of Anti-Bullying Strategies

There have been many books and articles written in the 1990s about anti-bullying strategies (Herbert, 1989, Besag, 1989, Elliot, 1991, Kidscape, 1987, 1990, Pikas, 1989, Olweus, 1993, Tattum and Herbert, 1990, 1993, Sharp and Smith, 1994, Smith and Sharp, 1994, Maines and Robinson, 1991a, 1991b, 1992, DfE, 1994, Tuthill and Howe, 1994). In 1989, the Gulbenkian Foundation set up an advisory group on 'bullying in schools' which funded several initiatives. It made Tattum and Herbert's 1990 publication available to schools at a low cost, supported Childline's 'Bullying Line,' Whitney and Smith's research in 1993, materials for Kidscape, and other curriculum materials and videos. Media interest peaked again in 1992 after the BBC *That's Life* programme investigated the suicide of Katherine Bamber. Questions were asked in Parliament about what action the government was taking on bullying, and a decision was made to circulate to all schools in England and Wales the Scottish Council for Research in Education pack (1992) which had been circulated to all schools in Scotland some months previously. In 1994, the DfE pack reporting on the Sheffield research project was circulated to all schools.

Anti-bullying strategies that have been promoted over the last 8 years are, for the most part, long-term whole-school measures aiming to create a school culture that is intolerant of bullying.

Strategies suggested by Olweus (1993) include awareness-raising amongst staff, pupils and parents, increasing teacher density in the playground at lunch and break times, having separate play areas for younger and older pupils, developing a whole-school anti-bullying policy, supporting each class in the school to develop class rules against bullying, increasing the frequency with which teachers praise children, formulating clear sanctions for undesirable behaviour, setting up a telephone help-line which victims can use to talk anonymously with a teacher or educational psychologist, tackling bullying through drama and role play, Quality Circles, co-operative learning, where teachers structure tasks to ensure 'mutual positive

dependence,' extra-curricular activities, class PTA meetings to which students may also be invited, a meeting between 'bully' and 'victim' to which both sets of parents are invited, and pressure on the parents of children who have bullied others to 'make them exert their influence over their child.'

Olweus tested his intervention programme in 42 elementary and junior high schools between 1983 and 1985, using a repeat measure pupil questionnaire. He summarises the main findings in 1993. These include a 50% reduction in bullying during the two years following the intervention programme and an improvement in the 'social climate' of the schools. Such improvement was manifest through improved order and discipline, more positive social relationships, and more positive pupil attitudes to schoolwork and the school. Most of these strategies, with the exception of increasing teacher density in the playground at lunch and break times and having separate play areas for younger and older pupils, are based on the same principles as the peer mediation training programme being evaluated here: notably a recognition of the need to raise pupils' feelings of self-esteem and empowerment through skills-training and of the need to give them opportunities to practise these skills in real life situations. Stacey, Robinson and Cremin (1997) have argued that policing and segregation in the playground could prove counterproductive if, as a consequence, children are denied the opportunity to develop their social skills with younger or older pupils, and are given subliminal messages that they cannot be trusted to treat their peers with respect. Apart from this, the peer mediation programme being evaluated shares enough strategies in common with Olweus' intervention programme to suggest that it should lead to an equivalent reduction in bullying behaviour.

The anti-bullying strategies outlined and evaluated by the DfE in 1994 are grouped in three categories: teaching strategies relevant to bullying; working with pupils involved in bullying situations; and 'beyond the classroom' strategies for improving the climate in the playground. The Sheffield research project supported 23 of the primary and secondary schools who took part in the initial research into the extent of bullying, to develop a range of anti-bullying strategies

within these three areas. These were then evaluated using half-termly interviews with two thirds of teaching staff in each primary school, and one third in each secondary school, interviews with staff and groups of pupils who had experienced particular interventions, a short pupil questionnaire repeated for a sample of pupils in each school over five consecutive days in each half term just after lunch, and the longer original questionnaire for all pupils two years after the first survey. The results for each school were compared to identify any changes in levels of bullying. Four schools which had participated in the initial survey, but which had not developed any anti-bullying strategies through the Sheffield project, were also surveyed again after two years to act as comparison schools.

Results gained from the short pupil questionnaire repeated over five consecutive days in each half term after lunch revealed appreciable reductions in all types of experienced bullying reported by pupils. These results were statistically significant for direct physical violence ($p < .01$), threats or extortion ($p < .001$), being teased repeatedly ($p < .002$), and having nasty rumours spread ($p < .05$). An average reduction in total bullying behaviour from 46% occurred between the first monitoring period in November 1991 and the final period in November 1992. The comparison of the results from the first and second longer pupil questionnaires confirmed that most schools had made progress in dealing with bullying. 12 of the 16 primary schools and 5 of the 7 secondary schools showed clear reductions in the numbers of pupils experiencing bullying, as did two of the four comparison schools. In general, the pattern of improvement in the primary schools was a reduction in the numbers of pupils reporting being bullied (mean 17%; range 81% decrease to 7% increase) and in the numbers of pupils reporting bullying others (mean 7%; range 51% decrease to 12% increase). Interestingly, some results represented modest reductions despite considerable efforts, while others represented reductions which were quite substantial. In the secondary schools, a reduction in reports of being bullied and of bullying others were often modest (by the time of the second survey) typically being around 5%. These results help justify the research in hand in three ways: firstly, the anti-bullying programme promoted and supported by the DfE was able to bring about significant change; secondly, it is believed that change is more

likely in the primary than in the secondary sector; and thirdly, there are other influences in school that can determine the relative success or failure of anti-bullying programmes, which may need to be tested for qualitatively.

In the 'teaching strategies' section of the DfE publication, curricular activities for raising awareness about bullying behaviour and building an anti-bullying ethos are suggested. These include using the video film 'Sticks and Stones (Central TV) the play *Only Playing, Miss* from the Neti Neti Theatre Company and Kumar's *The Heartstone Odyssey*, all of which explore issues of bullying and can be expected to generate discussion. In the classes in the Sheffield research project schools, where the teacher devoted 30 to 60 minutes a week for at least one term to these curriculum activities, levels of bullying behaviour dropped by about 60%. Also included in the teaching strategies section are strategies to promote collaborative problem-solving and co-operative behaviour. 'Quality Circles' are suggested to encourage groups to identify, prioritise, and analyse problems, and to develop and review solutions. The authors of the research evaluate 'Quality Circles' as follows:

"'Quality Circles' engage pupils in tackling bullying in a way which encourages them to examine their own behaviour. The three classes that were using 'Quality Circles' were monitored, and 69% of pupils said they were more careful about their actions towards their peers and were less likely to bully others. Pupils also felt more able to challenge bullying and were more aware of the implications of the school policy than other pupils."
(p.43)

They quote a primary child:

"It feels as though you are really in charge... we stop bullying... we've been doing it for two years... it makes the school better." (p.43)

The peer mediation programme being evaluated here uses 'Circle Time' and 'Quality Circles' to teach problem solving, and co-operation. The results of the Sheffield research suggest that these methods do alter pupils' attitudes towards bullying. The research in hand will go further in testing whether they alter actual behaviour. It is worthy of note that the pupil quoted above focuses on feelings of empowerment as a reason for the strategy's success; peer mediation aims to achieve similar feelings of empowerment, and these will be tested for here. In general the DfE found that the more interactive the curriculum approach was, the more likely it was to alter attitudes towards bullying. Peer mediation is a highly interactive approach.

In the section on working with pupils the DfE reviews 'The Method of Shared Concern' (Pikas, 1989) 'The No Blame Approach' (Maines and Robinson, 1992) assertiveness training for groups of bullied pupils, peer counselling and 'Bully Courts.' All of these approaches, with the exception of 'Bully Courts,' are based on an avoidance of blame, judgement, and punishment, and on empathy and support for bullied children. They echo the humanist philosophy behind peer mediation, and may well work for similar reasons. Maines and Robinson's 'No Blame Approach' to bullying (1992) is a future-oriented problem-solving process, which has much in common with peer mediation. Maines and Robinson's work grew out of Pikas' 'Method of Shared Concern' (1989). Both methods are used with a bullied pupil, the child who has been bullying, and the witnesses of the bullying. The Pikas method uses individual meetings with each member of the group to bring to consciousness the unease or shame that individual group members have about the group's bullying behaviour. The focus of each meeting is on the victim's unhappiness, and not on the role that the child may have played in the bullying behaviour. By avoiding blame and punishment, teachers are able to encourage the child to empathise with the victim, and therefore change his behaviour. Simms (1992) and Lucas (1993) have evaluated this method using a relatively small-scale case-study approach, and found that in a sample size of 6 teachers and 30 children, three quarters of the pupils interviewed felt that in the short term the situation had improved, i.e. the bullying had decreased. They attributed this success to being offered the opportunity to express their feelings and perspectives on the situation individually as well as to being encouraged to

propose their own solutions rather than having one imposed by an adult. The parallels with peer mediation are obvious. All of the teachers interviewed, except one, felt that the method had reduced the frequency and severity of the bullying behaviour. The 'No Blame Approach' differs from the 'Method of Shared Concern' in that a teacher lets bullied pupils speak in their own words of the suffering they have experienced before seeing any of the other pupils. The teacher then relays the story to the other pupils as a whole group, focussing on the feelings of the bullied child. The evidence that the 'No Blame Approach' works is also derived from case-study material. It was not evaluated by the DfE. The Psychology Service Task Group and post-graduate students from Bristol University evaluated 8 cases where it was used in primary schools and 49 cases in secondary schools. The success rate was 8 out of 8, and 47 out of 49.

Assertiveness training - where bullied pupils were taught in a group how to make assertive statements, resist manipulation and threats, respond effectively to name-calling, leave a bullying situation, safely escape from physical restraint, enlist support from bystanders, and remain calm in stressful situations - was found to be successful in reducing bullying. The pupils who took part in the programme increased their self-esteem and confidence, used the techniques to avoid and respond to bullying situations, and became more assertive and less aggressive or passive in their relationships. The gains lasted longer if pupils were offered some kind of continuous support after the initial intervention programme. This approach was found to be expensive in terms of time and money. The peer mediation programme being evaluated teaches many of these skills to all pupils, not just to a small group of 'victims,' and it relies on peer support rather than support from a teacher. In these ways, it is more cost-effective because more pupils benefit, and because pupils rather than teachers are used to provide support. There is also less stigma attached as all pupils participate in the initial training so that no one is singled out as a 'victim.'

Two of the DfE-project secondary schools participated in peer counselling initiatives, but evaluation was limited as the schemes began late on in the project. The schemes were run along similar lines to peer mediation schemes, with pupils being 'on duty' to help their peers at

lunchtimes, having received initial training in counselling skills. Year 7 pupils and children with special needs were reported to have used the services most, and the peer counsellors themselves reported benefiting from the training and experience. 'Bully courts' in which a child's peers decide culpability and appropriate punishment (Elliott, 1991) were not taken up by any of the Sheffield schools. The DfE (1994) point out that they are particularly difficult to review, with Elliot's claims that they have been used as successful strategies to reduce bullying remaining largely unsubstantiated. It states:

"The school tribunal, or 'bully court,' used as a means of dealing with bullying, presents something of an enigma. For a while in 1990/1, it was perhaps the most highly publicised approach. Yet few schools appear to have used it, and it has proved difficult to get evidence about how well it works." (p.41)

'Bully Courts' and peer counselling share little in common other than their reliance on the input of peers. It will be clear from Chapter Two that 'Bully Courts' promote arbitration, with its ensuing blame, judgement, punishment, and lack of empowerment for the 'victim' and 'offender.' This research evaluates an approach for reducing bullying that attempts to teach more positive and educative strategies to pupils.

In the DfE's final section, 'beyond the classroom,' strategies for improving the climate in the playground are reviewed. These include developing a play policy for lunch and break times, improving supervision (although they also point out that "too much emphasis on the 'policing' aspect of supervision could negate what should be an enjoyable part of the day for pupils") ensuring clarity about the school's behaviour management policy and the role and status of the lunchtime supervisors, training in techniques to recognise and manage challenging behaviour for lunchtime supervisors, using pupils as 'play helpers,' and improving the environmental quality and educational use of school landscapes.

'Bully Courts' are promoted by Elliott, the director of Kidscape. Other strategies promoted by Kidscape and included in the book *Bullying: A Practical Guide to Coping for Schools* (1991) edited by Elliott, include policing of corridors and other 'no-go areas' where bullying could occur, "stopping an assailant in his tracks when he starts to make excuses for his aggressive behaviour" (Jones, 1991, the gender bias here comes from the original quote) getting a written record of incidents of bullying and a photograph of physical injuries, reminding 'bullies' of laws concerning assault, threatening behaviour, actual bodily harm, and theft, advising a victim's family to go to law, asking children in confidence to "identify children they believed to be bad bullies" (Frost, 1991), persuading parents to come to school to observe a 'bully' at play without the child's knowledge, supporting victims to ignore teasing by reminding them that the perpetrators are 'ignorant,' and supporting victims to sign up for self-defence courses. An advert that was part of the pack at a Kidscape conference in 1993 suggests that delegates 'Stop Bullying in School Now with Inexpensive CCTV Cameras!' Although some more positive strategies, such as raising pupil self-esteem, are included in the book, and in the wider work of Kidscape, there is a strong element of policing, detective work, blame, threats and punishment in Elliott and Kidscape's work. None of the strategies quoted above are supported by research evidence. Most of them are practical suggestions provided by teachers and have not been evaluated.

The work of Tattum and Lane and Tattum and Herbert (1989, 1993, and 1997 for example) mirrors the changes that have occurred in research into bullying over the last ten years. Their first book aimed to raise awareness of the seriousness and frequency of bullying. They then concerned themselves with supporting schools to develop practical anti-bullying strategies, and their latest book *Bullying: Home, School and Community* (1997) which includes a chapter by the author, looks at wider strategies to create whole communities that are intolerant of bullying. Many schools which have successfully developed anti-bullying policies, and put practical strategies for reducing bullying into place, are now at the stage where they could look at the wider issues of the use of power, and the quality of relationships, both in school and in the wider community (Tattum and Herbert, 1997).

Conclusion

In conclusion, then, bullying represents a complex problem affecting a high percentage of pupils in schools, as 'bullies,' 'victims,' or witnesses. Such a problem can apparently be alleviated by the creation of an anti-bullying culture in schools. The peer mediation programme being evaluated, in common with many other anti-bullying strategies, uses a humanist social psychological approach to reducing bullying. It does this by focusing on empowering all pupils to display new skills to resolve conflicts creatively, thereby promoting and maintaining a school and playground culture which is inclusive, tolerant of differences, and based on positive relationships. The establishing of a peer mediation programme also inevitably involves a wider review of the use of power in school, which may include the adult use or misuse of power in the classroom and playground. Other anti-bullying programmes that use a variety of strategies have been reviewed, and the demonstrated success of many of them is an indication that levels of bullying in schools can be reduced using similar methods to the methods being evaluated. Although there has been some research into peer counselling and the No Blame Approach, research into the effectiveness of peer mediation as an anti-bullying strategy is being carried out here for the first time in the U.K.

Literature Review: Conclusion

In summary then, the Literature Review section of this research reviews the existing research and literature concerning peer mediation, humanism in education, behaviour management, and bullying in schools. Chapter Two describes mediation as a voluntary process in which a neutral third party helps disputants to reach a mutually acceptable solution to their problem, and suggests that mediation fundamentally differs from arbitration, which, as a process for resolving disputes, can leave disputants feeling disempowered and resentful. This chapter explores the humanistic roots of peer mediation, showing how both mediation and humanistic psychology share the assumption that a client or disputant will self-actualise by finding the best possible solution to his problem, providing that the conditions are right. These are: the unconditional positive regard of the therapist or mediator (who avoid making judgements or offering solutions) and an atmosphere of safety in which both disputants adhere to the basic ground-rule of respect for each other.

The use of mediation as a process for resolving disputes is shown to have grown over the last 30 years. Its beginnings in neighbourhood mediation in the United States are documented, as is its expansion into schools. Research to date into the effectiveness of peer mediation is also described, with some reservations about the rigour of research methods used. The research in hand is set against the majority of research to date in that it evaluates a programme which trains teachers to establish and maintain peer mediation within their own institution, as opposed to evaluating a programme which relies on professionals and volunteers from outside of the institution to establish and maintain a peer mediation service. The Mediation and Peer Mediation chapter suggests that a programme which trains and supports teachers, rather than training and supporting young people directly, is more likely to have a positive influence on culture and ethos in schools, and that such an influence may well be necessary for a peer mediation service to be more than a 'bolt-on' feature of school life. Finally, Chapter Two highlights the importance of the

research in hand, owing to a rapid expansion in the use of peer mediation in schools without the benefit of any research informing its use.

Chapter Three outlines how humanistic psychology, and the work of Rogers (1951) and Maslow (1962) in particular, provide a rationale for peer mediation. Enhancing self-esteem and encouraging an internal locus of control are shown to be central to both, and the use of measures which test for these in the empirical research is therefore explained. This chapter reviews research into other humanistic programmes that have been used in schools, and states that the common links are teaching styles which value: the process of learning as well as the content of what is taught, the quality of relationships between teachers and pupils, and the affective as well as the cognitive aspects of education. These programmes are shown to be effective in the development of both academic, and personal and social skills amongst young people. This chapter, however, proposes that the adoption of humanistic techniques in schools, and the necessary shift in the balance of power between pupils and teachers, may well prove problematic for some teachers. In particular the current focus on the content of the National Curriculum and a return to more 'traditional' teaching methods may well make it difficult for teachers to use child-centred teaching methods.

Chapter Four begins by exploring the changes that have taken place in attitudes towards children with emotional and behavioural difficulties since the period immediately following the Second World War, when these children were seen as 'ill,' or 'maladjusted.' Since the Warnock report and the 1981 Education Act, the emphasis has shifted onto the ways in which the context of education influences the definition of special needs. Social psychology is used in this chapter as a useful point of reference. Some concern is expressed, however, that the 1989 Education Reform Act has made children with emotional and behavioural difficulties unpopular with headteachers, some of whom prefer to exclude rather than invest the disproportionate amount of time and effort that these children require. Humanistic programmes in general, and peer mediation in particular, are seen here as potentially beneficial for children with emotional and

behavioural difficulties through their focus on the process of learning, the quality of relationships in school, and the active building of social and affective skills.

Although children with emotional and behavioural difficulties perhaps stand to gain more than other pupils from the introduction of peer mediation, this chapter suggests that it could benefit all pupils through enabling them to explore and resolve the conflicts that touch their lives, thus providing opportunities for social-cognitive skill development. This enskilling and empowering of pupils is shown to be central to 'child-centred' behaviour management, which differs fundamentally from authoritarian and behaviourist behaviour management techniques. It is proposed that these latter techniques, although necessary or expedient in certain circumstances, can block the development of prosocial skills, positive teacher-pupil relationships and self-discipline, if relied on exclusively.

Chapter Five begins by attempting to define bullying. It reviews others' attempts to do the same, highlighting the fact that there is much disagreement as to what constitutes bullying. The misuse of power is chosen as a central defining feature, thus distinguishing bullying behaviour from other forms of anti-social behaviour. This definition introduces the additional question as to whether some teachers are guilty of misusing their power to 'bully' pupils. A central theme for this research, the quality of relationships, is therefore revisited once more. The chapter gives examples of research into the nature and frequency of bullying, and the effectiveness of anti-bullying strategies, carried out over the last 20 years. The alarming statistics concerning the incidence of bullying, and examples of teen-age suicides are shown to have aroused media and DfE interest, and to have prompted subsequent attempts by schools to tackle it.

Humanist approaches to reducing bullying, which create a culture in school which is intolerant of bullying (rather than focussing on individual pupils as 'bullies' and 'victims'), are described. These methods stress the importance of congruence between what is taught in personal and social education, and teacher attitudes and behaviour towards pupils. Bullying is addressed

through teachers modelling a positive and humane use of power, and through involving pupils themselves in the search for solutions to the problem of bullying. Throughout all five chapters in the Literature Review section of this research humanism runs as a unifying theme. The empirical section of this research begins to explore possible links between the success, or otherwise, of peer mediation programmes, and the extent to which humanistic methods were used. It is to be discovered whether the teachers in the experimental schools could be trained to set up and maintain peer mediation without necessarily sharing a fundamental understanding of humanistic psychology, or having skills for using humanistic teaching methods.

Empirical Research

Chapter Six: Research Design

Introduction to Empirical Research

The empirical section of this research begins with the Research Design chapter which details the main aims of the empirical research and the research methods used. Following this, the Bullying Results chapter, the Self-esteem and Locus of Control Results chapter, and the 'Iceberg' Skills Results chapter present research findings and discuss their possible interpretation. The penultimate chapter discusses some additional findings that arose from the main experiment and the concluding chapter gives an overview of the main research findings. It assesses the extent to which research aims are achieved, discusses the main themes and issues that emerge, and makes recommendations for classroom practice and further study.

Introduction to Research Design

This chapter details the research methods used to evaluate the peer mediation programme in the 3 experimental schools. The research is basically quasi-experimental, though it has an important qualitative dimension. It was hoped that the quasi-experimental approach would allow for some generalisation from the main findings, whilst qualitative analysis would also accommodate the need to be responsive to ongoing and unexpected effects. It was also hoped that that these two types of findings would demonstrate some convergent validity, allowing quantitative data to be analysed in the light of the qualitative findings. Campbell, (1975), Reichardt and Cook (1979) and Cronbach (1987) have all written in favour of this 'multi-method approach' to research design. In the light of the kinds of difficulties often met by researchers in classrooms, however (and specifically in light of those met here) a thorough case study using a

wider range of evaluative research methods might have been more revealing than the experimental approach that was used. Many difficulties met with training programmes can only be understood through illuminative or interpretative study, and this is a weakness of a positivist approach.

Aims

Main Aims

The main empirical aims of this research are to use a range of quantitative and qualitative research methods to evaluate the effectiveness of the 'Iceberg' method of peer mediation training, and the practice of peer mediation itself in:

- a) reducing the incidence of bullying among upper primary age children;
- b) improving pupils' self-esteem;
- c) improving pupils' feelings of empowerment through developing a more internal locus of control.

Subsidiary Aims

Subsidiary empirical aims are to use qualitative research methods to evaluate further the effectiveness of the 'Iceberg' method of peer mediation training, and the practice of peer mediation itself in:

- i. improving pupils' awareness of conflict resolution techniques, and their ability to mediate disputes for each other;
- ii. improving pupils' ability to give and receive positive comments (affirm each other);
- iii. improving pupils' ability to co-operate with each other;
- iv. improving pupils' ability to communicate feelings and needs to each other in ways that will de-escalate conflict situations;
- v. improving pupils' ability to listen to each other in focused and supportive ways;

Quasi-Experimentation

A quasi-experimental field design (see Campbell and Stanley, 1966) was chosen due to its being noted as suitable for research in education (Ellingstad and Heimstra, 1974). The research involved a given cohort of pupils rather than using strict random assignment, as there is an acceptance that this is a good research design for evaluating social programmes (Bawden, 1992). More specifically, the Untreated-Control-Group Design with dependent pre-test and post-test samples was used. This is the most commonly used quasi-experimental research design, and was used here to measure the changes in the experimental group after any changes that occurred in the control group had been accounted for.

Threats to the validity of quasi-experimental research designs have been identified by Cook, Campbell, and Perracchio (1994) as: statistical conclusion validity; internal validity; construct validity; and external validity. The threats to internal validity (as identified by Cook, Campbell and Perracchio, 1994) that are relevant to the research in hand include threats related to 'history' 'maturation' 'testing' and 'mortality.' The 'history' threat, where the presumed relationship

between the cause and effect might be due to some unrelated event taking place between the pre-test and the post-test, is important here because the treatment took place over eighteen months during which time a wide variety of other events occurred in the experimental classrooms over which it was impossible to exert any control. The use of the control school partially allowed for some standardisation of this effect, however, and the qualitative element of this research begins to identify whether the teachers themselves attribute any changes to the treatment rather than to other significant events. The use of the control class also alleviated the threat of different rates of maturation within the classes, and the threat of the actual process of testing over a number of times influencing children's responses. 'Mortality' is a further significant threat as a decision was made to include only the data of children who were present at all three times of testing over the eighteen-month period. This means that the sample size became smaller, but the data eventually analysed are more reliable as they show the changes experienced by individual children rather than focussing on global changes occurring in the classes. To allow for the threat of 'mortality,' the variable of name-calling and physical bullying are compared for both the 'live' group whose data are analysed more fully and for the 'dead' group in order to verify whether the two groups are the same.

Threats to construct validity of the questionnaires have been minimised by the use of well-established measures that have been fully standardised and widely used. The threat of 'hypothesis-guessing' influencing children's responses was alleviated by the fact that teachers administered the questionnaires in the classroom as part of a normal school-day, thus reducing the possible influence of the researcher. 'Evaluation apprehension,' was minimised by allowing the children anonymity: numbers taken from the class lists were the only means of identifying the questionnaires, with the teachers instructed to tell the children that they would put the completed questionnaires straight into an envelope.

Whilst care was taken, here, to minimise the effects of these threats, the difficulty of using an agricultural-botanical' paradigm for educational research soon became apparent (Stenhouse,

1987). These threats have been encountered elsewhere (DfE, 1994) and some argue that they do not, in themselves, negate the use of quasi-experimental research designs to evaluate educational interventions (Fitzgibbon, 1994). They do, however, highlight the difficulty of carrying out experiments in a school setting. In the research in hand, the experiment was weakened by the contamination of the control school (who launched an anti-bullying campaign of their own, and whose Year 5 teacher was actively working towards developing an internal locus of control amongst her pupils) and by the fact that two of the three experimental schools did not follow the experiment through to the end.

It was also weakened by the difficulty of separating out the changes that occurred in the experimental schools as a result of the intervention being evaluated here, and the changes that occurred as a result of other initiatives that were on-going in the school at the time. In hindsight, although the research design reflects the main research questions, a much wider use of case study research methods would have provided the scope to engage in a more detailed analysis of the factors highlighted above.

Independent Variables

The independent variable is the intervention of the peer mediation training programme and the practice of peer mediation itself. The model of peer mediation training being evaluated relies on teachers being trained to deliver the peer mediation training programme to their pupils. It was anticipated that this training, which involved participation in Circle Time activities and role-playing mediating, would allow the teachers to understand the mediation process, and to select training activities from a handbook to use with their class.

By the time the research was begun, the author had extensive experience of training cohorts of pupils as peer mediators using the 'iceberg' method. This was usually done in the classroom with the author and the class teacher team-teaching. The time-scale varied, but training was

often carried out over a series of 10 afternoons, or 3 to 4 full school days. Whatever the time-scale, at least 20 hours of training was always delivered. This work is described in Chapter Two. Evaluations of the work were invariably positive, with both teachers and pupils claiming to have benefited from both the training and the peer mediation itself (see Chapter Two). The author was concerned, however, that there was a conflict between her role of implementing the programme and evaluating it, and that the 'halo effect' might have influenced the positive responses of the teachers and pupils. When, therefore, in May 1994 the opportunity to carry out a piece of research into peer mediation in 3 Birmingham primary schools presented itself, the author was keen to distance herself as much as possible from the work in the classroom. Accordingly, a training model was selected which relied on training Year 5 teachers to train their own pupils without direct support in the classroom from the author. Thus, the 7 Year 5 teachers from the 3 experimental schools were withdrawn from teaching for joint in-service training on how to use the 'iceberg' method of peer mediation training, and how to set up and support a peer mediation service. It was hoped that this 'arms length' approach would help create some distance between the author's role in introducing the innovation and her role as its researcher.

The teacher training took place over 2 full days and 2 half days spread over 2 terms. The first full day took place at the beginning of the term when the programme was due to begin. The teachers were introduced to the concept of peer mediation, and to the 'iceberg' skills. They were trained, using experiential methods, in teaching styles most conducive to the building of the 'iceberg' skills in pupils, and were given a book (Stacey, 1994) containing activities for them to use to design a programme of study based on the needs of their pupils. On this first day, and then on the subsequent training days, the author used some of the activities from the book with the teachers so that they could experience the activities as participants before using them with their classes. In this way, it was hoped that the teachers would use their own experiences and insights to design a programme that was suited to both their own teaching style and the starting points of their pupils.

It was expected that the process of being empowered by the author (as trainer) to design their own programme of study would reinforce the core philosophy of empowerment through mediation.

The next 2 half days of teacher training took place whilst the pupil training programme was underway. The teachers were encouraged to use peer support methods of their own to review their successes and difficulties in delivering the programme, and to support each other in overcoming problems. It was hoped that they would use these experiences to gain a greater understanding of the value of peer support methods. During the final day, two terms after the initial training day, the teachers learnt about the practicalities of setting up a peer mediation service. Shortly after this, School One set up their service. Schools Two and Three did not do so mainly due to staff illness and a lack of senior management direction. All of the in-service training took place in a local secondary school to ensure that the teachers were not interrupted. The training was greatly enjoyed, and the teachers were able to use it to deepen their professional relationships.

The DfE (1994) used a similar model of staff training and curricular materials to deliver their anti-bullying intervention programme. Staff from 23 schools attended an initial meeting before agreeing to receive training in some or all of the following areas: developing a whole-school anti-bullying policy; delivering curriculum-based strategies; working directly with pupils involved in bullying situations; and enhancing breaks and lunchtimes. The staff were trained to implement the programme within their own institutions and were then supported centrally as they did so.

The activities in the book that the teachers were given Stacey (1994) are taken from a variety of sources. Examples include 'Chinese Whispers' a traditional game to develop communication and co-operation skills, and 'Mr Dumpy' taken from an idea developed by the Ulster Quaker Peace Education Project. In 'Mr Dumpy' the children shout out adjectives to describe an ugly character drawn on the blackboard. He gets a bit rubbed out every time a negative adjective is used, and a bit drawn back in

whenever a positive adjective is used. Discussion afterwards focuses on our shared need to feel affirmed, and on the negative effects of name-calling. Stacey (1994) and Stacey and Robinson (1997) also encourage teachers to use Circle Time (see Chapter Three) to develop an atmosphere of safety and trust, speaking and listening skills, co-operation skills, inclusivity, improved self-esteem, emotional awareness and problem-solving.

The Year 5 teachers initially used around 20 hours of teaching time to deliver the programme with their classes. The lessons were delivered through Personal and Social education, and teachers in all 3 schools used both structured 1 to 2 hour sessions and more ad hoc activities as issues arose. In addition to this, the children selected as peer mediators in School One received 2 days training in running a mediation service from their class teacher. Schools Two and Three did not select a team of mediators due to staff illness, management issues, and a variety of other reasons which are explored more fully in the penultimate chapter. They did, nevertheless continue using Circle Time and other activities from the book that they had been given (Stacey, 1994). At the end of the academic year the pupils from the 7 classes in the 3 schools progressed from Year 5 into Year 6, and the research continued using the same pupils with their new teachers, 3 of whom were part of the group who had been trained.

The pupils in School One who received 2 extra days training were taught how to take turns to speak, listen with respect, accept and include everyone, and ensure calmly and assertively that the disputants keep to the same ground rules during the mediation. They developed their communication skills through role-play. They were taught to be clear and positive with disputants, accurately to summarise disputants' problems and feelings, to affirm and empathise with the disputants, accepting the validity of opposing or conflicting opinions, and to encourage disputants to do the same. They developed strategies to cope with their own feelings in real mediations, in order to remain neutral, and they learnt to encourage disputants to control and discuss theirs. They learnt about the difference between actions and interpretations, issues and value judgements, wants and needs, and they learnt how to encourage the disputants to

brainstorm and evaluate creative solutions. In addition they used and fine-tuned their co-operation and problem-solving skills in designing their service.

Dependent Variables

The dependent variables underwrite the main aims a), b) and c). They are: frequency and nature of bullying for both victims and bullies; pupil attitudes towards bullying; pupil self-esteem; and pupil locus of control. A pre-test measure of these was made by administering the three pupil questionnaires before the teachers began implementing the programme. Variance in the dependent variables was measured by repeating the pupil questionnaires after the peer mediation training programme had been taught, and then again after peer mediation scheme had been in place for a few months.

Qualitative Research

Data was collected from teacher interviews conducted at the same three times as the pupil questionnaires. Interview data are recognised as suitable for detecting changes resulting from the implementation of skills training (Atkinson and Delamonte, 1985, Merriam, 1988), and allow for an unobtrusive collection of data. It was hoped that this element of the research would reveal unexpected changes that were not tested for quantitatively. In the event, however, because the interviews focussed exclusively on expanding upon the main experiment, they did not adequately reveal the reasons why 2 of the 3 schools did not complete the programme. A more open and comprehensive approach to data collection (e.g. Parlett and Hamilton, 1987) might have revealed more information. In the area of behaviour management, for example, many of the teachers interviewed have some interesting things to say about their attitudes towards behaviourist and child-centred approaches. The school behaviour management policies were not included as part of the data collection, however, so that any conclusions about how attitudes towards behaviour management might have influenced attitudes towards the peer mediation programme being

researched here are incomplete. With hindsight, it is also perhaps at odds with a programme that stresses the importance of pupil perspectives and empowerment to have omitted to interview pupils! These additional data may well have provided a pupils' perspective of the process, and additional insights into the underlying culture and ethos of the 3 experimental schools.

The Positivist-Humanist Debate in Educational Research in Relation to the Research in Hand

There has been a tradition of using case study research in education since the late 1960s and early 1970s when qualitative research in education expanded due to an expansion in the university and college sectors. A reaction against the positivist theoretical and methodological approaches (see for example Freeman 1964) that were dominant in the past - notably psychometrics, systematic observation, survey research, and structural functionalism - led to non-standard forms of sociology and psychology being drawn on, notably symbolic interactionism and phenomenology, as well as social and cultural anthropology. Researchers working in this area trusted sensitive observations more than they trusted experiments (Hamilton *et al.* 1978).

In the 1980s and 1990s, a social trend towards increased accountability has been accompanied by a swing back towards strong research designs and experimentation (Fairweather, 1980). As discussed in the literature review section of this research, much evaluation of peer mediation in the past has been carried out by advocates of the approach, whose objectivity has not always been in evidence. The most prolific researcher into peer mediation to date, D.W. Johnson (1994, 1996, 1980, 1994) states in a review of peer mediation research up until 1996 that much of it is of poor quality methodologically. He himself is at pains in his more recent research to use experimental methods to ensure rigour in his evaluations of peer mediation. In 1996, for example, he uses an independent researcher to observe, record and analyse children's patterns of behaviour in unsupervised communal places in a high school to evaluate the effectiveness of a peer mediation programme over a six week period. He supports this evidence with pre-test and

post-test pupil questionnaires. This trend continues with a later study in 1998 where Johnson, Thomas and Krochak use experimental methods to evaluate peer mediation in a junior high school in Canada.

Wignall (1998) also discusses the challenges for interpretivist enquiry where subjectivist-interpretivist researchers conceptualise, propose and conduct subjectivist enquiry in an academic community that remains traditionally systems-rationalist in nature. The pressure on researchers to adopt a positivist framework in order to produce 'hard' evidence has grown in the 1980s and 1990s, and this pressure is often associated with academic credibility and funding. In the light of this swing back, and the author's interest in the area of peer mediation, a decision was made to use qualitative analysis merely in support of the main experiment. It was felt that the exclusive use of a case study might not answer the research questions being posed.

The difficulties of carrying out an experiment in a school setting, however, became apparent as the research progressed. Ensuring the rigour of the main experiment was simply not possible. Standardization was weak due to the fact that the teachers were working in different environments with differing levels of skill and experience. Although they received the same training, delivered by the same trainer at the same time, and although they received the same handbook of curriculum activities, the teachers clearly interpreted and used this input in different ways. They were free to plan the programme to fit in with the time available, their teaching style, and the starting points of their pupils, and this meant that the children in the 7 experimental classes would have experienced the programme in different ways. In particular, the 2 schools who did not follow the programme to the end jeopardized the main experiment.

With hindsight it is perhaps ironic to use largely experimental methods to evaluate a humanist intervention. As the research progressed, it became clear that the author was attempting to use a positivist research paradigm to research an intervention from a humanist paradigm. A humanist researcher, for example, would study a programme already in place, not one imposed by the

evaluator, and the programme would be evaluated through the eyes of its developers and clients, not just through the eyes of the researcher. The humanist is sceptical of standardisations of social and educational interventions and services and doubly sceptical of any attempts to make them standard for the sake of investigation. Stenhouse (1987) prefers the 'medical' to the 'agricultural-botanical' paradigm for educational research, recognising that medical practitioners and researchers have traditionally reported individual cases which illuminate the incidence and treatment of particular conditions, rather than depending heavily on the control of variables. Although the research design chosen does reflect the main research questions, due to the contingent factors highlighted above, a series of new questions emerged which could not be addressed using an experimental research design.

Kyriacou and Wan Chang (1993) explore the thorny issue of whether it is possible for a single study to mix different types of data and approaches. Most researchers argue yes, and indeed this is the position adopted within the essentially 'eclectic' approach adopted by many researchers conducting an illuminative evaluation (Vulliamy, 1990). Whilst they argue that using both quantitative and qualitative *data* in an illuminative evaluation is acceptable, the idea of mixing research *approaches* is a much more difficult issue to resolve. One of the most important features of a research study is that it should have a clear and coherent 'thesis' (a sustained line or argument) to present to the reader. To do this it needs to locate itself within a theoretical research framework. The problem of mixing these two approaches concerns the fact that the interpretative research approach essentially stems from a *rejection of the positivist research approach* (Bassey, 1990). As such, a study that employs both approaches would appear to lack a coherent research stance.

Whilst the research in hand clearly locates itself within an experimental research framework, and uses qualitative analysis merely in support of this main experiment, its findings in both the literature review and in the empirical section ultimately call into question the validity of a positivist paradigm for education and for research. The problems encountered in attempting to carry out

an experiment in 3 schools will be discussed more fully elsewhere, but can be summarised as the difficulties in controlling the variables and in preventing contamination of the control school. A humanist researcher would not have attempted to do either.

As these difficulties emerged, the author became aware of Parlett and Hamilton's concept of 'illuminative evaluation' (1987) where observation, interviews with participants (students, instructors, administrators and others), questionnaires, and analysis of documents and background information are all combined to help 'illuminate' problems, issues, and significant programme features. Parlett and Hamilton suggest that this is a particularly useful research tool for the evaluation of what they call 'instructional systems' of which the peer mediation programme currently being evaluated is a good example. As they point out, an instructional system, when adopted, undergoes modifications that are rarely trivial. Although the system may remain as a shared idea and abstract model with its own terminology and shorthand, it assumes, nevertheless, a different form in every situation, which in this study means in every classroom where the programme is being delivered and evaluated. They are particularly keen to point out the differences in what they call the 'learning milieu' for children in different situations who may be part of the same instructional system. The instructional system being evaluated will interact with, and cannot be separated from, the learning milieu of which it becomes part. The illuminative approach therefore has a vital role to play in illuminating any apparent differences in the data collected from each situation or classroom. In hindsight such an approach would have provided more information concerning the contingent difficulties of carrying out the main experiment. Whilst the teacher interviews 'illuminate' the main experimental findings and produce some interesting data, an illuminative approach would have provided both a wider overview and more detailed information concerning the different learning milieux in which the peer mediation programme took place.

Sample

In May 1994, an educational psychologist from Birmingham LEA, who had come across the author's work in a different context, recommended that peer mediation be used as a strategy to improve behaviour in 3 Birmingham schools who had central government funding (GEST) for this purpose. Following a meeting with the headteachers and the LEA advisor for these schools, the author was asked to put together a proposal for the implementation of peer mediation in the 3 schools. This was quickly done and agreed. The three experimental schools (Schools One to Three) were chosen for this research primarily because of their 'typicality' (Schofield, 1993), but also because, as a consortium, they had already expressed an interest in introducing peer mediation. The control school (School Four) was chosen because it is within a mile radius of the experimental schools and has a similar socio-economic intake and ethnic mix.

'Typicality' was a key criterion for the selection of schools and pupils. This, in addition to the kind of thick description emphasised by Guba and Lincoln (1981), allows a greater number of schools to relate the findings to their own contexts. The schools in the research sample are urban junior and infant schools in the outer ring of the city of Birmingham. They comprise between one and three form entry schools, each with an ethnic mix of between 2% and 16%. The schools do not, of course, represent a cross section of schools nationally. A nation-wide survey would be outside the scope of this research. They are, however, typical in that they are neither rural nor inner city schools, and their intake is neither all-white nor high proportion ethnic minority and is from the middle of the socio-economic range of groupings.

In schools One to Three, all the Year 5 pupils ($n = 240$) were taught peer mediation using the 'Ice-berg' model of training referred to above, apart from one class in School Three whose teacher was a newly qualified teacher. The Year 5 pupils ($n = 30$) in the one-form entry control school (School Four) did not receive any peer mediation training, neither did one Year 4 class in each of the experimental schools One to Three ($n = 90$), as they also acted as partial controls.

Data Gathering

The tests take the form of questionnaires for the pupils and interviews with the teachers. The locus of control questionnaire (labelled Z for the purposes of this research) was taken from Nowicki and Strickland (1973), the self-esteem questionnaire (labelled Y) was taken from Lawrence (1973), and the bullying questionnaire (labelled X) was taken from Tattum (1997) and follows a well-established model for determining levels of bullying (Olweus, 1993, DfE, 1994). The questions for the interviews with teachers were chosen to explore and expand on the dependent variables that are explored in the questionnaires and to test qualitatively whether the subsidiary aims (i - vii above) were met.

To avoid the pupils disengaging from answering the questions truthfully due to over-exposure, the numbers of pupils being asked to complete all three questionnaires was limited as shown in Figure 6:1. The teachers were asked if they would help in maximising the validity of the questionnaires by observing the following:

- To give out the questionnaires one per day for 2 or three days, to avoid the children being flooded by too many questions at once.
- To tell the children that the questionnaires are to find out what they think about themselves and their school, and how much bullying goes on in school.
Teachers were asked to give their own explanation of what is meant by bullying based on the three days training that they had received by this stage.
- To help the slow readers by reading the questions out loud, with the children ticking the boxes at the same pace.

- To ensure that the children keep their work private and do not copy each other's answers.

Figure 6:1 The Administration of the Questionnaires

SCHOOL ONE	CLASS ONE	X	Y	Z
	Class Two	X	Y	
	Class Three	X		Z
	Class Four (Control)	X	Y	
School Two	Class One	X	Y	Z
	Class Two	X	Y	
	Class Three (Control)	X		Z
School Three	Class One	X	Y	Z
	Class Two	X	Y	
	Class Three (Control)	X	Y	
School Four	Class One (Control)	X	Y	Z

- To give each child a number from the register order which is their identification number for research purposes, and to tell the pupils that only the researcher would see the completed questionnaires.

The Bullying Questionnaire (X)

As shown in the Bullying chapter, research into the frequency and nature of bullying has been well established since the 1980s. The format - where pupils are asked to state how often they have both experienced and perpetrated bullying during a set period of time, and where they are asked about the nature of the bullying - is a format which has been repeated by several research projects (see for example Fonseca, Garcia and Perez, 1989). The DfE-funded Sheffield University Bullying Research Project adapted a questionnaire with this format from originals used by Olweus in Norway to survey five pilot schools and then 24 schools between 1991 and 1993 (DfE 1994). Both the questionnaire used by the DfE (1994) and the questionnaire used here (Tattum, 1997) enquire about the following aspects of bullying: how often pupils have been bullied within a specified period of time; what kinds of bullying pupils have experienced; where the bullying took place; who bullied them; how often they have bullied others within the same specified period of time; how they bullied others; and what are their attitudes towards bullying.

In common with the research in hand, the DfE repeated the pupil questionnaires after their anti-bullying intervention programme. The problems that they encountered using the Untreated-Control-Group Design with dependent pre-test and post-test samples are not insubstantial. The control schools, which had not been directly involved in their anti-bullying programme, had taken considerable action of their own to reduce bullying, and could therefore only be used as partial controls. Also, as the second survey came 2 years after the first survey, the school composition had changed, with only about 50% of the original pupils still in school. A decision was therefore taken (in common with Olweus, 1993) to compare equivalent age-groups in the same school, 2 years apart. This required dropping results from a small number of classes to attempt to ensure equivalence. These 'school-based' comparisons carried the disadvantage that changes could be due either to the anti-bullying intervention programme, or to other factors that occurred in the schools over the same period. Indeed, 3 of the 24 programme schools changed from middle

schools to junior schools, 3 junior schools became primary schools, one secondary school was facing impending closure over the final year of the programme, and 5 schools experienced some change in headteacher. The DfE point out that, while all schools will experience changes, there was probably an unusually high proportion of change during the time concerned. The research in hand differs from the DfE research in that data from the same pupil are compared over the three times of testing, thus providing paired data. It was felt that this would provide more reliable data as the pre-test and the post-test groups are identical.

The questionnaire being used here was chosen because the categories for bullying behaviour cover a wide range of behaviours including the kinds of behaviour that is more usually associated with female bullying. It also includes a question about how often pupils witness bullying and their attitudes towards it. These are all elements of bullying that are of interest to this research.

The Lawrence (Lawseq) questionnaire (Y)

The LAWSEQ was introduced originally as a series of 30 adjectives. They were selected on the basis of frequency of appearance in Lawrence's counselling case studies. 127 children from 3 junior schools in Weston-Super-Mare, aged 9-10 years, were asked to rate themselves either 'Yes', 'No' or 'Don't know' on each adjective, e.g. friendly, brave, dirty, jealous, etc. Later, the same children were asked to rate themselves on the same list as the sort of person they would like to be. Thus two sets of scores were obtained for each child - (i) self-image, (ii) ideal-self. The discrepancy between the two scores was regarded as the measure of self-esteem. These children were then assessed on the Burt Word Recognition Test and a correlation of 0.394 was found ($P < 0.025$) between LAWSEQ and Reading Age.

Although the instrument appeared to have potential as a means of measuring self-esteem, its form of presentation has led to several misunderstandings and altogether it was considered to be a crude test in need of elaboration. Accordingly, a series of 40 questions plus another 40

questions in parallel form were devised. Both questionnaires were administered to a random sample of 76 9-year-olds. The results from the two forms of the questionnaire were then compared. Questions showing less than 80 % agreement were discarded. This left 16 items in both Forms A and B. 4 other questions of an innocuous nature were then added to make the questionnaires a little less threatening, making 20 questions in all, and a parallel form of another 20 questions. The Forms A and B of this new version of the LAWSEQ were then administered to 431 9-year-olds and a correlation of 0.83 was found between both forms ($P < 0.01$).

In 1979 Walter Barker of the University of Bristol Child Health and Education Study (CHES) carried out an item analysis of all the questions in the A and B forms. 419 children aged 9 years filled in both questionnaires and also a short form of the Edinburgh Reading Test. 420 children completed the Friendly Mathematics Test. As a result of 12 questions were considered to be particularly discriminating (4 from Form A and 8 from Form B). Another 4 innocuous question were added to these, making a final questionnaire of 16 items. This final version was used in the National Child Health and Education Study under the direction of Professor Neville Butler and was given to a sample of 15,000 boys and girls in the United Kingdom who were born during the week 5th - 11th April 1970. It has been used extensively ever since.

The Nowicki and Strickland Questionnaire (Z)

The Nowicki and Strickland questionnaire consists of 40 questions that are answered either yes or no by placing a mark next to the question. This form of measure derives from an original questionnaire which had a large number of items ($N=102$), constructed on the basis of Rotter's definition of the internal-external control of reinforcement dimension (Rotter 1966). The items described reinforcement situations across interpersonal and motivational areas such as affiliation, achievement, and dependency. School teachers were consulted in the construction of items in order to make them readable at the American fifth grade level, yet appropriate for older pupils. These items, along with Rotter's description of the locus of control dimension, were then given to

a group of clinical psychologists ($N=9$), who were asked to answer the questions in an external direction. Items on which they were not in complete agreement were dropped. The remaining 59 items made up the preliminary form of the test. The 59-item form of the test was then given to a sample of children ($N=152$) ranging from the American third to ninth grade. Controlling for IQ, internals performed significantly better than externals on achievement test scores ($t=3.78$, $df=48$). Test-retest reliabilities for a six-week period are .67 for the 8-11-year-old group ($N=98$) and .75 for those in the 12-15-year-old group ($N=54$). Item analysis was computed to make a more homogenous scale and to examine the discriminative performance of these items. The results of this analysis, as well as comments from teachers and pupils in the sample, led to the present form of the questionnaire.

The 40-item scale was administered to a large number of children ranging from the American third to twelfth grade to obtain reliability estimates, demographic measures and construct validity information. The sample consisted of 1017 mostly Caucasian American elementary and high school children in four different communities. Socio-economic data were obtained from the school records, and Hollingshead (1957) Index of Social Position rankings indicated that although the lower level occupations were somewhat over represented, all levels, except the very highest one, were well represented. The results showed that students' responses become more internal with age, and that the item-total relationships are moderate but consistent for all ages. Estimates for internal consistency via the split-half method, corrected by the Spearman-Brown formula are $r=.63$ (for American grades 3,4,5); $r=.68$ (for American grades 6,7,8); $r=.81$ (for American grade 12). On the basis of the item-control correlations and item variance estimates for each item of the Nowicki-Strickland scale, those items working best were identified. The analyses computed for each grade were then combined into primary and secondary groups. The primary group consisted of subjects from the third to the sixth grade, while the secondary group consisted of subjects from the seventh to the twelfth grade. The results of these analyses were used to construct shorter yet reliable versions of the 40-item scale. The two revised scales consist of 19 and 21 items, respectively, using the items that discriminate the best for the two age-groups.

To investigate the construct validity of the Nowicki-Strickland scale, its relation to other measures of locus of control were also examined. It was expected that there would be significant, but not high correlations between the measures. The relation to the Intellectual Achievement Responsibility scale was examined by testing a sample of black subjects from the American third grade (N=182) and the American seventh grade (N=171). Significant correlations were found with the I+ but not with the I-scores (for the American third grade, $r = .31$, $p < .01$; for the seventh grade, $r = .51$, $p < .01$). Next the correlation with the Bialer-Cromwell score (see Bialer, 1961) was also found to be significant ($r = .41$, $p < .05$) in a sample of white children (N=29) aged 9-11. Finally, the relation between the Rotter and the Nowicki-Strickland adult scale (adapted by changing the word 'Kids' to 'people' and deleting items about parents) was also found to be significant in two studies with college students (N=76, $r = .61$, $p < .01$; N=46, $r = .38$, $p < .01$). As shown in Chapter Three, since the construction of the scale, a number of studies across a diverse range of subject populations have been completed which are generally supportive of the utility and validity of this instrument.

The questionnaire has commonly been used with a similar quasi-experimental research design to the one being used here. It has also commonly been used to evaluate social-cognitive-skills-training programmes. In 1993, for example, Dupper and Krishef evaluated the effects of a school-based social-cognitive-skills-training programme for 35 American 6th and 7th grade pupils at risk of school suspension. They found significant differences between pre-test and post-test scores in the experimental group, but not in the control group. In 1993 also, Rosal examined the use of art therapy to modify the locus of control and adaptive classroom behaviour of 36 American 4th, 5th and 6th grade pupils with behavioural difficulties. He illustrated the therapeutic changes that occurred with 2 boys who benefited from the programme.

It is common for the Nowicki-Strickland Locus of Control Scale for Children to be used in conjunction with other tests including a self concept or a self-esteem test. In 1983, for example, Maqsood's analysis of data from a range of measures carried out on 80 secondary school boys

showed that socio-economic background, locus of control, intelligence and self-esteem all had significant positive effects on academic achievement. Internality positively correlated with intelligence, self-esteem, and academic achievement. The internals were significantly more accurate predictors of their own academic performance than the externals. In 1989, Nunn examined the concurrent validity between the Personal Attribute Inventory for children and the Nowicki-Strickland scale with 146 American 7th and 8th grade pupils. Results indicated significant relationships between these two measures suggesting a moderate degree of concurrent validity. In 1992, Rawson used the Nowicki-Strickland scale to study the interrelationships between measures of manifest anxiety, self-esteem, locus of control and depression in 6 children between 8 and 12 years old chosen at random from 127 children with emotional and behavioural difficulties. Results indicated that measures of children's depression, external locus of control and anxiety were all inter-correlated positively to a moderately high level, whilst measures of self-esteem were correlated significantly and negatively with depression and anxiety. In 1994, Benson evaluated self-esteem and locus of control in a group of 26 secondary school pupils who had been exposed to a health curriculum based on the elicitation of the relaxation response. Exposure to this programme led to significant increases in self-esteem and a tendency towards a more internal locus of control in comparison with the controls.

For the purposes of this study, it was felt that the measure should remain as similar to the original as possible, in order to maintain construct validity, whilst being modified sufficiently to be understood by British school-children 21 years on (the word 'children,' for example, was substituted for the word 'kids'). The word 'teacher' was also substituted for the word 'parent' in two of the questions in order to relate the measure more closely to the dependent variables being explored here. It is noted that similar changes were made by Nowicki (1971) in order to adapt the measure for college students, and that this did not interfere with the significance of the findings.

The Teacher Interviews

The interview questions reflect the main and subsidiary aims listed above. They are designed to clarify the main experimental findings through triangulation. The first three questions:

- How high do you feel the average level of self-esteem in your class is?
- How much control over what happens to them in the classroom do you think the children in your class would feel they have?
- How frequently does bullying go on in the classroom and outside of it and what is the nature of the bullying?

were designed to explore qualitatively the main aims which are also explored quantitatively through the pupil questionnaires. The remaining questions except the last one were designed to gather information about teacher perceptions of changed pupil knowledge and behaviour as a result of participating in the peer mediation programme.

The remaining questions were:

- How aware do you think the children in your class are of conflict resolution skills?
- How good are they at affirming each other?
- How good are they at co-operating with each other?
- How good are they at communicating their feelings and needs to each other in an appropriate way?
- How good are they at listening to each other in a supportive way?
- How good are they at mediating for each other?
- How cohesive do you feel the group as a whole is?

The final question was either:

- What would you most like to see coming out of this training?, or
- What are the main changes that you have noticed as a result of doing this work?

depending on the time of questioning.

The headteachers of Schools One to Four were interviewed at the same intervals of time as the teachers about their perceptions of any changes that occurred as a result of participating in this programme.

The initial questions for the headteachers were:

- What do you want the children participating in this programme to get out of it?
- What do you want the staff participating in this programme to get out of it?
- How do you see this programme fitting in with the whole-school ethos?

At the other two times of interviewing, after the 'Iceberg' peer mediation training, and then again after the actual peer mediation programme had been in place for 2 terms, the questions were:

- What changes in the children participating in this programme have you noticed?
- What changes in the staff participating in this programme have you noticed?
- What changes in the whole-school ethos that you can attribute to this programme have you noticed?

Clearly these questions reflect only the teachers' perceptions, and are subjective and dependent on teacher observation skills. Teachers were asked to comment on their classes as a whole, and

to respond by assessing average levels of change which some teachers found difficult, especially those teachers who had less experience of other classes to use as a comparison. Attempts were made during the teachers' training to ensure that there was a common understanding of the concepts and language used during the interviews.

Data Analysis

Quantitative Analysis

Pupil responses to the questionnaires are scored, and statistics from the resulting data are analysed. Not all of the questions from the bullying questionnaire (X) are scored and analysed, as this would detract from the main aims of this research, which are to measure change. Questions such as: 'Where were you bullied?' function to relate pupils responses to real situations and therefore to encourage a genuine response to the questions about nature and frequency of bullying, rather than to provide information that is of direct interest to this research. The questions about the frequency of being bullied and of bullying others in the previous 6 weeks are scored from 0-4, with 'I haven't been bullied' and 'I haven't bullied anyone' scoring 0, and 'I've been bullied more than once a day' and 'I've bullied someone more than once a day' scoring 4. The types of bullying (being called names, being teased / laughed at, being hit, kicked, or punched, having money or other things taken, and being ignored by people who were 'friends') are then scored either as a 0 (if this type of bullying did not occur) or as a 1 (if this type of bullying did occur). The same scoring system is used for pupils reporting bullying others in these ways. Finally, the question about pupils' attitudes towards bullying is scored from 0-4, with 'I like them' scoring 4, and 'They upset me' scoring 0. Questionnaires Y and Z are scored according to their design, with the total scores for each pupil on each time of testing used as data.

As is proper for pupil questionnaires relating to bullying, care was taken to ensure that ethical issues were taken into consideration, and BERA guidelines concerning the well-being of those

participating in research were taken account of. There was no deception at any stage of the research, no one was made worse off, including the pupils in the control school, and participation in the research was voluntary. The anonymity of the pupils was assured, and was guaranteed by both the author as researcher, and by the teachers who administered and collected up the questionnaires. The anonymity of the teachers and of the schools was also guaranteed, with the schools known only by number, and the identity of the teachers and schools further obscured by the fact that all teachers and headteachers were referred to as female, even though some of them were male.

Base-line data from the four schools are compared in order to ascertain their various starting points, before moving on to measure change. In order to analyse the changes over time for each of the dependent variables, the Wilcoxon Matched-Pairs Signed Ranks Test is used. This non-parametric test is chosen as the data gathered are ordinal, and have non-normal distributions. The data analysis used also reflects the fact that the data are paired. The dependent variables are arranged as shown in table 6:2: frequency of being bullied; attitude towards bullying; frequency of bullying behaviour; experiencing name-calling, teasing, being hit, having money taken, being ignored, and not being bullied; calling names, teasing, hitting, taking money, ignoring, not bullying, self esteem, and locus of control.

Table 6:2 Method of Data Analysis Used

TIME	DIFFERENCE
T1 - T2	D 1,2
T2 - T3	D 2,3
T1 - T3	D 1,3

Changes (D1,2, D2,3, and D1,3) are analysed in terms of the numbers of pupils who experience a reduction (in name-calling or self-esteem, for example) or no change between the first time of testing (the base-line) and the second time (when the peer mediation training was complete) between the second time and the third time (when the peer mediation service had been in place for two terms) and between the first and the third time. Similarly, changes in attitude towards bullying are analysed in terms of the numbers of pupils who experience less negative attitudes towards bullying, or no change in attitude. Any change having a one-tailed probability value of 0.05 or less is taken here as significant. A one-tailed test is used, as it is to be expected that the peer mediation programme will reduce levels of bullying, and lead to increases in self-esteem and feelings of empowerment.

The main experiment is thus to test whether levels of bullying are reduced, and self-esteem and feelings of empowerment are increased, at a 0.05 level of significance and below, as a result of the peer mediation programme being evaluated. Change in the predicted direction of between 0.050 and 0.099 will also be commented on in order to explore trends that, whilst not statistically significant within the level set for this research, nevertheless provide valuable additional insights into the changes that occurred in pupils at this time. Also, although this research is primarily interested in change in the predicted direction, any statistically significant change at a two-tailed level of .050 and below, in the opposite direction (e.g. an increase in bullying) will be commented on in order to illuminate possible unexpected trends.

Qualitative Analysis

Data from the teacher and headteacher interviews are analysed qualitatively. The first 2 questions for teachers about self-esteem and locus of control are analysed in conjunction with the quantitative data. Each teacher's response to the question: 'how high do you feel the average level of self-esteem in your class is?' and 'how much control over what happens to them in the classroom do you think the children in your class would feel they have?' from the 3 interviews is

summarised into one of three categories: high; average/mixed; or low. Changes in each class over the three times of interviewing (see Table 8:3) are noted. In order to analyse these results more fully, the amount of change is then quantified. It shows the number of times (out of a total of 9 for School One and 6 for Schools Two and Three) the teachers reported either a reduction in self-esteem and feelings of empowerment, an increase or no change between the first and the second interviews (T1-T2) between the second and the third (T2-T3) and between the first and the third (T1-T3).

An analysis is made as to whether there is convergent validity between findings from an assessment of teacher perceptions of changes in self-esteem and feelings of empowerment, and changes revealed in the pupil questionnaires. The degree of change in each class, and in each school, is analysed in conjunction with a wider analysis taken from the teacher interviews. The relative success of the programme in each school, as perceived by the teachers and the headteachers, is evaluated, with some exploration of any differences in the level of success (according to the criteria set) in the three schools.

Teacher perceptions of change in the frequency and nature of bullying are analysed in a similar way using the categories: 'bullying reduced,' 'stayed the same,' or 'increased.' Due to the flexibility of this method of analysis, changes in the frequency of different types of bullying can easily be summarised. Again, an analysis is made as to whether there is convergent validity between findings derived from an assessment of teacher perceptions of change and the changes revealed in the questionnaires.

The remaining interview questions, with the exception of the final question, are structured to elicit responses relating to pupil levels of 'Iceberg' skills. Thus, the average level of skill amongst the pupils in each class can be summarised as high, medium, and low. When these responses are categorised for each of the three times of interviewing, it is possible to analyse whether the teachers feel that there have been any changes, and to quantify the degree of change in each

class and in each school. The interviews can then be used to discover whether or not the teachers and headteachers attribute any observed changes to the programme of peer mediation. Differences in the responses of teachers of the experimental classes and the control classes are also analysed in order to ascertain the extent to which any changes can be attributed to the peer mediation programme.

The final open question 'What would you like to see coming out of this training?' and later 'What are the main changes that you have noticed as a result of doing this work?' are designed to enable the teachers to give their strongest impressions of having participated in this programme. This question gives the teachers an opportunity to reflect freely in a way that is not possible with the earlier more focused questions.

In view of the way that the peer mediation programme diverged from the intended structure in 2 of the 3 schools, some additional questions which were not directly addressed to the teachers emerged as the research progressed. These additional questions reflect some of the themes of the literature review, and in particular the relationship between peer mediation and overall school ethos. Key questions are:

- Can a peer mediation scheme be set up and maintained by teachers who have been trained, but who do not necessarily have a fundamental understanding of the humanistic values and principles underlying peer mediation?
- Is a peer mediation programme sustainable in a school where some of the teachers may be using authoritarian and behaviourist behaviour management techniques, to the detriment of pupil-centred methods?
- Can a peer mediation programme influence the creation of an anti-bullying culture in a school?

- What is the role of the headteacher in supporting the success of peer mediation in a school?

As these questions were not asked during the teacher and the headteacher interviews, any undertaking to answer them can merely be speculation. Some attempt at drawing out themes and patterns has, however, been made in a penultimate chapter in order to begin to make sense of the context in which the peer mediation programme was introduced in each school, and in order to relate these limited findings back to the literature review.

Research Schedule

September

The pupil questionnaires were administered and the teacher interviews were carried out as pre-test measures. The teachers received training to enable them to deliver the 'Iceberg' peer mediation training programme.

September - March

The teachers delivered the 'Iceberg' peer mediation training programme to the children in their class, and received 2 further half days training.

March

The teacher interviews were repeated and the pupil questionnaires were re-administered. The teachers received a final day's training in mediation skills and in the practicalities of setting up and running a peer mediation scheme.

March - January

School One implemented its peer mediation programme.

January

Final teacher interviews were carried out and pupil questionnaires distributed.

Conclusion

In conclusion, although the research design that was chosen reflected the main research questions relating to whether or not peer mediation can be used as a strategy to reduce bullying and improve pupil feelings of empowerment and self-esteem, more interesting questions emerged as the research progressed. These questions relating to the contingent difficulties of evaluating the peer mediation programme could not be answered in sufficient detail by the positivist experimental approach chosen. An illuminative approach would have revealed more qualitative information concerning the learning milieu. It would also have revealed the views of the teacher and pupil participants concerning the difficulties of setting up and sustaining a peer mediation service in 2 of the 3 schools. This research does, nonetheless, reveal some interesting findings which will be discussed in detail in the following chapters.

Key for Empirical Research Results Tables

Scl (1) -	The number of pupils in School (One) who experience a reduction in levels of bullying, self-esteem or internal locus of control.
Scl (2) +	The number of pupils in School (Two) who experience an increase in levels of bullying, self-esteem or internal locus of control.
Scl (3) Ties	The number of pupils in School (Three) who experience no change in levels of bullying, self-esteem or internal locus of control.
T1-T2	Changes between the first time of testing (the base line) and the second time of testing (when the 'Iceberg' peer mediation training programme was complete).
T1-T3	Changes between the first time of testing and the third time of testing (when the peer mediation scheme had been in place for 2 terms).
Sig.	Statistical significance of the change.

Statistically significant change, with a one-tailed P value of .050 and below is highlighted throughout in dark grey.

Interesting, but not statistically significant change (according to the criteria set), with a one-tailed P value of .099 and below, is highlighted throughout in light grey.

Interesting, but not statistically significant change (according to the criteria set), with a two-tailed P value of .050 and below, is highlighted throughout in light grey.



A Reduction in (bullying)



An increase in (bullying)

Chapter Seven: Bullying Results

Changes in the Frequency of Bullying and Attitudes Towards Bullying Over the Three Times of Testing in the Experimental and Control Schools

To recap: the hypothesis being tested quantitatively and qualitatively in this research is that the independent variable of peer mediation will reduce the frequency of bullying and lead to more negative attitudes towards bullying, in the experimental schools. This chapter presents and discusses the results gained from both the quantitative and the qualitative analysis

Results gained through Quantitative Analysis

The Questionnaire data that were not used

As outlined in Chapter Six, in order to obtain paired data, and therefore a more consistent result, only data from pupils who completed all three questionnaires are analysed. In practice, this means that the data from 56 of the 85 pupils in School One are used. This represents 65% of the pupils tested in the three experimental classes.

Table 7:1 compares the make up of the group whose data was used, the 'live' group, and the group whose data was not used, the 'dead' group. The key areas of gender and experience of two types of bullying on the first time of testing were used to make the comparison. Most of the variations between the 'live' group and the 'dead' group are small, given that the numbers, especially in the 'dead' group, are so small. The overall indication is that the two groups are broadly similar in make-up. This would imply that the 'live' group is randomly arrived at, and therefore constitutes a representative group of pupils. It can be expected, also, that the make-up of the 'live' groups in the other three schools is also broadly similar to the make-up of the 'dead' groups.

Table 7:1 A Comparison Between the Characteristics of the Pupils whose Questionnaires were and were not used.

	TOTAL NO. 'LIVE'	PERCENTAGE 'LIVE'	TOTAL NO. 'DEAD'	PERCENTAGE 'DEAD'
Boys	37	66%	18	62%
Girls	19	34%	11	38%
Called Names	35	63%	16	55%
Hit Others	12	21%	5	17%

The Base Line Scores

The base-line scores of the numbers of pupils experiencing and perpetuating bullying in the three schools are included in Table 7:2 and 7:3. The scores for the three schools are compared in order to ascertain their various starting points. Tables 7:2 and 7:3 suggest that School One initially had more of a bullying problem than either of the other two schools. Compared with School Three, it had just over twice as many victims of name-calling and teasing, just under twice as many victims of psychological bullying, and more than three times as many victims of physical bullying. It also had just under twice as many pupils reporting bullying others through name-calling, and just over twice as many pupils bullying through teasing and hitting. Compared with School Two, it had more victims of name-calling and physical bullying, and fewer pupils reporting not being bullied. It also had more pupils reporting name-calling and teasing, and fewer pupils reporting not bullying others. It did, however, have fewer victims of teasing, psychological bullying and extortion, and

fewer pupils reporting bullying others psychologically. Although there is more bullying in School One compared with School Two, the starting points for these two schools are closer to each other than either of them are to School Three. These findings suggest either that Schools One and Two had more victims and bullies than School Three, or that the pupils in Schools One and Two were more ready to report experiences of being bullied and bullying.

Table 7:2 Base Line Scores of the Numbers of Pupils Experiencing Bullying in the Three Schools

	SCL 1 NO.	SCL 1 %	SCL 2 NO.	SCL 2 %	SCL 3 NO.	SCL 3 %
Total no. pupils	56	-	32	-	33	-
Name-calling	35	63%	11	34%	10	30%
Teasing	15	27%	11	34%	4	12%
Hitting	23	41%	8	25%	3	9%
Extortion	3	5%	2	6%	0	0
Psycho-logical	11	20%	9	28%	4	12%
Not a Victim	17	30%	17	53%	23	69%

Table 7:3 Base Line Scores of the Percentages of Pupils Bullying in the Three Schools

	SCL 1 NO.	SCL 1 %	SCL 2 NO.	SCL 2 %	SCL 3 NO.	SCL 3 %
Total no. pupils	56	-	32	-	33	-
Name-calling	19	34%	7	22%	7	21%
Teasing	12	21%	3	9%	3	9%
Hitting	12	21%	3	9%	2	9%
Extortion	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Psycho-logical	8	14%	6	19%	0	0%
Not a Bully	22	39%	19	59%	24	73%

It is possible that readiness to report instances of bullying could be determined by the degree of pupil familiarity with the core concepts and language of bullying. It is known that School One had completed a major bullying awareness initiative just prior to the beginning of this programme, and this could account for the greater numbers of pupils reporting bullying. Further insights into the relative accuracy of pupils' responses can be obtained by cross-checking the base-line responses of victims and bullies. Certainly, both here and elsewhere, more children report being bullied than report bullying others. This can either be explained by the likelihood that one child bullies several others, or that children find the label of 'victim' easier to apply to themselves than the label 'bully.' If children do find it easier to admit to being a victim than to admit to bullying others, even in the form of an anonymous questionnaire, then evidently there are implications for this and other pieces of research in this area. Certainly, there is a discrepancy in School Three, where 12% of pupils report being ignored by their friends as victims, but none of the pupils in this school report

bullying friends in this way. This would suggest that the pupils bullying their classmates by ignoring them were either doing so unconsciously, or did not choose to report it. Whichever is the case, this result remains inconsistent. Discrepancies between the base-line scores for victims and bullies involved in extortion in schools One and Two could possibly be explained by older pupils not involved in the research carrying out this form of bullying, but it is unlikely that the psychological bullying by friends in School Three could be explained in this way. For these reasons, it can be seen as likely that the reported incidence of bullying in School Three, at least for psychological bullying, are lower than was actually the case.

Changes in the Frequency of Bullying

Table 7.4 shows the numbers of pupils experiencing a reduction in bullying and bullying less frequently over the three times of testing. The data for the control classes in each school are not included in any of the tables in this chapter, as there was no change that was significant at the 0.05 level that was set for this research. The fact that there was very little change in the control classes suggests that any change in the experimental classes is likely to have been caused by the peer mediation programme.

Table 7.4 also shows the unexpected result that some pupils reported experiencing bullying more frequently whilst the peer mediation training programme was being taught (a key to this table is provided in Chapter Six). The boxes in the table that are shaded in dark grey, and illustrated with a downwards-pointing arrow, contain data for a reduction in bullying that are statistically significant at a one-tailed probability of .05 and below.

Table 7.4: Changes in the Numbers of Pupils Experiencing and Perpetuating Bullying More or less Frequently over the Three Times of Testing.

	SCL 1 -	SCL 1 +	SCL 1 TIES	SCL 2 -	SCL 2 +	SCL 2 TIES	SCL 3 -	SCL 3 +	SCL 3 TIES	SCL 4 -	SCL 4 +	SCL 4 TIES
Freq. Of being Bullied T1-T2	16	16	24	10	8	15	5	8	21	↓ 8	3	9
Freq. Of being Bullied T2-T3	↓ 15	5	36	7	12	14	5	8	21	2	2	16
Freq. Of being Bullied T1-T3	↓ 25	15	16	4	7	22	3	9	22	↓ 7	3	10
Freq. Of Bullying T1-T2	6	↑ 17	33	10	7	16	3	11	20	2	3	15
Freq. Of Bullying T2-T3	↓ 17	6	33	6	9	18	8	3	23	2	3	15
Freq. Of Bullying T1-T3	14	11	31	6	6	21	6	9	19	1	3	16

The boxes in the table that are shaded in light grey, and also illustrated with a down-wards pointing arrow, contain data for a reduction in bullying that have a statistical significance of .099 and below (which is not considered statistically significant for this research, although it is of interest). The boxes in the table that are shaded in light grey, and illustrated with an upwards-pointing arrow, contain data for an unexpected increase in bullying that has a two-tailed probability value of .05 and below.

Table 7:4 shows that in the control school (School Four) there was some reduction in the frequency of children experiencing bullying, but it is not statistically significant within the 0.05 probability value set for this research. There was no corresponding reduction, in this school, in the frequency of children bullying others at these times.

In School One, the frequency of children experiencing bullying reduced significantly (at a P value of .05 or below) both following the peer mediation training programme, and following the introduction of the peer mediation scheme. The trends for the frequency of pupils bullying others in School One, however, are more complex, with an initial increase in frequency, following the peer mediation training programme, being exactly reversed following the peer mediation scheme. The change becomes statistically significant (with a P value of .05 or below) at this time. The overall change in the frequency of pupils bullying others in School One between the base line and the end of the entire programme, is not significant statistically. It appears that in School One, the peer mediation training programme may have led to pupils reporting an increase in the frequency of bullying others, and that the peer mediation scheme may have lead to pupils reporting a reduction in the frequency of bullying others. The peer mediation training programme, focussing as it does on the painful feelings associated with bullying, may have provided 'bullies' with opportunities to reflect on the bullying nature of behaviour that, at the time of the base-line test, they may have thought of as 'rough-and-tumble.' This would account for the apparent increase in the frequency of bullying behaviour revealed by the second test. The reduction, between the second and the third test, in both the frequency of victims experiencing bullying, and the

frequency of pupils bullying others perhaps validates the use of the peer mediation scheme for both bullies and victims, in that it leads to a reduction in the frequency of bullying. Some caution does, however, need to be exercised, as there was a slight downward trend in the frequency of pupils experiencing bullying in the control school. This suggests that there may be other factors (possibly developmental factors) which could account for some of the reduction in School One.

Table 7:4 shows that there was also a slight increase in the frequency of pupils bullying others in School Three between the base line and the end of the peer mediation training. This increase could, as hypothesised above, be owed to pupils becoming more aware of the bullying nature of some of their behaviour, through the peer mediation training. In School Three no peer mediation service was set up, and there is no ultimate statistically significant reduction in the frequency of bullying (according to the level set here).

Changes in the Incidence of Different Types of Bullying

Following the question about whether, and how often, they had been bullied in the previous 6 weeks, pupils were asked to mark on their questionnaires the way(s) in which they were bullied. As the questionnaires were administered three times, the numbers of pupils who experienced a statistically significant reduction (according to the level set) in each type of bullying could be ascertained. The results are recorded in Table 7:5. In addition to this, Table 7:5 shows less significant reduction (see the key for the tables in Chapter Six). Table

7:5 shows that the variable of 'the numbers of pupils being bullied physically' changed the most. The numbers of pupils experiencing this form of bullying in School One reduced significantly, both following the peer mediation training programme, and following the peer mediation scheme. In School Two, there was a slight reduction in this form of bullying after the peer mediation training programme, but this is outside of the 0.05 P value set, and was not sustained. In the control school (School Four) there was no such reduction. Therefore, the best possible interpretation of the evidence is that peer mediation does reduce physical bullying

Table 7:5 Changes in the Numbers of Pupils' Experiencing Different Types of Bullying in the Four Schools over the three Times of Testing

	SCL 1 -	SCL 1 +	SCL 1 TIES	SCL 2 -	SCL 2 +	SCL 2 TIES	SCL 3 -	SCL 3 +	SCL 3 TIES	SCL 4 -	SCL 4 +	SCL 4 TIES
Name-calling T1-T2	11	6	39	9	6	18	6	7	21	7	3	10
Name-calling T2-T3	10	11	35	4	12	17	3	6	25	1	1	18
Name-calling T1-T3	17	11	28	3	8	22	2	6	26	7	3	10
Teasing T1-T2	4	8	44	9	4	20	3	4	27	2	3	15
Teasing T2-T3	↓ 13	5	38	5	7	21	4	5	25	3	2	15
Teasing T1-T3	10	6	40	6	3	24	2	4	28	1	1	18
Hitting T1-T2	↓ 8	2	46	↓ 7	2	24	2	3	29	3	1	16
Hitting T2-T3	↓ 8	1	47	1	6	26	3	2	29	1	1	18
Hitting T1-T3	↓ 15	2	39	5	5	23	3	3	28	3	1	16

Extortion T1-T2	1	3	52	2	0	31	0	2	32	0	1	19
Extortion T2-T3	4	2	50	0	1	32	2	0	32	1	0	19
Extortion T1-T3	3	3	50	1	0	32	0	0	34	0	0	20
Psycho- logical T1- T2	8	12	36	6	4	23	4	4	26	2	0	18
Psycho- logical T2- T3	10	8	38	4	4	25	3	4	27	0	2	18
Psycho- logical T1- T3	8	10	38	7	5	21	3	4	27	2	2	16
Not a Victim T1- T2	10	10	36	7	9	17	8	3	23	3	7	10
Not a Victim T2- T3	6	10	40	10	6	17	5	5	24	2	2	16
Not a Victim T1- T3	11	15	30	8	6	19	6	1	27	3	7	10

This research found that the peer mediation programme does not appear to reduce the numbers of pupils experiencing name-calling and psychological bullying, although the peer mediation scheme does appear to reduce teasing. This reduction is only in evidence between the second and the third times of testing, when the peer mediation scheme was operational, and is not in evidence between the base line and the end of the programme. This result is owed to a slight increase in the frequency with which pupils reported being teased following the peer mediation-training programme, which made the reduction more marked on the final time of testing. Once again, it is possible that the peer mediation training programme led to an initial increase in reported teasing, due to increased awareness of bullying. The number of pupils experiencing or perpetrating extortion was so small that no meaningful data was obtained.

The questionnaires asked pupils both about their experience of different types of bullying over the previous 6 weeks and their bullying behaviour over the same period. The numbers of pupils whose bullying behaviour reduced significantly (according to the level set) was therefore ascertained. The results are recorded in Table 7:6. Table 7:6 also shows less significant reduction (see the key for the tables in the Research Design) and unexpected increases in levels of bullying. The arrows showing the direction of change for the 'Not a bully' variable are bracketed, as positive change in this variable is indicated by an increase, not a reduction, as elsewhere.

A quick glance at Tables 7:5 and 7:6 shows both that 'bullies' experienced a greater reduction in bullying than 'victims,' and that reductions in bullying behaviour only occurred in School One. The only change in either of the other three schools was an increase in the numbers of pupils who said that they had bullied others in School Three following the peer mediation training programme. Once again, it is possible that this increase is owed to a heightened awareness of what constitutes bullying following the training programme. As there was no change in reported bullying in the control school (School Four) it is likely that the changes found in School One are a result of the peer mediation programme being followed there

Table 7:6 Changes in the Numbers of Pupils' Perpetuating Different Types of Bullying in the Four Schools over the three Times of Testing

	SCL 1 -	SCL 1 +	SCL 1 TIES	SCL 2 -	SCL 2 +	SCL 2 TIES	SCL 3 -	SCL 3 +	SCL 3 TIES	SCL 4 -	SCL 4 +	SCL 4 TIES
Name- calling T1- T2	8	17	31	7	4	22	2	8	24	1	0	19
Name- calling T2- T3	9	10	37	2	7	24	7	6	21	0	4	16
Name- calling T1- T3	7	17	32	3	5	25	3	8	23	1	4	15
Teasing T1-T2	7	9	40	2	3	28	2	2	30	0	1	19
Teasing T2-T3	↓ 10	1	45	3	3	27	3	3	28	1	0	19
Teasing T1-T3	↓ 11	4	41	1	2	30	3	3	28	0	0	20
Hitting T1-T2	3	↑ 11	42	2	1	30	1	1	32	1	2	17
Hitting T2-T3	↓ 16	3	37	0	2	31	2	2	30	2	0	18
Hitting T1-T3	↓ 8	3	45	2	3	28	2	2	30	2	1	17

Extortion T1-T2	0	4	52	0	0	33	0	0	34	0	0	20
Extortion T2-T3	4	1	51	0	0	33	0	0	34	0	0	20
Extortion T1-T3	0	1	55	0	0	33	0	0	34	0	0	20
Psycho- logical T1-T2	4	9	43	6	3	24	0	4	30	1	0	19
Psycho- logical T2-T3	↓ 10	1	45	1	1	31	3	1	30	0	0	20
Psycho- logical T1-T3	6	2	48	6	3	24	0	2	32	1	0	19
Not a Bully T1-T2	10	4	2	7	8	18	(↓) 11	3	20	3	2	15
Not a Bully T2-T3	3	(↑) 11	42	8	5	20	2	6	26	3	2	15
Not a Bully T1-T3	9	11	36	6	4	23	9	5	20	3	1	16

The only variable for 'bullies' (apart from extortion) which did not reduce in School One is name-calling. This result would suggest that the peer mediation programme was generally successful in reducing bullying behaviour. The change occurred during the time when the peer mediation

scheme was operational. There were no reductions in bullying behaviour during the peer mediation-training programme. Indeed, once again, the peer mediation-training programme coincided with increases in some of the variables. The increase in hitting was significant with a two-tailed probability of 0.05 and below. Increases in psychological bullying and in being a bully, whilst not significant in themselves, preceded statistically significant reductions following the implementation of the peer mediation scheme.

Changes in Attitudes towards Bullying

The pupil questionnaires included a multiple-choice question about attitude towards bullying. It was scored on an ordinal scale from 0 to 4 with the most negative attitude towards bullies ('They upset me') scoring 0 and the most positive attitude ('I like them') scoring 4. A decrease in score therefore corresponds to a more negative attitude towards bullying. The results are shown in Table 7:7.

Table 7:7: Difference in Pupil Attitudes towards Bullying Over the Three Times of Testing in the Experimental and Control Schools

	SCL 1 -	SCL 1 +	SCL 1 TIES	SCL 2 -	SCL 2 +	SCL 2 TIES	SCL 3 -	SCL 3 +	SCL 3 TIES	SCL 4 -	SCL 4 +	SCL 4 TIES
Attitude towards Bullying T1- T2	14	19	23	13	7	13	16	11	7	9 ↓	3	8
Attitude towards Bullying T2- T3	23	12 ↓	21	7	13	13	5	15	14	2	12 ↑	6

Attitude towards Bullying T1- T3	25	↓ 15	16	12	13	8	12	14	8	6	7	7
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Table 7:7 shows that in the control school there was an increase in negative attitudes towards bullies at the end of the period when the pupils in the experimental schools had undergone peer mediation training. This result could be due to the fact that some anti-bullying work, unconnected to this programme, was carried out with the pupils in this control class. This highlights again the difficulty in controlling variables in research in education. The positive change in this school was not sustained, however. Indeed, between the final two times of testing, any positive gains were lost, with attitudes towards bullies becoming significantly more positive (at a two-tailed P value of 0.05 or less). In School One, the peer mediation scheme coincided with more negative attitudes towards bullying. These changes were slower in coming than in the control school (they were not in evidence after the peer mediation-training programme) but, if they are based on a deeper understanding of how painful bullying can be for victims, they may well be more long-term.

A Summary of the Main Findings gained through Quantitative Analysis

The main findings are as follows:

- That difficulties were caused for the quasi-experimental research design by a probable contamination of the control school, and by the fact that two of the experimental schools did not follow the experiment through to the end.
- That at the base line, Schools One and Two had more pupils reporting experiencing and perpetrating most forms of bullying than School Three. There is some doubt, however, about

the awareness of the pupils in School Three of what constitutes the more psychological forms of bullying.

- That the peer mediation scheme coincided with a reduction in the frequency of being a victim of bullying in School One, and that it coincided with a reduction in the frequency of bullying in School One, although this was preceded by an increase after the peer mediation training. There was also a slight reduction in the frequency of being bullied in the control School Four, and a slight increase in the frequency of bullying in School Three following the peer mediation training programme.
- That the peer mediation training programme coincided with a reduction in the numbers of pupils experiencing physical bullying in School One, and, to a lesser degree, in School Two. The peer mediation scheme in School One also coincided with a reduction in the numbers of pupils experiencing physical bullying. The numbers of pupils experiencing teasing also declined in this school at this time, after an initial slight increase following the peer mediation training.
- That the peer mediation scheme in School One coincided with a reduction in the numbers of pupils bullying through teasing, hitting, ignoring 'friends,' and general bullying behaviour. These changes in School One were often preceded by an initial increase following the peer mediation training. There were no significant changes in Schools Two, Three or Four at any time, other than an increase in being a bully in School Three following the peer mediation training.
- That the peer mediation scheme coincided with increased negative attitudes towards bullying in School One. The anti-bullying work carried out with the pupils in the control School Four also had the effect of increased negative attitudes towards bullying, although the positive changes in the control school were reversed two terms later.

- That most of the change that did occur, occurred in School One at the time when the peer mediation scheme was operational. There was very little change in any of the schools following the peer mediation-training programme.

A Discussion of the Main Findings gained through Quantitative Analysis

Notwithstanding the fact that only School One proceeded to implement a full peer mediation scheme following the peer mediation training, the limited experiment that was carried out did generate some interesting evidence. The best possible interpretation of this evidence is: that the peer mediation scheme in School One reduced bullying for both 'bullies,' and 'victims,' that it led to more negative attitudes towards bullying, and that it had more effect on reducing bullying than the peer mediation training, which sometimes coincided with increases in reported bullying in Schools One and Three. As outlined in Chapter Five, others involved in bullying research have encountered the difficulty of a lack of clarity of what constitutes bullying influencing levels of reported bullying. This may well have been the case here. Olweus (1993) and Whitney and Smith (1993) made some attempt to reduce the confusion, either by getting a simple definition of bullying read out to pupils prior to their filling in questionnaires, or by asking the teachers to use their own words to give a similar explanation. This latter technique was adopted for this research, as highlighted in Chapter Six, but it appears to have had limited effect. The difficulty with using self-report through questionnaires for children is that the results may reflect actual levels of bullying, or the extent to which pupils are conscious of their behaviour and experiences, or the extent to which they are able to admit to it, even in the form of an anonymous questionnaire. The theory underpinning the peer mediation programme is that an affective element of anti-bullying education is needed alongside the cognitive, in order for many children to be able to relate bullying to their own experiences. If this is indeed the case, then this could explain why there was an apparent increase in bullying behaviour for some of the variables in Schools One and Three following the peer mediation training, which has a strong affective component.

As shown in Chapter Five, the DfE research (1993) carried out by Whitney and Smith in Sheffield in 1990 revealed that overall 27% of primary pupils reported being bullied, and 12% of pupils reported bullying others that term. The base-line results for both 'bullies' and 'victims' in this research are much higher in all three schools, although the discrepancy between the numbers of pupils reporting being a 'victim' and being a 'bully' is much smaller in these three schools than in the Sheffield schools. It is possible that in the three years between the two pieces of research, attitudes towards bullying in schools in general had progressed to the stage where pupils were more aware of the range and extent of bullying (and therefore more likely to report it) and the label of 'bully' was becoming easier to admit to, due to a greater awareness of the complex nature of bullying in society in general.

Although actual percentages are hard to compare due to different tests and time-scales being used, more recent research into bullying (Smith, 1997, Barry, Fletcher & Naish, 1997) does show a higher percentage of pupils reporting bullying. Smith (1997) found, for example, in a 1991 survey that 40% of junior-age boys (N=118) and 33% of junior age girls (N=99) from a number of primary schools in Wolverhampton reported being called a name more than once in the previous week. In 1993, in a retest, he found that despite a variety of anti-bullying intervention programmes being introduced the percentages were 40% (N=106) and 31% (N=102) respectively. Given that the research in hand asks about being called a name at least once in the previous six weeks, these three sets of results can be seen as largely comparable, and far in excess of the Sheffield results. Likewise, Ball, Barry, Fletcher & Naish (1997) found in a 1995 survey of 8 primary schools in South East Wales that 66% had experienced bullying in their school in the year that was drawing to a close. These figures are much closer to the research in hand than the Sheffield research that was carried out 3 years previously. It is therefore possible that pupils were more ready to report bullying in 1993 than they were in 1990. This time-scale coincides with the DfE anti-bullying drive supported by a new OFSTED requirement for schools to produce an anti-bullying policy. More significantly for the research in hand, the implication here is that the amount of bullying reported by pupils can be influenced by the anti-bullying curriculum work carried out in

their school. The logical extension of this is that the problem of bullying needs to appear to get worse before it can get better. This hypothesis is lent validity by the fact that this trend does occur in School One, thus implying a basic flaw in crude experiments which use a reduction in bullying as the only measure of the success of intervention programmes.

The fact that most of the reductions in bullying occurred at the end of the peer mediation scheme indicates that it is the actual peer mediation service, and not the training programme, that may have led to the positive change. Naturally, the peer mediation training programme is needed for the pupils to learn the skills that they will later be using either as mediators or as disputants, but the evidence here is suggesting that the training programme alone is not enough to reduce bullying, or to induce more negative attitudes towards bullying. For this, the experiential learning involved in peer mediation may well be needed.

Qualitative Research: Teacher Interviews

Teacher Perceptions of Changes in the Frequency and Nature of Bullying

Table 7:8 gives a summary of what each teacher in the four schools said about changes in their class in the frequency and nature of bullying between the first and the second interviews (T1-T2) between the second and the third interviews (T2-T3) and between the first and the final interviews (T1-T3). Table 7:8 shows that the teachers felt that physical bullying is the type of bullying that reduced the most, with name-calling and psychological bullying the most resistant to positive change. These findings reflect the quantitative findings, which also suggest that physical bullying was the only type of bullying to reduce significantly. This table shows that there was no perceived reduction in any type of bullying in any of the control classes or the control school. In these classes there appears to have been mostly no change, with one or two increases. This result suggests that it was the peer mediation programme that influenced the positive changes the teachers did perceive.

Table 7:8 Summary of Teacher Perceptions of Changes in the Frequency and Nature of Bullying

SCHOOL AND CLASS	T1 – T2	T2 - T3	T1 – T3
School One Class One	Bullying reduced in classroom, not outside.	Bullying remained infrequent in the classroom.	Bullying reduced in classroom, not outside.
School One Class Two	Bullying reduced.	More overt bullying remained infrequent	More overt bullying reduced.
School One Class Three	Physical bullying reduced, name-calling still going on.	Physical bullying remained infrequent, psychological bullying still in evidence.	Physical bullying reduced, psychological bullying still in evidence.
School One Class Four (Control)	Bullying remained infrequent.	Bullying remained infrequent.	Bullying remained infrequent.
School Two Class One	Physical Bullying reduced, name-calling still in evidence.	Physical bullying increased, name-calling still in evidence.	Physical and psychological bullying still in evidence.
School Two Class Two	Psychological bullying and name-calling still in evidence.	Psychological bullying and name-calling still in evidence.	Psychological bullying and name-calling still in evidence.
School Two Class Three (Control)	Bullying remained infrequent.	Increased name-calling and physical bullying.	Increased name-calling and physical bullying.

School Three Class One	Bullying remained infrequent, name-calling still in evidence.	Increased physical bullying and name-calling.	Increased physical bullying and name-calling.
School Three Class Two	Increased name-calling and psychological bullying.	Increased physical and psychological bullying.	Increased physical and psychological bullying.
School Three Class Three (Control)	Some psychological bullying still in evidence in the playground.	Name-calling still in evidence, increased physical bullying.	Name-calling still in evidence, increased physical bullying.
School Four (Control)	Name-calling and psychological bullying still in evidence.	Increased physical bullying and name-calling.	Increased physical bullying and name-calling.

In order to analyse these results more fully, the degree of change is quantified in Table 7.9. It shows the number of times (out of a total of 9 for School One and 6 for Schools Two and Three) the teachers reported either a reduction in bullying, an increase or no change between the first and the second interviews (T1-T2), between the second and the third (T2-T3), and between the first and the third (T1-T3).

Table 7.9 Numbers of Times Teachers of the Experimental Classes Reported Increases, Decreases and No Change in Bullying.

SCHOOL	INCREASES	DECREASES	NO CHANGE
One	0	6	3
Two	1	1	4
Three	5	0	1

Table 7:9 shows that almost all of the positive change perceived by teachers occurred in School One, with all teachers saying that they noticed a reduction in one kind of bullying or another from the beginning of the peer mediation programme. In School Two, the teachers report very little change, and in school Three most of the reported changes are negative, with teachers saying that some form of bullying or another has increased in frequency during the period leading up to the second and the final interviews. These findings correspond to the findings of the pupil questionnaires which suggest that the only significant change in the frequency of bullying occurred in School One. The fact that the two parts of the research triangulate is a good indication of the validity of their findings. It suggests that despite a lack of confidence in their awareness of the level of bullying in their classes, the teachers did make accurate judgement.

Teacher Awareness of Bullying in the Three Schools

As shown in Chapter Five, bullying is difficult to define, and was not seen as a serious area for study prior to the 1980s. This lack of clarity about exactly what constitutes bullying, and how serious and prevalent the problem is, is in evidence in the teacher interviews in all 3 schools.

School One

In School One, the teachers are initially not confident about their awareness of levels of bullying. In her first interview, Teacher One says "I'd like to think that there isn't much in the class while they're in the classroom," indicating a certain doubt about her awareness of bullying going on even in her presence. Likewise, Teacher Two says "I think outside the class there's probably more than I would care to think actually goes on. So I would fear that there was quite a lot." Teacher Three, unlike her two colleagues, whilst also cautious about her awareness of bullying in the playground ("as far as I know about the playground...") feels that there is probably less bullying in the playground than in the classroom because potential victims are more able to stay away from people who are likely to bully them.

Despite the fact that the teachers had received a full day's training by the time these interviews were carried out, a lack of certainty about the level of bullying in school is mirrored by a general lack of certainty about exactly what constitutes bullying behaviour. Teacher One classes "a slight disharmony between particular personalities," (which does not imply an inequality of power) as bullying, and Teacher Three admits that her awareness of bullying has changed since the training "there's quite a lot of snide remarks that I notice, you know, particularly since the training, I've picked up on them more." In spite of a certain amount of confusion in School One about the nature and frequency of bullying in school, the teachers appear to take bullying seriously and to be keen to take measures to reduce it. Phrases from the first interviews quoted above such as "I'd like to think..." "more than I would care to think..." and "I would fear that..." all reveal a concern about the issue of bullying. Teacher Three prefaces her statement that bullying has reduced in her second interview with 'hopefully,' which again indicates a professional concern.

The Control Class

The teacher of the Year Four control class in this school, Teacher Four, shares the doubt expressed by teachers of the experimental classes about her awareness of levels of bullying. During her first interview she says "unfortunately it's sometimes the sort of thing you don't hear about until it's a major problem." The word 'unfortunately' shows that she also shares their concern about not knowing. During her second interview, she reveals that, in common with the teachers of the experimental classes, she feels a lack of certainty as to exactly what constitutes bullying. This is a problem that extends to her class "every dinnertime or every playtime somebody comes in with a problem. It's not necessarily bullying though." The fact that the teacher of the control class, who did not participate in the training, has similar attitudes towards bullying as the teachers of the experimental classes suggests that the attitudes of the teachers of the experimental classes were influenced more by the general culture and ethos of the school, than by the training that they received.

School Two

In the same way, the teachers in School Two know that bullying may be going on that they are unaware of. In her first interview, Teacher One says "obviously there's things happening in the playground that I don't get to know about or see." Teacher Two is also aware that there may be covert bullying going on, but does not seem as concerned about it as the teachers in School One. In her first interview she says that she tells each new class "I don't want to know about any squabbles... you're to get on with each other, you've got to work as a class unit." By discouraging the children from talking to her about their conflicts, which may or may not involve bullying, Teacher Two may be accepting and reinforcing a situation that the teachers in School One are keen to change.

The teachers in School Two, in common with the teachers in School One, reveal some confusion about the nature of bullying in their first and second interviews. Teacher One confuses power struggles in the classroom with bullying "there's a fight for power in the class - who wants to be number one," and Teacher Two responds to a question about bullying by referring to two boys, who "made moves to each other" in class in order to engage in 'fisty-cuffs.' She appears to equate fighting with bullying. Ironically, considering that this school did not go ahead and set up peer mediation, she expresses her own feelings of inadequacy in not having the time or the impartiality to sort out these kinds of conflicts during her second interview, "I can't afford the time out of class to try to patch these kids up, and it's the judgement of Solomon, I don't know any longer who's right and who's wrong."

The Control Class

Both teachers of this control class in Year Four and Year Five appear to share Teacher Two's confusion between bullying and fighting. The Year Four teacher says "there's not a lot of physical

bullying in the class that I'm in. I don't find that there's a lot of fighting." The teacher of this class in Year Five also mentions fighting when questioned about bullying:

"Physical abuse is not very prevalent, but there is some that goes on with retaliation to name-calling. You get a bigger boy and he's able to actually floor someone. A teacher, Ms X was actually kicked a couple of weeks ago when she tried to break up a fight.... But we had long talks with the boys and (The Headteacher) has as well."

The fact that both teachers of this control class, who had not participated in the training, appear to share Teacher Two's confusion between bullying and fighting suggests, again, that the attitudes of the teachers of the experimental classes were influenced more by the general culture and ethos of the school than by the training that they received.

School Three

In School Three, there is a mixture of comments from teachers about bullying, ranging from a confidence that bullying is not taking place, to concrete examples of quite serious bullying. The awareness of the teachers in the other two schools that there may be covert bullying taking place is not in evidence in this school. During her first and second interviews, Teacher One is quite clear that "there haven't been any instances of bullying at all." Teacher Two, during her second interview, is clear that bullying "doesn't tend to happen in the class at all." The supply teacher standing in for Teacher Two (who was absent on long term sick leave at the time of the first interviews) however, recalls that "when I first took over the class there was an Asian boy who had just come back from hospital because he had been dumped on his head the week before by some members of the class."

The Control Class

During her second interview the teacher of the control class in this school, Teacher Three, talks about children 'moaning' about things that happen to them in the playground when asked about bullying. This teacher in the same interview also echoes their confidence that they would know about any bullying going on "I'm certainly not aware of anything that's upsetting any child in this class and I think I would be... astute enough to detect it." Again, the fact that the teacher of the control class, who had not participated in the training, has similar attitudes towards bullying as the teachers of the experimental classes suggests that those attitudes have been influenced more by the general culture and ethos of the school than by the training that the teachers of the experimental classes received.

School Four (Control School)

The teacher of the Year Five/Six control class in this school shares the uncertainty expressed by the teachers in Schools One and Two about her awareness of the amount of bullying going on in her class. She says in her first interview:

"They won't just worry about it (bullying) quietly, but then you do get the odd occasion when the first thing you know about it is when mother comes up and says they haven't slept for a week because so and so's been getting at them. I would put it at a fairly low level, but if anyone were to find out different... nothing surprises you after so many years."

In the same interview, she also shows that she shares the confusion expressed by the teachers in all three experimental schools about exactly what constitutes bullying. She makes a comparison between what seems to upset the children in her class and her own experiences as a child:

"It's all the things that are really important to the children but sometimes seem a bit trivial. Name-calling, insulting your family – that's a very very popular one, "Your mother's this and your family's that." They seem to get more upset about this than if they get called a name themselves like fatty or smelly or whatever the children call each other nowadays. It never seems to be as simple as when I was a kid."

During her second interview, she widens the discussion about bullying to refer to other behaviour that is equally hurtful, and perhaps more frequent:

"We do have a lot of other behaviour that's undesirable. Shall we say that it's not as covert as bullying, it's more open. They niggle each other, they call each other names, and they are generally not very nice to each other. I wouldn't say that all of them come into that category, but there's hardly a day goes by when somebody hasn't said something about so and so or done something or... Although it's not out and out bullying, six picking on one or a bigger child picking on a smaller child, there's a lot of antagonism."

Not only is this teacher unclear about exactly what constitutes bullying, but she appears to be more concerned about anti-social behaviour in general than bullying specifically.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the quantitative and qualitative elements of this research converge in suggesting that a peer mediation programme can be used successfully as an anti-bullying strategy. Peer mediation appears to be more effective in reducing physical than psychological bullying, and in influencing pupils' attitudes towards bullying. Most changes appear to have occurred when the actual peer mediation scheme was operational, and not whilst the 'Iceberg' training programme

was being taught. Most of the teachers interviewed were not confident that they knew how frequent or serious bullying was in their classes.

Chapter Eight: Self-esteem and Locus of Control Results

Changes in Pupil Levels of Self-esteem and Pupil Locus of Control.

As noted earlier, the hypothesis that is being tested in this research is that peer mediation will lead to higher levels of self-esteem and a more internal locus of control, amongst the pupils who participated in the programme. This chapter presents and discusses the results gained from both the quantitative and the qualitative analysis.

Results from Quantitative Analysis

The Wilcoxon Matched-Pairs Signed Ranks Test is again used to analyse the data, and the results are presented as the numbers of pupils who experience an increase in self-esteem or feelings of empowerment, a decrease or no change between the first time of testing (the base-line) and the second time of testing (when the peer mediation training was complete, T1-T2), between the second time of testing and the final time (when the peer mediation service was operative, T2-T3), and between the first time of testing and the final time (T1-T3). A one-tailed test is used as the direction of the change has been predicted as an increase in self-esteem and a more internal locus of control. As in the previous chapter, any change that has a probability value of 0.05 or less is taken as highly significant, and is marked in the tables with dark grey shading, and any change that has a probability value of between 0.05 and 0.99 is taken as mildly significant and worthy of discussion (and marked in the tables in light grey). Unexpected changes with a two-tailed significance of 0.05 and below are also shown in the tables in boxes shaded in light grey.

The Base Line Scores

Table 8:1, showing the mean base line scores, is included here in order to establish the starting points of all three schools in relation to each other.

Table 8:1 Base-Line Mean Scores of Self-esteem and Locus of Control in Schools One to Three

	MAXIMUM SCORE	SCL 1	SCL 2	SCL 3
Self-esteem	12	8	7	8
Locus of control	19	9	11	11

The mean level of self-esteem in all three schools was assessed as broadly similar, with the mean score in School Two one point (out of 12) below the mean in the other two schools. The mean score for locus of control is again broadly similar, with the mean score in School One two points (out of 19) below that in the other two schools. The fact that the scores for self-esteem and locus of control were so similar in the three schools strengthens the original assumption that they were broadly similar in their intake and circumstances.

Changes in Levels of Self-esteem and Pupil Feelings of Empowerment

In order to show change in levels of self-esteem, results are analysed using the same tests that are used to analyse change in levels of bullying. As before, the numbers of pupils who experienced an increase in self-esteem in School One (for example) are presented as Scl 1 +, the numbers of pupils who experienced a decrease in self-esteem are presented as Scl 1 -, and the numbers of pupils who experienced no change are presented as Scl 1 Ties. The results are shown in Table 8:2. It is clear from Table 8:2 that the peer mediation training programme did not lead to an increase in self-esteem in School One, and that the initial trend is indeed in the opposite direction. The increase in self-esteem between the end of the peer mediation training and the end of the entire programme when the full peer mediation service was being used by the pupils (T2-T3) is significant statistically. The levels of self-esteem on the final time of testing, however, had not recovered sufficiently to show an improvement when measured against the base line (T1-T3).

Table 8.2 Changes in Pupil Levels of Self-Esteem over the Three Times of Testing in Schools One to Four.

	SCL 1 -	SCL 1 +	SCL 1 TIES	SCL 2 -	SCL 2 +	SCL 2 TIES	SCL 3 -	SCL 3 +	SCL 3 TIES	SCL 4 -	SCL 4 +	SCL 4 TIES
Self- esteem T1-T2	23	17	7	8	15	7	8	10	4	10	7	2
Self- esteem T2-T3	15	↑ 26	6	11	16	3	9	9	4	7	12	0
Self- esteem T1-T3	24	18	5	8	↑ 20	2	9	10	3	7	11	1

The best possible interpretation of the evidence is that peer mediation did lead to increases in pupil levels of self-esteem when self-esteem was measured after the pupils had completed the training programme (which encouraged them to be more self-aware). Against the base line taken before any training was carried out with the pupils, however, there was no significant improvement. The fact that there was no change at all in the control school is a further indication that it was the peer mediation programme that influenced the changes that did occur in School One.

As has already been established, Schools One to Three did carry out the peer mediation training with their pupils, although they did not set up peer mediation schemes. Table 8.2 shows that the only significant change in Schools Two to Four is the improvement in self-esteem occurring in School Two at the end of the eighteen month period of research (T1-T3) at a time when the

programme was dormant for two terms due to the unwillingness of the school to implement a peer mediation service. A significant increase in self-esteem in this school at this time is therefore surprising. What is known about this school at this time, however, is that the teachers who taught the peer mediation training programme in Year Five swapped classes in Year Six, and could have continued to use the curricular activities from the peer mediation training to raise the self-esteem of their pupils. This possibility will be explored more fully in the qualitative element of this research into self-esteem. The fact that there is no significant change in either direction in School Two after the initial peer mediation training (T1-T2) and that there is no significant change in School Three at all, either after the initial peer mediation training (T1-T2) or at the end of the eighteen-month period of research (T1-T3), is an indication that the peer mediation training programme in these two schools failed (at least initially in School Two) to engage the pupils in reviewing their self-concepts.

Changes in locus of control are shown in Table 8:3 as changes in feelings of empowerment. The increases refer to increased internality of locus of control, which is the direction of change judged to be an indicator of the success of this programme. The best possible interpretation of this evidence is that the peer mediation programme did lead to pupils in School One experiencing a more internal locus of control between the end of the peer mediation training and the final time of testing when the peer mediation had been in place for two terms (T2-T3), and between the first time of testing and the end of the programme (T1-T3). The initial peer mediation training that occurred between the first and the second time of testing (T1-T2) did not have the same statistically significant effect on locus of control. It can therefore tentatively be concluded that, in School One, it was the actual peer mediation service and not the peer mediation training which led to an increased internality of locus of control amongst the pupils.

Table 8:3 Changes in Pupil Feelings of Empowerment over the Three Times of Testing in the Main Experimental School One and in the Control School.

	SCL 1 -	SCL 1 +	SCL 1 TIES	SCL 2 -	SCL 2 +	SCL 2 TIES	SCL 3 -	SCL 3 +	SCL 3 TIES	SCL 4 -	SCL 4 +	SCL 4 TIES
Empower- ment T1-T2	13	21	4	6	6	2	8	24	1	9	10	1
Empower- ment T2-T3	9	25	4	5	6	3	20	11	2	5	14	1
Empower- ment T1-T3	9	27	2	5	8	1	12	18	3	4	15	1

This positive change also occurred, however, at the same time in the control school. This implies that other methods, outside of the scope of this research, were used by the control school to achieve the same effect, given that no significant change due to developmental factors is to be expected at this age (Nowicki & Strickland 1973).

Table 8:3 shows that the only significant change in Schools Two and Three is the improvement in internal locus of control occurring in School Three between the first time of testing and the end of the peer mediation training (T1-T2). What is known about this school at this time is that both teachers, one of whom was on long-term supply at the time, were very directive at the beginning of the school year, and felt a strong need to impose discipline and a structured way of working on their pupils, a need that lessened as the school year went on and as the main class teacher returned to her class. This possible influence on research outcomes will be explored more fully in the qualitative element of this research into locus of control. The fact that there is no significant change in either direction in School Two between any of the times of testing, and no change in

School Three between the second and the third or between the first and the third times of testing (T2-T3 & T1-T3), is an indication that the peer mediation training in these two schools failed to develop a sustained internal locus of control amongst pupils.

A Summary of the Main Research Findings Analysed Quantitatively

- That all three schools had broadly similar starting points with the mean scores for pupil levels of self-esteem and locus of control varying only slightly from school to school.
- That the peer mediation programme did not lead to significant increases in pupil levels of self-esteem by the end of the programme in School One when the base-line was measured at the start of the training programme, but that it did lead to significant increases in pupil levels of self esteem when the base-line was set at the end of the peer mediation training programme.
- That in School Two the peer mediation training is believed to have enhanced the self-esteem of the pupils in the experimental classes between the base line and the end of the research programme.
- That the peer mediation programme (but not the peer mediation training) can be judged as having led to increases in pupil feelings of empowerment in the target year-group School One
- That other methods used in the control school also are judged to have had the effect of increasing pupil feelings of empowerment, as did the peer mediation training programme in School Three.

A Discussion of the Main Research Findings Analysed Quantitatively

The measures that were used for these tests of pupil levels of self-esteem and locus of control were chosen because of the fact that they had been developed and modified over a number of years and had been shown to have a high level of both internal and external validity. The teachers who administered the tests generally felt that they were reliable and appropriate measures for their pupils, although several of them criticised the use of language in the locus of control questionnaire, which was at times confusing for their pupils due to the use of the double negative. Question number two ('Do you feel that most of the time it isn't worth trying hard because things never work out OK anyway?') is an example of this, where some pupils who should have responded with a 'no' (I don't feel that it isn't worth trying...) initially responded with a 'yes' (it is worth trying...). Also, one of the teachers was critical of question 15 which asks whether or not pupils feel that they have choice about what they get to eat at home, as it could be viewed as culturally and socio-economically specific. She pointed out that many of her Asian pupils routinely eat meals with the rest of the family where there is little choice, and that poverty and parental ignorance, more than external locus of control, were a cause of restricted diet amongst some of her pupils.

The other wider issue for research in education, both in relation to locus of control, and in relation to bullying, is the difficulty in controlling the variables in control schools. If one accepts, for example, that it is the aim of any teacher in any school to develop independence and an internal locus of control amongst her pupils, then one must also accept the difficulty in establishing a true control setting for research into locus of control in a school. Clearly, the teachers in the control school (Four) were using methods to develop an internal locus of control amongst their pupils to good effect. The difficulty for this research, and for similar pieces of research, is in persuading

teachers in control situations to withhold from using methods with their classes that may interfere with the experiment, especially when the teachers involved believe that these methods will help them to achieve their own objectives for their class.

The initial dip in pupil levels of self-esteem in School One, and the unexpectedly long time that it took for changes in self-esteem to occur in School Two, are both indicators that the phenomenon of self-esteem is complex, as has already been highlighted in Chapter Three. If self-esteem is defined as the difference between self-image and the ideal self, then obviously, as Dewhurst (1991) has argued, work with pupils which encourages them to develop a more morally aware ideal self, or to develop a more 'realistic' self image, could well result in a reduction in their self-esteem which would not in itself be undesirable. The initial dip in self-esteem amongst the pupils in School One could, in Dewhurst's terms, be seen as a valuable part of the process of developing a positive criteria-referenced self-esteem, rather than a norm-referenced self-esteem, which will always be low for pupils whose skills and abilities may not be recognised and validated within the current education system.

As with the research into bullying presented in the previous chapter, an initial lack of change in self-esteem or an apparent deterioration, in School One, is a precursor for a significant improvement later on. The fact that the pattern of change in relation to self-esteem is the same as the pattern of change in relation to bullying in this school lends validity to these changes, and suggests that a thorough and far-reaching process was occurring in this school at this time. In School Two the peer mediation training without the peer mediation scheme was sufficient eventually to lead to a significant improvement in self-esteem, and these changes also occurred after an initial period of no improvement. The 'quality' of the improved self-esteem in the two schools will be studied more fully later as part of the analysis of the qualitative research findings.

The fact that locus of control became more internal in School One whilst the actual peer mediation service was operative suggests that the pupils using the service, either as mediators or

as disputants, benefited psychologically from formulating their own solutions to their own problems without adult intervention. The other changes that occurred, however, both in the control school and in School Three after the initial peer mediation training programme suggest that similar change can be brought about using other more commonplace methods. This will be analysed more fully as part of the qualitative research.

Qualitative Research: Teacher Interviews

Changes in Pupil Levels of Self-esteem and Feelings of Empowerment

Having presented the quantitative results of the changes in pupil levels of self-esteem and feelings of empowerment from the pupil questionnaires, this chapter now focuses on the qualitative research from the teacher interviews carried out at the same three time intervals as the pupil questionnaires. The contents of the teacher interviews have been summarised in Tables 8:4 and 8:5, and show whether the teachers feel that the average level of self-esteem amongst the pupils in their class, and their feelings of empowerment, have changed as a result of participating in this programme.

It is clear from the teacher interviews that raising self-esteem was one of the top priorities of the teachers participating in this programme, especially the teachers in School One, who by the time of the second interviews had begun a whole-school programme of Circle Time (which, as Chapter Three has shown, has raising self-esteem as one of its fundamental aims). This could explain why the teacher of the control class in this school felt that the pupils' self-esteem had improved on both times of testing. Clearly this curriculum work, which was initiated after the research in hand had begun, contaminates this class as a control class for this part of the research, and the qualitative data relating to self-esteem from Class Four in School One will therefore be disregarded. The fact that self-esteem either deteriorated or remained constant in the control school, however, suggests that any positive change that teachers perceived occurring amongst

the experimental classes in School One was a result of the peer mediation programme, and that any positive change that the teachers perceived occurring in Schools Two and Three was a result of the initial peer mediation training which also had the raising of self-esteem as its central aim.

Table 8:4 Summary of Teacher Perceptions of Changes in Pupil Levels of Self Esteem

SCHOOL AND CLASS	T1 – T2	T2 - T3	T1 – T3
School One Class One	Improved from average to above average.	Self-esteem remained quite high	Improved from average to above average.
School One Class Two	Self-esteem remained quite high.	Self-esteem remained quite high.	Self-esteem remained quite high.
School One Class Three	Improved from below average to average.	Self-esteem remained average.	Improved from below average to average.
School One Class Four (Control)	Improved from below average to fairly high.	Self-esteem back to average.	Some pupils improved from below average to fairly high.
School Two Class One	Self-esteem remained mixed.	Self-esteem remained mixed.	Self-esteem remained mixed.
School Two Class Two	Improved from below average to average.	Self-esteem remained mixed.	Self-esteem remained mixed.
School Two Class Three (Control)	Self-esteem remained quite high.	Self-esteem remained quite high.	Self-esteem remained quite high.
School Three Class One	Self-esteem improved from mixed to quite high.	Self-esteem deteriorated from quite high to average	elf-esteem remained average.

School Three Class Two	Self-esteem improved for some children.	Self-esteem average and fluctuating.	Self-esteem average and fluctuating.
School Three Class Three (Control)	Self-esteem remained high.	Self-esteem remained high.	Self-esteem remained high
School Four (Control)	Self-esteem deteriorated from average to not very high.	Self-esteem improved to average	Self-esteem remained average.

There are obvious discrepancies between teacher perceptions of changes in self-esteem and the results of the pupil questionnaires. In School One, the trend in the pupil questionnaires for self-esteem to decrease between the base-line and the end of the peer mediation training programme (T1-T2), highlighted in the previous section, is not perceived by teachers, who actually perceive an increase at this time. It is possible that, in this case, the teachers were noticing the development of a more informed self-esteem amongst their pupils, as theorised in the previous section, and that they were therefore not aware of the initial deterioration that was shown up in the pupil questionnaires. In School Two, the improved self-esteem highlighted in the pupil questionnaires between the first and the third time of testing (T1-T3) goes unnoticed by the teachers, one of whom erroneously perceives some improvement between the first and the second time of testing (T1-T2) at a time when she had particularly focussed on it in her teaching. In School Three, the same tendency to see changes where there are none, according to the pupil questionnaires, at a time when the teachers would have desired and expected it, is again in evidence.

Table 8:5 Summary of Teacher Perceptions of Changes in Pupils' Feelings of Empowerment

SCHOOL AND CLASS	T1 – T2	T2 - T3	T1 – T3
School One Class One	More internal locus of control.	Locus of control remained internal	More internal locus of control.
School One Class Two	More internal locus of control.	Locus of control remained internal	More internal locus of control.
School One Class Three	More internal locus of control.	Locus of control remained internal	More internal locus of control.
School One Class Four (Control)	More internal locus of control.	Locus of control remained internal	More internal locus of control.
School Two Class One	Locus of control remained internal.	Locus of control remained internal.	Locus of control more external.
School Two Class Two	More internal locus of control.	Locus of control remained internal.	More internal locus of control.
School Two Class Three (Control)	Locus of control remained external.	More internal locus of control.	More internal locus of control.
School Three Class One	Locus of control varies.	Locus of control varies.	Locus of control varies.
School Three Class Two	Locus of control remained external.	Locus of control remained external.	Locus of control remained external.

School Three Class Three (Control)	Locus of control remained internal.	Locus of control more external.	Locus of control more external.
School Four (Control)	Locus of control remained external.	More internal locus of control.	More internal locus of control.

Throughout their interviews the teachers in all four schools speak of their difficulty in judging levels of self-esteem, and the discrepancies highlighted above can be seen as a symptom of this. In School One, for example, teachers comment variously that "it is quite difficult to say," and "it's quite difficult to answer" how high the average level of self-esteem was. One teacher says that "I don't know how to distinguish between self-confidence and self-esteem," and another says that it tends to be quite fluid in any case, with individuals who were beginning to develop a higher self-esteem "going back down in difficult situations." This is echoed by a teacher in School Three who says that "it actually goes up and down quite a lot I would say, depending on what's going on in school, what they are asked to do, holiday time, so it fluctuates greatly... Some children who you think are alright at one point, something may happen to them at home that we don't know about and that completely throws them." In School Two one of the teachers comments that average self-esteem in the class is difficult to gauge because "it goes from one extreme up to the other in every respect," and another comments that she was surprised by the results of the questionnaires "you think that they've got high self-esteem and then when you look through those questionnaires, you suddenly realise a lot have got a low opinion of themselves." The implication of this for future research is that teachers may need more concrete and objective criteria to judge levels of self-esteem.

It is also evident from the teacher interviews that all of the teachers in the experimental and control schools highly valued developing an internal locus of control amongst their pupils, although they used different methods for achieving this. The fact that there was positive change amongst some, but not all, of the controls (according to the pupil questionnaires) suggests once

again that there are a variety of ways that teachers can and do work towards feelings of empowerment amongst their pupils. There were, however, difficulties for the teachers in all four schools in gauging these feelings. During their initial interviews, nearly all of the teachers raised the issue that feelings of empowerment amongst pupils are largely dependent on the level of power that the adults in charge of their learning feel able to accord to pupils, be this on an academic or a social level. During the initial interviews the teachers in all three schools generally felt that they needed to be quite directive with their pupils, as the interviews were carried out six weeks after the beginning of a new school year. One of the teachers from School One says that "at the moment I am getting them into my way of working. It would be nice to think that they'd become well motivated learners... but I wouldn't say that they are at that stage because they just don't know what I expect." The second teacher from this school states merely that the pupils have "not a lot" of control over what happens to them in the classroom and playground, and the third teacher is very clear about the link between pupil feelings of having control over what happens to them and her own feelings of being in control "Inside the classroom I think that would vary quite a lot because I think it would vary with how much control I feel I've got at a particular time."

In School Two the teachers express similar sentiments "I think they feel they have quite a lot of control, or they do have quite a lot of control, but then again, I'm more authoritative with this class than I was with last year's because I find it is more necessary," and "at present they are very reliant on me, but I have a system of targets that are set up at the beginning of the week, so I am trying my utmost to make them more independent." In School Three links are again made between adult feelings of being in control of the learning environment and pupil feelings of empowerment. One of the teachers says that she is "hassling them quite a lot," to get them into her way of working, and the other says that "initially with me they probably had less control because I have to establish myself, but I'm now letting them have more say, so we are just at the beginning of getting an element of trust." It could be suggested, therefore, that this study is evaluating teaching and learning styles, and the effectiveness of school behaviour management policy, as much as it is evaluating the peer mediation programme, as the amount of power that

teachers are prepared to accord to their pupils in their everyday learning environment must have at least as much effect on pupils' feelings of empowerment as a peer mediation programme. Given, however, that the teachers in all three experimental schools and the control school began the school year and this research with a similar need both to impress their own standards and ways of working on their pupils and to empower them, it is the degree of change in pupil feelings of empowerment, as perceived by the teachers, that will be taken here as significant, as well as the relationship between that change and the implementation, or otherwise, of peer mediation. Peer mediation is considered here in its context of being introduced, or potentially introduced, into three very different school cultures. Whether or not those cultures were able to encompass the values and assumptions behind peer mediation is in itself a valid area of study for this research, and will inform discussion about the kinds of school ethos and culture that are conducive to peer mediation.

As in Chapter Seven, the degree of change is quantified in Tables 8:6 and 8:7 in order to analyse the changes that the teachers perceive in pupil levels of self-esteem and feelings of empowerment more fully. The tables show the number of times in each school that the teachers perceived an increase, a decrease or no change in pupil levels of self-esteem (Table 8:6) and pupil feelings of empowerment (Table 8:7) between their first and second interviews, their second and their third interviews, and their first and third interviews.

Table 8:6 Numbers of Increases, Decreases and Lack of Change in Pupil Levels of Self-esteem in Schools One to Four

SCHOOL	INCREASES	DECREASES	SELF-ESTEEM REMAINED HIGH	SELF-ESTEEM REMAINED LOW/AVERAGE
One (3 Classes)	4	0	4	1
Two (2 Classes)	1	0	0	5
Three (2 Classes)	2	1	0	3
Four - Control (1 Class)	1	1	0	1

Table 8:7 Numbers of Increases, Decreases and Lack of Change in Pupil Feelings of Empowerment in Schools One to Four

SCHOOL	INCREASES	DECREASES	LOCUS OF CONTROL REMAINED INTERNAL.	LOCUS OF CONTROL REMAINED EXTERNAL / MIXED.
One (3 Classes)	6	0	3	0
Two (2 Classes)	2	1	3	0
Three (2 Classes)	0	0	0	6
Four - Control (1 Class)	1	0	1	1

School One

In School One, according to the teachers, average levels of self-esteem in classes rise on 4 of the 9 times of possible change, remain high 4 times and remain low once. This suggests that the teachers felt that the programme had an impact on four of the five occasions where average self-esteem was low at the outset, so that where there was room for positive change, the teachers felt that positive change did mainly occur.

The teachers in School One also felt that the internality of pupils' locus of control increased on 6 of the 9 possible times of change. On the remaining three occasions, average locus of control amongst pupils in classes was already felt to be internal. This is an indication that the teachers felt that both the peer mediation training and the full peer mediation programme had improved pupil feelings of empowerment.

School Two

In School Two, the teachers felt that the average self-esteem in their classes remained low or average in five of the six times of possible change, and that it increased once. This is in contrast to the improvements in self-esteem that were noted by the teachers in School One. The reasons that are given by the teachers for this vary, with one teacher suggesting that it was because she had 12 special needs children in her class (one of whom was quoted as saying at the beginning of the peer mediation training "I am a dustbin, I do rubbish work and I am a dustbin") and another suggesting that it was because the boys in her class were very immature. The peer mediation training carried out in this school was less structured than the work in School One, and more limited in scope, with the teachers reporting focussing more on dealing with the children's immediate problems than on enskilling and empowering them to develop more long-term solutions. It is therefore surprising that, according to the pupil questionnaires, the self-esteem of the pupils did increase over the eighteen-month period of this research. It is possible that the work that the teachers did with their pupils as part of the peer mediation training programme was more effective than the teachers realised and

took longer to affect self-esteem than the teachers allowed for. This delay in the raising of self-esteem (according to the pupil questionnaires) follows a similar pattern to the delay in the raising of self-esteem in School One, which suggests that a similar process was occurring amongst the pupils. Once again it is possible that, in reviewing their self-concept, pupils did not initially experience any increased feelings of self-worth, but that once a more informed self-concept based on an achievable ideal self and a positive self-image had been formed, self-esteem was enhanced.

The teachers' perceptions of changes in locus of control in School Two were that it became more internal on two of the six times of possible change, that it became more external once, and that it remained internal three times. In this school, there is very little evidence of the teachers taking practical measures to develop the internality of their pupils' locus of control, and what little reference is made to giving the pupils more control is made in the context of their academic learning and not in the context of their personal and social development.

School Three

In School Three the teachers felt that the average self-esteem in their classes remained low or average in three of the six times of possible change, that it increased twice and that it decreased once. Again, this is a fairly pessimistic assessment of any positive change which, according to the pupil questionnaires, is probably accurate.

Similar attitudes appear in the teachers' responses to questions about locus of control in their interviews. Again they are pessimistic about positive change in pupil feelings of empowerment, suggesting that locus of control remained external or mixed on all six of the times of possible change. This interpretation is not completely in accordance with findings from the pupil questionnaires, which suggest that pupils in School Three did experience increased feelings of empowerment between the first and the second time of testing (T1-T2) after the peer mediation training, although these feelings were not sustained, and had disappeared by the final time of testing (T2-T3 and T1-T3).

This discrepancy could be explained in part by the possibility that the new Year Five pupils were feeling relatively depowered due to the fresh start with a new teacher, as identified by their teachers in their first interviews, and that the base-line measurement for locus of control was therefore more external than would otherwise have been the case:

"In the classroom they were used to this Integrated Day system, so they were quite in control of their work, but at the moment with it being the beginning of the year I really am hassling them quite a lot so... I think they probably feel they've lost control to a certain extent compared with what they had last year" (Teacher One).

"With me they've probably had less control because I have had to establish myself."
(Supply Teacher for Teacher Two)

School Four

In School Four the teachers felt that the self esteem of the pupils was increased once, decreased once, and remained low/mixed once. This lack of any real pattern of improvement, which reflects the findings of the pupil questionnaires, suggests that, from the point of view of self-esteem, this school was a genuine control school. From the point of view of locus of control, however, although School Four was not part of the main experiment, the teacher did reveal in her first interview that she was using methods in the classroom to increase her pupils' feelings of empowerment:

"When they get to Year Five I make a big thing of them doing more things independently, and they seem to like that. It takes a little bit of getting used to maybe, it depends what teachers they have had before... but they do seem to like it, although sometimes they come and ask you questions and you hand it back to them and say: "Well, what are you going to do about that then?" That sometimes takes them a long time to get used to... I had someone observing me in the classroom last year, an advisor, and she thought that a

lot of the things that I do, just because it is more convenient and it makes life easier, were wonderful. I've never thought of it as independent learning, or them taking responsibility for their learning, but that's what she says that it was."

By the second interview, however, the same teacher was saying that she felt that her pupils had "not a lot" of control in the classroom, and the pupil questionnaires do not reveal any changes in pupil locus of control at this time (T1-T2). It appears that, although this teacher felt instinctively that she wanted her pupils to develop more independence, her approach was largely unconscious and piecemeal, which may explain why she had stopped using it by the time of the second interview, and why the pupils did not feel a more internal locus of control at this stage. By the third interviews, when the pupils did experience a more internal locus of control according to the pupil questionnaires, the Year Six teacher felt that she was working to improve pupil feelings of choice and empowerment in the classroom with mixed results:

"They are given the choice on activity in the classroom. Sometimes they abuse it. They are growing in independence, but there is a wide span in the class. Some children make it hard for others by being frequently in trouble and causing a negative atmosphere at times."

This work, despite the teacher's ambiguous feelings, could have contributed to improvements in pupil locus of control. The difference between this work and the peer mediation programme, however, is that the peer mediation programme is a structured skills-training programme with the outcome of actual peer mediation. The work in School Four appears less structured and more subject to the skills and interests of individual teachers, with the result that it is more vulnerable to outside pressures. The Year Six teacher mentions the poor behaviour of some pupils who are able to spoil the atmosphere in the classroom for the others. The peer mediation training programme, and the peer mediation programme itself, have the positive use of peer pressure to create a supportive atmosphere in the classroom and playground as their central aim, and it is possible that this problem would not have occurred if this control school had been following the peer mediation

programme.

Discussion of the Main Findings from Qualitative Research

As was the case in the section of the research dealing with bullying, teacher interviews revealed information about the pupils that was only as accurate as the teachers' perceptions of the pupils. Given that self-esteem and locus of control are psychological concepts which may manifest themselves in complex ways, and that the teachers' observations of their pupils would have been unstructured, the findings of the teacher interviews in respect of pupil levels of self-esteem and locus of control need to be treated with caution. If a similar experiment were to be repeated or extended in the future, it would perhaps be of benefit to provide a checklist of observable behaviour for teachers so that they could use more concrete and objective criteria to judge pupil levels of self-esteem and feelings of empowerment. This would need to be facilitated by time away from actual teaching being made available for the teachers to carry out the research on individual pupils. As has already been discussed, however, a humanistic researcher would be just as interested in teacher perceptions, and in the complex interactions between the curriculum package and the learning milieu, and an illuminative approach would have provided additional data to explore these issues more fully.

The very fact that the teachers did find it so difficult to assess pupil levels of self-esteem and feelings of empowerment is in itself a finding, and it is particularly worthy of note that many of the teachers (erroneously?) noted positive change at the end of the peer mediation training. This discovery throws doubt on the findings of research into peer mediation (and into any other educational initiative) carried out to date, which relies on the unstructured perceptions of teachers to determine the psychological benefits of programmes such as these. It was certainly the case here that most of the teachers who received in-service training, and who had been involved in the training and support of pupils, saw positive change where initially there was none, according to the pupil questionnaires. It is possible that the teachers had some kind of investment in the success of

the programme, due to the effort that they put into their own training, and the amount of teaching time that they gave over to it. They may have felt that any lack of positive change was an indictment on their own teaching skill, or they may have confused seeing the pupils appearing to engage with the curricular materials with actual psychological change.

Related to this is the issue of time-scale in bringing about positive psychological change amongst pupils. It appears to be the case here that the teachers in Schools One and Two, in their eagerness to see change as a result of the programme of work they were developing with their pupils, were premature in detecting possible psychological change. In School Two this actual change (an improvement in self-esteem by the end of the full period of research according to the pupil questionnaires) went unnoticed by the teachers who, by then, were not following the peer mediation training programme. Likewise in the control school, improvements in pupil feelings of empowerment come up to one year after their teacher spoke about the methods (noted as good practice by an advisory teacher) she was using in the classroom to develop a more internal locus of control amongst her pupils. Again, the initial momentum of this drive towards more independent teaching methods appears to have been lost after the first term, and well before the final time of testing of the pupils. The implication here is that positive psychological change amongst pupils may take longer than is normally allowed for in research such as this.

Finally, this research has highlighted the difficulty in determining the success of programmes such as peer mediation through measuring feelings of empowerment amongst pupils, as it is a central aim of most teachers to use teaching methods which encourage independent learning, and as pupil feelings of empowerment are influenced so much by school culture and behaviour management policy, and by the level of trust and power that their teachers are willing to accord them, either academically or in social situations. Also, in schools where peer mediation is likely to succeed, it is probable that other initiatives will take place, which have the similar aim of raising pupil feelings of empowerment. It could be suggested, however, that peer mediation programmes offer teachers, who are already willing to develop strategies to empower their pupils, a vehicle for

doing so. Conversely, it can have little effect on teachers who are not willing to develop strategies to empower their pupils.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the quantitative and qualitative elements of this research converge in suggesting that a peer mediation programme can be used to encourage pupils to review their self-concepts, with a possible long-term result of enhanced self-esteem and a more internal locus of control. These findings, however, show that change may not follow an easily predictable pattern or pace, and that other influences in school can be strong determinants of the extent and direction of change.

Chapter Nine: The Iceberg Skills Results.

This chapter presents the results from the teacher interviews in relation to the acquisition of the 'Iceberg' skills and mediation skills. As in the previous chapters, the results from the three interviews with the teachers will be summarised in terms of the changes in the average level of skill that took place between the first time of interviewing (the base line) and the second time of interviewing (after the 'Iceberg' peer mediation training programme had taken place), between the second time of interviewing and the third time (when the peer mediation programme service was operative in School One), and between the first and the third time of testing. The changes identified are the changes in the average level of skill amongst the pupils in each class as perceived by the class teacher.

School One

The contents of the teacher interviews in relation to the 'Iceberg' skills have been summarised in Table 9:1, and show whether the teachers feel that the average level of skill amongst the pupils in their class has changed as a result of participating in the peer mediation training and the full peer mediation programme.

Table 9:1 Changes in the Level of Skill amongst the Pupils in School One as Perceived by Teachers

CLASS	SKILLS	T1 - T2	T2 - T3	T1 - T3
Class One	Conflict resolution	Improved from medium to high.	Remained high.	Improved from medium to high.
	Affirmation	Improved from medium to high.	Deteriorated from high to medium.	Remained medium
	Co-operation	Improved from medium to high.	Deteriorated from high to medium.	Remained medium
	Communication	Improved from medium to high.	Remained high.	Improved from medium to high.
	Listening	Improved from medium to high.	Remained high.	Improved from medium to high.
	Mediation	Improved from low to medium.	Improved from medium to high.	Improved from low to high.
Class Two	Conflict resolution	Improved from low to high.	Remained high.	Improved from low to high.
	Affirmation	Improved from low to medium.	Improved from medium to high.	Improved from low to high.
	Co-operation	Improved from low to medium.	Improved from medium to high.	Improved from low to high.
	Communication	Improved from low to medium.	Improved from medium to high.	Improved from low to high.
	Listening	Improved from low to medium.	Improved from medium to high.	Improved from low to high.

	Mediation	Improved from low to medium.	Improved from medium to high.	Improved from low to high.
Class Three	Conflict resolution	Improved from low to medium.	Improved from medium to high.	Improved from low to high.
	Affirmation	Improved from low to high.	Remained high.	Improved from low to high.
	Co-operation	Improved from low to medium.	Improved from medium to high.	Improved from low to high.
	Communication	Improved from low to medium.	Remained medium	Improved from low to medium.
	Listening	Improved from low to medium.	Improved from medium to high.	Improved from low to high.
	Mediation	Improved from low to medium.	Improved from medium to high.	Improved from low to high.
Class Four (Control)	Conflict resolution	Remained medium	Remained medium	Remained medium
	Affirmation	Improved from medium to high.	Remained high.	Improved from medium to high.
	Co-operation	Remained high.	Deteriorated from high to medium.	Deteriorated from high to medium.
	Communication	Deteriorated from medium to low.	Improved from low to medium.	Remained medium
	Listening	Remained low.	Improved from low to medium.	Improved from low to medium.
	Mediation	Remained low.	Remained low.	Remained low.

These findings suggest that, according to the teachers' perceptions, the average level of skill in most areas tested for was generally low prior to the beginning of the peer mediation programme, and high by the end of it (T1-T3). Indeed, this pattern of change from a low level of skill at the outset to high level of skill by the end of the eighteen months occurred 83% of the time. The exceptions to this are Class One, whose pupils' skills in all areas apart from mediation were medium at the outset, and whose pupils' skills remained medium in affirmation and co-operation at the end of the programme, and Class Three, whose communication skills improved from low to only medium. With these exceptions, then, all skills in all areas in all classes improved from low to high, suggesting that, according to the teachers the 'Iceberg' method of peer mediation training and peer mediation itself can be successfully used to teach these core affective and social cognitive skills.

Throughout the eighteen months of the programme, between the three times of testing, the teachers felt that the level of skill amongst the pupils in all skill areas improved either from low to medium, from medium to high or from low to high 81% of the time (T1-T2, T2-T3, and T1-T3). It deteriorated only in Class One in affirmation and communication, when, having improved from medium to high following the training (T1-T2), it reduced again at the end of the two terms when the peer mediation service had been in place (T2-T3). During this time the pupils moved from Year Five to Year Six and changed teachers. In response to the question "how good are they at affirmation?" the teacher of this class (who had not participated in the initial teacher training programme) replied "they still find it funny if somebody else is in trouble," and because of this she feels that affirmation is one of their "weakest attributes." She goes on to say, however, that "when it comes to an actual conversation or a critical analysis of a piece of work they're quite fair then," and "they're quite prepared to say quite a lot of positive things about areas that they feel comfortable in. The boys will always say 'oh, so and so's a really good footballer,' because they feel comfortable with that, that happens quite a lot... they do listen to anybody else's point of view, they may not agree with it, but they will listen to it and take it on board." Although this particular teacher is disappointed that the pupils in her class find it funny when someone is in

trouble, the examples she gives of pupils affirming each other and accepting each others' viewpoints show that their affirmation skills are perhaps higher than those of many pupils in Year Six classes. Likewise with co-operation skills, the teacher of this class confirms that she has been doing a lot of work in P.E. on co-operation and team-work, but that "they're finding it quite trying." She goes on to say, however, that the teachers she has done team-building activities with also found it "challenging," suggesting that her expectations of teamwork skills are quite high.

The teachers feel that the pattern of change between the three times of testing is as hypothesised, with a general move from a low level of skill in all areas at the outset (T1) to a medium level of skill after the training (T2) to a high level of skill after the actual peer mediation programme had been in place for two terms (T3). The training programme coincided with an improvement in skills from low to medium in classes Two and Three in five out of the six areas. In Class One, where the teacher felt that the level of skill was medium at the outset, in five out of the six areas the improvement was from medium to high. During the first interview with the teacher of Class One, it emerged that the pupils had recently come from a teacher who was the school co-ordinator for spiritual and moral development, and who was fully trained in delivering Circle Time. The teacher of Class One says "well ... I've inherited a class where they've probably done a fair amount of work, coming from Teacher X. I think she's probably worked very hard with them and got the class to gel quite well." This could explain why the level of skill in most areas was perceived by this teacher to be medium from the outset. Between the end of the training programme and the end of the entire peer mediation programme, the teacher felt that the skills in classes Two and Three improved from medium to high in five out of the six, and four out of the six areas respectively. In Class One, the teacher felt that the skills improved from medium to high in one of the areas, remained high in three, and deteriorated in two. This general pattern suggests that the skills that the pupils were beginning to learn through the training may have been consolidated through their application to real-life settings in the actual peer mediation.

The high degree of improvement in pupil skills as perceived by the teachers in these areas is linked more strongly to the peer mediation programme through the findings of the interviews with the teachers of the control class. As has already been discussed in previous chapters, this Year Four control class had received the benefit of a whole-school anti-bullying focus, and was subject to a drive by the headteacher to get Circle Time into every class after the peer mediation programme had begun. The teachers of this control class did not receive any training, however, nor were any peer mediation skills taught to the pupils. It can therefore be used here as a partial control, with some improvements in skills to be expected. In this class, according to their teachers, the level of skill amongst the pupils in all six areas over the three times of testing improved 28% of the time, stayed the same 56% of the time and deteriorated 16% of the time. This is clearly a much weaker pattern of change than the change that the teachers felt took place in the three experimental classes.

It is evident from the second and third interviews with the teachers of all three classes that the teachers felt that the peer mediation training did indeed serve the purpose of training the pupils in the 'Iceberg' and mediation skills, but that their skills remained partial until they had been consolidated in actual conflict situations. Teacher One makes it clear that the rules and conventions of Circle Time appeared to have been accepted by the class by the end of their training. She gives an example of their acceptance of the rule of confidentiality:

"I don't think that they break the rules of Circle Time in that when we have said that it's confidential, it hasn't come to light that something somebody said has been teased about outside in the playground, so I think they have really taken that on board."

Despite this, however, there are some pupils who still seemed to find the rules difficult to adhere to "there's still a few who find it (co-operation) difficult. There's still a few who will spoil Circle Time even though they are anxious to take part in it. The instances are becoming less though."

Also, with mediation skills' training, pupils appear to be learning the process, although they have not had the opportunity to use new skills in a real settings:

"Well I have to say that, although we have done work on resolving conflicts, so far we have tended to have taken hypothetical situations, and what I have found when we did those situations is that, obviously, the conflicts tend to be resolved very quickly within the mediation, because there's really no axe to grind... and we haven't actually tackled it taking a real situation."

The second interview with Teacher Two also shows that, although she is surprised and delighted with the level of skill that she feels the pupils in her class are beginning to develop, she is aware that they will need more practice. She says of their conflict resolution skills "we had a training day yesterday which was brilliant. I was impressed with how much the children came back with. They were better than I thought." Their affirmation skills were "pretty good in the right circumstances," and their co-operation skills were "reasonably good." She does not feel that they have been fully able to transfer their skills to other situations:

"I've been surprised with how good they are at it (communicating their feelings and needs to each other in an appropriate way) in Circle Time, and I think that some of it has rubbed off into other situations, although I'm less confident at saying that they're good at it... It (listening skill) varies very much. A lot of them are very good...they don't always apply that skill in other situations."

The second interview with Teacher Three brings up similar findings, with the teacher feeling that the skills are beginning to be developed through the training activities in Circle Time, but, as yet, very little transferability "(affirmation) in Circle Time they are very good at it, now they've got the idea of it. It's still a case of transferring it into normal... actually someone did today... it is happening but probably it's still not as much as I'd like it to be." She feels that their co-operation

skills are "still not brilliant," their communication skills "improved," and their listening skills are "getting better." The most positive thing that she sees coming out of the training programme is that the pupils are developing these skills in an atmosphere of safety and trust "they know that in Circle Time they are going to be given a chance to say what they want, and nobody is going to criticise them for saying what they want."

By the final interviews it is clear that the teachers feel that the pupils have begun to assimilate their new skills and transfer them to situations outside of the training activities. One of the Year Six teachers feels that their skill level is higher than the pupils themselves perhaps realise, as the process of mediation has been internalised:

"They're quite good at it without realising what they're doing. Because of the mediation course they went on last year, they know that they're helping people to solve problems, but I don't think they realise quite how difficult their job is and how well they do it... they'll sit there and they'll listen. Whereas I think an adult is always prone to say something, they can sit back and listen. I think probably they're better at it than some of us."

The difference here is that the pupils are being given opportunities to use their skills in real situations. According to this Year Six teacher, they are doing so with some degree of success "most people have gone through mediation and are quite confident and happy that it's been dealt with by the mediators. So I think they're obviously doing a pretty good job." The Circle Time is on-going, but the pupils now appear to be using their skills to talk about issues that concern them:

"They really enjoy Circle Time... we do a range of things from games to discussing quite important issues to them. It's nice that they want to do it. It's supposed to be for an hour, but its usually stretched. They really like it and its one of the few times when they will sit still for a length of time."

The success of Circle Time appears to be related to the pupils feeling ownership of it, and to them feeling safe and accepted. This teacher feels that it has particularly helped the more introverted children:

"I think it has probably helped the ones, the really quieter children who don't normally have the confidence to say anything in a class discussion. In a more formal setting, like when I'm at the front, children sort of vary, don't they? But when they're in a circle and everybody is of equal importance, they feel more confident and more... able to say something. In the two years I have been here I haven't had anybody ask if they can pass... because we set it up in a very, very positive way at the start of the year, and they know they can say anything without anybody saying it was wrong, so they feel comfortable to say something. It may not always be pertinent to what we are discussing, but they feel comfortable to say something, which is the whole issue, isn't it really?"

She also feels that Circle Time has particularly helped a child with emotional and behavioural difficulties:

"I have a young chap in my class who's got a history of having a very short fuse, and I have had a lot of negative feed-back from home. We've worked very hard with him this year, and now he is able to vocalise his feelings... without resorting to thumping people, which is what he was doing last year. I mean, even (the headteacher) has noticed that. He sat down and talked through an incident with her last week, whereas last year that wouldn't have happened. It would have been a case of somebody coming in crying. Now he's talking through it and explaining why he is unhappy. One of the children concerned said 'let's discuss it' and we had a Circle Time, an impromptu one really, just because they wanted to do it that way. He felt comfortable with the perimeters of the Circle Time situation."

These quotes illustrate that, as hypothesised, teachers feel that the 'Iceberg' method of peer mediation training and peer mediation itself can be of benefit to children with special needs, both those who are suffering from excess introversion, and those with emotional and behavioural difficulties. Also, the use of Circle Time to train pupils in the 'Iceberg' and mediation skills, does indeed appear to lead to pupils transferring them to other more real situations, and to their enjoying and feeling ownership over the process. Another Year Six teacher (who did not participate in the teacher training) says that "they taught me a lot through some of the Circle Time activities," illustrating how an initiative that began with teachers imposing a structure, ended on this occasion with pupils teaching her the benefits of the process. According to this teacher, their co-operation skills had become internalised by this stage, leading, as hypothesised, to a reduction in the need for behaviour management strategies:

"There are very few occasions when we do have any clashes or anything disruptive. Yes all sorts of occasions spring to mind. A lot of Art work they've worked on together, Science activities as well. I think they're pretty good with that – it shows in many ways."

The third Year Six teacher also feels that her pupils are using their co-operation skills to deal with real issues, in this case peer-group dynamics:

"They quite quickly developed a class identity, and although there are a few people who don't quite fit in and are a bit on the outside, usually it's not too much of a problem. Those children join in and other people help them. So yes, I think they're quite good at that."

She also identifies the fact that she sees many of the children using the support of teachers, mediators and Circle Time to express their feelings and needs "often they need a teacher, lunchtime supervisor, or a mediator to help them to get the words out... I think that not many of them actually have the skills to say it on their own, apart from when we have Circle Time." Their

affirmation skills appear well established "they do find it quite easy to affirm each other. They've got the language and they know what sort of things are affirming and which things are put-downs, so yes, they use affirming language."

In School One, then, the use of the 'Iceberg' method of peer mediation training (including Circle Time) and peer mediation itself, can possibly be judged to have led to the acquisition by pupils of a high level of affective and social cognitive skill. The training may have begun this process, but it was not until the pupils were given opportunities to use and consolidate their skills in real situations that these appear to have become assimilated and internalised.

School Two

The results of the interviews with the teachers in School Two have been summarised in Table 9.2:

Table 9.2 Changes in the Level of Skill amongst the Pupils in School Two as Perceived by Teachers

CLASS	SKILLS	T1 - T2	T2 - T3	T1 - T3
Class One	Conflict resolution	Improved from low to medium.	Remained medium.	Improved from low to medium.
	Affirmation	Improved from low to medium.	Remained medium.	Improved from low to medium.
	Co-operation	Improved from low to medium.	Remained medium.	Improved from low to medium.
	Communication	Improved from low to medium.	Remained medium.	Improved from low to medium.

	Listening	Remained medium.	Remained medium.	Remained medium.
	Mediation	Remained medium.	Remained medium.	Remained medium.
Class Two	Conflict resolution	Improved from low to medium.	Remained medium.	Improved from low to medium.
	Affirmation	Improved from low to high.	Deteriorated from high to medium.	Improved from low to medium.
	Co-operation	Improved from low to medium.	Improved from medium to high.	Improved from low to high.
	Communication	Improved from low to medium.	Deteriorated from medium to low.	Remained low.
	Listening	Improved from low to high.	Remained high.	Improved from low to high.
	Mediation	Improved from low to medium.	Remained medium.	Improved from low to medium.
Class Three	Conflict resolution	Improved from low to medium.	Remained medium.	Improved from low to medium.
(Control)	Affirmation	Improved from low to high.	Deteriorated from high to medium.	Improved from low to medium.
	Co-operation	Improved from medium to high.	Remained high.	Improved from medium to high.
	Communication	Remained medium.	Remained medium.	Remained medium.

	Listening	Improved from low to medium.	Improved from medium to high.	Improved from low to high.
	Mediation	Remained medium.	Remained medium.	Remained medium.

These findings suggest that, according to the teachers' perceptions, the most common pattern of change in skill level (in the areas tested for) amongst the pupils in the two experimental classes was from low prior to the beginning of the entire programme, to medium by the end of it (T1-T3). This pattern of change occurred 58% of the time. The most common pattern of change identified by the teachers in School One (from low at the outset to high by the end of the eighteen-month period of research) was identified by the teachers in School Two to have occurred 8% of the time it occurred 83% of the time in School One). Indeed, in Class One in School Two, the teacher felt that none of the skills were high by the end of the programme, and in Class Two, the teacher felt that only two of the six skills were high at this time.

Throughout the eighteen months of the programme, between the three times of testing, the level of skill amongst the pupils in all skill areas appeared to improve either from low to medium, from medium to high or from low to high 56% of the time, remained the same 39% of the time, and deteriorated 5% of the time (T1-T2, T2-T3, and T1-T3). In Class One, the change that the teacher felt did occur, from low to medium in conflict resolution, affirmation, co-operation, and communication, occurred by the end of the 'Iceberg' peer mediation training (T1-T2). There appeared to be no further change between the end of the training (T2) and the end of the eighteen-month period of research (T3). In Class Two, also, the teacher felt that there was more improvement between the first and the second time of testing (T1-T2) than between the second and the third time of testing (T2-T3). By the end of the 'Iceberg' peer mediation training (T1-T2) the level of skill appeared to have improved from low to high in affirmation and listening, and from low to medium in conflict resolution, co-operation, communication and mediation. Between the end of the training and the end of the eighteen-month period of research (T2-T3) the teacher

noted one further improvement in level of skill and two skills deteriorated. It will be remembered that, during this time, no peer mediation service was set up in School Two, as had originally been planned, and that any further skills training was carried out purely out of the interest of the teachers involved.

The teacher of the control class in School Two makes it clear in her second interview that she has begun to use some of the activities from the 'Iceberg' peer mediation training course with her pupils, and has therefore compromised the use of her class as a control class. As in School One, however, the teacher did not receive any training, nor were the pupils trained in mediation skills, so that the class can be considered as a partial control with some improvement in skills to be expected. In this class the average level of skill amongst the pupils in the areas tested for was reported to improve 50% of the time, remain the same 44% of the time, and deteriorate 6% of the time. This perceived pattern of change is not much weaker than the pattern of change in the experimental classes, suggesting that the teacher training and the mediation skills training did not have much impact on the level of pupils' skills in this school.

During the second and third interviews it emerges that, although the teachers felt that some pupils improved their skills through the peer mediation training, others do not. During the second interview, Teacher One highlights a problem in her class, that she notices a split between the two extremes of ability and behaviour. She says of their listening skills "I would say a higher percentage that can than can't, but again, I'd say it's mixed. I've got the extremes. It's difficult to give an answer that will cover everybody." Likewise with affirmation skills, the training programme appears to be benefiting the pupils differentially "I've noticed a measured improvement with certain people." This has resulted in an even bigger split in the class:

"I think they're getting on better than they used to, in general, but there are some that seem to be appearing more as outsiders than they used to. I think its because everyone else has got closer. Some people have got pushed out more."

This suggests that any improvements in skills in individual pupils is only partial, as the pupils in the class have not learnt the social skill of inclusivity, which is fundamental to several of the 'Iceberg' skills. It also suggests that this teacher has not been successful in using the training programme to integrate pupils who have difficulty with their social skills. It is perhaps worthy of note, here, that this teacher was only in her second term of her second year of teaching, and this may well have implications for how universally transferable or otherwise, the peer mediation training programme being evaluated here is.

It also becomes clear during the second and third interviews with both teachers in this school that they feel that the pupils' awareness of conflict resolution techniques has generally improved, although their ability to act on their awareness is not always evident. Teacher One is optimistic at this stage that the training programme appears to have had the effect of reducing the amount of fighting amongst certain pupils "we still get the problems of physical trouble, but it tends to be where people have lost their temper." She goes on to say also that where pupils do lose their temper, some of them are not expressing it through violence to the same degree "whereas before it wouldn't have just been losing their temper, nowadays... once they have let loose their views, they seem to want to sort it out afterwards, when they've calmed down." There appears to be the beginnings of some awareness here, and a greater degree of impulse control, but the behaviour of some the pupils continues to include violence.

Teacher Two makes it clear in her second interview that, although the peer mediation training is complete, she has not been able to progress much beyond raising awareness of the skills amongst her pupils and that they are still dependent on her for the resolution of their conflicts:

"I think they're reasonably aware now. They know that I would say that, if you can't think of anything nice to say, don't say anything at all. If someone's bothering you, walk away, go and speak to someone. They are aware of the fact that they can come and see me. It

has been known for them to drag me out of the staff-room at lunchtime. I have always made myself reasonably available to them."

This teacher also feels that the pupils' ability to express their feelings and needs has largely not progressed beyond their need for teacher support "I still think they sometimes need to do it through the medium of an adult." By the time of the third interviews, when the pupils are in Year Six, this teacher is now the teacher of Class One. The fact that the pupils have not had the benefit of a peer mediation service to resolve their own conflicts is evident "we do a lot of talking with the children, but that would be very much with an adult mediator. They don't automatically try to resolve things themselves. It is suggested that they go off and talk together, but they haven't initiated that." Any possible improvements in the pupils' skills are not sufficiently internalised to avoid the skills being eroded in adverse circumstances "(co-operation) generally quite good with group work, and then someone will break that. The wrong thing will be said and it's gone, which is a shame. It's like sitting on a time bomb." The pupils still do not demonstrate the social skill of inclusivity, as a new pupil in the class led to conflict, and some of the pupils in the class do not use conflict resolution skills because the teacher feels that they "actually enjoy the conflict." This teacher is still trying to teach the pupils co-operation skills by talking to them about the importance of co-operation, but, by her own admission, such discussion has little effect:

"Oh dear, we always plug and plug away at co-operating with each other, getting on together. If you can't get on, if you can't say a good thing, there's no need to say a bad thing. I keep saying to them, I'm not going to give up, come July we'll still be saying it to you. We may or may not have got anywhere... it might work for a week or two weeks, and then have to be re-installed, but we keep going."

The problem of the divide in the class is still marked, but this time the teacher relates it to a gender divide:

"The group of girls are very cohesive together. I'm sure you could give them a week's work and leave them at school on their own and it would be done beautifully. They would have had a super time and got on, socially got on, together, because they would have grown and grown. The boys – they probably wouldn't even still be alive."

The final interview concerning Class Two is with its new Year Six teacher, who was the teacher of Class One last year. She feels that she has benefited from having participated in the programme, and that her teaching approach has "changed dramatically." She says that she uses the techniques that were part of the teacher training "all the time." She has continued to develop the class' affirmation skills, and the pupils appear to have made some limited improvements:

"Getting better... getting better all the time. I mean, they're still in the habit, if someone's done something really well, that I will stop them and show them, and they ask can we give them a round of applause, that sort of thing. They do that, but then there's the other extreme. You'll ask them a question and if it's a silly answer then they'll snigger... but they are doing that less now."

In general, however, their skill acquisition seems restricted. This teacher says that "there are certain people in the class who change friends more often than I change my socks," and that these pupils have "very few social skills." Once again, the teacher notes a problem with inclusivity "we've got some new children who haven't settled in," and their ability to communicate feelings and needs is not in evidence "I would say that not a lot of that goes on." Their conflict resolution and mediation skills are still at a level of awareness, with little actual ability, so that they can sometimes make things worse for their peers "(mediation) certain people try, yes, but sometimes it makes things more difficult."

In School Two, then, there is no evidence that the use of the 'Iceberg' method of peer mediation training lead to the acquisition of a high level of affective and social cognitive skill. The training

may have begun the process, with limited results, but the initiative was not sustained and pupils were not able to use and consolidate the skills in real situations, so that they could not become fully assimilated and internalised. The result of this was that, by the end of the eighteen-month period of research, the management of conflict in the school was still largely in the hands of the staff.

School Three

The results of the interviews with the teachers in School Three have been summarised in Table 9:3:

Table 9:3 Changes in the Level of Skill amongst the Pupils in School Three as Perceived by Teachers

CLASS	SKILLS	T1 - T2	T2 - T3	T1 - T3
Class One	Conflict resolution	Improved from low to medium.	Remained medium.	Improved from low to medium.
	Affirmation	Improved from low to medium.	Remained medium.	Improved from low to medium.
	Co-operation	Improved from low to high.	Deteriorated from high to medium.	Improved from low to medium.
	Communication	Remained low.	Improved from low to medium.	Improved from low to medium.
	Listening	Remained medium.	Remained medium.	Remained medium.
	Mediation	Remained low.	Remained low.	Remained low.

Class Two	Conflict resolution	Remained medium.	Remained medium.	Remained medium.
	Affirmation	Remained medium.	Remained medium.	Remained medium.
	Co-operation	Improved from medium to high.	Deteriorated from high to medium.	Remained medium.
	Communication	Remained low.	Improved from low to medium.	Improved from low to medium
	Listening	Remained medium.	Remained medium.	Remained medium.
	Mediation	Improved from low to medium.	Remained medium.	Improved from low to medium.
Class Three	Conflict resolution	Improved from low to medium.	Remained medium.	Improved from low to medium.
(Control)	Affirmation	Remained high.	Deteriorated from high to medium.	Deteriorated from high to medium.
	Co-operation	Improved from medium to high.	Deteriorated from high to medium.	Remained medium.
	Communication	Remained low.	Improved from low to medium.	Improved from low to medium.
	Listening	Improved from medium to high.	Deteriorated from high to medium.	Remained medium.
	Mediation	Improved from low to medium.	Remained medium.	Improved from low to medium.

These findings suggest that, according to the teachers' perceptions, between the beginning and the end of the period of research (T1-T3) pupils' skills in these areas improved from low to medium 50% of the time, and either remained medium or low for the other 50% of the time. The

most common pattern of change perceived in School One, from low at the outset to high by the end of the eighteen-month period of research, did not occur at all in School Three.

Throughout the eighteen months of the programme, between the three times of testing, the teachers reported that the level of skill amongst pupils in all skill areas improved either from low to medium, from medium to high or from low to high 36% of the time, remained the same 59% of the time, and deteriorated 5% of the time (T1-T2, T2-T3, and T1-T3). Most of the perceived improvements in level of skill occurred after the peer mediation training course (T1-T2). There was no apparent change between the end of the training (T2) and the end of the eighteen-month period of research (T3) apart from teachers reporting communication skills improving from low to medium in both classes, and co-operation skills deteriorating from high to medium in both classes. Again, it will be remembered that during this time, no peer mediation service was set up in School Three, as had originally been planned, and that any further skills training was carried out purely out of the interest of the teachers involved.

The teacher of the control class in School Three also explains in her second interview that she has begun to use some of the activities from the 'Iceberg' peer mediation training course with her pupils, and has therefore compromised the use of her class as a control class. As in the other two schools, however, the teacher did not receive any training, nor were the pupils trained in mediation skills, so that the class can be considered as a partial control with some improvement in skills to be expected. In this class the average level of skill amongst the pupils in the areas tested for was reported to improve 45% of the time, remain the same 33% of the time, and deteriorate 22% of the time. This pattern of change is not weaker than the pattern of change in the experimental classes, suggesting, as in School Two, that the teacher training and the mediation skills training did not have much impact on the level of pupils' skills.

As in School Two also, it emerges during the second and third interviews with both teachers in this school that the teachers felt that the pupils' awareness of conflict resolution techniques has

generally improved, although their ability to act on their awareness is not always evident. During the second interview, when the peer mediation training is complete, Teacher One says of her class "they are aware of the strategies and the skills (of conflict resolution) but they don't always employ them... they probably need more practice, more encouragement to do it." They also appear not to be transferring their affirmation skills to other situations "in the Life Skills lessons very good... It's not something that they do all the time in their ordinary work... " They do appear to be transferring their co-operation skills to other contexts "for Circle Time sometimes on a Friday afternoon we'll do technology. We do it as a Life Skills lesson and we've got our groups. I think they are pretty good at co-operating with each other and working quietly in a team, that sort of thing." But these gains are no longer in evidence by the time of the final interview when the pupils are in Year Six "they know they should be co-operating, but sometimes they are not transferring it."

During the second interview, Teacher Two states that any improvements in her pupils' ability to affirm each other are not sustained:

"That again varies, depending on what's been going on in the school, who they've had, if they've been disrupted. If it's just after a holiday, then they're not very good at it, and on a Monday they can sometimes be a bit off. The middle of the week is fine, the end of the week is fine."

As in Class One, the pupils in Class Two seem to be aware of conflict resolution strategies, but are not always acting on them:

"They still have problems... there is still a tendency, if somebody says something in a horrible way to me, I'll say it back in a horrible way to them rather than saying 'please don't do that, I don't want you to do that.' They know that's what they should do, but again, in the heat of the moment, they forget it."

Likewise with their listening skills, pupils appear less able to listen to each other in a supportive way outside of their Life Skills lessons "in the lessons we've done they're very good, they will listen and they will give support, but if they don't think it's a specific lesson, they're not necessarily as good."

By the time of the final interviews, when the pupils are in Year Six, they do not appear to have progressed beyond this initial stage of awareness. They have not consolidated or internalised their skills, with the result that any apparent gains can easily be eroded:

"We did outdoor and adventure P.E., and they loved that. They were very good at working as a team... until it came to – if you had points for anything, it was always somebody else's fault they hadn't got as many, or they cheated, or whatever. Actually playing the game, no problem, so you'd be feeling 'Oh, this lesson's gone really well, aren't they marvellous,' then some stupid little thing would happen and you'd be thinking 'Oh, crumbs!'"

In School Three, then, on the evidence discussed, the use of the 'Iceberg' method of peer mediation training did not lead to the acquisition of a high level of affective and social cognitive skill. The training may have begun the process, with limited results, but the initiative was not sustained and pupils were not able to use and consolidate the skills in real situations, so that they could not become fully assimilated and internalised.

School Four (Control)

The results of the interviews with the teachers in School Four have been summarised in Table 9.4:

Table 9:4 Changes in the Level of Skill amongst the Pupils in School Four as Perceived by Teachers

CLASS	SKILLS	T1 - T2	T2 - T3	T1 - T3
Class One	Conflict resolution	Remained low.	Improved from low to medium.	Improved from low to medium.
	Affirmation	Remained medium.	Remained medium.	Remained medium.
	Co-operation	Remained medium.	Remained medium.	Remained medium.
	Communication	Remained low.	Remained low.	Remained low.
	Listening	Remained low.	Remained low.	Remained low.
	Mediation	Remained low.	Remained low.	Remained low.

As this school is a control school, very little change in the level of pupils' skills in the areas tested for is to be expected, and it is indeed the case that between the beginning and the end of the period of research (T1-T3) the teachers felt that the level of skills remained low or medium 83% of the time. It was not considered by the teachers of this control class to be high at any point. This

suggests that any changes taking place in the experimental schools were owed to the use of the 'Iceberg' method of peer mediation training and peer mediation itself.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the peer mediation element of the programme being evaluated appears to be vital to the full acquisition of the 'Iceberg' and mediation skills. The training programme seemed to lead only to a partial acquisition of the skills, and pupils were judged not able to transfer them to other situations without their proper consolidation. Despite this, pupils in all three schools appeared to make more progress in these skills than pupils in the control school, suggesting that positive change in the development of such skills is possible, even when the setting up of a full peer mediation service is not an outcome of training.

Such findings suggest that it is both possible and desirable to train pupils in the 'Iceberg' and mediation skills in order for them to take more responsibility for their behaviour as a peer group, and resolve their own conflicts. Failure to achieve this is associated here with teachers remaining in control of the management of behaviour in school.

Chapter Ten: Additional Findings from the Teacher and Headteacher Interviews

As has already been discussed in previous chapters, the teacher and headteacher interviews were designed to support the main experiment by collecting evidence to expand upon the research findings from the pupil questionnaires. The findings which directly relate to the main experiment, therefore, have been reported upon in previous chapters. Additional findings, however, which go part of the way towards explaining why peer mediation was successful in only 1 of the 3 schools are reported on here. Caution does need to be applied as the findings are not corroborated by any additional evidence from elsewhere (e.g. Ofsted reports, school policies, interviews with the children).

This chapter is structured to relate back to some of the themes from the Literature Review section of this research, notably bullying and humanism in education (including behaviour management). It explores school ethos (as far as it can be ascertained from the evidence collected as part of this research) and the apparently crucial role of the headteacher in determining the success of the programme.

Bullying

Teachers' awareness of how serious and prevalent the problem of bullying was has been explored in Chapter 7. Additional findings from the teacher interviews, however, suggest that there may well have been different attitudes towards bullying amongst the teachers in the 3 different schools.

In School One, by the time of the final interviews, the teachers continue to appear both concerned about reducing bullying, and aware of its subtle nature and potential for psychological damage. The third teacher, who by this time was the peer mediation scheme co-ordinator, continues to show concern:

"I think there's more than I realised before and I think that it's the subtle bullying - the looks, the sideways glances, the 'if you don't wear these trainers, you're not in' sort of thing, that happens almost all the time, and there's a code, a secret code that's part of the bullying - 'if you don't fit this description... then you're not in. That's very very strong, particularly in this class."

This teacher feels that "you've got to be really cautious, really clever to spot it." Phrases such as "I'm not going to fool myself," "I think there's more than I realised before," and "you've got to be really cautious, really clever to spot it," suggest a concern and a sophistication on the part of these teachers.

The main strategies mentioned by the teachers in School Two to combat bullying are 'structure,' and 'control.' Teacher One says that there isn't much bullying in the classroom "because the day is very structured," while Teacher Two says that there is not much bullying in her classroom "because I feel that I keep quite a tight control on the children." She extends this to lunchtimes by saying that there are fewer incidents of bullying when the children are closely watched by the lunchtime supervisors. If it were indeed the case that staff felt a need to retain structure and control both in the classroom and the playground this could possibly explain why an opportunity to exploit the humanist intervention of peer mediation was not fully taken up.

The two teachers of the experimental classes in School Two taught each other's Year Five classes in Year Six, so that the third interviews were with both teachers who were fully involved in the programme. By the third interview, Teacher One appears more confident that the conflicts that are occurring in her class are not bullying "I wouldn't put it so much as bullying, I would put it as disagreements." Teacher Two's apparent need for control to prevent bullying is still in evidence, "there's a real containing exercise this year." Like the teachers in School One, she is more aware of psychological bullying "I think there is some less obvious, mental bullying,

emotional bullying, just by a look or a glance, or the odd word," but she appears less confident than the teachers in School One of having strategies to deal with it.

There also appears to be more of a focus in School Three than in the other two schools on why particular pupils are victims of bullying. In her first interview, Teacher One says that two of the boys in her class were involved in bullying another pupil "somebody from a different class who is a very quiet and a very easy target." The supply teacher standing in for Teacher Two's first interview also identifies a pupil who was the victim of "not exactly bullying, but unkind behaviour which I suppose could become bullying" (a group of pupils not sitting next to her and putting her things in funny places!), as "a bit of a poorly soul, not very able, rather a fusspot." The implication of both of these comments is that the victims were somehow asking to be bullied. This could possibly explain why the children report such small amounts of bullying. Teacher One in her second interview does say that bullying appeared to increase after the peer mediation training programme "when we first started the course a lot of people complained (of name-calling) because their awareness was raised, so they thought, well I don't have to put up with this." She goes on to say that the problem of increased complaints was 'sort of dealt with' by staff, leading to a normalisation of the situation. The implication here is that the pupils went back to feeling that they did have to put up with name-calling.

The third interviews in School Three, when the classes were in Year Six, were carried out with one teacher who had not been part of the original programme and Teacher Two, who carried on with her class. Both teachers express an awareness of quite frequent physical and psychological bullying going on. Teacher Two makes a connection between the school culture and levels of bullying:

"One of the things that I have found interesting is I don't think, and this is only my opinion, but I don't think that we will ever eradicate bullying at this school or maybe any other school while the children feel its OK to be friends with the bully, and that is what they feel.

The reason that they feel it is OK to be friends with the bully is that it gives them protection, so if they need some problem sorted out, instead of going to negotiation or whatever, they go to the bully and get them to sort it out.... And it's not just in my class, this is a Year Six or a school thing."

She also identifies two types of bully "there's the bully that does it for their reasons who is an out and out bully, and the bully that does it because their friends are asking them to do it and they're just buying popularity." Phrases such as "one of the things that I have found interesting" "I don't think," and "this is only my opinion," suggest that Teacher Two has been reflecting on the nature and origins of bullying in school and has come to her own conclusions. This is possibly as a result of her having participated in the programme.

A key question for this research is why School One was successful in reducing some forms of bullying where the other two schools were not. As noted above, the attitude towards bullying of the teachers in School One appears to be different to the attitude of the teachers in the other two schools. Although there is insufficient evidence to explore this more fully, they appear to take the problem of bullying seriously and remained eager to find ways of helping victims of bullying to come forward and to be empowered to deal with the situation themselves. Further clues can be found by examining the teacher interviews more closely to reveal the strategies that the teachers in School One were using in order to fully implement the aims of the peer mediation programme, and the wider school anti-bullying drive. During her second interview Teacher One says:

"I feel the bullying outside of the classroom situation is probably still prevalent because... although 'Circle Time' is taking place throughout the school now, we've only been doing it for a short time. I feel that within the class we have more control and it's an avenue to sort out problems. The children will accept that and they know what's going to happen when we say we'll try to sort out this incident. There's still bullying in the way of name-calling, but it's a good strategy to sort it out in this way... We've got more strategies, but I

think it's the children that have got their strategies rather than having teachers with more strategies. Ultimately if it's always the teachers who are sorting it out, it just tends to stay the same. I think that in their general relationships they're more willing to apologise and think 'Well, this is one way of sorting it out.'

In this extract, Teacher One reveals that she is using 'Circle Time' as a form of whole-group mediation to sort out incidents occurring in class, including name-calling. She is aware of this practice being used elsewhere in the school, and is confident that, given more time, it will reduce bullying outside of the classroom. Paradoxically, she feels that she, and others on the staff team, have more control as the children themselves have more control. She identifies what she sees as an increase in pupil's social cognitive skills as the reason behind increased control over resolving their own disputes, and suggests that this change could not have occurred if teachers had retained sole responsibility for resolving disputes - including disputes involving bullying. In this, she is (unconsciously?) describing the basic tenets of humanistic education, notably the 'client centered approach' (Rogers, 1951) and clearly believes that empowering her pupils to resolve their own disputes is a positive step towards reducing bullying. This is in contrast to the beliefs expressed by the teachers in Schools Two and Three. Teacher Two in School Two, for example, reported seeing her ability to control the children's behaviour as the most important element in dealing with bullying. As discussed in Chapter Four, whilst making bullying more difficult in a practical sense, this strategy does not allow for the development of pupils' social cognitive skills (Fontana, 1994). Again, as discussed above, in School Three, Teacher Two identifies a culture in school where the children feel that "it is OK to be friends with the bully." This is in contrast to what the children in School One are being offered through 'Circle Time.' At this stage the teachers in School One feel that their pupils are beginning to explore and sort out problems, with the result that they appear more ready to see their part in a conflict and apologise.

It is also worthy of note that Teacher One in School One feels that progress has been made in dealing with name-calling, even though the frequency of name-calling has not reduced. She feels

that the peer mediation programme gives pupils strategies to deal with it, and that the situation is therefore improved. Given that levels of name-calling appear to be resistant to change, future research could perhaps focus on whether pupils felt that they were more equipped to deal with it when it did happen, rather than using the reduction of name-calling as a criterion to evaluate the success of the programme.

Humanism in Education and Behaviour Management

The Literature Review section of this research explores humanism in education and humanistic approaches towards behaviour management in some detail. The interviews with teachers contain some information which suggests the extent to which humanistic practices were being used in the classrooms of the experimental schools, and the value that was placed in each school on improving pupil feelings of self-esteem and empowerment, which are the priorities of humanistic education.

In order to raise the self-esteem of all pupils, the teachers in School One embarked on a programme of Circle Time as part of the initial peer mediation training. The evaluations of this work are positive. One teacher in her second interview says that:

"I think the level of self-esteem has improved since we started doing Circle Time. At the start of Circle Time we had quite a number of children who were reluctant to speak out and to share what they felt in front of other children... but I've noticed now that nearly all of them will take part quite spontaneously."

Humanistic approaches towards behaviour management are also in evidence in School One. Teacher One in her second interview, for example, talks about a silver bracelet which had gone missing in a PE session being voluntarily replaced the next day by the child who took it, following a group mediation in Circle Time:

"I think that this is what's really accentuated for me. This would be a very difficult incident to sort out, especially the day after, and it had to be handled carefully. I think that the fact that all the children witnessed and heard what everybody else felt and were able to say what should happen affected the child who took it. We still don't know to this day who took it, but it really was a most magnificent breakthrough to get it back and to have sorted it out in this way. Coupled with that there were one or two other incidents about children having disagreements. I think you could definitely see a level of maturity that's come out over the months because of what we've been doing which I think, going back some time, we wouldn't have been able to cope with. Also, they wouldn't have known different procedures that are now sort of ingrained in the class."

This is an example of a situation, which the teacher saw as potentially quite difficult because of the seriousness of theft. She may previously have needed to take action using arbitration, but the group mediation enabled the child to make different choices in an unpressured environment. The child is reported to demonstrate an ability to resolve the situation through her own initiative, potentially leaving her self-esteem and her feelings of being in charge of her own decision-making intact. Had she been found out and punished this would most probably not have been the case. Teacher One uses language, such as "magnificent breakthrough," that suggests strong changes, and she compares her own current level of comfort with pupil levels of skill and empowerment (and that of her colleagues) with a possible previous lack of ability to handle them. In giving this example and reflecting on it, this teacher is able to give a practical example of how she used a humanistic behaviour management technique which probably left a child's self esteem and feelings of empowerment intact. She also shows that she is increasingly able to use more child-centred methods, and that the quality of her relationship with her class is important to her. The situation that she describes mirrors what Rogers and Freiberg (1994) say about the person-centred classroom (described in more detail in Chapter Four):

"Person-centred classroom management advances the facilitative conditions needed to encourage active participation in a co-operative learning environment... Person-centred classrooms emphasise caring, guidance, co-operation, and the building of self-discipline that is developmentally appropriate for all members of the classroom. Person-centred classrooms encourage students to think for themselves and help each other" (p.239-240).

During the final interviews in School One, when the experimental classes were in Year Six, the issue of the willingness and ability of staff to empower their pupils again emerges. A relatively new teacher to the school makes it clear that she had difficulty at the beginning of the year in dealing with the empowered group of pupils who came up from Year Five:

"When they first came into the class they felt they had a lot of control, but I'm afraid I think it was the wrong sort. Because of their confidence perhaps, maybe they had been in a situation that wasn't as profitable educationally before. I suspect they thought they'd got the wrong sort of control, they could run the show, in crude terms. Now I'd like to think that they... feel they've got control over their own work and in some degree their own future, that's something that's been almost pounded into them."

The language that is being used here is the language of judgement and control, and this teacher may have disempowered her pupils by "pounding into them" the basic message outlined above. This teacher was not a party to any of the training, and does not appear to have the skills to support the pupils in developing an internal and mature locus of control. She appears to be at the stage which Teacher One admits (quoted above) she herself was at before the training, and this Year Six teacher may also need training in order to deal positively with the challenges of teaching pupils who feel empowered. It is interesting that this teacher's attitudes and teaching methods do not appear to have had an impact on pupil feelings of empowerment as revealed through their questionnaires. Indeed, it was at this time that there were the strongest changes. This would suggest that the momentum of the culture change in this school at this time was sufficiently strong for the pupils to

continue to feel more empowered, despite the views expressed by one of the teachers.

The teachers in School One felt that the peer mediation programme particularly served to raise the self-esteem of the mediators. Although the anonymous nature of the pupil questionnaires makes it difficult to carry out a proper analysis of the changes in self-esteem that took place amongst the actual peer mediators, the co-ordinator of the peer mediation service during the final interview does make a specific reference to how the self-esteem of the peer mediators appeared to be enhanced by their being chosen to deliver the mediation service:

"I think they have developed much more confidently because of being chosen as mediators, and they've stood up and explained what mediation is, they've been round the school and shown what it is, things like that, and I think that's really helped them to promote themselves, their own self confidence. I think the mediators generally, over the whole of Year Six, look bigger, taller, smilier. I think they've got a lot of confidence from it."

This finding is in line with other research from the United States (See Chapter Two) which also found benefits for the pupils chosen as mediators.

During the final interviews the Year Six teacher who was by then the peer mediation co-ordinator, gives concrete examples of ways in which the children may feel more empowered:

"I think some of the children feel like they have quite a lot of control, just because of some things that have happened over the year... where they have been asked about what they'd like or what the problems are, and people like the deputy headteacher have actually listened, and changes have happened in school. Now if you ask some of those children what they'll miss most, or what they think will happen when they leave the school, they say things like: "Well, I hope the dinner-time rota doesn't go just because we've gone," because they feel that they've set that up. Quite a few of them feel like that."

The example given here is part of a wider school-initiative to consult, enskill and empower pupils. The extent to which the changes that took place in pupil feelings of empowerment are a result of the peer mediation programme, and the extent to which those changes would have happened anyway due to the general school climate and ethos at the time can, of course, only ever be speculated upon. It could, however, be argued that such speculation is irrelevant, as peer mediation could not thrive in any case in a school that did not seek to empower pupils in other ways, and as the peer mediation programme almost certainly played a part in prompting and developing these attitudes and initiatives in the school. What is clear is that the sum effect of these initiatives was that the teachers felt that their pupils did experience increased feelings of empowerment.

In School Two, during the final interviews when the pupils were in Year Six, one of the teachers who was part of the programme in Year Five gives an example of how she feels she is able to empower her pupils. "within what they are doing... I would have control of that, within lesson time there's going to be a certain amount of choice for 60% to 70% of the time for the children." Being given a limited choice of activity within a lesson is certainly a first step towards developing a more internal locus of control, but genuine empowerment, creativity, and personal and social maturity appear to be dependent on a much wider review of teaching and learning styles, school culture, and school ethos. It is therefore perhaps not surprising that, according to the pupil questionnaires, there were no changes in pupil feelings of empowerment in this school over the eighteen-month period of this research.

In School Three, a clue as to why the peer mediation training programme, which included work to enhance self-esteem, had relatively little effect on the pupils is perhaps contained in a quote from Teacher One during her second interview in which she says that she feels that there has been some improvement in self-esteem partly because "when you (a teacher) come to a class, you are quite critical, 'you've got to do it this way, or you've got to do it that way,' whereas now they've got into the routines – they're getting a lot more praise." Her view of a class of pupils with high

self-esteem appears to be a class of pupils who, through criticism and instructions, have learnt how to please the teacher. This is not the aim of the peer mediation training, which supports pupils to feel good about their personal qualities and abilities, independently of the needs of class teachers to encourage pupils to work in particular ways. As discussed in Chapter Three, the humanistic roots of the peer mediation training mean that during their training pupils are treated and learn to treat others with "unconditional positive regard" (Rogers, 1951) within the boundaries of safety and common sense. This teacher, in criticising and shaping her pupils, is treating them with conditional positive regard: i.e. she will regard them positively *if* they are as she wants them to be. Research into parenting (Coppersmith, 1969) has shown that this is damaging to children's self-esteem. Although this teacher, and the other teacher in School Three, taught the peer mediation training programme to their pupils, it is possible that the children's self-concepts were affected more by these subliminal messages than by the content of the activities designed to raise their self-esteem.

In the second interviews in School Three, which is the time when the pupils were reporting increased feelings of empowerment, the teachers report that they were still providing a very structured environment for the pupils within the classroom, although by now the pupils were given more choice within a limited framework:

"Inside the classroom they have to adhere to quite strict rules and regulations, I try to make them as independent as I can, but they do have to do the work in order for me to give it to them... and they have to stay in their seats. It's a very controlled environment, very imposed discipline, but at the same time I think they feel that they are fairly treated. When there is a choice we vote on it or go with the majority decision, so I think it makes them feel like its fair and they have got some say, although it is quite strict in terms of the rules they have to keep to" (Teacher One).

"I would say they have very little control when I am there, but they certainly have a great

deal of control when I am not there, shall we say" (Teacher Two – said with irony).

Teacher Two's ironic "shall we say" was taken to convey that she felt that her pupils were using control destructively when she was not there to supervise them. It is possible that pupils felt increased feelings of empowerment (as revealed in their questionnaires) despite strict rules and a tightly controlled structure to the school day being imposed by these two teachers, partly because of the shock that they experienced in going from an Integrated Day to a teacher-lead model of learning at the beginning of the new school year, which meant that their base-line scores were more external than would normally have been the case, and partly due to their feelings of having increased choice later in the year within a structured framework.

These reported increased feelings of empowerment, however, did not last, and during the final interviews, the Year Six teachers make it clear that there was no change in their basic premise that control in school is firmly located with the teachers:

"I think it depends on the situation, there are times when they know they've got quite a bit of control over what goes on, and there are other times when they know they haven't got a say at all."

"They have very little control over what happens to them in class. They know how to manipulate the situation; they do know how to do that! They know what is expected of them to get control, and how to do it, and sometimes they will."

These quotes suggest a basic attitude that the pupils cannot be trusted with control, unless it is taken in a way that has been negotiated and agreed beforehand with the teacher. Within such a tight structure of teacher-centred power and control in school, the sustained development of internal locus of control amongst pupils did not take place according to the pupil questionnaires. If the teachers were protecting themselves and the pupils from the (possibly problematic) consequences

of pupils learning to take more power both in the classroom and the playground, then they were denying pupils opportunities to try out the skills that they learnt in the peer mediation training in real situations. Without applying them in real situations, pupils are left to pick up the hidden curricular messages. These may have been that the skills are for game-playing and pleasing the teacher, and not for practise and use in their own lives. As described in Chapter Two, Araki in 1990 identifies this lack of change at an organisational level as a missed opportunity for the support and promotion of pupils' rights in schools. He states that although pupils' rights have been legitimised by schools and society in general, few schools have modified their administrative attitudes and structures to provide the support required to translate pupils rights into successful action.

The research also revealed that where peer mediation did succeed in its objectives, the staff involved in its delivery, and ultimately all the adults in the school community, were given the opportunity to review their attitudes and develop their own skills. Taking this a stage further, it could be concluded that the teachers themselves needed a high level of personal and social skill in order to deliver the programme, including the ability to maintain their own self-esteem and feelings of empowerment whilst the pupils were reviewing and developing theirs.

Interviews with the Headteachers

Bullying

The headteacher of School One does not refer directly to bullying in her interviews, other than to say in her first interview that she sees the peer mediation programme "working very well with our identified prioritisation of an anti-bullying policy." She does, however, spend a lot of time in her interviews talking about her role in resolving disputes between pupils, and in empowering staff and pupils to work through disputes in a positive way.

The headteacher refers several times in her interviews to a structured process - close to the mediation process - that she has been using for four years to resolve the major incidents that come to her door. The process involves her "listening and being consistently balanced and fair," in order to help the pupils to "get past the consequences of the immediate incident and... resolve the longer term issues involved." The headteacher describes and evaluates the process during her third interview. She says that pupils are getting used to the idea that "one by one they will come and give a statement, and we will faithfully write down what they say, and we'll then bring them all back together, and I will share the statements (provided I don't think that it exposes one of the children to potential harm) I will share the statements with their agreement, and ask how we should proceed with it." Because she has been using the process for so long, and because the peer mediation programme in school sets out to enable the pupils to learn and practice the same skills for themselves, the headteacher feels that real progress is being made:

"The skill I have noticed is that in incidents that are to do with falling out and acts of unkindness between groups of friends, which are quite common... they'll quickly see the commonality. They are becoming very skilled at saying: 'Oh, I can see why you thought that.' They are becoming faster at seeing points at which they could have intervened or could have changed the outcome... I have been very impressed with two groups of (Year Six) girls recently... at the maturity of their interpretation of their own behaviour, and I'm sure that that's because they've got into a more reflective habit."

Later in the interview, the headteacher confirms what Teacher One said about 'Circle Time' being used by an increasing number of staff to develop conflict resolution skills amongst pupils. She refers to the teachers of the experimental classes as "skilled practitioners" in this respect. It appears that the pupils in the experimental classes in School One are being given consistent messages about positive ways of resolving disputes from the headteacher, their teachers and the peer mediation training programme. Not only this, but they are being given the time and the space, both in the classroom and in the playground to develop and practise conflict resolution

skills in real life settings. The role of the headteacher, here, appears to be important. She herself feels that she has set up a series of expectations about how conflict should be dealt with in school, and has lead by practical example. She has also given the whole staff the training, support and curriculum time necessary to develop these strategies. The role of the headteacher in the successful implementation of peer mediation and reducing bullying may be more important than was initially realised.

The headteacher of School Two mentions bullying twice in her interviews. On both occasions it is to show that she is keen to use a 'hands-off' approach. During her first interview she says that she wants the children to have:

"An understanding... that they're not the only one, they've all done it, and we've all been there. We've all made the mistakes and whether that's being a bully to someone or doing a hundred and one other things, we'll all have done it. I think that that's the most important bit because it means that you're not on your own."

Later in the same interview she gives an example of a recent situation where she chose not to intervene in a situation where a child may have been bullied:

"I said to a parent the other night - it was something about bullying - I said: 'Has Pupil X got a problem?' She said: 'Oh no, he said it was all right,' I said: 'Well, what happened?' She said: 'There was something, he thinks it was an accident but he's not quite sure. He's all right, but I've been told by...' I said: 'Hang on, let's go with him. He's happy at the moment, he's obviously OK with it, don't break this, we'll watch him, we'll support him. He knows that he can come to you, he's told you about this - let's trust him!'"

This is in contrast to what the headteacher of School One says about bullying. The headteacher of School One appears keen to work through conflicts with pupils; especially in situations of

bullying, even painstakingly writing down everything that they say in order to get a full understanding of the situation. The headteacher of School Two's strategy of 'understanding' the bully and of non-intervention is clearly different. By the end of the programme, the Headteacher of School Two is aware of the ways in which her lack of direct intervention may have caused problems for the pupils involved in the experiment:

"I think that some of the problems that we are having this year with Year 6 children are as a result of mediation being done badly last year. I don't think that we can lay all the blame on the children... I think we're to blame for raising their expectations about how incidents could be dealt with.... They were led to believe... that mediation was the answer to disputes, they have now found through experience that a dispute is solved the way it was always solved... by confrontation."

As discussed in Chapter Three, Hall and Hall (1988) identify a strong societal pull to revert back to systems which depower young people as a reaction against any attempt to empower them. They locate this pull within the teaching profession itself, saying that any teacher who gives pupils responsibility for their own learning is giving away power, which causes disturbance within the wider institution. This disturbance, they suggest, leads to forces being mobilised to destroy those situations which may be genuinely empowering for the individual. The headteacher of School Two seems to be describing a similar process of reverting to the norm, involving conflict and confrontation.

In common with some of her staff, the headteacher of School Three suggests that there is very little bullying in her school, and focuses on the sensitivity of victims. She assumes during the initial interview that, as a school with a caring Christian ethos, the staff are already modelling the attitudes and behaviour of mediation and that this accounts for the low level of conflict and bullying in school "whilst we haven't called it what you're calling it, in a general way we might well have been doing it. That would account for the lack of, what I would call, serious conflict." She

identifies name-calling as a problem for the 'sensitive child,' but asserts that "I would proudly put my hand on my heart and say we don't have batterings and bullyings in the school." This interview occurred after the incident where, according to the supply teacher standing in for Teacher Two, an Asian boy was hospitalised by a group of white children from his class.

This apparent reluctance to engage with the possibility of bullying in school on the part of the headteacher could explain why many of the teachers in her school are also reluctant to explore and work through bullying with their classes, and why so few children report being bullied. It could also explain Teacher Two's feeling that the children feel that: 'it is OK to be friends with the bully.' As discussed in Chapter Five, and highlighted by Stainton-Rogers (1991) and Macleod (1994) the creation of a whole-school ethos which is intolerant of bullying may well necessitate a bigger change than schools anticipate: "If we encourage kids to be open about bullying they will be open about other things as well – what happens at home, what they think about the school, what they think about the teachers." It is possible that the headteacher of School Three was reluctant to engage in this level of self-review for these reasons. It is also possible that she genuinely did not believe that there was a problem in her school.

Self-esteem and Locus of Control

As has already been shown in Chapter Seven, the headteacher of School One was not only concerned to effect positive change in her school, she was also clear about the strategies she needed to use to achieve it, one of which was the peer mediation programme which she saw as a valuable vehicle for changing teacher and pupil attitudes towards conflict.

During the first interview the headteacher of School One demonstrates her awareness, supported by the evidence a recent pre-inspection visit, of the start the school had already made in promoting high self-esteem amongst pupils through a positive culture in school:

"In inspectorial terms, I understand that ethos means that all-pervading climate of aims into practice that they see around a school. But the ethos has to start somewhere, and I would like to feel (it's been demonstrated in a recent pre-inspection visit) that the ethos of this school (but perhaps not demonstrated by every responsible person in the school) the ethos of this school is already one of listening to children, valuing children. That means not blaming the child when it is the ineffectiveness of the curriculum or the model that's at fault."

Also during the first interview, the headteacher speaks of her aspirations for the peer mediation programme, and it quickly becomes clear that she feels that there is still work to be done in creating a positive culture in school. She did not see peer mediation as a "bolt-on" scheme for pupils to use, but as a means by which adults and pupils in the school community could review attitudes towards conflict, power, and blame:

"There's something of a blaming culture in school, and I think we have to be honest and say that it emanates from grown-ups, sometimes in the school and sometimes outside. I would identify one of the main characteristics of that blaming culture as being taking the easy road to resolving incidents in the school, picking likely characters to blame, or blaming children because it's all that you can expect in an area like this... so I attach a lot of importance to information gathering from pupils, and I would view a central aim of this kind of work in the school to helping children resolve some of the difficulties without the degree of adult intervention that we currently have to employ."

In this, the headteacher is presenting a value system in which the role of adults reviewing their assumptions and attitudes alongside pupils is seen as an important part of creating a positive school culture. This value system has been shown by Rogers and Freiberg (1994, see Chapter Three) as much more likely to generate feelings of empowerment amongst pupils than a system where the focus is on teaching as a one-way process, supported by adult structure and control.

The headteacher is here acknowledging the role of the hidden curriculum, and of the subliminal messages that pupils get from watching the behaviour modeled by adults. She is suggesting, even at this early stage, that the peer mediation programme will only be successful if it can help to develop and support the staff.

She goes on to demonstrate an understanding of the principles behind peer mediation, and, in particular, of why it may succeed in modifying pupil behaviour where adult intervention may fail:

"Sometimes adults arrive at the wrong conclusions because they use a heavy hand, or because the authoritarian role they have, as deputy or head, results in the children parroting the words they think the adult wants to hear, rather than resolving the problem. You send them away having said the right things and having assumed the right body-posture, and they go out and do exactly the same thing again because, actually, you haven't reached them on the right note."

Again, this judgement stands in contrast to judgements made by the headteachers in the other two experimental schools, demonstrating a lack of clarity about the ways in which peer mediation is substantially different from adult intervention in peer disputes (see the following section). The headteacher in School One is showing from the outset that she is aware that the imbalance of power between teachers and pupils, and in particular between the deputy and the headteacher and the pupils, often leads to a superficial process of conflict resolution taking place during which pupils use the language and body posture that they feel is expected of them in order to avoid blame and punishment. Once these elements are removed, she goes on to suggest, peers who feel empowered and skilled in conflict resolution may well engage in a process that is more equal, genuine and likely to lead to positive changes in behaviour.

The headteacher in School One also makes the same link as Teacher One between pupil feelings of empowerment and an internal locus of control amongst teachers. During this initial

interview she says that "I see there being multi-benefits for the staff... it's going to clear substantial amounts of time during the day to be proactive instead of reactive. It's hopefully going to prevent this lurching from one behavioural crisis to another." In this, she is suggesting that peer mediation may well release teachers to use their time in ways of their own choosing (internal locus of control) rather than in ways that are demanded by crisis situations (external locus of control). For the headteacher of School One changing the behaviour of pupils appears inextricably linked to changing the behaviour of teachers and other adults in school.

During the second interview the headteacher of School One states that she has noticed a reduction in the level of conflict in school, although her caution is apparent:

"We were observing fewer incidents coming as far as here to be resolved, although there has been a spate recently. But I would say, without being able to quantify it, that fewer incidents are reaching a serious level. I almost didn't want to put this in to words earlier on this term, because I thought that I was deceiving myself into seeing something that might not be there, but I am certain of what I've seen."

Later in the same interview she goes further to state more positively that there has been "undoubtedly a massive improvement," which she goes on to explain:

"There's a climate most of the time, with most of the children, in which they feel – I can confidently engage in conversations because I think you want to listen to what I've got to say, and I expect if I am courteous, and I use people's names, and I wait my turn, I expect what I have to say to be valued because I am a member of the school, the family."

In this she is making a link between raised self-esteem and what she sees as increased feelings of acceptance, belonging, and empowerment amongst pupils. The headteacher's main reservation at this stage is that some staff were still using the skills-training element of the peer

mediation programme to play 'entertaining games' rather than to move on to the more serious work of practicing them in real situations, although she does acknowledge that her need to drive the programme through quickly may not be in accordance with the needs of staff to proceed at their own pace, and that the peer mediation service was not set to begin in any case before this interview had taken place.

Comments from the headteacher of School One about the improved conflict resolution skills of the staff involved in the peer mediation programme include "Well, it's sort of Road to Damascus stuff, isn't it...", and "very skilled, they are both very, very good practitioners, and (Teacher One) is as well." The headteacher at this stage also reveals that the experimental year group were "the most challenging Year Six class I've come across anywhere in my career," and adds that she felt that the programme was particularly successful with this group of pupils because the teachers involved in the programme "have been giving consistent messages." Thus, according to the objectives that she herself set, the headteacher of School One judged the programme (as part of a wider whole-school initiative to promote positive behaviour) to be successful in challenging and enskilling both pupils and teachers. She ends the final interview with a satisfied "that's what you need!"

Another Birmingham school to use a similar thorough model for implementing a peer mediation programme to the one used in School One, Nansen Primary, was also found by Ofsted in 1997 to have a 'very effective' mediator system. Ofsted also noted that the in the school:

"Relationships between pupils, and between adults and pupils are good... Pupils show respect for other people's feelings, values and beliefs, and relationships between different ethnic groups are good. Incidents of bullying are very rare. Pupils can work together and take responsibility."

"The general ethos of the school and the caring attitude of the staff underpin the school's approach to welfare and guidance... The school provides a safe caring environment and Circle Time allows pupils to explore emotional and social issues openly and effectively"

Perhaps this is an example of how peer mediation can be perceived to be of value in a school where the quality of relationships is good, and where school ethos (including the use of Circle Time) appears to reflect humanistic values.

During the first interview, the headteacher of School Two speaks of the poor role models of conflict resolution that children are given in the community. She refers to poor role models within society at large "but I think it's perhaps a reflection on society at the moment... it doesn't communicate – it digs its trench and that's it, and then we're in a position of somebody having to give way." She also refers to what she sees as poor role models given by the children's parents:

"One little quote from somebody who has two children who had a disagreement in school, and it had been solved. The parents are now at loggerheads. One parent said: 'I'm going to chop her bleeding legs off.' That's what the children are seeing. Now we've got to help children grow above that and it's very difficult because it's not going to happen (it's going to happen in our little family here) but they're going to be seeing a different role model outside."

The headteacher of School Two shows signs here of what the headteacher of School One refers to as the 'blaming culture'. Within her institution, again in contrast to the headteacher of School One, she feels that all staff in the school offer a good role-model for the children through their awareness that "you can disagree with somebody but still be part of a very good team."

During this initial interview, the headteacher of School Two shows that she is clear about the kinds of attitudes towards conflict she wants the children to have, and she shows an

understanding of the link between peer mediation and children's improved ability to own their part in a dispute. She gives an example of the way that she herself seeks to explain this to children:

"My analogy, which bores everybody silly, is that if I'm going at 50 miles an hour down a country road and the police car gets me, it's no good me saying the car in front was doing 60 miles an hour, and the car behind was... They got me and that's what I've got to learn to live with... and that's how I see the peer group."

She also gives an example of the way that she feels she is modelling for the pupils these attitudes towards owning mistakes:

"The number of times I talk to children and I say I wish it was 8 o'clock this morning again and we could start today again, and they say 'Why?' and I tell them why and that is the nice part about it."

The headteacher of School Two does not, however, refer to any strategies for promoting these attitudes other than through talking about them to pupils. She acknowledges that her repetition of the same analogy "bores everybody silly," but she does not make a link between her need for pupils to acquire certain attitudes and a wider whole-school initiative involving staff-training, as the headteacher of School One does. The introduction of peer mediation in Year Five was therefore largely dependent on the individual staff who were trained, who, in the event, showed that they were incapable of sustaining the initiative without the support of a structured whole-school approach. As discussed in Chapter Two, it has been found by Levy (1989) that involving as many people as possible in training at the outset, is conducive to the success of a peer mediation programme.

During the second and third interviews, however, the headteacher of School Two shows that she has become aware of her failure as headteacher to give the peer mediation programme the support it needed:

"In hindsight that's where we'd - I'd take it back. It's management mistakes that I made on setting it up. It should have... perhaps part of it was that we didn't really know, or I didn't really know where we, totally, where we were going. Perhaps I knew where we wanted to get to but I didn't know how we intended to get there.

If you don't keep it going and you don't move forward and you don't have somebody who's totally committed to driving it, you will get this problem... it needs somebody who's... strong enough to override, if you like, to push your strongest people through... I think that was my mistake, that I should have anticipated this and moved in and forced it along."

She was also more aware of the conflict management training needs of both the staff involved in the programme and the staff as a whole in order for the peer mediation programme to succeed.

"I think in hindsight, I think I would perhaps have given more training to the members of staff before we started moving into it. I think... that the mediation, the skill of mediation training with a group of children is far higher than I think perhaps we had recognised."

The headteacher states that they were "at the stage now where we ought to think about whole school," and that the peer mediation programme "has got to be a planned input." The headteacher of School Two reports that she is ending the programme at the point where the headteacher of School One reports she began: aware of the need for staff to review their attitudes towards blame, conflict and control alongside pupils; and aware of the need for the planned development of teachers' and pupils' conflict resolution skills as part of a whole-school

approach. In a Panel Discussion about the future of peer mediation in Sheffield in 1998 during the Mediation UK annual conference, Jessica Johnson of the Kingston Friends Workshop Group also reflects on the need for a whole-school approach:

"It needs everyone to really want to develop it together, and that's an on-going process. The strength comes when the staff begin *sharing* the co-operation and listening skills – using them appropriately in all subjects. There is then ownership... The telling point for me is when, for example, the year 3s will organise their own assembly on the theme of mediation – or whatever – and when it features in their poems and is written into aspects of their way of life."

The main benefit that the headteacher of School Two attributes to the peer mediation programme is its role in supporting the development of a school code of conduct.

"What it has helped us do is to recognise what is causing the problems, and hopefully we've now got it very clear with our five things that we expect from the code of conduct."

Again, this was already established in School One from the outset, so that the headteacher of School Two ends the programme at the point where the headteacher of School One began – aware of the need for a well-defined set of rules and expectations within which the peer mediation programme could be contained. The headteacher of School Two ends her final interview optimistic about the future based on the learning that she has acquired as a result of participating in this programme. Her final sentence is both positive and realistic "I would give it a couple of years and it should be running again."

The headteacher of School Three reveals in her first and second interviews (a third interview was not possible) that she is unclear about the aims and objectives of the peer mediation programme.

During the initial interview the headteacher makes links between what she sees as the 'moral' element of peer mediation, and the Christian values within her school:

"We do spend a lot of time on the catholicity of the school... I just think it (peer mediation) is another tool, or implement, or skill, that we'll have in making the children love and care for each other, which we continually preach to them in assemblies about... It's something that, whilst we haven't called it what you're calling it, in a general way we might well have been doing it."

She reveals here that she makes no distinction between the use of preaching and directive teaching methods to promote moral attitudes amongst pupils, and the active learning methods that pupils use as part of peer mediation training. Indeed, throughout both interviews the headteacher does not at any time refer to the enskilling and empowering pupils. When asked, during the first interview, what she would like to see coming out of the peer mediation programme the two examples that she gives involve adult power and control:

"There are occasions when we (the teachers) could say: "This is the way of resolving it," rather than somebody just being chastised verbally.

...how we can smooth the rough edges of the school. That's in their relationships with each other, or the mode of entry in and out of assembly."

The peer mediation programme is here being described as an authoritarian behaviour management tool, and not as a means of developing pupils' skills. It is possible that the Catholic and Christian ethos in this school are so strong that no other value system could be introduced, and certainly not a humanistic value system that emphasises the freedom of the individual to develop a personal sense of morality and an internal locus of control. It appears again that this headteacher feels that there are no real problems that need addressing in her school "we don't have terrific problems in

this particular school, we're very, very proud of that." Her belief that "we might well have been doing it" suggests that, although she is unclear about exactly what peer mediation is, she feels that, if it is generally held to be of positive benefit for the development of morality, it must already be happening in her school in some way.

During the second interview, the headteacher is equally vague about the peer mediation training that was delivered to her Year Five pupils, saying "because of the magnitude and size of this school... I don't get into the classes as regularly as I should do," and she suggests that, in order to find out how the programme is going, I as a researcher, speak with the "practitioners" (the teachers) rather than herself "the site manager." The headteacher of School Three shares the initial optimism of the headteacher of School two in assessing their starting points, but unlike the headteacher of School Two, she remains optimistic about the level of conflict resolution skills amongst staff and pupils in school. She alone amongst the three headteachers appears untouched by the peer mediation programme, ending the programme where she began.

Perhaps these findings suggest that the role of the headteacher is central in ensuring the success of peer mediation programmes. If the power relationship between the headteacher and her staff is similar to the power relationship between a teacher and her pupils, would be the case that headteachers need to affirm, enskill, and empower their staff in order for their staff to feel able to affirm, enskill and empower pupils. The apparent difference between School One and Schools Two and Three was that the headteacher of School One was not only aware of the need for staff development in order for the work with pupils to succeed, she was also aware of the need to put in place practical structures in school to support both staff and pupils. If teachers' feelings of a lack of power in school can be the result of a need to react to conflict situations without adequate training and support, it is perhaps crucial that there is a strong and enlightened management structure in school to support staff-skills in responding to conflict both preventatively and proactively. Paradoxically, it could be that teachers who feel depowered and de-skilled through constantly responding to conflict situations reactively rather than proactively may, through

resorting to authoritarian methods, be denying their pupils the opportunities to develop the very skills that would lead to the teachers having opportunities to respond more preventatively and proactively, and therefore develop their own feelings of empowerment. Perhaps Greenhalgh (1994) is referring to this when he states that the main challenge for teachers lies in developing our language and understanding in ways which acknowledge and reflect the meaning of children's dilemmas, and in so doing return the humanity to our thinking and practice.

Iceberg skills

According to the interviews with the teachers, the acquisition and consolidation of skills occurred to a greater degree in School One than in either of the other schools. An example given by the headteacher of School One during her second interview shows that the humanist premise that education should be about the teaching of both affective and cognitive skills is in evidence in school:

"Certainly, I can add specific information given by X, Educational Psychologist, that, having gone in to briefly observe a child in class, he brought himself out of the class after 30 minutes because he was moved to the point of tears by the conduct of Circle Time and the quite deep-seated feelings the children felt able to express in the classroom."

Valuing the whole child, and teaching pupils how to express feelings and needs (one of the 'Iceberg' skills) appears to be a defining feature of School One. This starts with the headteacher, but by the end of the peer mediation training programme, the staff in the school have gained insights into how they can educate the whole child effectively:

"I think, having started off feeling unsure about Circle Time, unsure of how it would fit into the curriculum, I feel that it has got a very strong place within the curriculum... Children enjoy it so much, and I think that comes through quite a lot in every classroom now. It's a

forum for them to be heard. I think the fact that it has very clear rules helps, and I think it's made a great contribution to work in general. We've used it as part of English, as part of speaking and listening, but I think it goes a lot further, a lot deeper than anything, any curriculum, any school curriculum, could provide for a child."

The headteacher of School Two, in common with her staff, sees the peer mediation training programme as a partial success from the point of view of enskilling pupils. During the second interview she expresses her concern that children with emotional and behavioural difficulties have become more isolated as a result of the programme:

"There are a few children, and I think those are the few children for whom mediation may never work... who have tended to be polarised, and perhaps we noticed them more than we would have done if they had been left as they were. Now I don't think that they've actually changed, what has happened is that the other children have probably changed and moved on..."

This is in contrast to School One, where children with emotional and behavioural difficulties are offered opportunities to use Circle Time and peer mediation to express their frustrations and resolve conflicts. In School One inclusivity was stressed throughout the peer mediation programme, and the staff (with the headteacher's support) worked hard to ensure that the pupils had the skills to tolerate and integrate children who were demonstrating challenging behaviour.

As has been shown in Chapter Two, research into peer mediation in the United States has suggested that the culture and ethos of the school, and ultimately the attitude of the headteacher, are essential in determining the success or otherwise of peer mediation programmes. Because peer mediation rests on a humanistic value system, in which the need to enskill and empower pupils is paramount, it could be that it cannot thrive in a school culture that is defensive, fearful of change, and keen to ensure that the power-base in the school remains with adults. This may

raise ethical issues for educationalists wishing to train and support teachers to introduce peer mediation in schools. If the overall culture of the school and the awareness and attitude of the headteacher are not conducive to the successful implementation of a peer mediation programme, it could be considered unethical to raise pupil expectations of being empowered to resolve their own disputes when the likelihood is that the programme will ultimately fail. Conversely, it could be considered unethical to 'abandon' the pupils in schools where peer mediation is unlikely to thrive, as these are precisely the schools where the pupils have the most to gain from the increased awareness of their teachers. In School Two, the experience of the failure to introduce peer mediation appeared to prompt the headteacher to begin again with a more thorough approach. This may not have happened without an apparent exacerbation of the problem of bullying. There is clearly a need for more research into the ways that headteachers consciously or unconsciously respond to, set, and maintain school culture and ethos, especially in the key areas of conflict resolution and power-sharing. A better understanding of these processes and a wider dissemination of good practice could well lead to more teachers being trained and supported to offer the pupils in their care greater opportunities to learn and consolidate conflict resolution skills.

Learning theory

In order to analyse these findings more fully, it is useful to consider them in terms of learning theory. Four stages of learning have been identified (O'Conner and Seymour, 1994): notably unconscious incompetence, the stage at which no learning can take place because the potential learner is unaware of a gap in their skills or knowledge base; conscious incompetence, the stage at which the learner has become aware of a gap; conscious competence, the stage at which information or a skill has been acquired but still needs conscious effort to use; and unconscious competence, the stage at which the learner has fully assimilated and internalised the skill or information. This theory would suggest that, in terms of learning to use an anti-bullying programme, if teachers were unaware of the nature and extent of bullying in their school (the

unconscious incompetence stage) the situation would need to appear to get worse (conscious incompetence) before the teachers could begin to develop conscious and unconscious competence.

The headteacher of School One may have begun the programme at the conscious competence or the unconscious competence stage in using mediation as an anti-bullying strategy, whereas the headteachers of the other two schools may have begun at the unconscious incompetence stage. As the programme went on, the headteacher of School Two appeared to progress to the conscious incompetence stage ("I think that some of the problems we're having this year with Year Six children are as a result of mediation being done badly last year") and the headteacher of School Three appeared to remain at the unconscious incompetence stage. Thus, although the outcomes in Schools Two and Three remained the same - no peer mediation programme and no reduction in bullying - the headteacher of School Two may have made more progress as she was more aware of a gap in her ability to lead the staff in an anti-bullying initiative. Indeed, the headteacher of School Two ended the programme ready to begin the process of properly training all her staff "I think the one thing that I would suggest to move us forward is to pull all the staff on board to let them know what it's all about and what we are trying to achieve."

The same effect, of increased awareness being correlated to an upward trend in reported bullying, is in evidence in both the pupil questionnaires and in the teacher interviews. Perhaps learning theory can offer some explanation of this phenomenon, and show that the overall trend for all three schools is ultimately positive.

Conclusion

To conclude, these additional findings, which emerged as a result of questions for teachers and headteachers in support of the main experiment, provide some limited clues as to why peer mediation was successful in only one of the three schools. These findings reflect the themes of

the literature review, and strengthen the idea that a humanistic framework in a school is fundamental for the successful implementation of a peer mediation programme. As the evidence here is inconclusive, however, more research is needed in order to clarify these possible links further.

Chapter Eleven: Conclusion.

This concluding chapter gives an overview of the main research findings, assesses the extent to which the aims of this research are achieved, discusses the main themes and issues that emerge from the research, including the literature review, and makes recommendations for classroom practice and further study.

An Overview of the Main Research Findings

The main empirical aims of this research are to evaluate the effectiveness of the peer mediation programme introduced into the three experimental schools in reducing the incidence of bullying, improving pupils' self-esteem and improving pupils' feelings of empowerment. These aims are generally achieved, although the difficulties of carrying out an experiment in a school setting were apparent. With only one school fully implementing the peer mediation programme, it becomes more difficult to generalise to other situations, and teachers and academics wishing to use this research to validate the use of a peer mediation scheme must do so with caution. The additional findings serve to elaborate the main theme that is explored in the Literature Review section of this research: notably, the apparent importance of teachers understanding and valuing the principles behind humanistic psychology, for the success of peer mediation. As noted in Chapter Six, Parlett and Hamilton (1987), suggest that any 'instructional system' undergoes modifications that are rarely trivial when adopted in a particular setting, with the 'learning milieu' interacting with the 'instructional system' in such a way that the end result is unique. It is therefore difficult, they go on to say, to generalise the benefits of a particular 'instructional system' (of which the peer mediation programme being evaluated is an example) across all settings. The qualitative analysis of the teacher and headteacher interviews provides some useful information about the type of 'learning milieu' that may be conducive to the successful implementation of peer mediation, but as this research was not designed to use an illuminative approach, this information is limited.

In School One, then, according to the pupil questionnaires and the teacher interviews, the full peer mediation programme, which includes both the 'Iceberg' method of mediation training, and the implementation of a peer mediation service, coincided with a reduction in the frequency of being a victim of bullying, and with being a victim of physical bullying in particular. It also coincided with a reduction in the frequency of pupils bullying others, especially with bullying others through teasing. During this time the self-esteem of the pupils was not improved according to the pupil questionnaires, although their feelings of empowerment were. An unexpected finding is that the pupil questionnaires show some modest increases in the frequency of pupils bullying others, particularly through physical and psychological bullying, and some decreases in levels of self-esteem, following the peer mediation training. As the training was designed to reduce bullying and improve self-esteem, this finding is surprising (although, as shown in the Literature Review section of this research, Dewhurst (1991) has suggested that an initial dip in self-esteem may be a common feature of such programmes). It is surmised in earlier chapters this could be the result of teachers' increased awareness of exactly what constitutes bullying behaviour following the peer mediation training, and to a more informed reporting of factors affecting self-esteem. Viewed in this light, these findings imply that a healthy process of growing self-awareness and reassessment was occurring.

These initial reported increases in two types of bullying, and reductions in self-esteem, are significantly reversed during the time when the peer mediation scheme itself is operative, suggesting that pupils may have used their increased awareness, ultimately to develop a more positive self-esteem, and to modify their behaviour in ways that validate the use of peer mediation. Indeed, the fact that most of the changes that appear to have taken place amongst the pupils in School One, including more negative attitudes towards bullies and increased feelings of empowerment, did not occur until after the end of the training period could point to the conclusion that change was a result of pupils consolidating their skills in real-life situations. The absence of this active consolidation, and of any reported change in Schools Two and Three, perhaps further supports this conclusion.

The only form of bullying that both pupils and teachers felt was resistant to change in School One was name-calling, and this was the case both for those experiencing, and for those perpetuating, bullying. Again it is curious that this should be the case, given that the frequency of both teasing and psychological bullying - which could be seen to be related - were reported to have decreased. Several of the teachers in School One, however, identify peer mediation as a strategy that enabled their pupils to deal with name-calling in a more positive way than would otherwise have been the case. The teachers in the other two schools end the programme as pessimistic as ever about their ability to support pupils to deal with name-calling in more positive ways.

In Schools Two and Three, apart from a small amount of statistically non-significant change, the peer mediation programme was reported by both pupils and teachers to have had little effect on levels of bullying. This is perhaps to be expected, given that neither of these schools fully implemented the peer mediation programme, and that in School One the setting up of a peer mediation scheme appears to have been the main factor in reducing bullying. The peer mediation training alone, however, may well be linked to the long-term increases in self-esteem amongst the pupils in School Two, and the short-term increases in feelings of empowerment in School Three, as revealed in the pupil questionnaires.

The absence of any significant change in the control school, School Four, in relation to the frequency of bullying, as reported by the pupils, is perhaps a further indication that the peer mediation scheme may have led to a reduction in the frequency of bullying in School One. There was an apparent increase in negative attitudes towards bullies between the base line and the second time of testing in the control school. This may have been the result of some anti-bullying curriculum work that was carried out in the control school at this time. These changes in School Four are not sustained, however, with attitudes towards bullies appearing to become more positive again by the end of the eighteen-month period of research. The absence of change in reported levels of self-esteem in the control school, supports the probability that it was the peer

mediation programme that brought about the increases in self-esteem in Schools One and Two as reported in the pupil questionnaires. There appears to have been increases in pupils' feelings of empowerment in School Four towards the end of the period of research, suggesting either that developmental factors were influencing change (which is unlikely as there were no increases in feelings of empowerment in either School Two or School Three at this time), or that other methods being used in School Four achieved the same benefits for the locus of control of pupils, as the peer mediation programme being evaluated here.

To summarise these findings in relation to the main empirical aims of this research, according to the pupil questionnaires and the teacher interviews, the peer mediation programme being evaluated coincided with a reduction in the frequency of most forms of bullying, and increases in feelings of empowerment, in School One, the only school to fully implement the programme. Most of these changes did not occur in the control school, and where there was change in the control school, other initiatives with similar aims were identified. The self-esteem of the pupils in School One appears to have increased after an initial decrease following the peer mediation training. The peer mediation training alone was not sufficient to reduce the frequency of bullying in any of the three experimental schools, although the self-esteem of the pupils in School Two, and their feelings of empowerment in School Three, appear to have been increased following the peer mediation training. The best possible interpretation of these findings is that, in School One, the full peer mediation programme was effective as an anti-bullying strategy, as a means of increasing pupils' feelings of empowerment, and as a means of encouraging pupils to develop a more realistic, and ultimately a more positive, self-esteem. The 'Iceberg' system of peer mediation training also appears to have been effective in increasing pupils' feelings of self-esteem and empowerment.

The subsidiary aims of this research are to evaluate qualitatively the effectiveness of the 'Iceberg' method of peer mediation training, and the practice of peer mediation itself, both in improving the level of certain skills amongst pupils and teachers, and in influencing school ethos and staff attitudes towards pupil empowerment. Pupil skills evaluated are related to the 'Iceberg' skills,

and include the ability to resolve conflict, to give and receive positive comments, to co-operate, to communicate feelings and needs in ways that will de-escalate conflict situations, and to listen to each other in a focussed and supportive manner. The teacher interviews show that, by the end of the peer mediation training, the pupils in all three experimental schools were felt to have gained an awareness of these skills, and to be partly using them in controlled situations. The skills seem not to have been fully consolidated or internalised at this stage and, in general, the pupils appear to experience difficulty in transferring them to other situations. In the main, the pupils in Schools Two and Three seem to have remained at this stage, with the teachers in School One feeling that their pupils progressed beyond it during the period when the peer mediation service was active, becoming competent in most of the skills and able to transfer them to other situations. Given that the improvements in the average level of these skills in the control school were reported to be less than those in the three experimental schools, it can be concluded that it was probably the peer mediation programme that led to the improvements in these skills in the experimental schools. As before, changes from a medium level of skill to a high level of skill were reported to have occurred mostly amongst the pupils in School One, after the end of the training period, suggesting that a high level of change was the result of pupils consolidating their skills in real-life situations.

The factors that may have contributed to a conducive 'learning milieu,' for the peer mediation programme in School One have been summarised in Chapter Ten. In this school at the outset, the headteacher identified the need for a whole-school approach to reducing bullying and empowering pupils, and was prepared to facilitate this through additional staff training. She realistically assessed the starting points and training needs of the pupils and staff, and required her staff to review their own attitudes towards power, control and blame, in order to develop strategies to support pupils' emerging feelings of empowerment and self-esteem. She and her staff appeared keen to hear about, and act on, instances of bullying, and the headteacher felt that they modelled the mediation process in dealings with pupils. The headteacher and teachers recognised the need to train and support pupils in developing and practising personal, social and conflict resolution skills,

and appeared keen to use humanistic methods to empower pupils to resolve their own disputes. They give examples of pupils being consulted (and their opinions acted upon) in real situations. The peer mediation programme built on a negotiated, well-established code of conduct, and a what the headteacher saw as a positive school culture which sought to value children and not to blame them or their parents for problems that were the result of the ineffectiveness of the school curriculum.

The factors which created a 'learning milieu' that did not appear conducive to the aims of the peer mediation programme being evaluated, in Schools Two and Three, have also been summarised in Chapter Ten. The headteachers, initially at least, appear to have overestimated the level of skill of their staff in resolving conflicts without confrontation, and did not require staff to review their own attitudes towards power, control, and blame, or to develop strategies for supporting pupils' emerging feelings of empowerment and self-esteem. The headteachers and teachers sometimes discouraged the children, directly or indirectly, from talking about instances of bullying, and there appears to have been a tendency on the part of the headteachers and some of the teachers to either ignore or blame victims. Teacher control and adult supervision were used as anti-bullying strategies, to the detriment of empowering pupils to practice and develop their conflict resolution skills in real disputes. Other strategies that were reported as being used to attempt to increase pupil feelings of empowerment included pupils being preached at or lectured, giving pupils a limited choice of activity in lessons, and giving pupils the opportunity to vote within an authoritarian system of teacher control. In the teacher and headteacher interviews pupils were both criticised for negative behaviour, or excused on the grounds of supposed lack of parental skill and support. The code of conduct and reward systems in both schools were still in the process of being formulated, and positive regard was sometimes conditional on positive behaviour.

On the limited information available, the 'learning milieu' in School One, as described above, appears to be humanistically- orientated. To recap: the three core conditions for the humanistic therapist and the humanistic teacher, according to Rogers and Freiberg (1994), are: realness or

genuineness, where the teacher presents herself as a real person without any front or façade, and where she is in contact with her feelings and able to communicate them where appropriate; prizing, acceptance or trust, where the teacher regards each pupil positively regardless of their behaviour; and empathic understanding (defined by Cox and Theilgaard in 1987 as affective resonance and a partial, temporary fusion of perspectival worlds) where the teacher is able to appreciate the feelings of her pupils and validate their right to feel them, even if they differ from her own feelings in a given situation. The headteacher and teachers in School One report themselves to be genuinely interested in the feelings, experiences and perspectives of the young people in their charge, and able to interact with them in ways that allow reciprocity, shared decision-making, and trust. The personal and social skills needed for these processes appear highly valued, and consistently taught. In this, the teachers in School One may well be modelling the kinds of behaviours and attitudes that they have come to expect from pupils. They are reported to have invested time and energy in reviewing their own attitudes towards power, blame and conflict in order to facilitate this process. The teachers felt that the pupils in School One enjoyed using their skills during Circle Time and in peer mediations, with the result that they felt ownership over the process of the resolution of their own conflicts in school. Peer mediation and Circle Time were used in School One to work towards an atmosphere of acceptance and inclusivity, with pupils with emotional and behavioural difficulties perhaps gaining the most from the programme.

On the limited information available, the 'learning milieux' in Schools Two and Three, do not appear to be humanistically- orientated. There may well have been a lack of 'genuineness' on the part of the teachers, with directive teaching methods reported as being used to teach affective and social skills, to the detriment of more experiential methods. The headteacher and teachers felt that this resulted, in School Two, in a split in the way that the pupils responded to the peer mediation training programme, with the pupils possessing the lowest level of social and affective skills remaining isolated, and even becoming more so. In both schools, the headteachers and teachers felt that adult supervision and control are necessary to retain order and a positive

learning environment in school. This need for control may have made attempts at empowering pupils only partial, with an implied value system that pupils are not to be trusted. As revealed in Chapter Three, Rogers and Freiberg (1994) have said of this: "The freedom to learn requires a special understanding of what it takes to establish an open learning environment. Granting freedom is not a method, it's a philosophy. Unless you really believe that students can be trusted with responsibility, you won't be successful." This, above all else, appears to have been the reason why the full peer mediation programme was not implemented in Schools Two and Three, with the resulting lack of any reported changes in levels of bullying.

A major area of discussion that emerges from the empirical section of this research is the validity of the research methods used. Great care was taken in designing the research to ensure that the methods used would answer the main research questions, with both base-line measures and controls used to make the experiment as rigorous as possible. Threats to validity in quasi-experimental research designs were noted and taken account of. The pupil questionnaires used were chosen because of the fact that they had been developed and modified over a number of years, and had been shown to have a high level of both internal and external validity. Despite this, the perennial difficulties of field experiments in schools were in evidence, with the main problems related to the impossibility of controlling variables that may have influenced results in the experimental and control schools. Also, as the research evaluated a programme that was implemented by the teachers in the experimental schools, the success of the research was dependent on the headteachers' and teachers' continuing commitment to the programme. The qualitative analysis in this research enabled some discussion of data gained both quantitatively and qualitatively, although a wider range of questions emerged as a result of carrying out the main experiment, which could not be answered by the somewhat restricted experimental research design.

As shown in all chapters in the empirical section of this research, an issue for research into bullying, self-esteem and locus of control, is the difficulty in controlling the variables in control

settings. If one accepts, for example, that it is the aim of any teacher in any school to reduce bullying, raise self-esteem and develop feelings of empowerment amongst her pupils, then one must also accept the difficulty in establishing a true control setting for research into these areas in a school. Clearly in this case, the teachers in the control school (Four) were using methods to reduce bullying and develop an internal locus of control amongst pupils with some limited success. The difficulty for this research, and for similar pieces of research, is in persuading teachers in control situations to withhold from using methods with their classes that may interfere with the experiment, especially when the teachers involved believe that these methods will help them to achieve their own objectives for their class. Pupil feelings of empowerment, in particular, may well be influenced by school culture and behaviour management policy, and by the level of trust and power that their teachers are willing to accord them, either academically or in social situations.

Both the quantitative and the qualitative research into bullying were affected by the fact that levels of reported bullying appear to have been influenced by a lack of clarity, amongst both teachers and pupils, of what constitutes bullying. As outlined in Chapter Five, others involved in bullying research have encountered similar difficulties. The problem with using self-report through questionnaires for pupils is that results may reflect actual levels of bullying, the extent to which pupils are conscious of their behaviour and experiences, or the extent to which they are able to admit to it, even in the form of an anonymous questionnaire (evaluation apprehension). The theory underpinning peer mediation is that affective anti-bullying education is needed alongside cognitive, in order for many children to relate bullying to their own experiences. If the theory is correct, then clearly the amount of bullying reported by pupils can be influenced by anti-bullying curriculum work containing a strong affective element, and it is logical that the problem of bullying may need to appear to get worse before it can get better. In a similar vein, over the eighteen-month experimental period, some of the change (or apparent lack of it) in the nature and frequency of bullying, recorded in the teacher interviews, may have been due to changing teacher perceptions. Some reductions in pupils' experiences of being bullied may have been missed by

teachers who were increasingly aware of bullying, especially the more subtle forms of psychological bullying. This implies a basic flaw in crude experiments which use a reduction in bullying as the only measure of the success of intervention programmes. A more sophisticated way of understanding these phenomena is offered by O'Conner and Seymour's four stages of learning (1994), as described in Chapter Seven. This theory suggests that, in terms of learning to use an anti-bullying programme, if teachers are unaware of the nature and extent of bullying in their school (the unconscious incompetence stage), the situation needs to appear to get worse (conscious incompetence) before teachers can begin to develop conscious and unconscious competence. Thus, although the outcomes in Schools Two and Three remain the same - no peer mediation programme and no reduction in bullying - the headteacher of School Two may have made more progress than the headteacher of School Three, as she appeared more aware of deficiencies in her school that made reducing bullying problematic.

The teachers in this experiment did not find assessing pupil levels of self-esteem and feelings of empowerment any easier than assessing levels of bullying. Many of the teachers in Schools One and Two noted positive change in self-esteem where initially, according to the pupil questionnaires, there was none. This discovery throws doubt on the findings of any research into peer mediation carried out to date, which relies on the unstructured perceptions of teachers to determine psychological change, such as improved self-esteem. Related to this is the question of time-scale in bringing about positive psychological change amongst pupils. In School Two, the reported improvement in self-esteem by the end of the full period of research went unnoticed by the teachers who, by then, were not following the peer mediation training programme to the same extent. Likewise in the control school, reported improvements in pupil feelings of empowerment came up to one year after their teacher spoke about the methods (noted as good practice by an advisory teacher) she was using in the classroom to develop a more internal locus of control amongst her pupils. The implication here is that positive psychological change amongst pupils may take longer than is normally allowed for in research such as this. Were this research to be repeated or extended in the future, it would perhaps be of benefit to provide a checklist of

observable behaviour for teachers so that they could use more concrete and objective criteria to judge pupil levels of self-esteem and feelings of empowerment. This would need to be facilitated by time away from actual teaching being made available for the teachers to carry out the research on individual pupils.

Recommendations for Future Research and Practice

There are six recommendations for future research that emerge from the research in hand:

1. That an illuminative approach is used to evaluate peer mediation in schools. This is to ensure that there is congruity between the humanistic philosophy of the mediation process and humanistic research methods. It may also be more revealing, and answer a wider set of research questions.
2. That a wider piece of research is carried out. This wider research (which would be beyond the scope of a Ph.D.) would ideally investigate the effectiveness of peer mediation in reducing bullying, raising self-esteem, and improving feelings of empowerment amongst pupils in between 10 and 20 schools. This wider number of schools would allow for the probability that one or more schools may not follow the programme to the end. A broader piece of research would provide a wider number of 'learning milieux,' to be examined in relation to the aims of peer mediation, and would allow for more generalisation to other settings.
3. That an in-depth study into self-esteem and locus of control of pupils is carried out. This is to enable a greater understanding of the processes that occur when pupils review their self-concepts, and the time-scale involved. It may also support teachers to move away from the simplistic notion that high self-esteem is always desirable (consider the teen-age drug-pusher with a high self-esteem, or a child who has difficulties with spelling believing that he is good

at it, and therefore refusing to learn new words). This research would involve unstructured pupil interviews, in addition to pupil questionnaires, in order to gain more sensitive information. Out of this research a more refined awareness of the characteristics of a child with a positive self-concept may emerge. Observable criteria could then be formulated for teachers to assess pupils.

4. That the probable links between humanistic psychology, humanism in education, pupil-centred behaviour-management, and peer mediation are more fully explored. This is to test whether a humanistic underpinning to peer mediation programmes in schools is as necessary as it appears to be here. This has implications for the sorts of schools that are chosen by peer mediation trainers and funded bodies to develop peer mediation. In April 1998, for example, Leicester Mediation service was granted £235,000 from the National Lottery to develop peer mediation in Leicester schools. Information about the kinds of schools that are most likely to be successful in implementing peer mediation would have proved useful.
5. That research is carried out into the ways that headteachers, consciously and unconsciously, influence school culture and ethos.
6. That research is carried out into the ways that intervention programmes, in all kinds of settings, can appear to exacerbate the problem they are setting out to alleviate. The findings of this research could be explored with reference to O'Conner and Seymour's four stages of learning (1994).

The general recommendations for future practice are that the teaching of personal and social education in schools is as experiential as possible, and focuses on teaching skills, such as conflict resolution skills, that can be transferred to real settings, thus providing young people with opportunities to consolidate their learning. This consolidation in real settings was associated here with the majority of positive change. It appears to be the case that teachers may mistake pupils'

awareness of certain skills with an ability to use them. Teacher-training in humanistic methods may also need to be experiential, with research quoted in Chapter Three suggesting that teachers with a high self-esteem and an internal locus of control are most likely to bring these about in their pupils.

More specifically in relation to peer mediation, this research suggests that peer mediation may be more successful in schools where the prevailing culture and ethos are humanistic. Peer mediation may take longer to become established in some schools, but where there is a willingness on the part of the headteacher and teachers to engage with the process, positive results can be gained. Project managers wishing to work with schools who stand the best possible chance of setting up and maintaining a peer mediation programme would do well to carry out a detailed interview with the headteacher in order to ascertain the extent to which other practices in school support the aims of peer mediation, and the extent to which the headteacher is prepared to invest resources in the programme. A good indicator of the level of commitment of a school is whether or not peer mediation is included in the school development plan. Projects should not be tempted to set up a 'bolt-on' service in schools, supported by their own volunteers and personnel, as opportunities for staff training and development, and for a review of staff attitudes towards conflict, blame, and power are thereby denied.

In conclusion then, the Literature Review and the Empirical sections of this research converge in suggesting that peer mediation is a strategy that can be used in schools for reducing conflict and bullying and for improving pupils' self-esteem and feelings of empowerment. The humanistic roots of mediation appear to be fundamental to its success. As a result of this research, the author has launched the Human Schools programme through Catalyst Consultancy. The final quote below is taken from an article recently published in the magazine of the National Literacy Association (Stacey and Robinson, 1998):

"As a result of our research and our work in schools we have developed the Human Schools Programme. The Human Schools Programme aims to support schools to work towards those values and actions which empower all pupils, and which ultimately counteract conflict, failure and fear. Only when these are in place can schools create a climate for learning that is inclusive, respectful, and just, and where individuals are truly free to experience the satisfaction of learning. A human school is a school where:

- Teachers and pupils want to be.
- Pupils are actively taught pro-social skills, including impulse control, co-operation, focussed listening, thinking skills, assertiveness, and so on.
- All adults and young people in the school community feel empowered to participate in democratic processes.
- Values are transmitted by example, and pupils are given opportunities to practise social and emotional skills as part of their daily lives.
- Teachers pupils and parents feel valued and listened to.
- Relationships between pupils, between adults, and between pupils and adults, are characterised by mutual support, positive regard, respect, and trust.
- Mistakes are viewed as useful learning points.
- Pupils feel engaged, and have ownership of their own educative process. They are excited by challenge, and are able to make decisions about their preferred pace and style of learning.

- There are good systems for communication, and mechanisms for giving positive feed-back to adults and pupils for effort, commitment, and achievement.
- Teaching and learning styles provide differentiated opportunities for young people to experience and build on success.

The human schools programme works because it doesn't single out pupils with social and emotional difficulties for special treatment. Its strength lies in the fact that those elements that are most beneficial to these vulnerable pupils are beneficial to all."

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Appendices

QUESTIONNAIRE: X**School:****Teacher:****Number:****Boy or Girl:****1. How do you feel during playtimes and lunchtimes?**

Very sad	
Sad	
Not sad or happy	
Happy	
Very happy	

2. How often have you been alone during playtimes and lunchtimes since the holidays?

Never	
Once or twice	
Every week	
Every day	

3. How often have you been bullied at school since the holidays?

Never	
Once or twice	
Every week	
Every day	
More than once a day	

4. How are/were you bullied? (You may tick more than 1 box)

Called names	
Teased/laughed at	
Hit, kicked or punched	
Had money or other things taken from you	
Been ignored by people who were 'friends'	
I haven't been bullied	

5. In which year is the pupil(s) who bully you? (You may tick more than 1 box)

Same year as me	
Same year as me and in my class	
Higher year	
Lower year	
I haven't been bullied	

QUESTIONNAIRE: X (Continued)

6. Is it boys or girls who bully you?

A boy/boys	
A girl/girls	
Boys and girls	
I haven't been bullied	

7. If you have been bullied since the holidays, what did you do?

Nothing	
Told a friend	
Told a teacher	
Told my parent(s)	
Told a relative	
Told the dinner lady	
Something else	
I haven't been bullied	

If something else - WHAT?

.....

.....

8. If you told someone, what did they do?

Nothing	
Something	
I haven't been bullied	

If something - WHAT?

.....

.....

9. Where did the bullying take place?

Outside the school	
In the playground	
In the dining room	
In the corridor	
In the classroom	
In the toilets	
Somewhere else	
I haven't been bullied	

If somewhere else - WHERE?

.....

.....

.....

QUESTIONNAIRE: X (Continued)

10. When did the bullying take place?

Before school	
During lessons	
During playtime	
During lunchtime	
On the way home from school	
Any other time	
I haven't been bullied	

If any other time - WHEN?

.....

.....

.....

11. How often have you bullied someone since the holidays?

Never	
Once or twice	
Every week	
Every day	
More than once a day	

12. In what way did you bully him or her?

Called names	
Teased/laughed at	
Hit, kicked or punched	
Took money or other things from them	
Ignored someone who had been my friend	
I haven't bullied anyone	

13. In which year is the pupil(s) whom you bullied?

Same year as me	
Same year as me and in my class	
Higher year	
Lower year	
I haven't bullied anyone	

QUESTIONNAIRE: X (Continued)

14. Where did the bullying take place?

Outside the school	
In the playground	
In the dining room	
In the corridor	
In the classroom	
In the toilets	
Somewhere else	
I haven't bullied anyone	

If somewhere else - WHERE?

.....

.....

.....

15. When did the bullying take place?

Before school	
During lessons	
During playtime	
During lunchtime	
On the way home from school	
Any other time	
I haven't bullied anyone	

If any other time - WHEN?

.....

.....

.....

16. Have you ever seen anyone being bullied?

Yes	
No	

QUESTIONNAIRE: X (Continued)

17. If your answer is YES - what did you do?

Walked away	
Told friends	
Told a teacher	
Told my parents	
Helped the person	
Something else	
I haven't seen anyone being bullied	

If something else - WHAT?

.....

.....

.....

18. What do you think about children who bully?

I like them	
I can't understand them	
I don't know	
They upset me	
They are O.K.	

19. Have you any other thoughts about them?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP

QUESTIONNAIRE: Y

School:.....

Teacher:

Number:

Boy or Girl:

	Yes ↓	No ↓
1. Do you think that your parents usually like to hear about your ideas?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Do you often feel lonely at school?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Do other children often break friends or fall out with you?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Do you like team games?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Do you think that other children often say nasty things about you?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. When you have to say things in front of teachers, do you usually feel shy?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Do you like writing stories or doing creative writing?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Do you often feel sad because you have nobody to play with at school?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Are you good at mathematics?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Are there lots of things about yourself you would like to change?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11. When you have to say things in front of other children, do you usually feel stupid?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12. Do you find it difficult to do things like woodwork or knitting?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13. When you want to tell a teacher something, do you usually feel stupid?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14. Do you often have to find new friends because your old friends are playing with somebody else?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15. Do you usually feel stupid when you talk to your parents?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16. Do other people often think that you tell lies?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

QUESTIONNAIRE: Z

School:

Teacher:

Number:

Boy or Girl:

Yes **No**
↓ ↓

1. Do you believe that most problems will solve themselves if you just leave them alone?

--	--

2. Do you feel that most of the time it isn't worth trying hard because things never work out O.K. anyway?

--	--

3. Do you feel that most of the time teachers listen to what their children say?

--	--

4. Do you believe that wishing can make good things happen?

--	--

5. Do you feel that it's nearly impossible to change your teacher's mind about anything?

--	--

6. Do you feel that when you do something wrong there's very little you can do to make it right?

--	--

7. Do you believe that most children are just born good at sports?

--	--

8. Are most of the other children your age stronger than you are?

--	--

9. Do you feel that one of the best ways to handle most problems is just not to think about them?

--	--

10. Do you feel that when a child your age decides to hit you, there's little you can do to stop him or her?

--	--

QUESTIONNAIRE: Z (Continued)

- | | Yes
↓ | No
↓ |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 11. Have you felt that when people are horrible to you it is usually for no reason at all? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 12. Do you believe that when bad things are going to happen, they are just going to happen no matter what you try to do to stop them? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 13. Most of the time do you find it pointless to try to get your own way at home? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 14. Do you feel that when somebody your age wants to bully you, you can't do much to change matters? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 15. Do you usually feel that you have little choice about what you get to eat at home? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 16. Do you feel that when someone doesn't like you there's not much you can do about it? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 17. Do you usually feel that it's almost pointless to try in school because most other children are cleverer than you are? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 18. Are you the kind of person who believes that planning ahead makes things turn out better? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 19. Most of the time, do you feel that you have little choice about what your class decides to do? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 20. When two friends have fallen out, do you feel that you usually know how to help them make friends again? | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |