



Group Processes and Children's Responses to Bullying

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Summary

This thesis investigates the role of group processes in children's responses to bullying from the perspective of social identity and group-based emotion theories. It starts by reviewing research on group-based emotions in adults' intergroup relations, and on social identity processes in children. It is argued that studying children's group-based emotions might enhance our understanding of group-level bullying.

Initial results suggested that group-based emotions related to supporting and resisting cyberbullying depend upon children's social identity, and that group-based emotions lead to specific action tendencies (Study 1). Wider group norms were investigated in Studies 2 and 3. In Study 2 the prevailing normative context shaped responses to bullying, while in Study 3 peer group norms had a greater influence than school norms on children's responses to bullying.

The way that children manage their social identity in response to bullying was examined in Study 4. How strongly perpetrator's group members identified with that group was determined by initial ingroup identification and the perpetrator's group norm. How group norms shape interpretations of bullying when it is ostensibly negative (Study 5a) or ostensibly positive (Study 5b) was studied next. It was found that certain group-based emotional responses and action tendencies were inhibited when the bullying was misaligned with group norms.

Group processes in school bullying incidents were examined in Study 6. A qualitative analysis of teachers' accounts of bullying revealed that although bullying is responded to primarily at the group level, such responses do not directly address group processes. In Chapter 8 I draw the thesis together by highlighting the role that group processes play in children's responses to bullying. Implications for anti-bullying work are discussed. It is concluded that successful intervention rests on awareness of the group processes (a) that lead children to become involved in bullying, and (b) by which bullying may be resisted.

Declarations

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

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STATEMENT 1

This thesis is being submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of PhD

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STATEMENT 2

This thesis is the result of my own independent work/investigation, except where otherwise stated. Other sources are acknowledged by explicit references.

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I hereby give consent for my thesis, if accepted, to be available for photocopying and for inter-library loan, and for the title and summary to be made available to outside organisations.

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Chapter 1

General Introduction

From a young age children have to learn to navigate a complex social world. They learn about their own and others' group memberships, at multiple levels, from national identity to peer groups; they learn about the rules of the groups they belong to, and about who is 'in' and who is 'out'. Harmonious peer relations help to promote children's healthy social development. However, the learning that allows children's peer groups to function harmoniously can also lead to bullying, if peer relations within or between peer groups break down. In this thesis, I focus on how responses to bullying are shaped by children's peer groups. In a series of studies, I investigate what it is about (a) being a group member, (b) the rules of the peer group, as well as wider social rules, (c) appraisals of the bullying, and (d) the group-based emotions that intergroup bullying elicits, that lead some children to want to intervene to stop intergroup bullying, and others to want to be a part of it. After defining what is meant by bullying, this chapter outlines the theoretical rationale for my research, and the direction that the thesis will take.

A Group Phenomenon

Throughout this thesis, the term bullying refers to the “delivery of an aversive stimulus to weaker, less powerful persons” (Nesdale & Scarlett, 2004, p. 428). Bullying can happen in any setting where power relations exist (P.K. Smith & Brain, 2000). Of particular concern in this thesis is bullying in primary (elementary) schools, because research indicates that bullying is a common experience for such children. For example, research shows that bullying is encountered by 29.6% of 8- to 18-year-olds in the UK, 26.6% of this age group in the Netherlands, and 22% of this age group in Switzerland (Analitis et al., 2009). The effects of bullying are serious: targets may suffer emotional and academic difficulties, relationship problems, low self-esteem and may have increased susceptibility to depression (Sharp, Thompson, & Arora, 2000). Such negative consequences may last into adulthood (e.g., Hunter, Mora-Merchan, & Ortega, 2005; Olweus, 1994). As these effects touch both perpetrators and targets (Gini & Pozzoli, 2009) and those who witness it (Nishina & Juvonen, 2005), it is important to reduce incidences of bullying.

The finding that those who witness bullying are susceptible to negative consequences points to the ways in which bullying may be understood as a group process. Indeed, recent research supports a framing of bullying in these terms. A seminal study conducted by Atlas and Pepler (1998) revealed that peers were present in 85% of all bullying episodes observed on a school playground, with later research confirming a strong peer influence: O’Connell, Pepler and Craig (1999) found in their observations that on average 4.3 children were present at a bullying

incident; furthermore, the greater the number of peers watching, the longer the bullying episodes lasted. Thus, observational evidence suggests that peers could help to maintain and exacerbate bullying episodes. Critically, however, Hawkins, Pepler and Craig (2001) found that peers also had an important role in supporting the targets of playground bullying: children intervened in 19% of observed episodes to actively defend the target of bullying. When children did intervene, the bullying stopped within 10 seconds in 57% of episodes. Thus, group processes may be examined as both the way in which the perpetrators' behaviour is supported, and as a means of resisting school bullying. Building on this evidence, Salmivalli, Lagerspetz, Björkqvist, Österman, and Kaukiainen (1996) developed the 'participant-role approach' which classifies children as falling into one of six roles; bully, reinforcer of bully, onlooker, non-involved, defender of victim, and victim. These children were found to form networks with similar other children within classrooms, and whole-class interventions based on this framework have been evaluated as successful (see Salmivalli, Kärnä, & Poskiparta, 2009, for a review), encouraging a group-based perspective on bullying. In spite of this research, and an emerging consensus that it is helpful to see bullying as a group process, Pepler, Craig and O'Connell (2009) note that little is understood about the processes that underpin intergroup bullying among children. One aim of this thesis is to contribute to our understanding of the group processes through which bullying is maintained, and through which it might be effectively resisted.

Children as Group Members

For the purposes of this thesis, a social group may be defined as:

a collection of individuals who perceive themselves to be members of the same social category, share some emotional involvement in this common definition of themselves, and achieve some degree of social consensus about the evaluation of their group and their membership of it (Tajfel & Turner, 1979 p. 40).

Social groups hold considerable importance for children (Nesdale & Lambert, 2007), because such groups form a meaningful part of how that child views him or herself. In other words, groups are important to a child's *social identity*, defined by Tajfel (1972) as "the individual's knowledge that he (or she) belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him (or her) of this group membership" (p. 32). Accordingly, there is considerable evidence that children show a strong bias towards their own group (ingroup) when they are asked to allocate rewards between the ingroup and another group (outgroup). A good example is the study by Bigler, Jones, and Lobliner (1997). These researchers gave children at a summer school a blue t-shirt or a yellow t-shirt to wear. In experimental conditions (where group membership was based upon a biological attribute or a drawing), functional use of the coloured t-shirts was made, and children derogated the outgroup by attributing many more positive characteristics to their ingroup than to the outgroup, relative to a control condition in which colour groups were not used. A further example is the study by Nesdale and Brown (2004), in which children were given a scenario about a Chinese (outgroup) boy and an Anglo-Australian (ingroup) boy. The two boys showed both positive and negative traits. Yet children remembered more of the outgroup character's negative traits, whereas the reverse was true of the ingroup character.

These findings have implications for studying bullying. A study by Gini (2007) revealed that children who were randomly assigned to the same group as a perpetrator of bullying or to the same group as a target of bullying prior to reading about an intergroup bullying episode attributed more blame for the bullying incident to the outgroup (the perpetrator group, if the child was in the target group condition, and vice versa). Thus, despite the fact that most research has looked at bullying from a dyadic perspective (focusing on the relationship between perpetrator and target; see Jones, Haslam, York, & Ryan, 2008 for a discussion), there is evidence that children are likely to respond to bullying as group members. This is a particularly important consideration in the context of cyberbullying, which is a strong focus of this thesis, defined as “the use of information and communication technologies to support deliberate, repeated and hostile behaviour by an individual or group that is intended to harm others” (Besley, n.d.). Groups become more pertinent in the context of cyberbullying because the number of people who may be involved in cyberbullying is significantly higher than those who may be involved in other forms of bullying (Li, 2007), and cyberbullying is more anonymous than traditional bullying (e.g., Li, 2006, 2007).

Despite overwhelming evidence that children act as group members, Rutland (2003) acknowledges that to date no one theory has provided a comprehensive account of how children develop as group members and behave in intergroup contexts, particularly those involving bullying. Accordingly, this thesis tests hypotheses derived largely from the adult social psychological literature concerning group processes. The social identity approach, comprising social identity theory

(SIT; Tajfel & J. Turner, 1979), and its sister, self-categorization theory (SCT; J. Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987) was developed in order to account for social conflict between groups of adults. A recent extension of the social identity approach, social identity development theory (SIDT; Nesdale, 2007) seeks to account for children's social identity processes. These theories assert that a person's identity is, in part, shaped by the social groups to which he or she belongs. They assert that people will seek to belong to and identify with groups that enhance their self-esteem by comparing favourably with other groups on valued dimensions. Further, the extent to which an individual favours their group varies and may be determined by their level of ingroup identification (e.g., Jetten, Spears, & Manstead, 1996). In accordance with SIT and SIDT, there are findings indicating that children's acceptance by a particular social group contributes to their sense of self-worth (Verkuyten, 2007). Research on peer rejection (Nesdale & Pelyhe, 2009) shows that children who were randomly assigned to an Anglo-Australian team for an intergroup drawing competition, and then rejected by their team members, showed decreased self-esteem and an increase in disliking of the rejecting ingroup. It follows from this that children will respond as group members to bullying incidents to the extent that they identify with that group. Jones, Manstead and Livingstone (2009) showed that group-based pride in a bullying incident increased with increasing identification with a perpetrator's group, whereas group-based anger increased with increasing identification with a target's group. There are therefore strong grounds for making use of the tenets of SIT and SIDT in developing our understanding of peer group bullying.

Playing by the Rules

A further tenet of the social identity approach, and of SIDT, is that group members are motivated to adhere to a set of rules – norms that define the group’s attitudes and behaviours and positively differentiate the group from other groups (outgroups; e.g., J. Turner, 1999). From a social-developmental perspective, Sani and Bennett (2003) suggest that children’s conceptualizations of normative features of group members are likely to be quite limited at first but elaborate with age, such that during middle to late childhood there is a progression from an individual to a collective conception of the norms of group members, and awareness of norms becomes more abstract. Young children are likely to focus on physical, behavioural and dispositional attributes. As evidence of this, Sani, Bennett, Agostini, Malucchi and Ferguson (2000) told 8-, 10- and 12-year-olds about “People of the Mountains;” the children were told about their physical and psychological characteristics and their socially shared beliefs. They were also told about a social conflict with “People of the Valley”. Mountain people invaded the village where Valley people lived. Explanations provided by 12-year-olds relied on socially shared (normative) beliefs of group members. Eight- to 10- year-olds’ explanations relied on psychological characteristics of group members. A second study moved beyond this to research how children and adults represented the identities of groups. Young children’s conceptions were concerned with personal and behavioural attributes, whereas older children and adults recognized the role of beliefs. Although 5-year-olds recognized one relevant psychological attribute per group, they made no reference to beliefs, whereas the other age groups did do so. Importantly, this research shows

that even young children make reference to group norms and understand that groups have some features in common.

The notion that young children are sensitive to group norms is further supported by the work of Nesdale and colleagues (Nesdale, Maass, Durkin, & Griffiths, 2005; Nesdale & Brown, 2004; Nesdale, Durkin, Maass, & Griffiths, 2004; Nesdale, Maass, Griffiths, & Durkin, 2003; Nesdale & Flessner, 2001). For example, Nesdale, Durkin, Maass, Kiesner, and Griffiths (2008) showed that children's intentions to aggress were enhanced by an outgroup-disliking norm, relative to an outgroup-liking norm. Collectively, these studies show that children are sensitive to norms of exclusion and inclusion. These studies were all conducted in minimal group settings, in which group memberships were arbitrarily assigned and had no meaning outside the experimental situation (see Tajfel, Billing, Bundy, & Flament, 1971). The findings showed that children (a) understand the importance of behaving in accordance with group norms, and (b) modify their own behaviour as a function of such norms.

At the classroom level, too, it has been shown that children's responses to bullying vary according to what is normatively acceptable (e.g., Henry et al., 2000). Moreover, it has been shown that among children who belong to a group with a pro-bullying norm, those who bully others gain status and power within that group (Roland & Idsøe, 2001). Thus, children are more likely to bully others if they belong to a group with a culture of bullying. Indeed, the effect of group norms on aggression has been demonstrated with school-age children. Researchers have shown that children's beliefs, whether they are held at the classroom or peer group level, about

the acceptability of aggression influence the amount of aggression they display (Henry et al., 2000; Stormshak, Bierman, Bruschi, Dodge, & Coie, 1999). Sentse, Scholte, Salmivalli, and Voeten (2007) showed that children who bullied were more likely to be rejected by their peers in a class where bullying was non-normative, but less likely to be rejected by their peers where bullying was a class norm.

It is possible, then, that normative effects on aggression extend to peer group bullying behaviours. Peer groups are likely to have norms concerning bullying, and group members are likely to be rewarded for adherence to such norms, or rejected by the group when they fail to adhere to them (Morrison, 2006). Consistent with this, Ojala and Nesdale (2004) demonstrated that children understand the need for group members to behave normatively, even if doing so involves bullying.

Cyberbullying provides a particularly useful context for investigating the effect of group norms on bullying behaviour because it is a realm in which children are somewhat removed from the (anti-bullying) norms prescribed by adults (Chisholm, 2006). Arriving at a better understanding of the ways in which norms, both at the peer group and at the wider (e.g., school) level affect responses to bullying is a further aim of this thesis.

Appraising Intergroup Events

Although children, like adults, understand that bullying is harmful, and will display anti-bullying attitudes when questioned (e.g., Brown, Birch & Kancheria, 2005), there is little universal agreement among adults or children about what constitutes 'bullying' (e.g., Monks & P.K. Smith, 2006). One consequence of this is that when presented with a mild intergroup bullying scenario, children may or may

not appraise it in negative terms, or as having implications for the group(s) involved. There are multiple appraisals that may be made of a bullying scenario. The following sections introduce appraisal dimensions and other factors that are known to be relevant to intergroup contexts in children, and that are therefore likely to be relevant to intergroup bullying scenarios.

Responsibility

For the present purposes, responsibility refers to the extent to which participants regard the main perpetrator and/or other group members as being accountable for a given action. Jones et al. (2008) showed that responsibility was an important construct for children in appraising intergroup bullying scenarios. Responsibility was measured indirectly, in terms of the punishment that should be meted out to the perpetrator, or to the perpetrator's group. Those who were closely associated with or members of the perpetrator's group believed that the perpetrator, not the group, should be punished, whereas those in a third party believed that the whole perpetrator group should be punished. Thus, perceived responsibility for a bullying incident is likely to have an influence on the group-based emotions that children experience following that incident, and this is an issue that is investigated in this thesis.

Legitimacy

For the present purposes, legitimacy refers to the extent to which participants feel that the actions of the main perpetrator and his or her group were justified, or fair (Jost & Major, 2001). This appraisal is often researched in the adult literature as a feature of intergroup situations. In the context of SIT (but not SIDT)

legitimacy is an important moderator of ingroup bias (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In evidence of this, Bettencourt, Dorr, Charlton, and Hume (2001) reported a meta-analysis of the effect of legitimacy on ingroup bias, showing that, overall, legitimacy moderates the tendency for high status groups to show more ingroup bias than low-status groups in their assessments of intergroup situations.

Legitimacy is also an important construct in research on group-based emotions. For example, van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, and Leach (2004) found that appraisals of unfairness heightened group-based anger about collective disadvantage. Thus legitimacy is a meaningful appraisal in intergroup contexts entailing conflict and is likely to be particularly associated with group-based anger. This relationship is investigated in this thesis.

Group Presentation

As well as appraisals of the bullying incident itself, research suggests that children are likely to appraise the way that their group is likely to be evaluated in the light of the incident and to take this into account in the way they react to the situation (cf. Klein, Spears, & Reicher, 2007; Reicher, Spears, & Postmes, 1995). One approach to understanding group presentation in adults is provided by reputation management theory (RMT; Emler & Reicher, 2005). According to this theory, people can reframe a 'negative' reputation in positive terms. For example, delinquents are typically seen as 'outsiders' who are opposed to the social order, and they may use this delinquent reputation to establish a meaningful and distinct social identity. Thus, highly identified group members who see their group as responsible for a negative, but ingroup norm-consistent behaviour, might not regard that behaviour

as something of which to be ashamed. Instead, they may try to live up to a negative reputation when the ingroup is involved in a bullying incident. In other words, group members are aware of how behaviour is likely to be perceived according to the norms of the group in question. A group's behaviour might be deemed negative by society at large, but as positive and consistent with ingroup norms.

There is evidence that children take account of others' potential evaluations of behaviour in intergroup contexts. Rutland, Abrams, and L. Cameron (2007) showed that children judged individual ingroup members positively or negatively depending upon whether their actions reflected positively or negatively on the group as a whole. In responding, children are also likely to take account of the way in which they will be evaluated by ingroup members. Rutland, L. Cameron, Milne and McGeorge (2005) showed that children suppressed their expression of ethnic prejudice when their own ethnic ingroup's norm against prejudice was made salient to them, through telling them that other group members would find out about it (i.e., when they were made highly accountable to their ingroup). Further to this, Fitzroy and Rutland (2010) manipulated whether children expected only the experimenter (low accountability) or their ethnic ingroup classmates (high accountability) to learn of their responses to an intergroup-attitude task that involved assigning positive and negative traits to White and/or Black children. Findings revealed that when children perceived an anti-prejudice ethnic ingroup norm, they decreased their ethnic bias to the extent that accountability was high. Arguably, the preceding two studies show that children are able to take account of group norms, and the way in which they may be perceived by others, before they respond in intergroup

contexts. It follows from this that children might also be able to take account of the way in which others (outgroup members, those in authority) are likely to view their group's norms and behaviour. Thus, they might understand that, although their ingroup sees bullying as positive, wider societal rules dictate that it will be viewed negatively by others. Children might then adjust their responses to group-relevant events to take account of others' possible reactions (for example by muting the level of group-based pride that they report in response to intergroup bullying). The extent to which peer-group-presentation concerns are relevant to bullying is investigated through children's reports of group-based emotions in this thesis.

Gender

It is well-documented that girls and boys differ when it comes to bullying (for a recent review, see Underwood & Rosen, 2011). This could impact upon children's responses to intergroup bullying and is therefore taken into account in this thesis. It has been shown that males and females differ in their definitions of bullying, with girls focusing more on verbal and relational abuse (including name calling, cruel teasing and taunting), and boys on more physical forms of intimidation (e.g., Carney & Merrell, 2001; Crick & Bigbee, 1998). Regarding cyberbullying, findings concerning gender differences have been less clear-cut. Rivers and Noret (2007) found that cyberbullying is greater among females than among males. However, Li (2006, 2007) found that males were more likely to be perpetrators of cyberbullying than females, and that females were more likely to be targets than males. At the very least we can conclude that cyberbullying is relevant to both genders. Using computer-animated simulations of bullying, it has been found that there are greater

levels of empathy for the target and comprehension of the situation where children are of the same gender as the target (Woods, Hall, Dautenhahn, & Wolke, 2007). For this reason, gender-consistent scenarios are used throughout the scenario studies in this thesis.

Responding Emotionally

Despite evidence that social identity concerns are relevant to children in the context of bullying, and that appraisals of bullying have ramifications at the group level, it is possible that children may not think of themselves as members of a particular group. Merely placing oneself in a category is not equivalent to having a social identity (Sani & Bennett, 2003). Doosje, Branscombe, Spears and Manstead (1998) argue that a consequence of social identity is that aspects of self-perception result from the actions of others who share that social identity (e.g., the guilt experienced by young Germans following World War II). Thus, one experiences affect based on one's own group membership; one may become "guilty by association" (Doosje et al., 1998, p. 872). In order to examine children's capacity to feel affect on behalf of a group member, Bennett, Yuill, Banerjee and Thomson (1998) studied whether children are affected by the wrongdoings of ingroup members. Five-, 7-, and 9-year-olds were read hypothetical scenarios in which they were responsible for a negative, potentially embarrassing outcome, or where a member of the same social category committed the action. In the individual condition, all age groups indicated that they would want to apologize. In the social condition, only 7- and 9-year-olds wanted to apologize. Given this, Sani and Bennett (2003) assert that it is debatable whether younger children's references to group

memberships have the same meaning as those of older children, suggesting that affect-based responding is unlikely to be seen in children younger than 7 years of age. This study was one of the earliest to look at social emotions in children. Given that there is evidence that children express anger at 4 months (Lewis, Sullivan, Stanger, & Weiss, 1989), shame at 2 years, and guilt at 8 years (Tangney & Dearing, 2002), Bennett et al.'s (1998) research provides scope for further research on the role of emotions in children's responses to intergroup contexts, at least among children aged 8 or over. Specifically, what is the role of other emotions, and of other group memberships in shaping children's responses to such situations? Determining the factors that elicit multiple emotions, and the effect that these emotions in turn have on tendencies to act in intergroup bullying contexts was a further aim of this thesis.

The way in which adults respond emotionally to intergroup contexts has been the subject of a burgeoning literature since the publication of E.R. Smith's (1993) chapter outlining intergroup emotion theory. This theory proposes that group-based emotions are those which take groups rather than individuals as the subject and object of the emotion (Parkinson, Fisher, & Manstead, 2005). Theories of group-based emotion propose that the degree to which we define ourselves and others as group members, rather than individuals and the extent to which we identify with that group, will play a role in determining (a) whether we experience the emotion and (b) the intensity of that emotion. There is now a plethora of evidence that group-based emotions, including anger, fear, contempt, happiness, sadness and schadenfreude, are experienced by adults in intergroup contexts (see

Iyer & Leach, 2008, for a review). The present review will focus on studies of group-based pride, shame, guilt and anger, given that these are likely to be relevant to intergroup bullying.

Pride

Tracy and Robins (2004) define pride as a “self-conscious emotion involving complex self-evaluative processes” (p. 147), and group-based pride is defined by Haslam, Powell and Turner (2000) in terms of respect that is associated with the prestige, status and reputation of the group in question. Thus, group-based pride may be experienced through association with a group whose actions are perceived as admirable. E.R. Smith (1993) originally hypothesized that group-based emotion might be experienced to the extent that a behaviour is seen as norm-consistent. Harth, Kessler, and Leach (2008) claim to have provided the first evidence of group-based pride (pride based on a group-relevant situation, rather than as a facet of group identification). They tested psychology students in the context of the job market, finding that they displayed elevated pride when they perceived that they had a legitimate advantage over pedagogy students. Relatedly, Maitner, Mackie, and E.R. Smith (2007) found that intergroup satisfaction increased following reading about successful acts of aggression committed by ingroup members. One might therefore expect children to express pride in the behaviour of a bullying group to the extent that that they see this behaviour as (a) group-relevant, (b) in line with the group norms, and (c) as a way of positively differentiating their group from outgroups.

Shame

Branscombe, Slugowski and Kappen (2004) suggested that shame is associated with damage to one's social reputation. They conclude that collective (group-based) shame involves "being publicly exposed as incompetent, not being in control, weak, and potentially even disgusting in the eyes of others" (p. 29). As with pride, relatively little attention has been paid to the role of group-based shame (Iyer, Schmader, & Lickel, 2007). The latter researchers studied American and British students' reactions to the harm caused by their country's occupation of Iraq. They found that shame followed from perceptions of responsibility for the occupation and threat to the ingroup image. Thus one might expect children to express shame in the context of intergroup bullying to the extent that they perceive (a) ingroup responsibility for the behaviour, and (b) that the ingroup's reputation is damaged as a result of the bullying.

Guilt

Branscombe and Doosje (2004) define collective guilt as "a self-conscious emotion that can occur when the individual's collective identity or association with a group whose actions are perceived as immoral is salient" (p. 3). Much of the literature has focused on expressions of group-based guilt, particularly concerning ingroup wrongdoings. For example, Doosje et al. (1998) examined the impact of a negative treatment by the ingroup of another, disadvantaged, group on feelings of collective (group-based) guilt. A laboratory experiment (based on the minimal group paradigm) confirmed that feelings of group-based guilt are distinct from those of personal guilt. A field experiment (concerning the Dutch colonization of

Indonesia) then showed that people can feel guilty about acts perpetrated by ingroup members. Iyer, Leach, and Crosby (2003) showed that 'White guilt' was grounded in perceptions of past racial discrimination towards Blacks. In a similar vein, McGarty, Pedersen, Leach, Mansell, Waller, and Bliuc, (2005) studied group-based guilt among Australians for the past maltreatment of Indigenous Australians. They found that perceived ingroup responsibility was a good predictor of group-based guilt. As Lickel, Schmader, Curtis, Scarnier, and Ames (2005) note, group-based guilt differs from group-based shame, in that guilt arises when individuals feel able to repair the damage caused by an incident attributed to the group, while shame arises where that incident is attributed to the group image (or norms), making the damage harder to repair. In other words, guilt is associated with a focus on the incident, separate from the group image, while shame is associated with the incident being a part of the group image (or normative behaviour). Thus, one would expect children to feel guilty about an intergroup bullying incident to the extent that (a) they see it as harming another group, (b) feel responsible for the incident (even though they themselves were not the perpetrators), and (c) see it as norm-inconsistent (a one-off event).

Anger

Leach, Iyer and Pederson (2006) characterize anger as a state of agitation that may be associated with ingroup advantage or disadvantage. Ray, Mackie, Rydell, and E.R. Smith (2008) showed that the extent of group-based anger expression is influenced by group categorization. In their study the American student participants felt less anger towards police when categorized as Americans (a common ingroup

with the police) than when categorized as students (making the police a relevant outgroup). Group-based anger was also investigated by Livingstone, Spears, Manstead, and Bruder (2009) in the context of Welsh identity. These researchers found that group-based anger arose from appraisals of illegitimacy. Further to this, H.J. Smith, Cronin, and Kessler (2008) found that group-based anger with regard to pay disadvantage was positively related to the perceived illegitimacy of that disadvantage. Thus, one would expect children to feel angry about an intergroup bullying incident to the extent that they see it as illegitimate.

Where Now?

Iyer and Leach (2008), in their recent review of intergroup emotion literature, develop the distinctions between the subject (person who feels the emotion) and object (source) of such emotions suggested by Parkinson et al. (2005). Notably, Iyer and Leach point out that little research has focused on cases where an individual object (group member) is a member of an out-group and the subject an ingroup member, or on the implications of this for group relations. In the present thesis, the focus will be on studying how an ingroup action (bullying) directed at a single ingroup or outgroup target influences group-based emotions, as a function of the factors outlined above.

Although many studies have examined various group-based emotions in adults, few have researched intergroup emotions in children, especially in the context of bullying. R. Turner, Hewstone and Voci (2007) studied the role played by intergroup anxiety in the context of White children's friendships with Asian children and found that it mediated the link between time spent in cross-group friendships

and positive attitudes towards the outgroup. This research shows that children can experience emotions towards outgroups – but it is not clear whether anxiety resulted from children’s identity as a group member, or their identity as an individual (in other words, children might not have experienced intergroup anxiety per se). Further work by De Amicis (2009) studied interracial bullying, looking at the extent to which children experience emotions about group-relevant events, as a group member. She introduced White children to an interethnic bullying scenario in which the race of the perpetrator and the race of the target (in both cases White or Black) were orthogonally manipulated. Among older (10-11 years) children, increased group-based anger resulted from a situation in which the target was White. Younger children (aged 8-9 years) felt more group-based sadness when the target was Black. This shows that children’s group-based emotions are dependent upon the group identity (ingroup or outgroup) of those who have a perpetrator or target role in a bullying scenario. However, it is important to note that ethnic ingroup or outgroup identity was confounded in these studies with the minority versus majority status of that identity. Thus, group-based sadness might have resulted from the minority status of the target, rather than from their position as an outgroup member.

The potential role of emotions in shaping reactions to bullying is also highlighted by Jones, et al. (2009), who examined intergroup bullying between peers, using a minimal group paradigm. Nine- to 11-year-olds were randomly assigned to the same group as story characters who were described as engaging in bullying, as being bullied, or as neither engaging in bullying nor being bullied.

Participants read a story in which a perpetrator, supported by his or her group, was described as acting unkindly towards a child in a different group. The gender of the protagonists was varied, as was the perpetrator's group norm (to be kind or unkind to other children). Children's group membership predicted the group-based emotions they reported. For example, it was found that for those in the target's group and the third party group, anger increased as a function of identification, whereas among members of the perpetrator's group, anger decreased as a function of identification. Most of the studies reported in the present thesis build on the paradigm used in this study, with the aim of arriving at a better understanding of the ways in which group membership, group norms, identification, and appraisals influence children's reactions to intergroup bullying.

Deciding to React

As members of social groups, children may appraise and react emotionally to an intergroup bullying scenario in multiple ways. When it comes to anti-bullying policies, and to interventions aimed at tackling bullying, what is crucial is how children think they would act on their thoughts and feelings concerning the bullying incident. It is important to know what children think and feel in response to a bullying incident precisely because different appraisals and group-based emotions lead to different action tendencies. Pride leads to a tendency to seek out others, and to talk about one's achievements (Tracy & Robins, 2004), whereas anger leads to tendencies to act against a harming party (e.g., Mackie, Devos, & E.R. Smith, 2000). Action tendencies also serve as a basis for distinguishing shame from guilt (Tangney & Dearing, 2002). Shame typically leads to a tendency to distance oneself from the

source of one's shame, whereas guilt typically leads to a tendency to make reparations for the wrongdoing. Jones et al. (2009) showed that pride following a bullying incident was associated with affiliation with a bullying group, whereas guilt was associated with a propensity to apologize to the target, and anger with a propensity to tell an adult. These associations are further examined in the experiments reported in this thesis.

Bringing it All Together

This review has established that children are sensitive to social identity concerns, and that these concerns are relevant to intergroup bullying scenarios. A model depicting the hypothesized relationships between group membership, perpetrator's group norm, ingroup identification, and group-based emotions, and between group-based emotions and action tendencies, is shown in Figure 1.1. In general terms, it is predicted that group membership affects the group-based emotions experienced by participants, and that these effects are moderated by the norm of the perpetrator's group, by participants' identification with their peer group, and by their appraisals of the bullying incident. It is also predicted that specific emotions are associated with specific action tendencies. This is the model that forms the basis of the empirical work reported in this thesis.

Thesis Overview

In Chapter 2, I present a study examining the effects of peer group membership (perpetrator's group, target's group, or third party group), and perpetrator's group norm (to be kind or unkind to others) on group-based emotions following an intergroup cyberbullying incident. The study also tests whether these

effects are moderated by ingroup identification and appraisals of the perpetrator's group responsibility. The relationships between emotions and action tendencies are also examined. It is found that group membership, perpetrator's group norm, and the proposed antecedents of the group-based emotions of pride, shame, and anger (but not guilt) influenced group-based emotions and action tendencies in ways predicted by social identity and intergroup emotion theories, as outlined above.

Children are not only susceptible to the influence of peer group norms; the broader normative context in which they find themselves can also be influential. For example, in a given social context there might be a prevailing norm to be competitive or to be cooperative. In the third chapter, I report a study in which I added a manipulation of the prevailing norm to my basic experimental paradigm. I find that, particularly among perpetrator's group members, the activation of a cooperative normative context attenuated group-based pride, and heightened group-based regret and anger in response to an intergroup bullying scenario.

Although the wider normative context studied in Chapter 3 was shown to affect responses to the intergroup bullying scenario, these norms were not related to an institution, such as the classroom or school. In the study reported in Chapter 4, I draw together the effects of a 'local' peer group norm and broader institutional norms by independently manipulating the norm of a perpetrator's group and the norm of the school. Because most of the effects in previous studies were found among perpetrator's group members, all children in this study are assigned to the perpetrator's group. I find that children exposed to a cooperative school norm expressed greater pride in the bullying when the perpetrator's group had a norm for

unkindness and the behaviour was appraised as unkind. These results show that peer group norms exert an influence on bullying that can override the influence of a cooperative school norm.

In Chapter 5, I present a study in which I manipulate peer group membership and perpetrator's group norm, and measure ingroup identification before and after children learned about an intergroup bullying incident. When the bullying incident is inconsistent with the perpetrator's group norm, how strongly perpetrator's, (but not target's) group members identified with their group after learning about the bullying incident is moderated by their initial ingroup identification. Thus, there is evidence that children strategically manage their social identity in the context of intergroup bullying.

In Chapter 6, I report two studies in which I manipulate group membership and the perpetrator's group norm and examine reactions to an ostensibly negative bullying scenario (Study 5a) and an intergroup scenario that is ostensibly positive (Study 5b). In both studies group membership and the perpetrator's group norms influence group-based emotions and action tendencies in ways predicted by social identity and intergroup emotion theories. Critical to this influence are children's appraisals of the bullying as high or low in nastiness, such that group behaviour interpreted as norm-consistent evokes more pride and less shame.

In Chapter 7, I depart from the experimental paradigm used in the prior studies to report the findings of a qualitative online study of teachers' reports of school bullying. The findings highlight that a bullying episode in schools can take multiple forms; that bullying is reported, investigated and resolved in schools at the

peer group level; and that children involved in bullying incidents may form part of a group that bullies another child, or that acts to support a target of bullying.

In Chapter 8, I draw the above findings together to consider their implications for our understanding of social identity concerns and intergroup emotion theory from a social-developmental perspective (considering the ways in which children deal with these social psychological phenomena), and to advance suggestions for future policy and practice concerning anti-bullying interventions in schools.

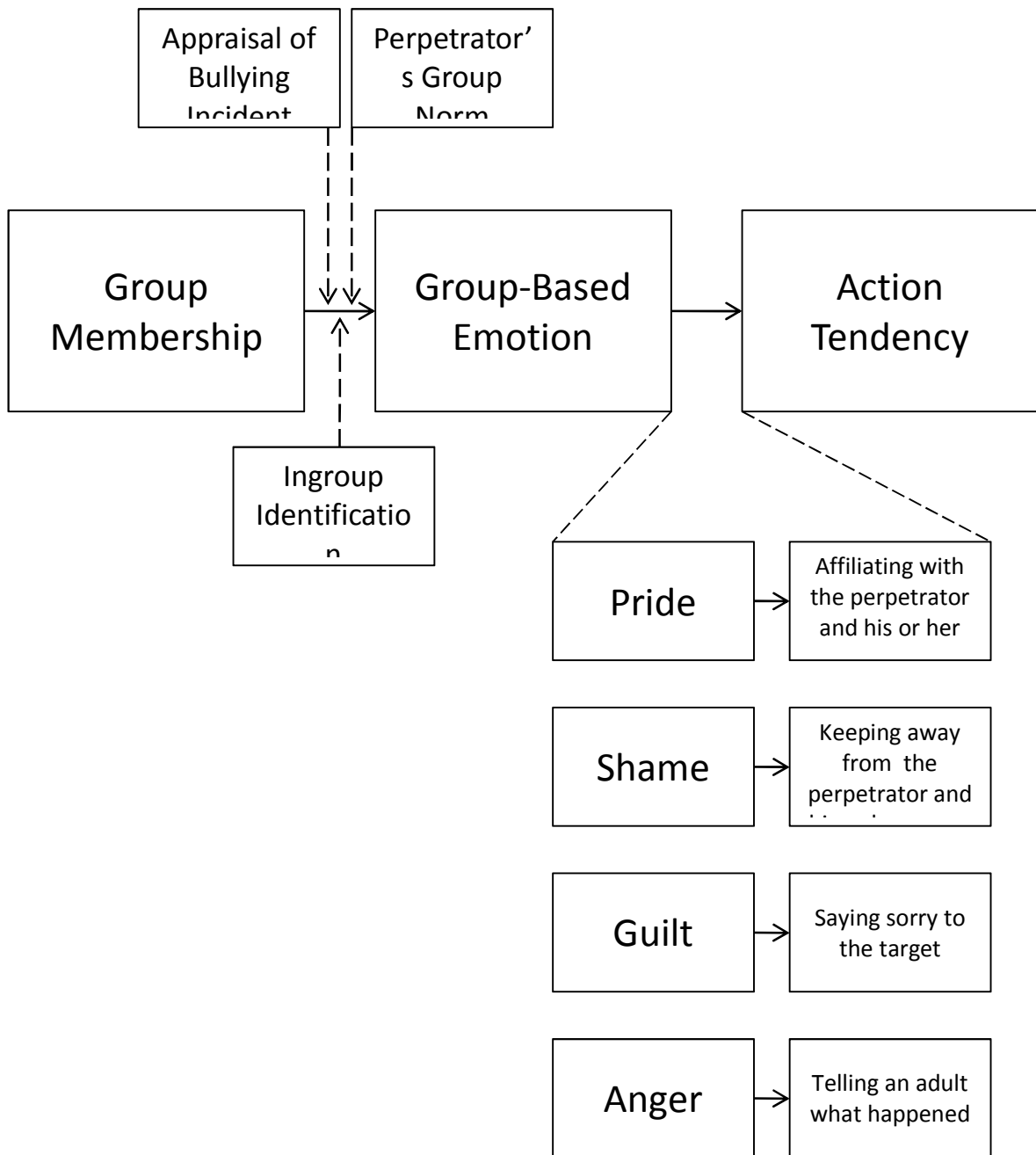


Figure 1.1. The hypothesized relationship between group membership, the perpetrator's group norm, group-based emotions and action tendencies. Inset: Showing the relationship between specific group-based emotions and their associated action tendencies.

Chapter 2

Ganging Up or Sticking Together?

Group Processes and Children's Responses to Bullying

Chapter Overview¹

Drawing on the social identity approach and intergroup emotion theories, I examined group processes underlying bullying behaviour. Children were randomly assigned to one of three groups: a perpetrator's group, a target's group, or a third party group. They then read a gender-consistent scenario in which the norm of the perpetrator's group (to be kind or unkind towards others) was manipulated, and an instance of cyberbullying between the perpetrator's group and a member of the target's group was described. It was found that group membership, perpetrator's group norms, and the proposed antecedents of the group-based emotions of pride,

¹ This chapter is based upon:

Jones, S.E., Manstead, A.S.R., & Livingstone, A.G. (2011). Ganging up or sticking together? Group processes and children's responses to bullying. *British Journal of Psychology*, 102, 71-96. doi: 10.1348/000712610X502826

shame and anger (but not guilt) influenced group-based emotions and action tendencies in ways predicted by social identity and intergroup emotion theories. The results underline the importance of understanding group-level emotional reactions when it comes to tackling bullying, and show that being part of a group can be helpful in fostering resistance to bullying.

Ganging Up or Sticking Together?

Bullying and hostility among children is a long-standing and pervasive social issue, and in extreme cases in the UK has included the murder of children in and around schools (e.g., Siddique, 2008). There is a strong tendency in lay explanations of these phenomena to see groups as part of the problem, particularly when they are characterized as 'gangs' (e.g., Davies, 2009). This perspective was underlined by a recent UK report (Broadhurst, Duffin, & Taylor, 2008) on how schoolchildren's increasing involvement with gangs could lead to greater violence in schools.

Nevertheless, most research on bullying has tended to overlook the role of group processes, focusing instead on factors within the dyadic relationship between the perpetrator and target (see Jones, et al., 2008). In contrast, research reviewed in Chapter 1 has shown that peer groups do shape the ways in which children interpret and respond to bullying (e.g., Duffy & Nesdaile, 2009; Gini, 2006, 2007; Jones et al., 2008; Jones, et al., 2009; Ojala & Nesdaile, 2004). The main aim of the present study was to extend this line of work by examining group processes in the context of cyberbullying. More specifically, our objective was to study the role played by peer group membership, peer group norms, and in-group identification in shaping children's emotional reactions to a cyberbullying incident.

Research suggests that children value the protection afforded by gang affiliations, and stick together in groups for this reason (Seaman, Turner, Hill, Stafford, & Walker, 2006). Moreover, research on intergroup relations between adults has shown that social identities and groups are important in providing a basis for resisting the harmful intentions of others (e.g., Iyer & Leach, 2008; van Zomeren, et al., 2008; van Zomeren et al., 2004). To this end, we studied a context in which cyberbullying between children could be seen as involving one set of children ganging up on one or more of their peers, and whether peer group membership provides a basis for resisting bullying. Our aim was to provide a nuanced account of the roles that groups, and group processes might play in maintaining and resisting cyberbullying.

Cyberbullying

With the advent of new communication technologies a new kind of bullying has emerged. *Cyberbullying* is a term coined by Besley (n.d.) and has been defined as ‘an aggressive, intentional act carried out by a group or individual, using electronic forms of contact, repeatedly and over time against a target who cannot easily defend him or herself’ (P.K. Smith, Mahdavi, et al., 2008, p. 376). In a recent UK survey, P.K. Smith, Mahdavi, et al. (2008) found that 16.7% of their sample had been cyberbullied. Other surveys (e.g., Campbell, 2005) suggest that cyberbullying is increasing in prevalence. The consequences of cyberbullying are thought to be similar to those of conventional bullying. Patchin and Hinduja (2006) report that cyberbullying makes targets feel angry, frustrated, and sad, while Ybarra and Mitchell (2007) concluded that those who bully on-line are more likely to have

behavioural problems. Cyberbullying is a particularly pernicious form of bullying, in that cyberbullies do not have to be physically present in order to aggress, whereas targets of this bullying are less able to avoid such aggression. Li (2006) found that over 50% of his sample was aware of an instance of cyberbullying, but only 30% of respondents who knew that someone was being cyberbullied said that they would inform an adult. Thus, many instances of cyberbullying are known to other children yet remain hidden from adults.

Study 1

In line with the arguments set out in Chapter 1, we examined the roles of (a) social identity processes and (b) group-based emotions in perceptions of and responses to bullying. Ten- and eleven-year-olds were randomly assigned to one of three group conditions: to the same group as someone later described as engaging in bullying (the perpetrator's group); to the same group as someone later described as being the target of that bullying (the target's group); or to a third-party group. This age group was chosen because it has been established that bullying is particularly prevalent at this age (e.g., Scheithauer, Hayer, Pettermann, & Jugert, 2006). Children then read one of four scenarios that varied with respect to the gender of the protagonists and the norm of the perpetrator's group. In the scenario, a perpetrator, supported by his or her group, acts unkindly towards a target, who belongs to a different group, by sending the target an unpleasant text message from the group whilst walking home from school. There were parallel versions of the scenario for females and males, with protagonists being of the same gender as the participants. The norm of the perpetrator's group (to be either kind or unkind

towards others) was also manipulated. Responses to the scenario were measured in terms of the perceived legitimacy of the text message, perceptions of the perpetrator's group's responsibility for the message, emotions pertinent to bullying (pride, shame, guilt, and anger), and action tendencies associated with each of these emotions. Each child's identification with his or her group was also measured. We predicted (in accordance with Figure 1.1 in Chapter 1) that group membership would affect the group-based emotions experienced by participants, and that these effects would be moderated by the norm of the perpetrator's group, by participants' identification with their assigned group, and by their judgments of the legitimacy of, and the perpetrator's group's responsibility for, the bullying incident. We also predicted that specific emotions would be associated with specific action tendencies, such that (for example) anger would be associated with a stronger motivation to stop the bullying behaviour.

Method

Participants

After obtaining ethical approval from the School of Psychology's Ethics Committee, 146 consent forms were sent to parents of Year 6 children (aged 10–11 years) in 5 schools, resulting in a sample of 90 children (36 male and 54 female) whose mean age was 11.09 years ($SD = 0.46$ years). Children were equally and randomly distributed among the experimental conditions.

Design

The study had a fully between-subjects factorial design, where the two manipulated factors were the norm of the perpetrator's group in the scenarios

(either to be kind or unkind), and the group membership of the participants (target's group, perpetrator's group, or third party group). Children's gender (male vs. female) was also taken into account. Participants' identification with their assigned group, the perceived responsibility of the perpetrator's group, and the perceived (il)legitimacy of the bullying behaviour were measured for inclusion as continuous moderators. The dependent variables were (a) group-based emotions of pride, shame, guilt, and anger; and (b) action tendencies: to affiliate with the perpetrator, make reparations to the target, distance oneself from the group, and tell an adult what had happened.

Materials and Procedure

The study was conducted in school classrooms, with one class group at a time, each consisting of between 10 and 32 pupils. A teacher was always present. The session began with an explanation that the researchers were interested in finding out about children's friendship groups. The three activities involved in the study were then described, and children were reminded that their participation was voluntary.

Dot estimation task. Children were randomly allocated to one of the three group membership conditions. This was done using a dot estimation task (Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971). Each child was introduced to the activity, and subsequently shown five slides, each displaying between 20 and 100 yellow dots on a blue background. Each slide was presented for 3 seconds in PowerPoint. Participants were asked to record the number of dots they estimated to be on each slide. Participants were then instructed that their responses to the dot estimation

task could be used to place them into one of three groups. The researcher exchanged each participant's response sheet for one assigning them (in reality, at random) to a particular (gender consistent) group. The sheet also contained information about that group. Membership of each group was indicated by the statement that, 'Your guesses tended to be too small. Most children in [e.g., Child's name's group] also tend to make guesses that are too small. [Child's name's group] are an [active/fun-loving/bright] group of [girls/boys], who [enjoy listening to music together/watching DVDs together/playing games together]'. The descriptions were devised so as to encourage participants to identify with their group and participants were instructed to keep this information private.

Practice Items. Each pupil was then given a copy of the relevant gender-consistent questionnaire booklet (see Appendix A for a copy of the booklet given to females in the unkindness norm condition). Instructions were then read to the children, who proceeded to work through the practice questions. They were then asked to work through the rest of the booklet carefully and quietly. Participants were given approximately 30 minutes to complete the booklet. Some children were assisted in scenario and questionnaire reading, so as not to exclude those with reading difficulties.

Scenarios. Children read one of four illustrated scenarios. The scenarios provided information about the groups, about named members of the target's group, one named member of the perpetrator's group, one named member of the third party group, and about an incident that could be construed as text-message bullying. Names of the scenario characters were chosen such that no child at the school went

by them. Girls received a scenario about a walk home from school made by Melanie's group, Jenny's group, and Bess's group. During this walk, Jenny, supported by other members of her group, sends an unkind text message to a named member of Melanie's group. Boys received the same scenario, but with 'Melanie', 'Jenny', and 'Bess' replaced by 'John', 'Pete', and 'Toby'. The perpetrator's group norm was manipulated by varying information about the typical behaviour of the group, such that in the kindness norm condition children read: '[Perpetrator]'s group. They were usually kind to others'; whereas in the unkindness norm condition they read: '[Perpetrator]'s group. They were the cool group in the school, though they occasionally teased others'. The scenario ended by making it clear that the target was upset. Scenario characters were always described as attending a school similar to the participants'.

Questionnaires. Before the questionnaire was completed, the researcher highlighted her interest in pupils' opinions about the story. It was stressed that answers would be kept confidential, and not read by staff at the school. There were two versions of the questionnaire, one for the female scenario, and one for the male scenario. Most items took the form of statements. Unless otherwise stated, children were asked to indicate (by placing a tick) their responses on five-point scales, ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*).

The first set of items related to the behaviour described in the scenario, starting with manipulation check items relating to the named story characters' group affiliations (for example: 'Which group was [Perpetrator] a member of?') and asking respondents to report their own group membership. There was also a

manipulation check concerning the group norm of the perpetrator's group: 'The perpetrator's group is always kind to other children'.

The final paragraph of the scenario, describing the bullying incident, was then repeated. Following this were items calling for judgments of the behaviour, of the intentions of the characters, and whether the behaviour of the named bullying character and of the perpetrator's group as a group, could be classed as bullying, for example, '[Perpetrator] is bullying [Target]'. Among these items was a measure of the responsibility the participant felt the perpetrator's group had for the incident, '[Perpetrator's group] should be punished for their behaviour', and a measure of the perceived legitimacy of the group's behaviour, '[Perpetrator group's] behaviour towards [Target] was fair'. The wording of the items was designed to be accessible to the child participants.

The next set of items concerned participants' identification with their assigned group, and group-based emotions. This included a six-item ($\alpha = .87$) measure of social identification, based on the work of Barrett et al. (2007), J. E. Cameron (2004), and Leach et al. (2008) (e.g., 'I am happy to be in my group', 'It is important to me to be in my group', 'I am similar to others in my group'). Group-based emotions (pride, shame, guilt, and anger) were measured on items employing a five-point scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*). Three-item scales were used for each emotion (pride, 'I [feel proud about/admire/respect] the way [Perpetrator]'s group behaved on the way home' $\alpha = .86$; shame, 'I feel [ashamed of /

bad about/awful about] the way [Perpetrator]'s group behave'] $\alpha = .56^2$; guilt, 'I feel [guilty/bad/sorry about the way [Perpetrator]'s group] behaved on the way home', $\alpha = .68$; anger, 'I feel [angry/annoyed/irritated] about the text message sent to [Target]', $\alpha = .86$).

A further set of items concerned participants' action tendencies. Specifically, participants reported what they believed they would have done had they been present when the incident took place. Items included tendencies to apologize ('I would say sorry to [Target]'); to avoid the perpetrator's group ('I would keep away from [Perpetrator] and his or her group'); to share pride in the incident ('I would tell my friends proudly about what [Perpetrator] and his/her friends did'); and to tell an adult ('I would go and tell an adult what happened'). The final section of the questionnaire asked participants to indicate their age and year group.

At the conclusion of the session, which lasted approximately 45 minutes, participants were debriefed about the research and the reasons for the deception concerning allocation to groups. Any questions that pupils had were addressed by the researchers, and pupils were reminded of positive strategies for dealing with any experiences of bullying. Participants were thanked and received a pencil for their participation, and each participating school received £50 in book vouchers.

² The low inconsistency values reported for shame and guilt are likely to be due to the low number of items constituting the scale. The low values mean, however, that results from these scales should be treated with caution.

Results

Data Screening

Prior to analysis, the data were screened for patterns in missing values, for outliers, and for violations of parametric data assumptions. One case had more than 30% of values missing, and this was dropped from all subsequent analyses. To ensure that the (few) univariate outliers were not having a disproportionate influence on the results, they were removed for each relevant analysis. In keeping with the recommendations of Aiken and West (1991), mean-centred scores were used for measured moderator variables.

Comprehension Checks

Analyses indicated that 86 children passed the check asking 'Who sent the nasty text message to [Target]?', correctly identifying the sender of the message, and three children failed to do so. Seventy children passed the check asking 'Which group is [Target] a member of?', correctly identifying which group the target belonged to, and 19 children failed to do so. Further inspection revealed that these children were randomly distributed across experimental conditions, and running analyses with and without children who did not pass this check produced no differences in results. All participants were therefore retained for the main analyses.

Perpetrator's Group Norm Manipulation Check

A two-way (Perpetrator's Group Norm \times Group Membership) ANOVA on the perpetrator's group norm manipulation check revealed only a significant effect of perpetrator's group norm, $F(1, 87) = 17.75, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .161$. Those in the kindness norm condition perceived the perpetrator's group to be kinder than those

in the unkindness norm condition ($M_s = 2.81$ and 3.85 , $SD_s = 1.33$ and 0.99 , respectively).

Was the Behaviour Seen as Bullying?

Children were asked to indicate the extent to which they saw the behaviour of (a) the perpetrator and (b) the perpetrator's group as bullying. Analysis revealed that 80.90% of participants either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, '[Perpetrator] is bullying [Target]' while 71.90% either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement '[Perpetrator]'s group are bullying [Target]'.

Group-Based Emotions

We hypothesized that group membership would affect the emotions children experienced when reading the scenarios, and that this effect would be moderated by the norm of the perpetrator's group, by children's level of identification with their assigned group, and by their perceptions of the responsibility of the perpetrator's group in the cases of pride, shame, and guilt, and by their perceptions of the legitimacy of the bullying incident in the case of anger. To test this hypothesis, each emotion was submitted to a 3 (Group Membership: perpetrator's group, target's group, third party) X 2 (Perpetrator's Group Norm: kindness or unkindness) X Responsibility (measured) [or Legitimacy (measured)] X Identification with Assigned Group (measured) ANOVA. It is worth noting that these ANOVAs were full factorial models, including all main effects and interactions. Thus the higher-order interactions reported below are significant when all relevant main effects and lower-order interactions are included in the model. Where interactions involved a continuous variable (e.g., responsibility or identification), it was interpreted by

examining simple effects or interactions at different levels (+1 *SD* or -1 *SD*) of the continuous variable (see Aiken & West, 1991). Mean scores, standard deviations, and correlations between each of the dependent variables in the ANOVAs are reported in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1

Mean Scores and Standard Deviations for, and Correlations between, Main Dependent Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
<i>M</i>	3.44	3.93	1.54	1.58	3.79	3.11	3.87	2.41	4.07	3.80	4.10
<i>SD</i>	0.71	0.93	0.81	0.67	0.85	0.94	0.96	1.29	1.07	1.05	1.03
1. Identification with assigned group		-.143	-.132	-.074	.229*	-.009	.243*	-.117	.165	.042	.297**
2. Perceived Responsibility			-.248**	-.428**	.280**	-.051	.130	-.137	.132	.217*	.169
3. Perceived Legitimacy				.276**	-.082	-.006	-.129	.217*	-.410**	-.129	-.318**
4. Group-based Pride					-.388**	-.054	-.186*	.276**	-.338**	-.204	-.255**
5. Group-based Shame						.466**	.465**	-.067	.463**	.287**	.317**
6. Group-based Guilt							.478**	.115	.362**	.333**	.295**
7. Group-based Anger								.039	.543**	.444**	.622**
8. Boasting about the perpetrator's group's behaviour									-.175	-.110	-.074
9. Keeping away from perpetrator										.442**	.637**
10. Apologize to target											.391**
11. Action against perpetrator											

* $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.001$

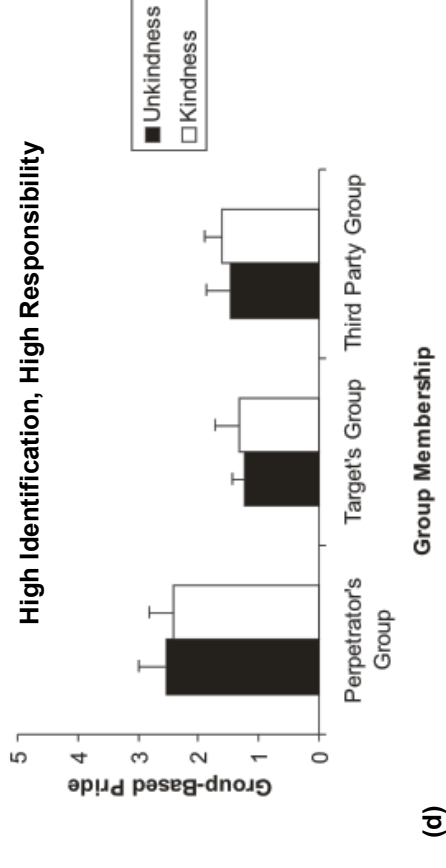
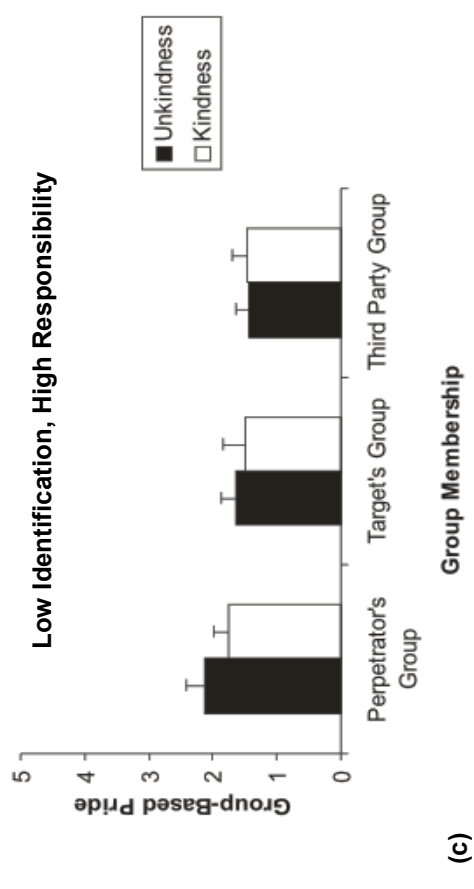
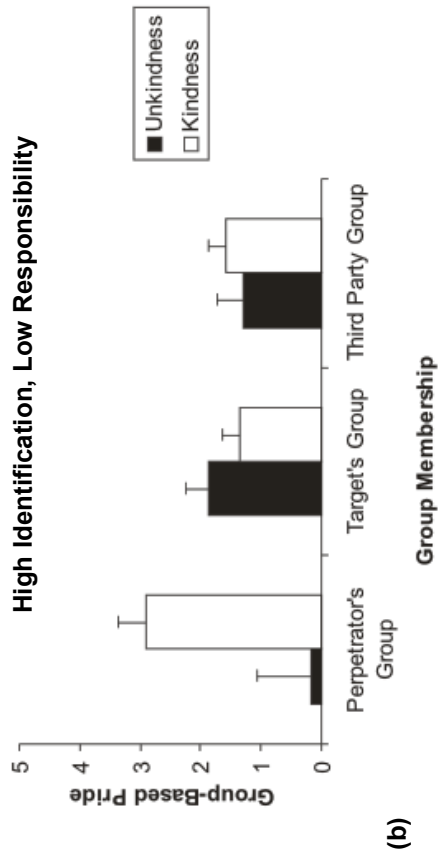
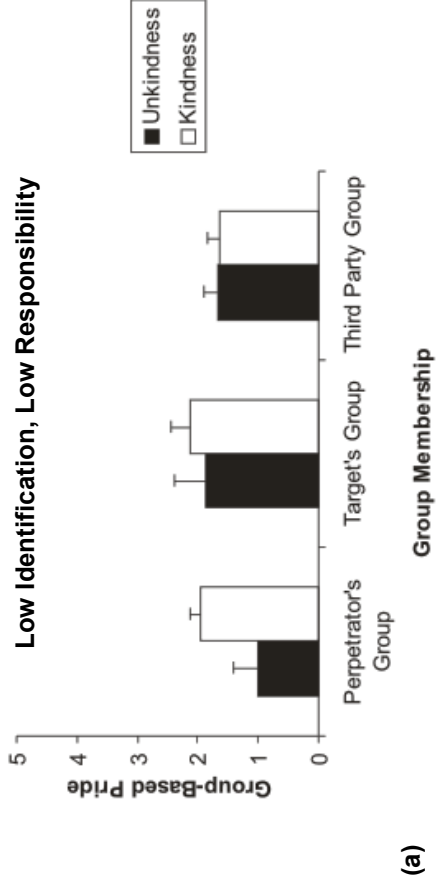


Figure 2.1. Simple effects of the four-way interaction for group-based pride between group membership, perpetrator's group norm, perpetrator's group responsibility and identification. The bars represent estimated means at specific levels of perpetrator's group responsibility and identification. Error bars represent one standard error.

Pride. The only significant effect for pride was a four-way interaction between group membership, perpetrator's group norm, identification, and responsibility, $F(2, 63) = 3.26, p = .046, \eta^2_p = .094$. This interaction is illustrated in Figure 2.1.

Further analysis showed that the three-way interaction between group membership, perpetrator's group norm, and responsibility was significant only when identification was high ($M + 1SD$: see panels b and d of Figure 2.1), $F(2, 63) = 4.12, p = .021, \eta^2_p = .117$ ($F < 1$ when identification was low). In turn, the two-way interaction between group membership and perpetrator's group norm was only significant at high levels of identification when the perceived responsibility of the perpetrator's group was low ($M - 1SD$: see panel b of Figure 2.1), $F(2, 63) = 4.93, p = .010, \eta^2_p = .137$, ($F = 1.09$ when responsibility was high).

Simple effects analysis revealed that at high levels of identification and low levels of responsibility (panel b), the effect of group membership was marginally significant within the kindness norm condition, $F(2, 63) = 1.78, p = .053, \eta^2_p = .119$, but not within the unkindness norm condition. Pairwise comparisons showed that the difference in estimated means between the perpetrator's and the target's group, in the kindness norm condition, was significant, $M_s = 2.88$ and 1.35 , respectively, $SE_{diff} = 0.53, p = .005$, as was the difference between the perpetrator's group and the third party group, $M_s = 2.88$ and 1.59 , respectively, $SE_{diff} = 0.53, p = .017$.

At high levels of identification and responsibility (panel d), the effect of group membership was marginally significant within the unkindness norm condition, $F(2, 63) = 3.02, p = .056, \eta^2_p = .090$, but not within the kindness norm condition. The former effect was driven by a significant difference between the estimated means of

the perpetrator's and target's groups ($M_s = 2.52$ and 1.24 , respectively, $SE_{diff} = 0.52$, $p = .016$). The simple effects of group membership were not significant when identification was low (panels a and c of Figure 2.1).

Shame. Significant interactions between the perpetrator's group norm and responsibility, $F(2, 63) = 7.65$, $p = .007$, $\eta^2_p = .110$, and between perpetrator's group norm, group membership and identification, $F(2, 63) = 3.38$, $p = .048$, $\eta^2_p = .093$, were qualified by a significant four-way interaction between group membership, perpetrator's group norm, identification, and responsibility, $F(2, 63) = 3.01$, $p = .045$, $\eta^2_p = .095$. This interaction is illustrated in Figure 2.2.

Further analysis showed that the three-way interaction between group membership, perpetrator's group norm, and responsibility was marginally significant when levels of identification were high (see panels b and d of Figure 2.2), $F(2, 63) = 2.88$, $p = .064$, $\eta^2_p = .085$, but not when identification was low, $F < 1$. In turn, the two-way interaction between group membership and perpetrator's group norm was significant at high levels of identification, both when the perceived responsibility of the perpetrator's group was low (panel b of Figure 2.2), $F(2, 63) = 3.31$, $p = .043$, $\eta^2_p = .097$, and when the perceived responsibility of the perpetrator's group was high, $F(2, 63) = 6.24$, $p = .003$, $\eta^2_p = .168$ (panel d of Figure 2.2).

Simple effects analysis showed that where identification was high and responsibility was low (panel b), there was an effect of group membership within the kindness norm condition, $F(2, 63) = 3.07$, $p = .053$, $\eta^2_p = .089$, but not within the unkindness norm condition. Shame was lower in the third party group ($M = 3.19$) than in the target's group, ($M = 4.27$), $SE_{diff} = 0.44$, $p = .016$. When both

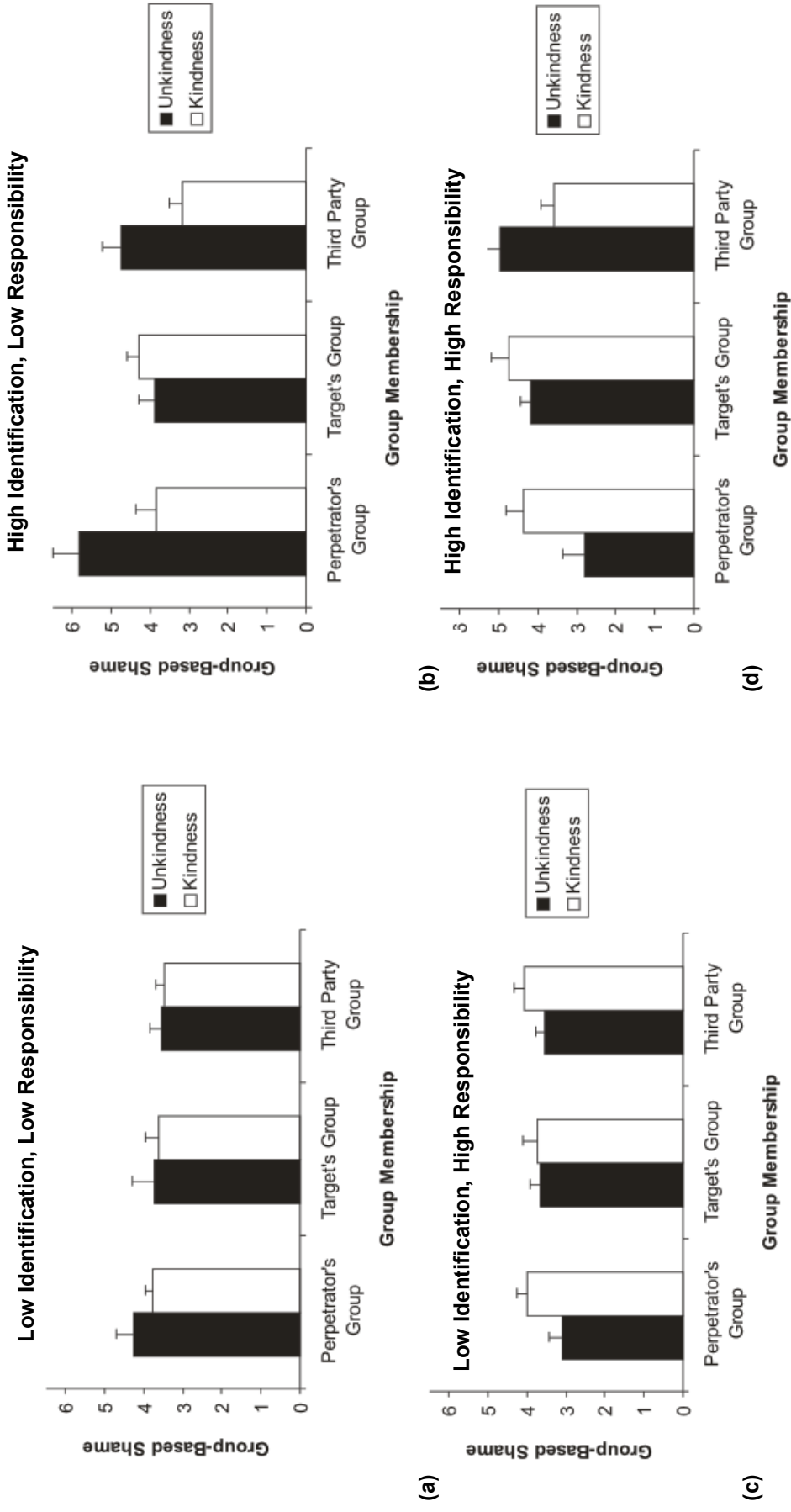


Figure 2.2. Simple effects of the four-way interaction for group-based shame between group membership, perpetrator's group norm, perpetrator's group responsibility and identification. The bars represent estimated means at specific levels of perpetrator's group responsibility and identification. Error bars represent one standard error.

identification and responsibility levels were high (panel d), there was a significant effect of group membership within the unkindness norm condition, $F(2, 63) = 2.40, p = .012, \eta^2_p = .129$. This was driven by significant differences between the perpetrator's and target's groups, $M_s = 2.80$ and 4.20 , respectively, $SE_{diff} = 0.60, p = .022$; and between the perpetrator's and third party groups, $M_s = 2.80$ and 4.97 , respectively, $SE_{diff} = 0.71, p = .003$. Where identification was low and responsibility was high (panel c), there were no significant effects of group membership.

Guilt. There were no significant effects on guilt.

Anger. There were two significant effects. The first was an interaction between group membership and identification, $F(2, 60) = 6.95, p = .002, \eta^2_p = .110$. The association between identification and group-based anger for each group membership is depicted in Figure 2.3.

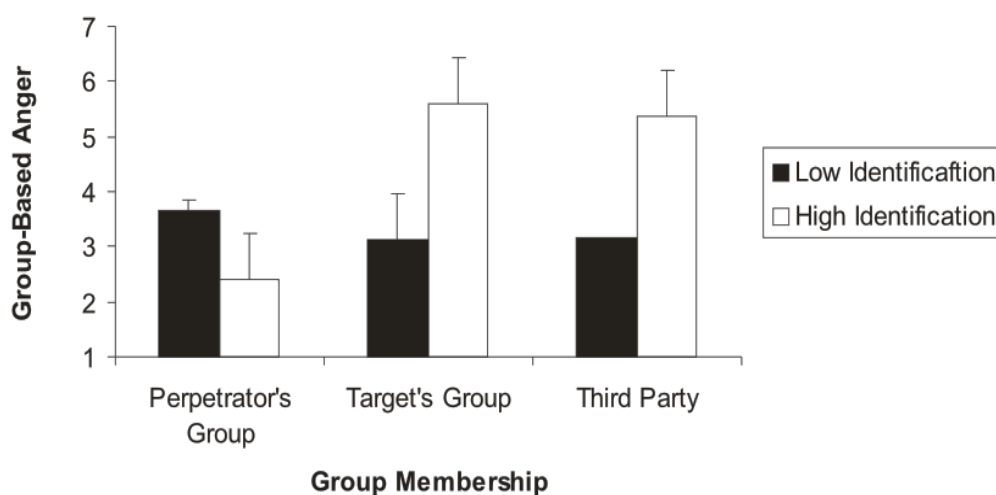


Figure 2.3. Simple effects of the two-way interaction for group-based anger between group membership and identification. The bars represent estimated means at specific levels of group membership. Error bars represent one standard error.

Simple effects analysis showed that the simple effect of *group membership* was significant at high, $F(2, 60) = 5.36, p = .007, \eta^2_p = .152$, but not at low, $F(2, 60) = 1.17, p = .318, \eta^2_p = .037$, levels of identification with the ingroup. The effect at high levels of identification occurred because those in the target's and third party groups were angrier than those in the perpetrator's group ($M_s = 5.61, 5.36$ and 2.42 , respectively). The differences between the perpetrator's and target's groups, $SE_{diff} = 1.16, p = .008$, and perpetrator's and third party groups, $SE_{diff} = 0.93, p = .003$, were significant.

There was also a significant three-way interaction between perpetrator's group norm, identification and perceived legitimacy, $F(1, 60) = 5.71, p = .020, \eta^2_p = .100$. This interaction was explored by examining the simple effect of perpetrator's group norm at low and high levels of legitimacy, and at each level of identification. The simple effects are displayed in Figure 2.4.

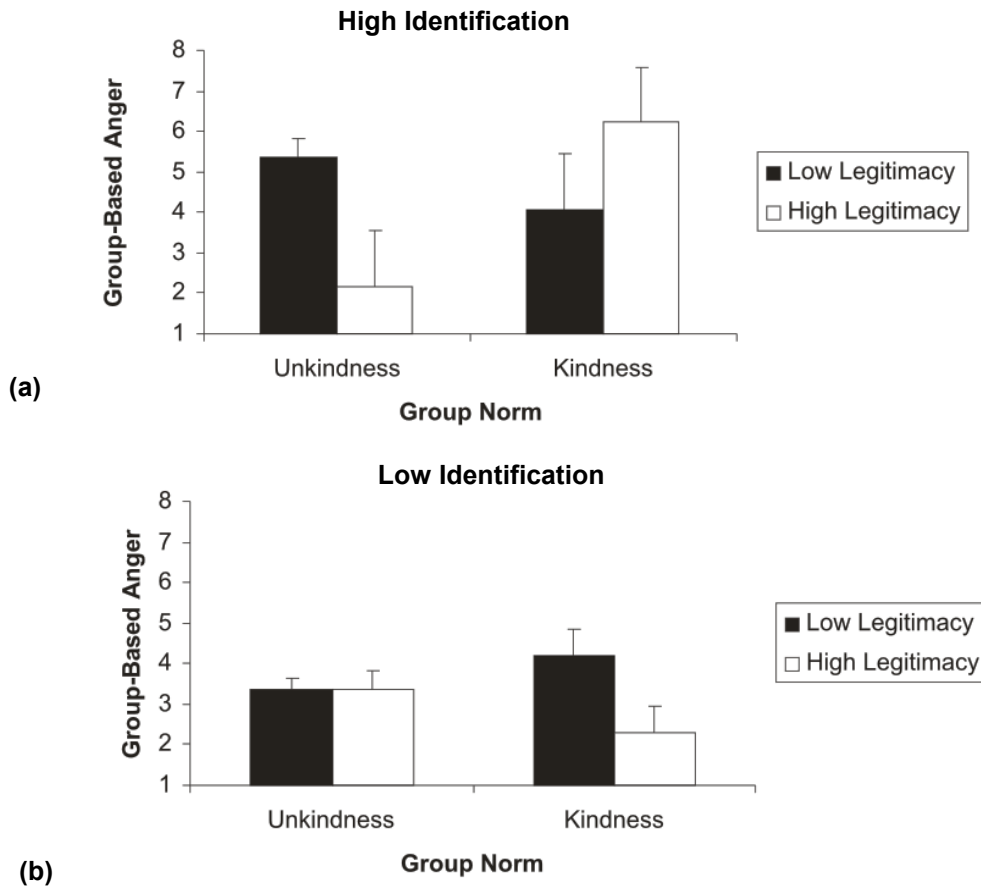


Figure 2.4. Simple effects of the three-way interaction for group-based anger between perpetrator's group norm, perceived legitimacy, and identification. The bars represent estimated means at specific levels of legitimacy and perpetrator's group norm. Error bars represent one standard error.

Further analysis of the three-way interaction revealed that the two-way interaction between perpetrator's group norm and legitimacy was significant at high, $F(1, 60) = 5.15, p = .027, \eta^2_p = .079$, but not at low, $F(1, 60) = 2.26, p = .138, \eta^2_p = .036$, levels of identification. Simple effects were then calculated at $+ / - 1$ SD for legitimacy, at high levels of identification. There was a significant effect of perpetrator's group norm at high levels of legitimacy (i.e., when the event was perceived as fair) $F(1, 60) = 3.65, p = .061, \eta^2_p = .057$. but not at low levels of

legitimacy, At high levels of legitimacy, those in the kindness norm condition were angrier than those in the unkindness norm condition ($M_s = 6.22$ and 2.18 , respectively).

Relations between Group-Based Emotions and Action Tendencies

In order to determine whether each emotion was the best predictor of its associated action tendency, each action tendency was regressed simultaneously onto the four emotions.

Telling friends about what the perpetrator, and his or her group, did.

The model was marginally significant, $F(4, 82) = 2.16, p = .080$, adjusted $R^2 = .051$. Pride was the only significant predictor of this action tendency, $\beta = 0.28, p = .018$.

Keeping away from the perpetrator and his or her group. The model was significant, $F(4, 85) = 15.04, p < .001$, adjusted $R^2 = .324$. Both shame, $\beta = 0.26, p = .014$, and anger, $\beta = 0.36, p < .001$, were predictive of a tendency to keep away from the perpetrator and his or her group.

Saying sorry to the target. The model was significant, $F(4, 82) = 6.26, p < .001$, adjusted $R^2 = .197$. However, anger, $\beta = 0.34, p = .004$, rather than guilt, was the only significant predictor of the tendency to apologise to the target. Repeating the regression with anger removed, $F(3, 84) = 4.32, p = .007$, adjusted $R^2 = .103$, revealed that guilt ($\beta = 0.23, p = .042$) was a significant, positive predictor of this action tendency. No other emotion emerged as a significant predictor in either model.

Telling an adult about what has happened. The model was significant, $F(4, 82) = 13.75, p < .001$, adjusted $R^2 = .372$. Anger was the only significant predictor, $\beta = 0.58, p < .001$.

Discussion

We examined how children's reactions to cyberbullying varied as a function of their group membership and their level of identification with that group. Specifically, we tested the hypothesis that group membership would affect the intensity of group-based emotions felt in relation to a bullying incident, and that this effect would be moderated by identification with the group, the norms of the perpetrator's group, and perceptions of group responsibility (or legitimacy, in the case of anger) for the bullying incident. In turn, it was predicted that different group-based emotions would be associated with different action tendencies in reaction to the bullying incident.

Consistent with the main hypothesis, the findings show that children's group membership, in interaction with the extent to which children identified with that group membership, the perpetrator's group norm and the extent to which a bullying group was seen as responsible for its behaviour (or the extent to which that behaviour was regarded as legitimate), did affect their responses to a group-level cyberbullying incident. The findings also show links between these responses and what children say they would be inclined to do in response to the incident. The ways in which each of these variables worked together to affect responses to bullying in this study are discussed below.

Group-Based Emotions and Action Tendencies

Overall, there was encouraging support for the model shown in Figure 1.1 of Chapter 1. There were effects of group membership on emotions experienced by participants, moderated by perpetrator's group norm, ingroup identification, and responsibility (or legitimacy). In the cases of group-based pride and shame, the effect of group membership was only significant where identification with one's group was high. More specifically, for pride, we found a significant four-way interaction of medium magnitude (Cohen, 1988) between group membership, perpetrator's group norm, identification, and responsibility. It is interesting to note that where both identification with one's assigned group and perceived responsibility of the perpetrator's group were high (see Figure 2.1, panel d), there was a significant simple effect of group membership among those in the unkindness norm condition. Under these conditions, perpetrator's group members felt more group-based pride in the (norm consistent) actions of the perpetrator's group, compared to target's group members.

Consistent with group-based emotion theorizing (e.g., E.R. Smith, 1993), the extent to which participants experienced group-based pride was contingent on the extent to which they identified with their group. With regard to responsibility, pride among members of the perpetrator's group in the norm-consistent condition was relatively low when participants in this group perceived little responsibility for the behaviour (see Figure 2.1, panel b). It is worth noting that under these same conditions perpetrator's group members also reported relatively high levels of shame (see Figure 2.2, panel b). This pattern suggests that under these conditions (high identification with a group

with a negative reputation, but which is not seen as responsible for the specific incident), reports of emotion can take on a strategic, communicative function (Parkinson, 1996; Parkinson et al., 2005). This finding seems to be consistent with RMT (Emler & Reicher, 1995, 2005) because reporting relatively low pride and relatively high shame, when the in-group has a negative reputation but is perceived as having low responsibility for the behaviour, can be seen as a conciliatory response, intended to ward off negative reactions on the part of others. If highly identified group members believe that they are not responsible for negative behaviour that could be regarded as 'typical' of their group, it might therefore be functional to express low pride and high shame as a way of saying, 'we might have a bad reputation, but don't blame or punish us for this specific incident'. In contrast, this is not necessary when the group does not have a negative reputation (reducing the likelihood of being blamed), or when identification is low (reducing the motive to strategically defend the group's image).

Shame. For group-based shame, there was also a significant four-way interaction of medium magnitude between group membership, perpetrator's group norm, identification, and responsibility. As with pride, the interaction between group membership, perpetrator's group norm, and responsibility was only significant when identification was high. In turn, when identification was high the two-way interaction between group membership and perpetrator's group norm was significant at both high and low levels of responsibility. Indeed, when responsibility and identification were high (see Figure 2.2, panel d), perpetrator's group members in the unkindness norm condition (where the

behaviour was norm consistent for perpetrator's group members) reported less group-based shame than did their counterparts in the target's and third party groups. This is inconsistent with the argument (see Jones et al., 2008) that group-based shame should be more intensely experienced when (a) the in-group is seen as responsible for a given action, (b) one identifies with the group, and (c) the action is group-defining (as opposed to being a one-off incident). However, this finding can be seen as consistent with RMT, in that children who identified relatively highly with an unkind group, and perceived that the group was responsible for an unkind behaviour reported low shame. This is also consistent with a social creativity strategy for dealing with a negative social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), whereby group members redefine 'negative' group-defining characteristics as positive.

Guilt. While there was some support for the prediction that guilt would predict the tendency to apologize to the target (see below), there was little support for the predictions made in Figure 1.1 of Chapter 1 regarding predictors of guilt. A possible explanation for this is that there was not enough power in the design, to enable the four-way interaction to be detected as it was for the other group-based emotions. To test this alternative, we conducted a post hoc power analysis with the program *G*Power* (see Erdfelder, Faul, & Buchner, 1996). The power to detect the four-way interaction of the size present for group-based shame ($\eta^2_p = .110$) was determined to be 0.84, critical $F(2, 59) = 3.14$; observed $F(2, 59) = 0.10$, $p = .908$. Thus the lack of four-way interaction on guilt was not due to a lack of power in the design. This null result then reflects some of the difficulties and inconsistencies regarding group-based guilt elicitation in the

adult literature, where it has been shown that guilt is dependent on a number of situational variables (e.g., source of guilt-inducing information; Doosje, Branscombe, Spears & Manstead, 2006) and has a complex relationship with in-group identification (see Iyer & Leach, 2008, for a consideration of group-based guilt findings). Future research examining group-based guilt in relation to bullying in children will need to take account of contextual factors that may determine whether children are willing to report group-based guilt, in order to deal with the above issues.

Anger. In line with our predictions, identification with the in-group affected anger ratings, such that under conditions of high identification those in the perpetrator's group reported significantly lower anger scores than those of the third party group, whereas the target's group reported significantly higher anger scores than those of the third party group. The medium-sized interaction between perpetrator's group norm, legitimacy, and identification was not predicted, but shows that under conditions of high ingroup identification and high perceived legitimacy of the bullying incident, those in the unkindness norm condition expressed less anger than did those in the kindness norm condition, regardless of group membership. This effect was not moderated by group membership. This suggests the importance of group norm and legitimacy appraisals for group-level affective reactions to bullying and points to different reasons why groups might become angry about an intergroup incident. That is, the perpetrator's group might become angry because their group norms have been violated, whereas target's group members might get angry about harm

accorded to their group. Teasing apart the different foci of group-based anger in children would be worth examining in further research.

Action Tendencies. For three of the four action tendencies, there was reasonable support for the model depicted in Figure 1.1 of Chapter 1 concerning the relations between group-based emotions and action tendencies. Pride uniquely predicted the tendency to affiliate with the perpetrator and his or her group, while anger uniquely predicted the tendency to tell a teacher about the incident. In turn, although shame did not uniquely predict the tendency to keep away from the perpetrator and his or her group, its zero-order correlation (see Table 2.1) with this tendency suggests that it does have some predictive value, even though this is not uniquely attributable to shame when other emotions are taken into account. Nevertheless, this finding points to a need to examine other shame-related action tendencies in future research.

Unexpectedly, however, anger was the only unique predictor of the tendency to apologize to the target, even though the bivariate correlation between guilt and this tendency was positive and significant. The result for anger most likely reflects the fact that when seeing one person harm another, one appraises and feels emotions in relation to the perpetrator as well as the target. If one feels guilty about the harm done to the target, then this is also likely to result in anger at the perpetrator, and presumably a desire to apologize on his, her, or the group's behalf, as a way of emphasizing one's own disapproval of the act. Thus, anger at the perpetrator may help to explain how guilt translates into an apology. Consistent with this explanation, only guilt (not shame) was a

significant predictor of tendencies to apologize when we removed anger from the model.

Social Identity Processes in Bullying

More generally, these findings provide support for the view that social identity processes are involved in bullying. In doing so, they corroborate and extend previous work in this area (Duffy & Nesdale, 2009; Gini, 2006, 2007; Jones et al., 2008, Jones et al., 2009; Ojala & Nesdale, 2004). Specifically, there was evidence of changes in the way that children responded to the scenario, for example in levels of group-based pride, shame, and anger, as a function of their group membership, and the norm of the perpetrator's group. Moreover, group membership played an important role in interaction with participants' level of identification with their assigned groups, and with perceived responsibility or legitimacy. However, the prediction that the perpetrator's group norm would moderate the effect of group membership on group-based emotion, such that guilt would be more likely to be experienced where the behaviour was counter-normative, and shame when the behaviour was normative, was not supported.

The present findings replicate research indicating that, to the extent that individuals share group membership with others, they experience higher levels of emotion in response to a group-relevant target, even if they are not personally affected by that target (e.g., Gordijn, Yzerbyt, Wigboldus, and Dumont, 2006; Iyer & Leach, 2008; Yzerbyt, Dumont, Wigboldus, & Gordijn, 2003). Our study extends this line of work by showing that these findings occur in the context of cyberbullying. The research also sheds some light on how group members respond to individuals from other groups (given that there was a main

perpetrator in the scenarios) – an area, which according to Iyer and Leach (2008) is under-researched. In this regard, when high levels of responsibility were attributed to the main perpetrator's group (and the behaviour was norm-consistent) less shame and more group-based pride are reported. Furthermore, the present research replicates previous findings concerning the links between group-based emotions and action tendencies (e.g., Mallett & Swim, 2007).

Practical Implications: Perceiving and Resisting Bullying Among Children

The present analysis of group processes in bullying, and the role of emotions in particular, points to potential new ways of tackling bullying behaviour. What is clear is that groups and peer group memberships have an important bearing on what children feel, and that these feelings are linked to what children think they would do in response to bullying situations. At one level, groups and social identities can clearly support bullying behaviour. If a group has a norm for unkind behaviour, and acts in accordance with it, greater pride is elicited from group members. Effective intervention might involve encouraging children to question group norms that condone or encourage treating other children badly. In the absence of such a norm, children are less likely to feel pride in actions that hurt another child. Given that there was a strong association between pride and a propensity to affiliate with the perpetrator, it might be worth asking children why they might experience a sense of pride if they were part of a peer group when witnessing bullying, and how best to act (or not act) upon this feeling. This indicates the potential usefulness of adaptations of classroom and school-wide interventions (for a review, see Horne, Stoddard, & Bell, 2007) to the level of the peer group, because

our evidence suggests that local peer group norms affect children's group-based emotions, and in turn their propensities for action in such situations – to stop or encourage the bullying.

At another level, however, the present analysis suggests that groups and social identities are as much part of the solution to bullying as they are part of the problem. To the extent that children who are not themselves targets of bullying see themselves as sharing a group membership with the target, they are more likely to feel group-based anger about a bullying incident. Further, this finding suggests that children can work together to surmount bullying. To the extent that children identify with targets of bullying, they will feel group-based emotions that, in turn, lead them to want to put a stop to this behaviour, and to support and befriend the target. In line with research on collective action, social identities have the potential to evoke collective reactions that resist bullying (cf. van Zomeren et al., 2008). This highlights the value of interventions that encourage rather than undermine social identifications among children and promote positive social interactions, such as peer support systems (e.g., Cowie, Naylor, Talamelli, Smith, & Chauhan, 2002; Naylor & Cowie, 1999). These programmes actively train children in mediation techniques and in 'befriending' children who are targets of bullying, because friendship has been shown to reduce the likelihood that children will be targeted again (Boulton, Trueman, Chau, Whiteland, & Amatya, 1999). The present research provides a theoretical and empirical foundation for peer support interventions, invoking the role of emotion, and showing how such schemes might provide a means to the resistance of bullying. We also show the flipside of peer group identification – i.e.,

that low levels of identification with the target are likely to be associated with passive bystanding, which does nothing to support the target, and may even contribute to the perpetrator's sense of pride.

The present study paves the way for various lines of research examining the group level factors that underpin bullying. Cyberbullying is particularly pernicious because it is a potentially anonymous route to attacking a target. Anonymity is a factor that has been shown to make social identities associated with groups more salient, a view expressed in the social identity model of deindividuation effects (SIDE; Klein, Spears, & Reicher, 2007; Postmes, Lea, Spears, & Reicher, 2000; Reicher, Spears, & Postmes, 1995). The increased salience of social identity, in turn, makes it more likely that individuals will act in accordance with group norms. Thus, predictions from the SIDE model could be investigated as another avenue for future research into cyberbullying. Another point is that although the present study shows that peer group norms affect responses to bullying behaviour, it does not consider the role of the wider school norms. Given the effectiveness of school-wide interventions (e.g., Cowie et al., 2002), future research could consider what happens when school norms concerning bullying are consistent or inconsistent with peer group norms about what is acceptable.

Conclusions

The findings of this study show the value of a social psychological explanation of bullying. The degree to which children identify with a group membership, in combination with the groups' norm, the extent to which a bullying group is seen as responsible for its behaviour and the extent to which

that behaviour is regarded as legitimate, affect their responses to a cyberbullying incident. The findings also demonstrate the value of examining children's emotional responses to bullying behaviour by showing the links between these responses and actions children take after witnessing bullying. Bullying at school is an activity often carried out by groups. The likelihood that group members condone or reject the bullying depends on the extent to which they identify with the perpetrators and targets of bullying. These factors shape the emotions children experience when they witness an instance of bullying, and these emotions, in turn, shape the actions that children undertake in the wake of bullying. Thus, while bullying may arise partly as a result of group-level processes, groups and social identities also provide a basis from which it can be resisted and overcome.

Chapter 3

Social Identities and Responses to Bullying

The Role of the Broader Normative Context

Chapter Overview³

Research presented in Chapter 2 added weight to the literature outlined in Chapter 1, showing that group membership affects children's responses to bullying scenarios. Correlational research has shown links between norms of cooperation and prosocial behaviour, and between competition and more aggressive forms of behaviour. This paper focuses on how children's peer group membership affects their group-based emotions in response to an intergroup bullying incident, and the action tendencies that these emotions predict, in the context of different background norms (for competitive or cooperative behaviour). Italian schoolchildren, aged 10–13 years old ($N = 128$, 65 males)

³ This chapter is based upon:

Jones, S.E., Bombieri, L., Manstead, A.S.R., & Livingstone, A.G. (in press). The role of norms and social identities in children's responses to bullying. *British Journal of Educational Psychology*. doi: 10.1111/j.2044-8279.2011.02023.x

This study is part of a larger research project conducted by Lucia Bombieri.

were randomly assigned to the group of a perpetrator, target, or to a third-party group described in a scenario. Next, they played a game designed to induce a cooperative, competitive, or neutral norm, and read the scenario. They then answered a questionnaire measuring their group-based emotions. Results underscored the role of norms and group processes in responses to bullying. In particular, children exposed to a cooperative norm expressed less pride and more regret and anger about the bullying than those in other conditions. This study indicates that the influence peer groups have on bullying may be tempered by the introduction of a cooperative normative context to the school setting.

Bullying in the School Context

Perspectives on bullying are changing. Increasingly, the focus of research is broadening out from the dyadic relationship between a perpetrator and a target to consider the impact of the normative context on reactions to bullying. Specifically, researchers have suggested that cooperative norms, rather than competitive ones, may reduce bullying in schools (e.g., Naylor & Cowie, 1999; Rigby, 2007). Evidence supports this hypothesis: Rivers and Soutter (1996) showed that a school with a strong cooperative norm had low levels of bullying. However, there is little, if any, experimental evidence concerning the role that normative context plays in bullying.

Within the school context, processes operating at the peer-group level have been shown experimentally to influence bullying behaviour (see, Duffy & Nesdale, 2009; Gini, 2006, 2007, 2008; Jones et al., 2008, Jones et al., 2009; Ojala & Nesdale, 2004). These studies show that group processes influence how children feel and act in bullying scenarios. Here we build upon this research by

examining how children's responses to a bullying episode are affected not only by their peer group, but also by a wider normative context of cooperation or competition.

The Social Identity Approach

As seen in Chapter 1, given the social nature of many bullying episodes (e.g., Atlas & Pepler, 1998), research has begun to focus on group processes. This research has tended to use a social identity approach (Duffy & Nesdale, 2009; Gini, 2006, 2007, 2008; Jones et al., 2008; Jones et al., 2009). Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) posits that part of an individual's identity derives from membership of social groups. People are motivated to find positive differences between their own group and other groups (Ellemers, Spears & Doosje, 1997). Social identity mechanisms are important because they affect emotional reactions to bullying, and the subsequent desire to act. Group-based emotions (for a review, see Iyer & Leach, 2008) are those that take groups rather than individuals as the subject and object of the emotion (Parkinson et al., 2005). For example, Gordijn et al., (2006) found that participants experienced more group-based anger when a shared identity with the targets of a harmful act was made salient.

Jones et al. (2009) demonstrated a link between group-based emotions, action tendencies, and group membership in the context of bullying. They showed that pride was associated with a tendency to affiliate with a bullying group, whereas regret was associated with a propensity to apologize to the target, and anger with a propensity to tell an adult about the incident. Moreover, group-based emotions were linked to the perceived responsibility of a bullying

group for the incident, such that more conciliatory emotions (i.e., relatively high shame and low pride) were displayed where responsibility was perceived as low. In line with past research (e.g., Nesdale, Durkin, et al., 2005), the intensity of group-based emotional reactions was also influenced by the extent to which children identified with a group, such that those who identified highly with the group showed more intense emotional reactions.

Thus, it has been established that group membership has an influence on group-based emotional reactions to bullying, and that this influence is moderated by both the extent to which a child identifies with a group, and the responsibility that the group is perceived to have for the bullying incident.

Social Norms

To explain why bullying in and between groups continues over time, researchers have also focused on the norms of the groups to which bullies belong (e.g., Ojala & Nesdale, 2004). Jones et al. (2009), together with Chapter 2 of this thesis showed that group norms moderate the effect of peer group membership on group-based emotions pertinent to a bullying episode, and Mercer, McMillen, and De Rosier (2009) showed that aggressive classroom norms predicted increases in aggressive behaviour over the school year (see also Sentse et al., 2007).

Wider normative contexts have received less attention with regard to bullying, despite the conjecture that a competitive, achievement-orientated norm – as defined in the ethos of a particular school, for example – may lead to higher levels of bullying, whereas cooperative norms may reduce its incidence (see Rigby, 2007). One way in which competitive or cooperative norms can be

established is through structured play. Bay-Hinitz, Peterson, and Quilitch (1994) observed children after they had played cooperative or competitive games. Prosocial behaviour increased following cooperative games, whereas aggressive behaviour decreased; the reverse pattern emerged after competitive games (see also Garaigordobil, Maganto, & Exteberria, 1996).

Despite mounting evidence that peer group norms are relevant to bullying, none of these studies has investigated the impact of the wider normative context on children's interpretation of a bullying scenario, or on their subsequent emotional reactions. Moreover, prior studies have not examined the role of group membership as a potential moderator of the effect of normative context.

Study 2

We explored the roles of social identity processes, normative context, and group-based emotions in perceptions of and responses to bullying. Ten- to thirteen-year-olds were randomly assigned to one of three conditions: to the same group as someone later described as engaging in bullying (the perpetrator's group); to the same group as someone later described as being the target of that bullying (the target's group); or to a third-party group. Children then read a gender-matched scenario, in which a perpetrator acts unkindly towards a target who belongs to a different group. The norm (competitive, cooperative, or neutral) was manipulated by varying a game that participants played prior to reading this scenario. Children rated the perpetrator's responsibility for the events described. Further, each child's identification with his or her group was measured, along with group-based emotions pertinent to

bullying (pride, regret⁴, and anger), and the action tendencies associated with each of these (affiliate with the perpetrator, apologize to the target, and tell a teacher respectively).

On the basis of the prior research outlined above, we reasoned that group membership would affect children's emotions in response to the bullying, such that children in the perpetrator's group would report more positive and less negative emotion than their counterparts in the other groups; however, we also expected that these effects of group membership would be moderated by the wider normative context, and by strength of identification with the group. Furthermore, we explored the effect of perceived responsibility⁵ for the unkind behaviour as another potential moderator of the effects of group membership. We also expected that specific emotions would predict their associated action tendencies (pride would predict a tendency to affiliation with the perpetrator, regret would predict a tendency to apologize, and anger would predict a tendency to tell the teacher).

Method

Participants

Following ethical approval from the School of Psychology, Cardiff University, participants ($N = 128$) were recruited from schools in Northern Italy. Informed parental consent was obtained prior to the collection of data. No parent asked that their child should not take part. Sixty-five participants were male and 63 were female. Participants were aged 10–13 years ($M = 11.55$, $SD = 0.61$). Forty-

⁴ The questionnaires for this study were administered in Italian. Translation, and back-translation showed that 'regret' was a better word to capture this emotion than 'guilt'.

⁵ This study was part of a collaboration as noted above. Due to issues of questionnaire length, legitimacy was not measured in this study.

three pupils were attending primary school, and 85 were attending middle school. Pupils were randomly allocated to the experimental conditions. Forty-two were assigned to the competitive norm condition, 38 to the cooperative norm condition, and 48 to the neutral norm condition. Forty three were assigned to the perpetrator's group, 47 to the target's group, and 38 to the third-party group.

Design

The study had a fully between-subjects factorial design, where the factors were the normative context to which children were exposed (competitive, cooperative, or neutral), and the group membership of participants (shared with the target [target's group], shared with the perpetrator [perpetrator's group], or shared with neither target nor perpetrator [third-party group]). The extent to which participants identified with their assigned group and the extent to which the perpetrator was perceived as responsible for the incident were measured as potential moderators of the effects of group membership and norm. The dependent variables were (a) group-based emotions of pride, regret and anger; and (b) action tendencies: to affiliate with the perpetrator, to apologize to the target, or to tell an adult what had happened.

Materials and Procedure

The study was conducted in school classrooms, one class group at a time. A teacher and two other adults were always present. Experimental sessions, conducted in Italian, began with an explanation that the researchers were interested in finding out about children's friendship groups. The activities in

which children would take part were then described, and children were reminded that their participation was voluntary.

Group membership manipulation. Children were randomly allocated to one of the experimental groups. This was done using a dot estimation task (Tajfel et al., 1971) and followed the same procedure as Jones et al. (2009, and Chapter 1 in this thesis). The researcher then exchanged each participant's guesses for a response slip assigning them, at random, to a particular (gender consistent) group, bearing the name of one of the scenario characters (with one character for each level of group membership) and providing information about that group. Membership of each group was indicated by a response slip stating, 'Your guesses tended to be too low. Most children in [Child's name's group] also tend to make guesses that are too low. [Child's name's group] are an [active/fun-loving/bright] group of [girls/boys], who [enjoy listening to music together/watching DVDs together/playing games together]'. These descriptions were designed to encourage participants to identify with their group, and participants were instructed to go to a particular place in the classroom to join their other group members.

Normative context. This was manipulated by varying the content of a game in which the pupils participated. There were three different games, each supervised by an adult. A competitive norm was established in a game in which a fish-shaped piece of paper was given to each participant, who was then asked to race it against other group members along a corridor, using only a sheet of newspaper. A cooperative norm was established in a game in which participants were asked to stand, to form a tight circle, and, in turn, to allow one of their

group members to stand in the centre of the circle and to fall backwards onto other group members. Those in the neutral norm condition were asked to sit in a circle, and take turns to point to another group member, but while doing so to say their own name. The child who was pointed at would then choose another child to continue the game.

Scenarios. Children then read one scenario. This described a named member of the target's group, a named member of the perpetrator's group, a named member of the third-party group, and an incident that could be construed as bullying. Names of the scenario characters were chosen such that no child at the school went by them. The scenario described preparations for a drawing competition. This was followed by a bullying incident that was consistent with Nesdale and Scarlett's (2004, p. 428) definition of bullying as 'the delivery of aversive stimuli to weaker, less powerful persons', in which a named member of the perpetrator's group sabotages the work of a named member of the target's group. The scenario ended by making it clear that the target was upset.

Questionnaires. Before the questionnaire was completed, the researcher highlighted her interest in pupils' opinions about the story. It was stressed that answers would be kept private, and not read by school staff. There were two versions of the questionnaire, one for female participants and one for male participants (only the names and gender pronouns differed across the male and female scenarios). Children were asked to indicate their agreement to statements on 6-point Likert-type scales, ranging from 1 (*absolutely not*) to 6 (*absolutely*), by placing a tick at the relevant point on the scale.

A first set of items asked participants to confirm their group membership, the game they had played, and what they considered to be the aim of the game. There followed some practice items, to familiarize children with the scales. The next items were a 4-item identification scale: 'I am happy to be in my group', 'I would be sad if others said something bad about people in my group', 'My group is important to me', and 'I feel close to other members of my group' ($\alpha = .50$). These items were derived from J.E. Cameron's (2004) measure.

The final paragraph of the scenario, describing the bullying incident, was then repeated. Following this, eight items called for judgements of the behaviour and whether the behaviour of the named perpetrator and of the perpetrator's group was bullying, that were not directly relevant to the current hypotheses, for example, '[Perpetrator] is bullying [Target]'. Among these eight items was a measure of the perceived responsibility of the perpetrator for the incident, '[Perpetrator] is to blame'.

The next items measured emotions. One item measured pride in the behaviour, 'I felt good about the way in which [Perpetrator] behaved towards [target]'; one measured anger about the behaviour, 'I feel angry about the way that [Perpetrator] behaved towards [Target]'; and one item measured regret 'I feel sorry for the way that [Perpetrator] behaved towards [Target]'. Participants' action tendencies were measured by asking children to say what they would have done had they been present when the incident took place. Three action tendencies were intended to map directly to the emotions of pride, anger and regret; 'I would join in with [Perpetrator] and his or her group' for pride; 'I would tell the teacher about what happened' for anger; and 'I would say sorry to

[Target]' for regret. Other action tendencies concerned plausible reactions that were not of central concern to the research hypotheses. Finally, participants were asked to indicate their age and year group. An English translation of the scenario and questionnaire booklet completed by males is given in Appendix B.

At the conclusion of the session, which lasted approximately 1 hour, participants were debriefed. Any questions were addressed by the researchers, and pupils were reminded of positive strategies for dealing with bullying. Participants were thanked and received sweets for their participation.

Results

Data Screening

Data were screened for patterns in missing values, for outliers, and for violations of the assumptions for ANOVA.

Normative Context Manipulation Check

Participants answered the question 'What do you think was the aim of the game you just played?' by selecting one response from 'to be competitive,' 'to be cooperative,' or 'for fun'. Eighty percent of children passed this check, which is greater than the number than would be expected by chance, $X^2 = 13.02$, $df = 2$, $p = .001$.

Was the Behaviour Seen As Bullying?

Children indicated the extent to which they saw the behaviour of the perpetrator as bullying. Analysis revealed that 92% of participants agreed ('yes' or 'yes - a little'), or strongly agreed, ('absolutely yes') with the statement, '[Perpetrator] is a bully', again a much greater percentage than would be expected by chance alone, $X^2 = 101.24$, $df = 5$, $p < .001$.

Group-Based Emotions

To examine how normative context affected the emotions children experienced when reading the scenarios, in interaction with group membership, ingroup identification, and additionally by their perceptions of the perpetrator's responsibility, each emotion was submitted in turn to a 3 (Group Membership: perpetrator's group, target's group, third-party) X 3 (Normative Context: competitive, cooperative, neutral) X Responsibility (measured) X Identification with Assigned Group (measured) ANOVA, with the latter two factors treated as continuous predictors. As in Chapter 2, these ANOVAs were full factorial models, including all main effects and interactions. Thus the higher-order interactions reported below are significant when all relevant main effects and lower-order interactions are included in the model. Where interactions involved a continuous variable (i.e., responsibility or identification), it was interpreted by examining simple effects or interactions at different levels (+1 *SD* or -1 *SD*) of the continuous variable (see Aiken & West, 1991). Running the above ANOVAs including gender and year group as further independent variables revealed no effects associated with these factors. For the sake of simplicity, the ANOVAs without gender or year group are reported below. Mean scores, standard deviations and correlations between each of the dependent variables in the ANOVAs are given in Table 3.1.

Pride. This analysis revealed several lower-order interactions which were qualified by a four-way interaction between group membership, normative context, identification and responsibility, $F(4, 83) = 8.87, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .299$. This interaction is illustrated in Figure 3.1.

Further analysis showed that the three-way interaction between group membership, normative context, and identification was significant when levels of responsibility were low ($M - 1 SD$; see panels a and b of Figure 3.1), $F(4, 83) = 8.47, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .290$, but not when the perceived responsibility was high ($M + 1 SD$), $F < 1$. In turn, the two-way interaction between group membership and normative context was significant at low levels of perpetrator's responsibility when identification was low (panel a of Figure 3.1), $F(4, 83) = 8.32, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .286$, and when identification was high, $F(4, 83) = 10.66, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .339$ (panel b of Figure 3.1). Simple effects analyses show that when identification was low and responsibility was low (see panel a of Figure 3.1), there was a main effect of group membership in the competitive, $F(2, 83) = 4.18, p = .019, \eta^2_p = .091$, and cooperative, $F(2, 83) = 10.90, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .208$, normative context conditions. In the competitive condition, this effect was driven by significant differences between (a) the perpetrator's and target's groups ($M_s = 2.49$ and 1.83 , respectively, $SE_{diff} = 0.45, p = .026$) and (b) the perpetrator's and third party groups ($M_s = 2.49$ and 1.65 , respectively, $SE_{diff} = 0.14, p = .006$). In the cooperative condition this effect was driven by significant differences between (a) the perpetrator's and target's groups ($M_s = -10.55$ and 1.97 , respectively⁶, $SE_{diff} =$

⁶ As Preacher (2003) notes simple slopes/effects analyses are intended for interval, not ordinal, data. Thus, it is possible to get estimated marginal means of a dependent variable that are outside that dependent variable's range, even if the means are being calculated at levels of the predictors each of which falls within the observed range; if at least one of the predictors is measured. This is because (a) the statistics program knows nothing of the reasonable values for a given dependent variable, and (b) the *combination* of predictors may *not* lie within its possible range (certainly not within its typical range). There might be a combination of values that has not been sampled: with estimated marginal means one is extrapolating into possible combinations of values that are not necessarily in the sample. Thus, one may, without miscalculating, produce estimated marginal means, such as those above, that are implausible *vis-à-vis* the possible dependent variable values.

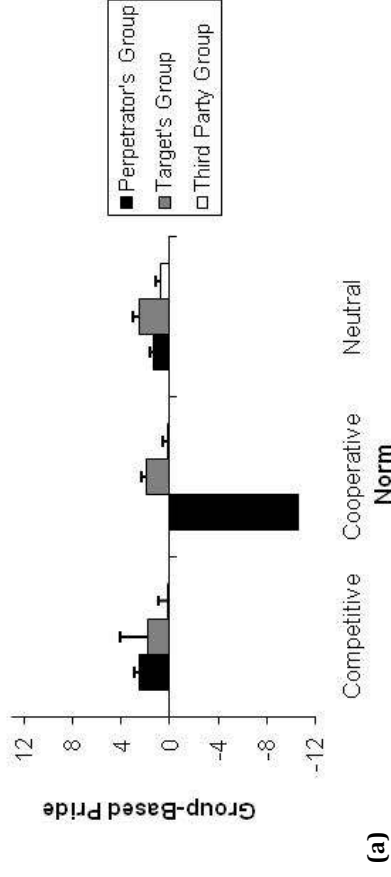
Table 3.1

Mean Scores and Standard Deviations for, and Correlations between, Main Dependent Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
M	4.97	5.02	1.43	4.78	4.30	1.48	5.23	4.74
SD	0.63	1.01	0.84	1.35	1.49	0.77	0.84	1.40
1. Identification with assigned group		.096	-.023	.325**	.156	-.169	.217**	.274**
2. Perpetrator's Responsibility			-.392**	.279**	.319**	-.118	.327**	.034
3. Group-based Pride				-.450**	-.369**	.143	-.450**	-.085
4. Group-based Regret					.313**	-.249**	.413**	.161
5. Group-based Anger						-.244**	.510**	.222*
6. Affiliating with Perpetrator							-.335**	-.358**
7. Apologize to Target								.210*
8. Action against Perpetrator								

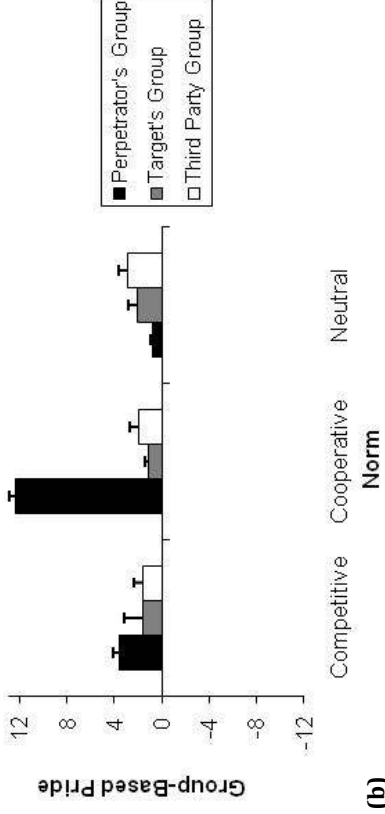
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.001$

Low Identification, Low Responsibility



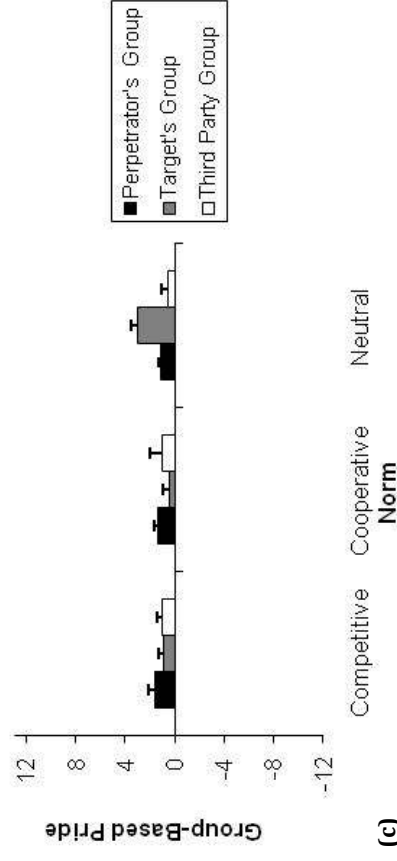
(a)

High Identification, Low Responsibility



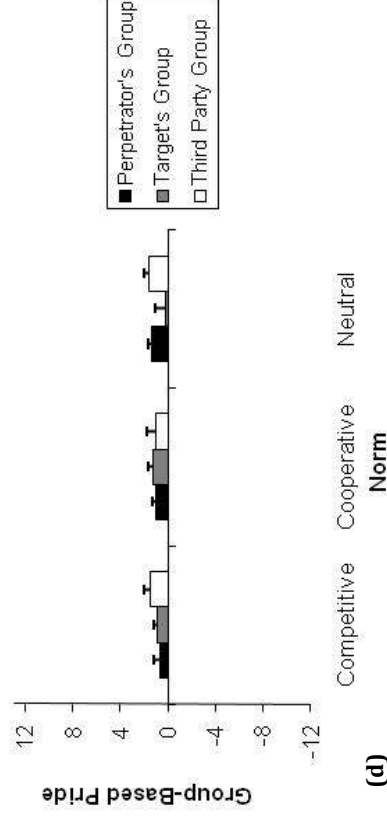
(b)

Low Identification, High Responsibility



(c)

High Identification, High Responsibility



(d)

Figure 3.1. Simple effects for the four-way interaction for group-based pride between perpetrator's group norm, group membership, identification and responsibility. Bars represent estimated means at specific levels of responsibility and identification. Error bars represent one standard error.

1.23 , $p=.001$), and (b) the perpetrator's and third party groups ($M_s = -10.55$ and 1.89 , respectively, $SE_{diff} = 1.33$, $p=.001$). When identification was high and responsibility was low (see panel b of Figure 3.1⁷) there was a main effect of group membership in the competitive, $F(2, 83) = 5.62$, $p = .005$, $\eta^2_p = .119$, and cooperative, $F(2, 83) = 24.57$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .372$, conditions. In the competitive condition, this effect was driven by significant differences between (a) the perpetrator's and target's groups ($M_s = 3.58$ and 1.57 , respectively, $SE_{diff} = 0.54$, $p=.007$) and (b) the perpetrator's and third party groups ($M_s = 3.58$ and 1.22 , respectively, $SE_{diff} = 0.53$, $p=.003$). In the cooperative condition this effect was driven by a difference between (a) the perpetrator's and target's groups ($M_s = 12.31$ and 1.13 , respectively, $SE_{diff} = 0.68$, $p=.001$), and (b) the perpetrator's and third party groups ($M_s = 12.31$ and 1.00 , respectively, $SE_{diff} = 0.97$, $p=.001$).

Regret. This analysis revealed several lower order effects which were qualified by a four-way interaction between group membership, normative context, identification and responsibility, $F(4, 85) = 3.40$, $p = .013$, $\eta^2_p = .138$. This interaction is illustrated in Figure 3.2.

Further analysis showed that the three-way interaction between group membership, normative context, and identification was significant when levels of perpetrator's responsibility were low ($M - 1 SD$; see panels a and b of Figure 3.2), $F(4, 85) = 4.02$, $p = .005$, $\eta^2_p = .159$, but was not when the perceived

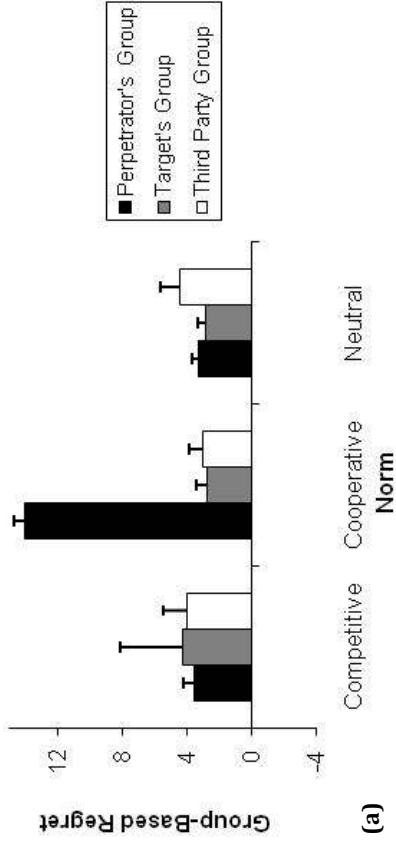
⁷ Analysis of the Cook's distances for group-based pride, revealed that one case in this ANOVA had a Cook's distance greater than 1. Thus, this analysis should be treated with caution, as with this case removed, the variance on the outcome measure is greatly reduced (because this case is an outlier), so its correlation with other variables cannot be calculated. However, analysis of group-based pride has been retained in this chapter, as it closely mirrors the results for group-based regret (where all Cook's distances are below 1).

responsibility of the perpetrator was high ($M + 1 SD$), $F < 1$. In turn, the two-way interaction between group membership and norm when the perceived responsibility of the perpetrator was low was significant at low levels of identification, $F(4, 85) = 2.50, p = .048, \eta^2_p = .105$ (panel a of Figure 3.2), and when identification was high, $F(4, 85) = 4.03, p = .005, \eta^2_p = .159$ (panel b of Figure 3.2). The results of simple effects analyses show that when identification was low and responsibility was low, there was a main effect of group membership in the cooperative condition, $F(2, 85) = 4.62, p = .012, \eta^2_p = .098$. This effect was driven by significant differences between (a) the perpetrator's and target's groups (estimated $M_s = 14.04$ and 2.73 , respectively, $SE_{diff} = 1.29, p = .009$), and (b) the perpetrator's and third party groups (estimated $M_s = 14.04$ and 3.04 , respectively, $SE_{diff} = 1.30, p = .004$).

When identification was high and responsibility was low (panel b of Figure 3.2) there was a main effect of group membership in the cooperative condition, $F(2, 85) = 7.89, p = .001, \eta^2_p = .157$. These effects were driven by significant differences between (a) the perpetrator's and target's groups ($M_s = 3.96$ and 5.77 , respectively, $SE_{diff} = 0.48, p = .015$), and (b) the target's and third party groups ($M_s = 5.77$ and 1.33 , respectively, $SE_{diff} = 0.65, p = .014$).

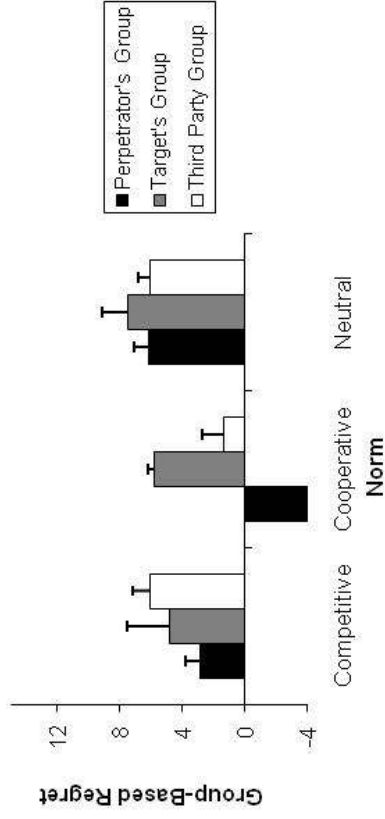
Anger. This analysis revealed two effects; a two-way interaction between normative context and identification, $F(2, 86) = 3.38, p = .039, \eta^2_p = .073$, and a four-way interaction between group membership, normative context, identification and responsibility, $F(4, 86) = 4.94, p = .001, \eta^2_p = .187$. The latter interaction is illustrated in Figure 3.3.

Low Identification, Low Responsibility



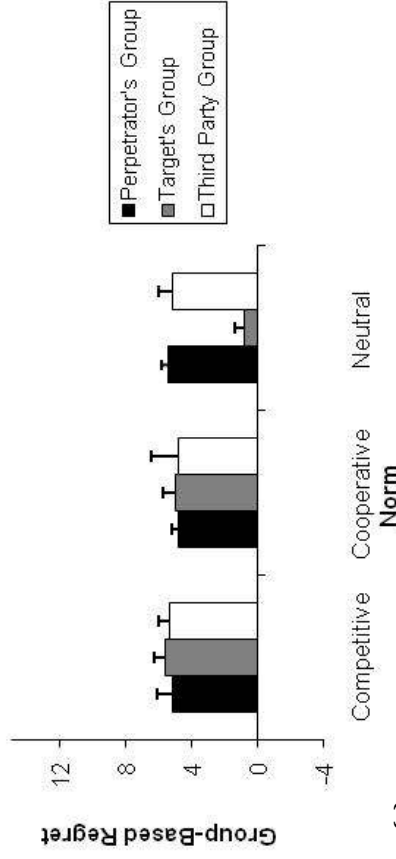
(a)

High Identification, Low Responsibility



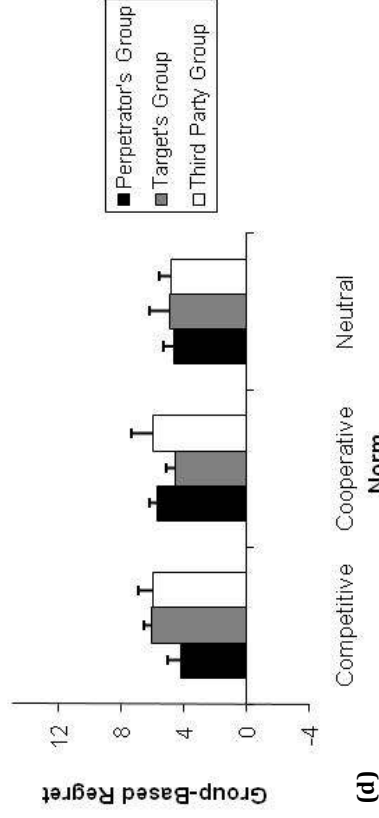
(b)

Low Identification, High Responsibility



(c)

High Identification, High Responsibility



(d)

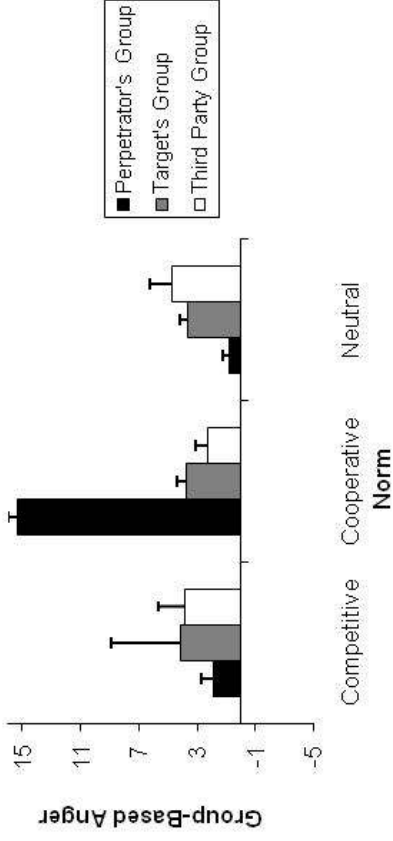
Figure 3.2. Simple effects for the four-way interaction for group-based regret between perpetrator's group norm, group membership, identification and responsibility. Bars represent estimated means at specific levels of responsibility and identification. Error bars represent one standard error.

Further analysis showed that the three-way interaction between group membership, normative context, and identification was significant when levels of perpetrator's responsibility were low ($M - 1 SD$; see panels a and b of Figure 3.3), $F(4, 86) = 3.40, p = .013, \eta^2_p = .136$. In turn, the two-way interaction between group membership and norm was significant when the perceived responsibility of the perpetrator was low and when identification was low, $F(4, 86) = 2.77, p = .032, \eta^2_p = .114$ (panel a of Figure 3.3), and when identification was high, $F(4, 86) = 4.56, p = .002, \eta^2_p = .175$ (panel b of Figure 3.3).

The three-way interaction between group membership, normative context, and identification was also significant when perceived responsibility was high ($M + 1 SD$), $F(4, 86) = 3.20, p = .017, \eta^2_p = .130$. In turn, the two-way interaction between group membership and norm was not significant when identification was low, $F(4, 86) = 1.48$ (see panel c of Figure 3.3), but was significant at high levels of identification when the perceived responsibility of the perpetrator was high, (see panel d of Figure 3.3), $F(4, 86) = 3.16, p = .018, \eta^2_p = .128$.

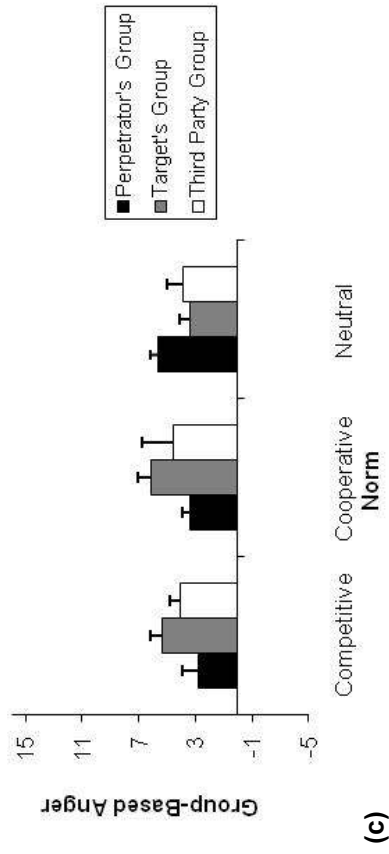
Simple effects analyses show that when both identification and responsibility were low (see panel a of Figure 3), there was a main effect of group membership in the cooperative condition, $F(2, 86) = 4.39, p = .015, \eta^2_p = .093$. This effect was driven by differences between (a) the perpetrator's and third party groups ($M_s = 15.29$ and 2.28 , respectively, $SE_{diff} = 2.99, p = .010$) and (b) the perpetrator's and target's groups, ($M_s = 15.29$ and 3.77 , respectively, $SE_{diff} = 2.98, p = .034$), and (c) the target and third party groups ($M_s = 3.77$ and 2.28 , respectively, $SE_{diff} = 0.67, p = .031$).

Low Identification, Low Responsibility



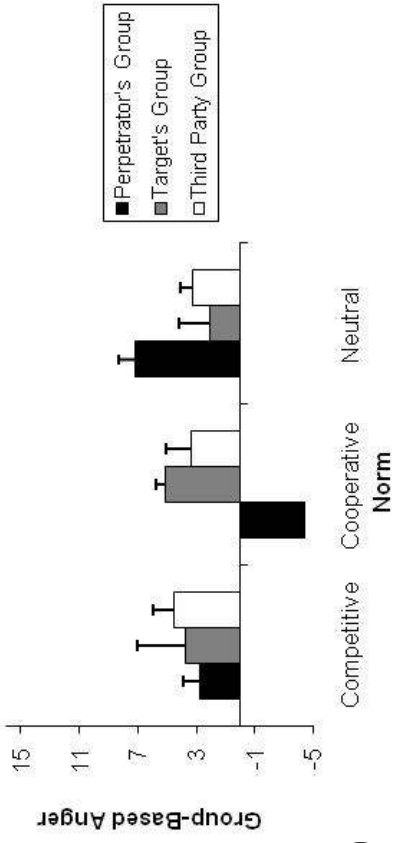
(a)

Low Identification, High Responsibility



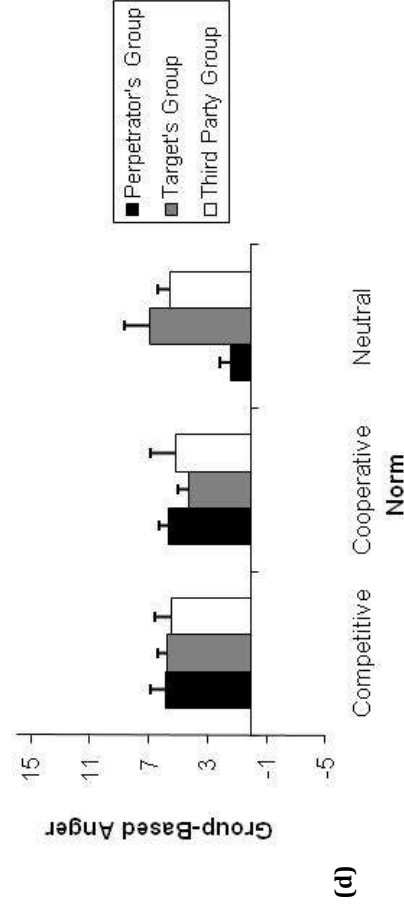
(c)

High Identification, Low Responsibility



(b)

High Identification, High Responsibility



(d)

Figure 3.3. Simple effects for the four-way interaction for group-based anger between perpetrator's group norm, group membership, identification and responsibility Bars represent estimated means at specific levels of responsibility and identification. Error bars represent one standard error.

When identification was high and responsibility was low (see panel b of Figure 3.3) there was an effect of group membership in the cooperative condition, $F(2, 86) = 4.03, p = .021, \eta^2_p = .086$. This was driven by a significant difference between the perpetrator's and target's groups ($M_s = -4.44$ and 5.16 , respectively, $SE_{diff} = 0.79, p = .008$).

When both identification and responsibility were high (see panel d of Figure 3.3) there was a simple effect of group membership in the neutral condition, $F(2, 86) = 3.69, p = .029, \eta^2_p = .079$. This was due to differences between (a) the perpetrator's and target's groups ($M_s = 1.37$ and 6.93 , respectively, $SE_{diff} = 0.52, p = .018$), and (b) the perpetrator's and third party groups, ($M_s = 1.37$ and 5.53 , respectively, $SE_{diff} = 0.44, p = .031$).

Relations Between Group-Based Emotions, Group Membership and Action Tendencies

To determine whether each emotion was the best predictor of its associated action tendency, linear regression analyses were performed in which each action tendency was regressed simultaneously on the group-based emotions.

Telling the perpetrator you liked what he or she did. This model was significant, $F(3, 111) = 3.17, p = .027, R^2_{adj} = .054$, and revealed a positive, marginally-significant effect of pride in the behaviour, $\beta = 0.18, p = .073$, and no other significant effects.

Saying sorry to the target. This model was significant, $F(3, 112) = 23.47, p < .001, R^2_{adj} = .037$, and revealed a positive effect of regret, $\beta = 0.26, p = .001$.

There was also a positive association between anger and this action tendency, $\beta = 0.36$, $p < .001$, and a negative association with pride, $\beta = -0.23$, $p = .006$.

Telling an adult about what has happened. The overall model was not significant, $F(3, 114) = 1.80$, $p = .152$, $R^2_{\text{adj}} = .020$. However, there was a positive, marginal effect of anger, $\beta = 0.17$, $p = .080$, and no other effects.

Discussion

The results show that the group to which children belonged and the normative context to which they had been exposed combined to influence their responses to the bullying scenario. Consistent with social identity theory (Tajfel & J. Turner, 1979) and group-based emotion theory (E.R. Smith, 1993), both the extent to which children identified with their group and their perceptions of the extent to which the perpetrator was responsible for what happened moderated their emotional reaction to the bullying incident. In turn, their pride, regret, and anger predicted action tendencies that are consistent with what is reported in the emotion literature (e.g., Leach et al., 2006; Livingstone et al., 2009; Tracy & Robins, 2004).

The most novel aspect of the present findings concerns the influence of normative context. Among children who saw the perpetrator as having low responsibility for what happened, those assigned to the perpetrator's group in the competitive normative context condition reported more group-based pride than did their counterparts exposed to cooperative or neutral norms. Furthermore, target group members reported relatively low levels of group-based pride when exposed to the competitive or cooperative norms. This pattern of findings was mirrored for group-based regret.

There were striking differences in reported levels of anger between children in the perpetrator's group who had been exposed to the competitive as opposed to the cooperative norm. Those in the competitive condition felt less anger than those in the cooperative condition, particularly when they did not identify strongly with their group. Target group members who had been exposed to the competitive norm reported higher levels of group-based anger than those in the cooperative norm condition, when responsibility was seen to be high. In the neutral condition, it was only under conditions of high identification and high responsibility that target group members expressed more anger than those in other normative context conditions: when there was no norm to guide behaviour, high in-group identification led to higher anger. Among members of the target group, the greatest amount of anger – the emotion most likely to evoke action to stop the bullying – thus resulted from the combination of a cooperative norm and high identification with the target group.

The emotion-action tendency regressions reported here are consistent with our hypotheses, and with research reported in Chapter 2. That is, pride uniquely predicted a tendency to affiliate with the perpetrator, and anger uniquely predicted a tendency to tell the teacher about what had happened. Although not a unique predictor, regret was positively associated with a tendency to apologize to the target.

Practical Implications: Interventions at the Peer Group and School Levels

We found that children reported different emotions in relation to bullying incidents as a function of the peer groups to which they belonged, and that these emotions led them towards certain actions. In particular, children who identified

with a target's group were more likely to experience anger about bullying incidents when their identification with the target's group was high. In turn, anger was linked to a propensity to tell an adult about the bullying. Thus, encouraging friendships with targets might be a fruitful topic for anti-bullying intervention.

We also found that the normative context in which a bullying incident occurred affected reported group-based emotions. Viewing the incident in the context of a competitive norm can encourage emotions and action tendencies that endorse bullying; such reactions are not apparent in the absence of a competitive norm, or in the presence of a cooperative one. The attenuating effect of a cooperative norm might occur because it strengthens what most children presumably know about bullying (i.e., that it is unacceptable) and thereby helps to undermine the influence of any assumption that their own peers are more accepting of bullying (see Sandstrom & Bartini, 2010). Anti-bullying interventions might usefully promote a cooperative school norm, through mottos, classroom tasks, or games that encourage children to work together, rather than compete against each other. This is one way in which schools could reduce perceptions of difference between individual and group norms, and encourage children to take a collective stand against bullying.

Limitations and Future Research

Research on the role of norms in bullying has demonstrated that children make different judgements depending on whether the behaviour is consistent with a group norm (Ojala & Nesdale, 2004) and that they are likely to reject a bullying child if there is an anti-bullying norm (Sentse et al., 2007). However,

little research attention has been paid to the broader normative context of bullying behaviour. The present findings are consistent with Rivers and Soutter's (1996) work showing that invoking a cooperative norm leads children to respond to bullying incidents in ways that reflect greater empathy for the target.

A limitation of the current research is that it does not directly examine the processes through which competitive and cooperative norms influence bullying and children's responses to bullying. Other potential limitations include the use of a contrived experimental context rather than a naturalistic classroom setting, and that children's emotions were assessed using single items rather than multi-item scales (although it is worth noting that single-item measures arguably provide a more conservative test of our hypotheses). These limitations could be addressed in further research. Although no gender or age effects were found here, further research could consider gender and age effects on normative behaviour in relation to bullying (see, e.g., Monks & Smith, 2006; Wolke, Woods, & Samara, 2009).

Nevertheless, the present study does extend previous research by providing experimental evidence of the influence of normative context, specifically through the finding that when children are members of a bullying group and are exposed to a competitive norm, they are more likely to report emotions that enhance a positive view of the bullying group than their counterparts who are exposed to cooperative or neutral norms. So far, however, in this thesis, peer group norms and the wider normative context have been studied separately. In reality, different sets of (potentially contradictory) norms are salient in a given setting, such as a school. How might conflicting normative

contexts and peer group norms work in concert when it comes to bullying? And at what level does the normative context operate? These two issues are directly addressed in Chapter 4, which looks explicitly at school versus peer group norms.

Chapter 4

Whose Rules Rule?

Peer Group Norms, School Norms, and Responses to Bullying

Chapter Overview

Research presented in Chapter 3 showed that wider norms of cooperation can attenuate children's positive evaluation of their peer group's negative intergroup (bullying) behaviour. This chapter focuses on how children's peer group norms and wider (school) norms affect their emotional responses to an intergroup bullying incident, and the action tendencies associated with these emotions. Children aged 10-11 years ($N = 153$) were ostensibly assigned to a perpetrator's group. They then read a scenario in which the peer group norm (for unkindness or kindness) and a school norm (for competition or cooperation) were manipulated, before an intergroup bullying scenario was described. Results showed the importance of peer group norms in shaping responses to bullying. Children exposed to a cooperative school norm expressed more pride in the bullying (a) when the perpetrator's group had a norm for unkindness, and (b) to the extent that they saw the behaviour as unkind. These results show that peer group norms have an

influence on bullying that extends beyond that of a cooperative school norm and suggests that these group norms need to be addressed in interventions aimed at tackling bullying.

Normative Context and Bullying

The role of the peer group in bullying episodes has attracted recent research attention (e.g., Hawkins et al., 2001), and there is mounting evidence that groups can have a powerful influence on children's bullying intentions. One line of enquiry has drawn upon social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & J. Turner, 1979) and intergroup emotion theory (IET; E.R. Smith, 1993) to enhance our understanding of the role of the peer group in bullying. The role of group-based emotions is important because emotional reactions to bullying have motivational and behavioural implications (e.g., Mackie et al., 2000). Attention has also been paid to the role of peer group norms that support bullying (e.g., Ojala & Nesdale, 2004), which are typically contrary to school norms concerning bullying. Furthermore, although Chapter 3 examined the broader normative context, relatively little research has directly examined how wider *school* norms might moderate (accentuate or attenuate) the effect of peer group norms, and vice versa. Our aim in the present research was to address this shortfall by manipulating peer group and school norms orthogonally in order to gauge their role in shaping emotional responses to bullying.

To the extent that children are members of peer groups, their behaviour may be shaped by the *norms* of these groups (i.e., by behaviours and beliefs that are typical of the group in question, differentiating it from other groups; J. Turner, 1999). That is, peer group members are likely to be rewarded for adherence to such norms, or rejected by the group when they fail to adhere to

them (Morrison, 2006). Further, Ojala and Nesdale (2004) demonstrated that children understand the need for group members to behave normatively, even if this involves bullying. They found that children understood that story characters who engaged in bullying were only retained by a group when the group in question had a pro-bullying norm.

According to reputation management theory (RMT; Emler & Reicher, 2005), people can re-construe a 'negative' reputation (or peer group norm) in positive terms. For example, delinquents who are typically seen as rebellious 'outsiders' may use this delinquent reputation to establish a positive social identity. Thus, members of groups that have a pro-bullying norm (such as the group portrayed in Ojala & Nesdale's [2004] study) and who see their group as responsible for bullying may regard that behaviour as something of which to be proud rather than ashamed. Research has indeed shown that children report more positive emotion (i.e., pride) in response to bullying perpetrated by their own group when it is consistent with group norms (Jones et al., 2009). In contrast, more negative emotion (e.g., anger) was reported when the same bullying behaviour was norm-inconsistent, or was enacted by an outgroup. Crucial to this finding were children's own appraisals of the group's behaviour, such that behaviour that was deemed "nasty" was more likely to lead to high group-based pride and low group-based shame among those whose group had a norm for unkind behaviour, than among those who had a norm for kind behaviour (Jones et al., 2009).⁸ Similarly, group-based anger was linked to appraisals of legitimacy, such that low legitimacy was associated with more

⁸ Perceived nastiness was measured here in contrast to responsibility (Studies 1 and 2) in order to assess more directly the extent to which children felt that the bullying behaviour of the perpetrator's group was *consistent* with the norms of that group.

intense anger about group behaviour (Jones et al., 2009; Study 1 in this thesis). These group-based emotions, in turn, predicted children's beliefs about what they would do in such situations, with pride being associated with a tendency to boast about the bullying group's behaviour, and anger being associated with a propensity to tell an adult about what had happened.

Although some children may strongly identify with a peer group that has pro-bullying norms (e.g., Duffy & Nesdale, 2009), most children also understand that bullying is harmful, and tend to report anti-bullying attitudes when questioned (e.g., Brown, et al., 2005). This is a cross-culturally robust finding (Boulton et al., 1999; Menesini et al., 1997) that reflects messages that children receive from adults at school concerning bullying (Nipedal, Nesdale, & Killen, 2010). From this standpoint, Nipedal et al. (2010) examined how far a school norm of inclusion ("that this school wants all the children to like kids in other groups and to be friendly toward them," p. 200) would moderate the effects of an inclusive ("if the participant wanted to be a part of the team, they must like and include all the members of all other teams," p. 200) or exclusive ("if the participant wanted to be a part of the team, they must not like or be friendly to any members of the other teams," p. 200) peer group norm on children's intentions to aggress. They found that the inclusive school norm did attenuate the effect of peer group norm, particularly in the case of indirect aggression. These authors noted a need for further research into how school norms counteract pro-bullying peer group norms.

Various proposals have been made concerning the school normative context that is optimal for reducing bullying in schools. One hypothesis is that competitive,

achievement-oriented norms lead to higher levels of bullying, whereas cooperative norms reduce its incidence (see Rigby, 2007). Several studies have tested this hypothesis by establishing competitive or cooperative norms through structured play. Bay-Hinitz et al. (1994) found that prosocial behaviour increased following cooperative games, whereas aggressive behaviour decreased; the reverse pattern emerged after competitive games (see also Garaigordobil et al. 1996). Similarly, the study reported in Chapter 3 examined the effects of cooperative or competitive norms on children's responses to bullying. Children's peer group membership was also manipulated so that they were either in the same group as the perpetrator or the target of the bullying. It was found that children exposed to a cooperative norm expressed less pride and more regret and anger about the bullying than those in other conditions. While this research demonstrates the importance of normative context, the norms that were established were not specifically or explicitly linked to the school or any other social category. It therefore remains unclear whether an explicit *school* norm of cooperativeness or competitiveness can moderate the effect of peer-group norms on responses to bullying.

The Moderating Role of Identification

It is known that the effects of peer group norms among adults are moderated by the extent to which one *identifies* with an ingroup (e.g., Yzerbyt et al., 2003). The importance of group identification has also been demonstrated in children. For example, Nesdale, Durkin et al., (2005) found that children's ethnic prejudice was positively related to the extent to which they identified with their ethnic ingroup, while Jones et al. (2009; Chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis) found that identification influenced group-based emotional responding such that more intense emotions

were expressed with increasing ingroup identification. Levels of identification are also predictive of adherence to group norms and reactions that are consistent with protecting the positive image of the group (e.g., Jetten, Spears, & Manstead, 1997). Thus, we expected that the effect of peer group norms on emotional reactions to a bullying incident would be moderated by identification with the group, such that greater identification with the ingroup would lead to a stronger tendency to respond emotionally, in support of peer group norms.

Study 3

We sought to examine the effects of a peer group norm for kindness or unkindness and a school norm for cooperation or competition on group-based emotions in response to a bullying scenario perpetrated by a member of an ingroup. We expected school norm, appraisals of nastiness, and ingroup identification to moderate the effects of peer group norm. We predicted, in line with Nipedel et al. (2010) and findings from Study 2 of this thesis that the presence of a cooperative school norm would attenuate any effects of an unkind peer group norm, while a competitive school norm would accentuate the effects of an unkind peer group norm., We further expected that children who perceived the behaviour of their fellow group members to be high in nastiness would show negative group-based emotions when the behaviour was inconsistent with peer group norms, but not when it was consistent with peer group norms. More specifically, we expected, in line with RMT, that when the behaviour was consistent with peer group norms (i.e., bullying from an unkind group) positive group-based emotions would be reported; however, where the behaviour was judged to be inconsistent with peer group norms (i.e., bullying from a kind

group) it would lead to negative group-based emotions. Thus, we expected children to view the behaviour positively to the extent that it was consistent with the norms of their peer group.

In line with past research (e.g., Jones et al., 2009) we also expected group-based emotions to predict specific action tendencies. Specifically, we expected that pride would predict a tendency to boast about the perpetrator's group's behaviour (Tracy & Robins, 2004), whereas anger would lead to tendencies to act against a harmful group (here, to tell an adult; Mackie et al., 2000). Further, shame typically leads to a tendency to distance oneself from the source of one's shame (here, to keep away from the perpetrator's group; Tangney & Dearing, 2002).

Ten- and 11-year-olds were assigned (ostensibly on the basis of a dot-estimation task) to the same group (the perpetrator's group) as a peer who was later described as engaging in bullying. Children then read one of four scenarios describing behaviour perpetrated by members of one group directed to a member of another group. How consistent this behaviour was with the norm of the perpetrator's group was manipulated. The norm of the school (to be competitive or cooperative) was also manipulated. The protagonists were always of the same gender as the participant. In the scenario a perpetrator, supported by his or her group, acts unkindly towards a target who belongs to a different group by sending the target a text message from the group while the children were walking home from school. Responses to the scenario were measured in terms of the appraised nastiness of the text message, and group-based emotions pertinent to bullying (pride, shame, and anger), together with the action tendencies associated with each

of these emotions. Each child's identification with his or her group was also measured, prior to reading the scenario.

Method

Participants

Following ethical approval from the School of Psychology at Cardiff University, two hundred and sixteen consent forms were sent to parents of Year 6 children (aged 10-11 years) in six schools, yielding in a sample of 153 children (74 male and 79 female) whose mean age was 11.04 years ($SD = 0.30$ years). Children were equally and randomly distributed among the experimental conditions.

Design

The study had a fully between-subjects factorial design, where the two manipulated factors were the peer group norm (to be kind or unkind), and the norm of the school that the protagonists in the scenario attended (competitive or cooperative). Children's gender (male versus female) was also taken into account. Participants' identification with their assigned group, and the perceived nastiness of the perpetrator's group's behaviour were measured for inclusion as continuous moderators. The dependent variables were (a) group-based emotions of pride, shame, guilt, and anger, and (b) action tendencies: to boast about the perpetrator's group's behaviour, make reparations to the target, distance oneself from the group, and tell an adult what had happened.

Materials and Procedure

The study was conducted in school classrooms or school halls, one class group at a time, each consisting of between 6 and 48 pupils. Children worked

quietly and individually on all experimental tasks. A teacher was always present. The session began with an explanation that the researchers were interested in finding out about children's friendship groups. The three activities involved in the study were then described, and children were reminded that their participation was voluntary.

Dot estimation task. Children were all allocated to the perpetrator's group, ostensibly on the basis of a dot estimation task (Tajfel et al., 1971). Each child was introduced to the activity, and subsequently shown five slides, each displaying between 20 and 100 yellow dots on a blue background. Each slide was presented for three seconds in PowerPoint. Participants were asked to record the number of dots they estimated to be on each slide.

Children were instructed that their responses to the dot estimation task would be used to place them into one of two groups. The researcher exchanged each participant's response sheet for one assigning to a gender-consistent group. The sheet also contained information about that group. Membership of each group was indicated by the statement that, "Your guesses tended to be too small. Most children in [Name of child's group] also tend to make guesses that are too small. [Name of child's group] are an [active] group of [girls/boys], who [like watching DVDs together]." The descriptions were devised so as to encourage participants to identify with their group and participants were instructed to keep this information private.

Practice items and identification. Each child was given a copy of the relevant gender-consistent questionnaire booklet. Instructions were read to the children, who proceeded to work through the practice questions. There followed

a 3-item measure of participants' identification with their assigned group ('I feel close to others in my group'; 'I am glad to be in my group'; 'I am happy to be in my group,' $\alpha = .78$). Children were then asked to work through the rest of the booklet carefully and quietly. Participants were given approximately 30 minutes to complete the booklet. Some children were assisted in scenario and questionnaire reading, so as not to exclude those with reading difficulties.

Scenarios. Children read one of four illustrated scenarios. The scenarios provided information about the groups, about named members of the target's group, one named member of the perpetrator's group, and about an incident that could be construed as text-message bullying. Names of the scenario characters were chosen such that no child at the school went by them. Girls received a scenario about a walk home from school made by Melanie's group and Jenny's group. During this walk, Jenny, supported by other members of her group, sends an unkind text message ('We h8 U, [Child's Name]) to a named member of Melanie's group. Boys received the same scenario, but with 'Melanie', and 'Jenny' replaced by 'John' and 'Pete',

The peer group norm was manipulated by varying information about the typical behaviour of the ingroup, such that in the kindness norm condition children read: '[Name of perpetrator]'s group. They were always friendly to others'; whereas in the unkindness norm condition they read: '[Name of perpetrator]'s group. They were the cool group in the school, who liked to pick on others'.

School norm was manipulated at the start of the scenario, by varying information about the school's motto, such that in the competitive condition,

children read: 'Children at Lingley Primary School have a school badge that they wear on their uniforms. It says "Be the best all the time". All the children at the school like to do their best all the time'. In the cooperative condition, children read: 'Children at Lingley Primary School have a school badge that they wear on their uniforms. It says "Look after each other". All the children at the school like to look after each other all the time'. The school badge was visually represented in each scenario.

The scenario ended by making it clear that the target was upset. Scenario characters were always described as attending a school similar to the participants'. A copy of the scenario for females assigned to the unkind peer group norm and competitive school norm is given in Appendix C.

Questionnaires. As in Studies 1 and 2, there were two versions of the questionnaire, one for female participants, and one for male participants. Items were similar to those used in Study 1. Most items took the form of statements. Unless otherwise stated, children were asked to indicate (by placing a tick) their responses on 5-point scales, ranging from 1 (*disagree strongly*) to 5 (*agree strongly*).

The first set of items related to the behaviour described in the scenario, starting with manipulation check items relating to the named story characters' group affiliations (for example: 'Which group was [Perpetrator] a member of?') and asking respondents to report their own group membership. There was also a manipulation check concerning the group norm of the perpetrator's group: 'The perpetrator's group is *always* kind to other children.' The school norm manipulation was checked by asking children to indicate the extent to which

they agreed either with the statement, 'Children at Lingley Primary School like to look after each other all the time,' or with the statement 'Children at Lingley Primary School like to do their best all the time,' depending on experimental condition.

The final paragraph of the scenario, describing the bullying incident, was then repeated. Following this were items assessing judgments of the behaviour, of the intentions of the characters, and whether the behaviour of the named perpetrator and of the perpetrator's group could be called bullying. Among these items was a measure of the appraised nastiness of the behaviour: '[Perpetrator]'s behaviour towards [Target] was mean,' and a 2-item measure of the perceived legitimacy of the behaviour, '[Perpetrator]'s behaviour towards [Target] was fair,' and 'It is OK for [Perpetrator] to behave as s/he did towards the [Target],' $r(143) = .47, p = .001$.

The next set of items concerned participants' group-based emotions (pride, shame, guilt, and anger). Two items assessed pride: 'I [feel proud about/admire] the way [Perpetrator]'s group behaved on the way home', $r(126) = .65, p = .001$. Two items assessed shame: 'I feel [ashamed of/bad about] the way [Perpetrator]'s group behave', $r(125) = .40, p = .001$. Two items assessed guilt, 'I feel [bad/awful about] the way [Perpetrator]'s group behaved on the way home', $r(124) = .48, p = .001$. Two further items assessed anger: 'I feel [angry/annoyed] about the text message sent to [Target]', $r(125) = .78, p < .001$.

A further set of items concerned participants' action tendencies. Participants reported what they believed they would have done had they been present when the incident took place. Items included tendencies to apologise ('I

would say sorry to [Target]’); to avoid the perpetrator’s group (‘I would keep away from [Perpetrator] and his or her group’); to share pride in the incident (‘I would tell my friends proudly about what [Perpetrator] and his/her friends did’); and to tell an adult (‘I would go and tell an adult what happened’). The final section of the questionnaire asked participants to report their age and year group.

At the conclusion of the session, which lasted approximately 45 minutes, participants were debriefed about the research and the reasons for the deception concerning allocation to groups. Any questions that pupils had were addressed by the researchers, and pupils were reminded of positive strategies for dealing with any experiences of bullying. Participants were thanked and received a pencil for their participation, and each participating school received £50 in book vouchers.

Results

Data Screening

Prior to analysis, the data were screened for patterns in missing values, for outliers, and for violations of parametric data assumptions. Two participants had more than 30% missing values and were excluded from further analysis. Four univariate outliers were identified; to ensure that they were not having a disproportionate influence on the results, they were removed. Mean-centred scores were used for measured moderator variables (Aiken & West, 1991).

Comprehension Checks

Analyses indicated that 129 children passed the check asking ‘Who sent the nasty text message to [Target]?’, correctly identifying the sender of the

message, and 19 children failed to do so. One hundred and thirty-seven children passed the check asking ‘Which group is [target] a member of?’, correctly identifying which group the target belonged to, and 11 children failed to do so.

Peer Group Norm Manipulation Check

A two-way (Peer Group Norm X School Norm) ANOVA on the peer group norm manipulation check revealed only a significant effect of peer group norm, $F(1, 146) = 28.11, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .161$. Those in the kindness norm condition perceived the perpetrator’s group to be kinder than those in the unkindness norm condition ($M_s = 3.57$ and $2.47, SD_s = 1.35$ and 1.16 , respectively).

School Norm Manipulation Check

Children were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed either with the statement, ‘Children at Lingley Primary School like to look after each other all the time,’ or with the statement ‘Children at Lingley Primary School like to do their best all the time’. A one-sample t -test with a test value of 3 (the scale midpoint) showed that children in the cooperative school norm condition, $t(73) = 13.04, p < .001, M = 4.30, SD = 0.86$, and in the competitive school norm condition, $t(70) = 14.13, p < .001, M = 4.37, SD = 0.81$, agreed with these statements.

Group-Based Emotions

Each emotion was submitted to a 2 (Peer Group Norm: kindness or unkindness) x 2 (School Norm: competitive or cooperative) X Perceived Nastiness (measured) X Identification with Assigned Group (measured) ANOVA. Significant interactions were followed up by computing simple effects at one standard deviation above and one standard deviation below the mean of each

continuous variable. Mean scores, standard deviations and correlations between each of the dependent variables in the ANOVAs are reported in Table 4.1.

Group-Based Shame. Analysis of group-based shame revealed a four-way interaction between all of the factors, $F(1, 129) = 4.56, p = .035, \eta^2_p = .034$. This interaction is depicted in Figure 4.1.

Further analysis showed that the three-way interaction between peer group norm, school norm and perceived nastiness was not significant when identification was low (panels a and b of Figure 4.1) ($M - 1 SD$), $F < 1$, but was when identification was high ($M + 1 SD$), $F(1, 129) = 5.01, p = .027, \eta^2_p = .037$ (panels c and d of Figure 4.1). In turn, the two-way interaction between peer group norm and school norm was marginally significant at low, $F(1, 129) = 3.03, p = .084, \eta^2_p = .023$, but not at high appraised nastiness, $F(1, 129) = 2.14, p = .146, \eta^2_p = .016$. Simple effects analysis showed that the simple effect of peer group norm was significant when identification was high, and perceived nastiness was low, in the competitive school norm condition, $F(1, 129) = 4.81, p = .030, \eta^2_p = .036$, but not in the cooperative school norm condition, $F < 1$. Shame was higher among those in the unkindness than the kindness peer group norm condition ($M_s = 4.55$ and 3.96 , respectively, $SE_{diff} = 0.27, p = .030$).

In sum, when participants were high in identification *and* perceived the group's behaviour as low in nastiness, those exposed to the competitive school norm and the unkind peer group norm reported markedly higher shame. In contrast, shame drops away in the same condition when the appraised nastiness of the behaviour is high (and therefore norm consistent).

Table 4.1

Mean Scores, Standard Deviations and Correlations for Dependent Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Mean (SD)	3.63 (0.78)	4.54 (0.60)	1.57 (0.71)	1.38 (0.62)	4.49 (0.61)	4.19 (0.83)	4.15 (0.84)	1.70 (1.02)	3.90 (1.01)	4.62 (0.65)	4.19 (0.86)
1. Identification with assigned group											
2. Perceived Nastiness	-.295*										
3. Perceived Legitimacy		-.424**									
4. Group-Based Pride	-.167	-.366**	.421**								
5. Group-based Shame	.129	.424**	-.455**	-.529**							
6. Group-Based Guilt	.113	.407**	-.400**	-.338**	.541**						
7. Group-Based Anger	.109	.375**	-.366**	-.335**	.428**	.632**					
8. Boasting about the perpetrator group's behaviour	-.011	-.296*	.395**	.280*	-.253*	-.277	-.204*				
9. Keeping away from the perpetrator	-.105	.252*	-.186*	-.313**	.277*	.364**	.280*	-.140			
10. Apologizing to the target	.213*	.489**	-.486**	-.383**	.421**	.450**	.438**	-.249*	.182		
11. Action against the perpetrator	.220*	.402**	-.340**	-.334**	.336**	.491**	.407**	-.075	.419**	.570**	

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .001$

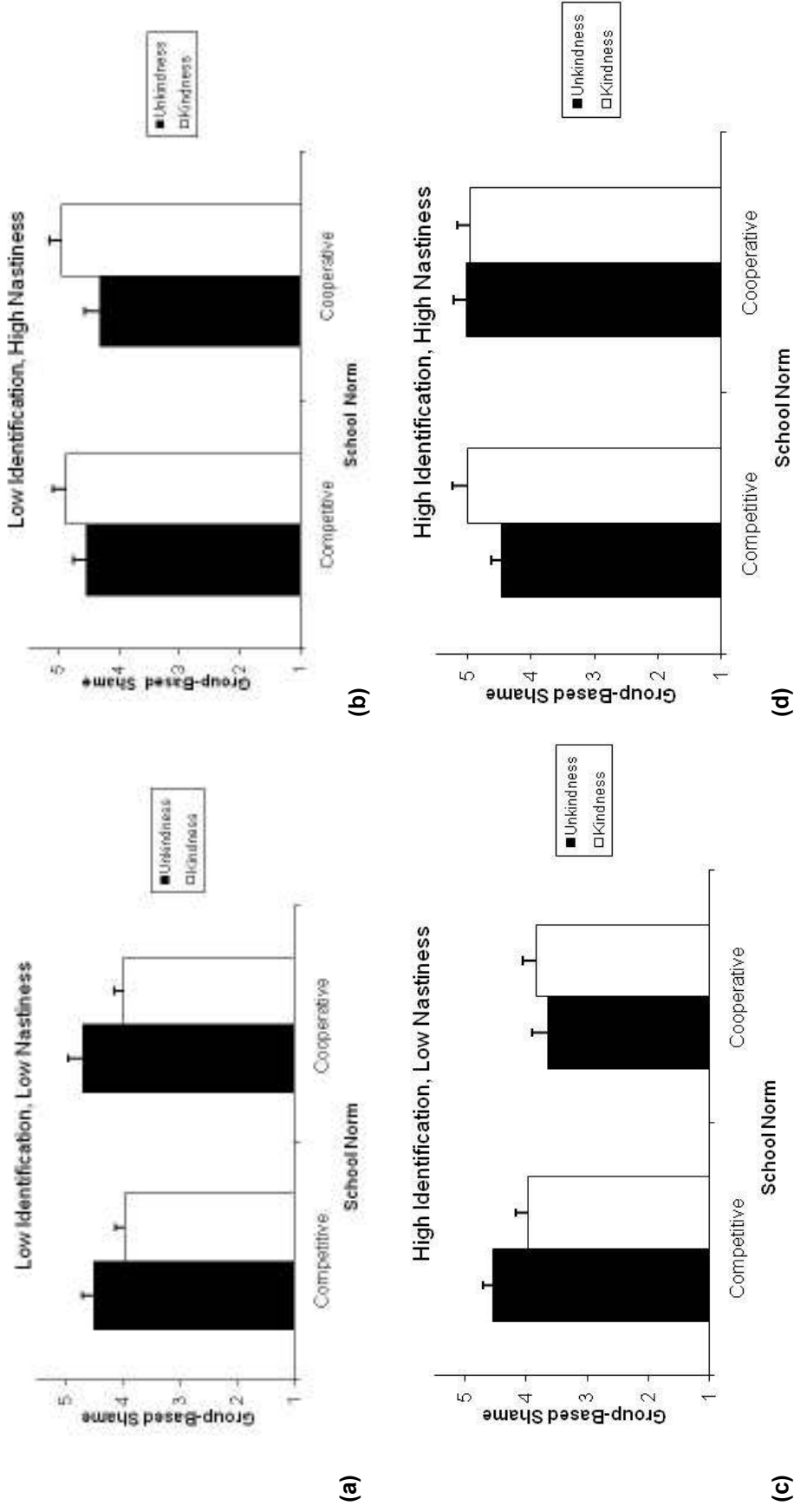


Figure 4.1. Simple effects of the four-way interaction for group-based shame between peer group norm, school norm, appraised nastiness of perpetrator group's behaviour, and identification. The bars represent estimated means at specific levels of perceived nastiness and identification. Error bars represent standard errors of each estimated mean.

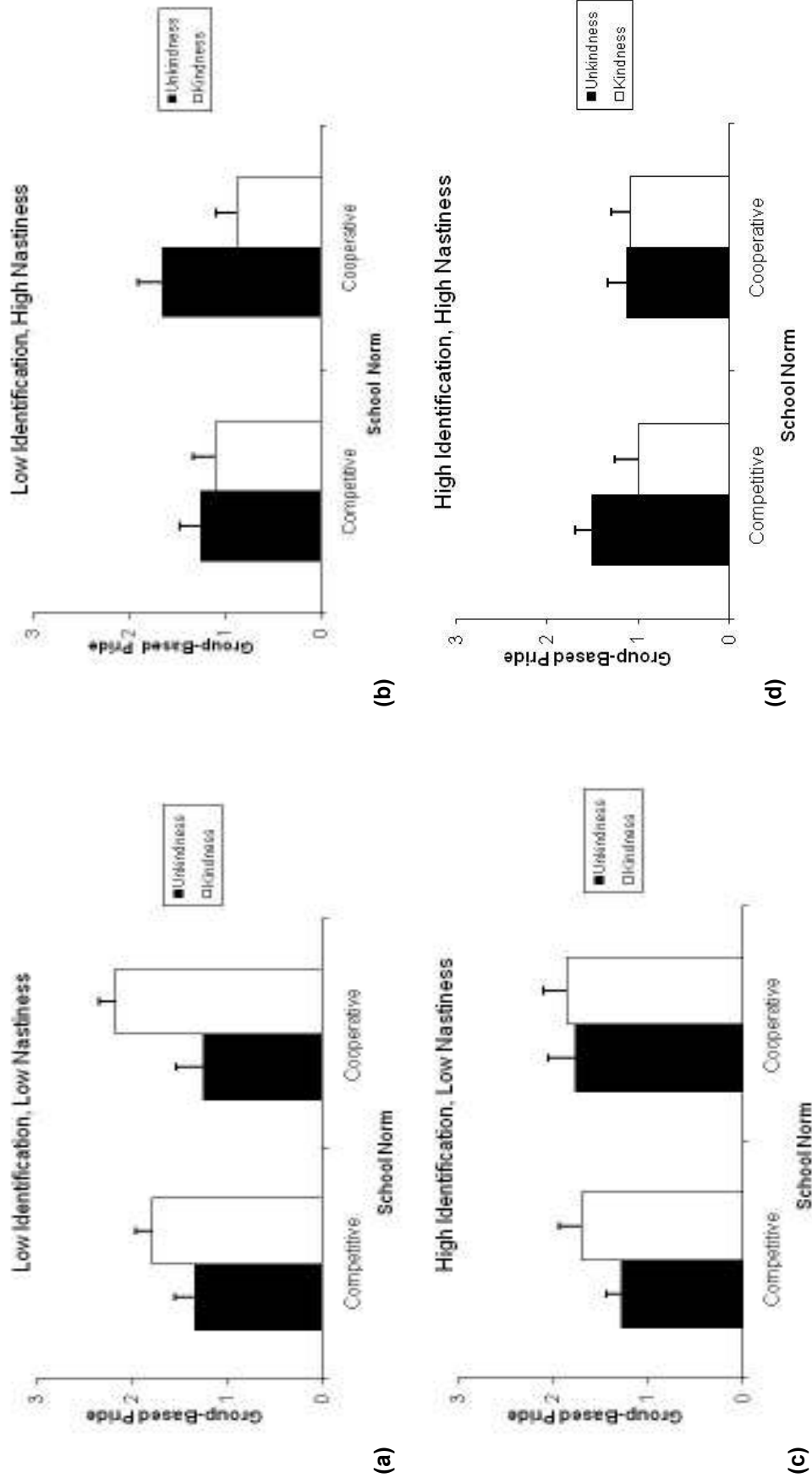


Figure 4.2. Simple effects of the four-way interaction for group-based pride between peer group norm, school norm, appraised nastiness of perpetrator group's behaviour, and identification. The bars represent estimated means at specific levels of perceived nastiness and identification. Error bars represent standard errors of each estimated mean.

Group-Based Guilt. There were no significant effects on group-based guilt.

Group-Based Pride. Analysis of group-based pride revealed a four-way interaction between all of the factors, $F(1, 129) = 4.47, p = .036, \eta^2_p = .033$. This interaction is depicted in Figure 4.2. Further analysis showed that the three-way interaction between peer group norm, school norm and perceived nastiness was marginally significant when identification was low ($M - 1 SD$), $F(1, 129) = 3.13, p = .079, \eta^2_p = .024$ (see panels a and b of Figure 4.2), but the two-way interaction between peer group norm and school norm was not significant either at low or high levels of nastiness, both at low and high levels of identification.

Nevertheless, simple effects analysis showed that the simple effect of *peer group norm* was significant when identification was low and perceived nastiness was low, in the cooperative school norm condition, $F(1, 129) = 7.72, p = .006, \eta^2_p = .056$, but not in the competitive school norm condition. Pride was higher among those in the kindness than the unkindness peer group norm ($M_s = 2.17$ and 1.25 , respectively, $SE_{diff} = 0.33, p = .006$). The simple effect of *peer group norm* was also significant when identification was low and perceived nastiness was high, in the cooperative school norm condition, $F(1, 129) = 5.36, p = .022, \eta^2_p = .040$, but not in the competitive school norm condition. Pride was higher among those in the unkindness than the kindness peer group norm ($M_s = 1.64$ and 0.87 respectively, $SE_{diff} = 0.36, p = .022$). None of the simple effects was significant at high levels of identification.

In sum, the simple effects of pride were significant when identification was low, but not when identification was high. When the behaviour was

appraised as relatively low in nastiness, those in the cooperative school norm condition expressed less pride when the peer group norm was one of unkindness.

Group-Based Anger. Analysis of group-based anger revealed one effect: an interaction between school norm and appraised legitimacy, $F(1, 129) = 4.40$, $p = .036$, $\eta^2_p = .034$. This interaction is depicted in Figure 4.3.

Simple effects analysis showed that the simple effect of school norm was significant when appraised legitimacy was high, $F(1, 129) = 7.57$, $p = .007$, $\eta^2_p = .055$, but not when it was low, $F < 1$. Anger was also higher among those assigned to the competitive, rather than the cooperative school norm, ($M_s = 4.16$ and 3.58 , respectively, $SE_{diff} = 0.21$, $p = .007$).

In sum, anger was lower when the school norm was cooperative rather than competitive and when the behaviour of the perpetrator's group was high in appraised legitimacy.

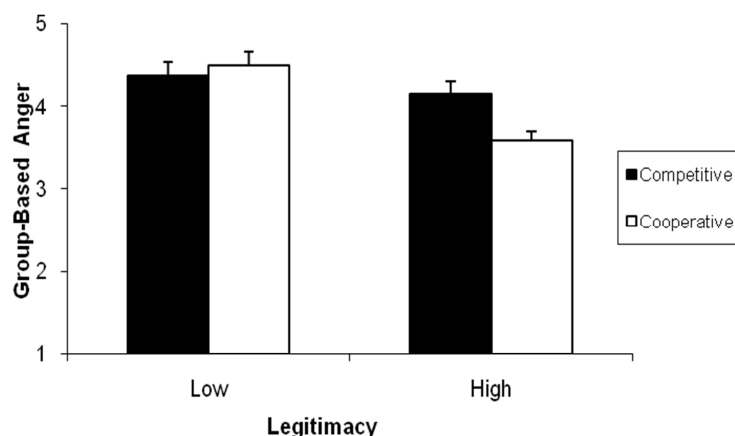


Figure 4.3. Simple effects of the two-way interaction for group-based anger between school norm and perceived legitimacy of the behaviour of the perpetrator's group. The bars represent estimated means at specific levels of school norm and legitimacy. Error bars represent standard errors of each estimated mean.

Effects on Action Tendencies

The bivariate correlations between emotions and action tendencies are shown in Table 4.1. Consistent with expectations, *pride* was positively correlated with *boasting about the bullying*, $r(143) = .28, p = .001$, *shame* with *keeping away from the perpetrator's group*, $r(143) = .31, p = .001$, *guilt* with *apologizing to the target*, $r(144) = .44, p = .001$, and *anger* with *taking action against the perpetrator*, $r(143) = .42, p = .001$ ⁹

Discussion

The above findings show that the peer group norm and the school norm to which children had been exposed combined to influence their responses to the bullying scenario. It was also found that the extent to which children identified with their group and their appraisals of the nastiness of the event moderated the intensity of the levels of group-based pride and shame that they reported in response to the bullying incident. These effects will now be discussed in turn.

Shame and Guilt

Regarding group-based shame, it is apparent that where the perpetrator group's behaviour and both sets of norms are aligned and promote competition, individual appraisals (of nastiness) have less impact. In all other combinations, there is inconsistency, either between the two norms (school versus peer group), or between one or both sets of norms and the perpetrator group's behaviour. Arguably then, the normative context is less clear-cut in these latter conditions, and individual appraisals have more of a role. The interplay between individual

⁹ In past research (e.g., Jones et al., 2009) each group-based emotion was found to be a unique predictor of a theoretically predicted action tendency. However, in the present study there were no unique associations between group-based emotions and action tendencies when controlling for other group-based emotions.

appraisals and normative context when norms and behaviour are misaligned will be an important avenue for future research.

As in Study 1 (this thesis) there were no effects on group-based guilt. One reason for this is that there was not enough power in the design, to enable the four-way interaction to be detected as it was for group-based shame and pride above. We conducted a post hoc power analysis with the program *G*Power* (see Erdfelder et al., 1996). The power to detect the four-way interaction of the size present for group-based shame ($\eta^2_p = .188$) was determined to be 0.64, critical $F(1, 133) = 3.91$; observed $F(1, 133) = 0.75$, $p = .387$. Thus the lack of four-way interaction on guilt could, in this case, be due to a lack of power in the design.

Pride

The fact that the behaviour was inconsistent with the peer group norm meant that it did not warrant feelings of pride, despite being consistent with the school norm, for it did elicit pride among those in the kindness norm condition. In contrast, when the behaviour was appraised as high in nastiness (and therefore as norm consistent) greater pride was expressed by those in the unkindness condition, compared to the kindness norm condition. Thus, as far as group-based pride is concerned, the group-based emotions expressed are driven by the normative concerns of the peer group, rather than by issues of consistency with the school norm.

Anger

The fact that anger was lower when the school norm was cooperative rather than competitive and when the behaviour of the perpetrator's group was high in appraised legitimacy was an unexpected result. It may reflect children's

reliance on the wider cooperative school norm, and the action of others under its banner, when they were placed in that condition. This could be explained by arguing that when the normative context is one in which children support each other, anger is driven by how (il)legitimate the behaviour is appraised to be, with more anger reported when the behaviour is seen as less legitimate. But when the normative context is one in which children are out for themselves (i.e., there is a competitive school norm), anger is less influenced by appraised legitimacy. It could be that antagonistic behaviour is regarded as more normal under these conditions, so how angry you are depends less on whether the behaviour is regarded as legitimate.

Action Tendencies

All emotions were highly correlated in this study, meaning there were no unique association between emotions and action tendencies. Nevertheless, as in previous chapters of this thesis, pride predicted the tendency to affiliate with the perpetrator and his or her group, while anger predicted the tendency to tell a teacher about the incident. Shame predicted the tendency to keep away from the perpetrator and his or her group. Further the bivariate correlation between guilt and the tendency to apologize was positive and significant.

Limitations and Future Research

Children's responses indicated that ingroup identification affects group-based emotional responding. It is possible that children who identified less with the ingroup identified more strongly with the school, and *vice versa*. However, school identification was not measured here, meaning that this interpretation

remains speculative. Future research would benefit from the inclusion of a measure of school identification.

Differences between privately held and publicly displayed emotions are also worthy of investigation. Sandstrom and Bartini (2010) found that children's personal views on the normative acceptability of bullying differed from the normative views believed to be held by their peers. This reflects the phenomenon of *pluralistic ignorance* initially referred to by Latané and Darley (1969), whereby people believe that their own perceptions of a given event might be out of line with those of others, and adjust their reactions to that event accordingly. We propose an extension of this: namely, that children also respond *emotionally* in keeping with their perceptions of the peer group normative acceptability of a behaviour; but that this might be distinct from their personal emotion concerning the behaviour, or their own beliefs about what is acceptable. In other words, in line with social appraisal accounts of group behaviour (see Evers, Fischer, Rodriguez-Mosquera & Manstead, 2005; Manstead & Fisher, 2001) a group of children might each be feeling group-based anger pertinent to a group-relevant event, but each suppressing its display and consequent action tendencies. The relationship between one's own emotional reactions, and perceptions of how others are responding emotionally, in different normative contexts, is another possible avenue for future research.

Practical Implications

The present findings underline the importance of considering social norms at peer group and school levels when devising anti-bullying interventions, because children will experience different emotions in relation to bullying

incidents as a function of their peer group's norms and school norms. Emotional responses are in turn associated with the actions that children would be most likely to undertake. Of particular note is the role of the school norm in eliciting emotion where the perpetrator group's behaviour and both sets of norms are aligned and promote competition, because under these conditions individual appraisals (of nastiness) have less impact. In contrast individual appraisals become important when the normative context is ambiguous (when norms are misaligned). Thus, encouraging children to pay attention to individual appraisals, regardless of the normative context may be a fruitful step for anti-bullying intervention.

Furthermore, the results show that the school normative context in which a bullying incident occurs has an effect on the emotions that children report. Indeed, it seems that this context constrained group-based responding, such that children did not respond with such emotional intensity when they shared a cooperative school norm. It is possible that the lack of anger in the cooperative school norm condition when the bullying was seen as relatively legitimate is the result of a diffusion of responsibility among those who share the cooperative norm – “others could act”. Critical to intervention programmes is raising children's awareness of how others in their group are appraising the situation, responding emotionally, and feeling compelled to act, in order to reduce this diffusion of responsibility – “what if everyone thought this way and did nothing?” – as well as highlighting children's individual responsibility to adhere to a cooperative school ethos, or to act collectively under its banner.

Conclusions

There is good evidence that peer group norms are related to bullying. However, only recently has the influence of peer group and school norms on bullying been examined experimentally. In the present research we have shown that competitive versus cooperative school-level norms act alongside peer group norms, and the extent to which children identify with their peer group, to shape emotional responses to a bullying incident. The fact that these emotions are related, in turn, to action tendencies that either support or resist bullying offers a potentially fruitful topic for further research and intervention.

Chapter 5

Fair-Weather or Foul-Weather Friends?

Group Identification and Children's Responses to Bullying¹⁰

Chapter Overview

Research with adults shows that group-relevant events affect ingroup identification, and that the influence of group-relevant events is moderated by prior levels of identification. Chapters 2-4 in this thesis also show that children's group identification is relevant to how they respond to group-level bullying. Here, these findings are integrated, by examining how a bullying incident affects identification. Children aged 7-8 years and 10-11 years were randomly assigned to either a perpetrator's group or a target's group. They read a scenario in which a bullying incident by the perpetrator's group of a target's group member was described. The perpetrator's group had a norm for either kind or unkind behaviour. The effect of norm on how strongly perpetrator's group members identified with that group was moderated by their initial ingroup identification.

¹⁰ This chapter is based upon:

Jones, S.E., Manstead, A.S.R., & Livingstone, A.G. (in press). Fair-weather or foul-weather friends? Group identification and children's responses to bullying. *Social Psychology and Personality Science*.

Initial low identifiers identified more when in an unkindness norm condition than a kindness condition; whereas initial high identifiers identified more when in a kindness norm condition than an unkindness condition.

Fair-Weather or Foul-Weather Friends?

The role of social identity processes in bullying among school children has attracted increasing research attention, yet relatively little work has been done on children's identification with peer groups and how this affects and is affected by bullying. The present research focuses on the effect of a group-level bullying incident on 8- and 11-year-olds' identification with the groups involved, and how this is moderated by group norms.

Ingroup Identification as an Outcome of Group Processes

Although studies in which identification is regarded as dependent on group-relevant events are relatively rare, it has been shown that group identification in adults can be an important outcome of intergroup processes, and reflects (among other things) how committed individuals are to the group (e.g., Doosje, Spears, & Ellemers, 2002). An event that has positive implications for group identity (e.g., when the ingroup or an ingroup member acts in a norm-consistent manner) may lead ingroup members to report higher levels of identification (e.g., Kessler & Hollbach, 2005; cf. 'basking in reflected glory', Cialdini et al., 1976). Conversely, an event that has negative implications for group identity (e.g., when an ingroup or ingroup member acts in a counter-normative manner, or when an ingroup compares unfavourably to an outgroup) can result in less strong identification with the ingroup (Ellemers, 1993; Kessler & Hollbach, 2005; cf. 'cutting off reflected failure', Cialdini & Richardson, 1980). Similarly, Matschke and

Sassenberg (2010) showed that in the face of negative group-relevant events group members use individual strategies of exit from or integration with the group, depending on their internal motivation to belong to the group.

Recent social developmental research shows that children also manage their identities in response to different social situations. Banerjee (2002) found that children adapted their self-descriptions so as to be perceived as positively as possible by different groups (peer versus adult), and that this tendency increased with age. There is also evidence that children are aware of the need to maintain a positive social identity in intergroup contexts, and manage their social identities accordingly. Rutland et al. (2005) showed that children attenuated expressions of ethnic prejudice when their ingroup's norm against prejudice was made salient by telling them that other group members would learn about their prejudiced expressions. Older children were better able to regulate their prejudice than were younger children. Fitzroy and Rutland (2010) manipulated whether children expected only the experimenter (low accountability) or their ethnic ingroup classmates (high accountability) to learn of their responses to an intergroup-attitude task that involved assigning positive and negative traits to White and Black children. When children perceived an 'anti-prejudice' ingroup norm and accountability was high, they exhibited less bias.

These studies show that children seek to maintain a positive social identity, and that they therefore take account of group norms – and the need for ingroup members to behave normatively – when responding in intergroup contexts. To the extent that ingroup identification varies as a result of group-relevant events, it follows that children may respond to events that have

implications for the positivity of one's social identity (such as ingroup members acting in a counter-normative manner) by managing their level of identification with an ingroup.

Bullying is a domain in which concerns for the positivity of one's ingroup are likely to be particularly acute. Ojala and Nesdale (2004) showed that children understood that a bullying ingroup member was more likely to be rejected by the group than a group member who played fairly – thereby showing that children are aware that an ingroup member who bullies can affect the positivity of the ingroup image. Importantly, however, this was only true to the extent that the ingroup norm was one of not bullying. When the ingroup norm was one of bullying others, and the story character bullied, children believed that he was unlikely to be rejected by the group. Moreover, Nesdale, Milliner, Duffy and Griffiths (2009) showed that liking of the ingroup varied depending on whether the ingroup did or did not have a norm for aggression. Thus, while bullying *per se* has implications for one's social identity, those implications are in turn shaped by whether or not bullying is consistent with ingroup norms, because the degree to which ingroup members' behaviour is norm consistent also has implications for one's social identity. We build on this research by examining how a group norm for kindness or unkindness influences children's ingroup identification following an unkind intergroup (bullying) behaviour. We expected that for children who shared a group membership with a perpetrator, levels of ingroup identification would be affected by whether or not the perpetrator's group norm supported bullying behaviour.

We also argue, in line with the findings reported by Doosje et al. (2002), that in order to understand the effects of group membership and perpetrator's group norm on levels of identification, it is necessary to take initial levels of identification into account. Doosje et al. (2002) framed participants' ingroup future prospects in positive or negative terms, and measured participants' initial identification with their ingroup. They found that the effect of a negative ingroup future on ingroup identification was greater for those who were high identifiers initially. Along similar lines, Ellemers et al. (1997) found that only those who were initially committed to a group showed a high level of commitment to the ingroup in the face of a group-relevant threat. Moreover, it has been shown in adults that ingroup identification moderates the influence of group norms on intergroup behaviour such as ingroup bias (e.g., Jetten et al., 1997), and how group members react to group threat (Yzerbyt et al., 2003; Doosje et al., 2002). For example, Okimoto and Wenzel (2010) found that when group members were presented with an intergroup threat to the group status, only high identifiers were more willing to seek retribution from the threatening group. In summary, research on adults shows that high and low identifiers respond to negative intergroup behaviours in different ways.

The importance of group identification (over and above group membership *per se*) has also been observed in children. For example, Nesdale, Durkin, et al. (2005) found that children's ethnic prejudice was positively related to strength of identification with their ethnic ingroup, while Study 1 in this thesis showed that group-based reactions to bullying intensified as a function of ingroup identification. Initial levels of identification therefore clearly influence

identity management strategies – including group members’ willingness to stick with the group.

Study 4

We examined the role of the perpetrator’s group norms on ingroup identification with a group that engages in bullying. Children aged 7-8 years or 10-11 years were randomly assigned to one of two group conditions: the same group as someone later described as engaging in bullying (the perpetrator’s group); or the same group as someone later described as being the target of that bullying (the target’s group). Prior research has established that children of different ages encounter different types of bullying. Beyond the age of 10, children are likely to encounter cyberbullying – a form of bullying that employs electronic means to attack targets, and whose incidence is increasing (Campbell, 2005). From 7 to 10 years of age children are likely to experience face-to-face forms of bullying (Scheithauer et al., 2006). In order to be consistent with children’s everyday experiences, we used a conventional bullying scenario with 7- and 8-year-olds, and a cyberbullying scenario with 10- and 11-year-olds.

Children’s identification with the group to which they had been assigned was measured before they read a scenario. In this scenario a perpetrator, supported by his or her group, acts unkindly towards a target, who belongs to a different group, by sending the target an unpleasant text message from the group whilst walking home from school (10- and 11-year-olds) or by leaving a nasty message in a coat pocket (7- and 8-year-olds). The norm of the perpetrator’s group (to be either kind or unkind towards others) was also manipulated. Each child’s identification with his or her group was measured after the scenario.

We expected initial identification to moderate the effects of the perpetrator's group norm on identification in the face of intergroup bullying, but only among children who shared a group membership with the perpetrator (and hence to whom the norms applied). More specifically, we expected that children who were high initial identifiers would show higher identification with the perpetrator's group in response to the bullying incident when the ingroup norm was for kindness (and hence the bullying behaviour was also counter-normative) than when the ingroup norm was for unkindness, reflecting a tendency to stick with the group in the face of events that call its positivity into question. For low initial identifiers in the perpetrator's group, the reverse pattern was predicted. Specifically, a bullying event that is counter-normative should lead to especially *low* levels of identification, as participants seek to distance themselves from the group. Finally, and in keeping with the research described above, we also anticipated that older children would be more likely to manage their identity in a strategic way than younger children.

Method

Participants

Following approval from the School of Psychology's Ethics Committee, parental permission was obtained for 179 children (88 Year 3 children, $M = 8.21$ years, $SD = 0.33$, and 91 Year 6 children, $M = 10.98$ years, $SD = 0.41$) to take part. Seventy-six participants were male and 103 were female. They were randomly allocated to one of the experimental conditions.

Design

The study had a fully between-subjects factorial design, where the three factors were the perpetrator's group norm (kindness or unkindness), the group

membership of the participants (shared with the target [Target's group], or shared with the perpetrator [Perpetrator's group]), initial group identification (measured) and age group (8-year-olds or 11-year-olds). The dependent variable was ingroup identification.

Materials

Dot estimation task. Children were ostensibly allocated to one of the groups on the basis of a dot estimation task (Tajfel et al., 1971). In reality, allocation was random. Children were introduced to the activity, and subsequently shown five slides, each displaying between 20 and 100 yellow dots on a blue background. Each slide was projected for three seconds on a whiteboard. Participants were asked to record their responses.

Group Allocation Slips. Membership of each group was indicated by the statement that "Your guesses tended to be too low. Most children in [X's] group also tend to make guesses that are too low. [X's] group are an [active/fun-loving/bright] group of [girls/boys], who [enjoy listening to music together/watching DVDs together/ playing games together]." The descriptions were accompanied by a drawing of the group, and were devised so as to encourage participants to identify with their group.

Response Booklet. Each booklet started with some practice questions and there then followed a 3-item measure of initial ingroup identification: 'I am glad to be in my group,' 'It is important to me to be in my group,' and 'I feel very close to others in my group' ($\alpha = .60$).

Following this, scenario characters were described. They were attending a school similar to the participant's own school. The scenarios provided

information about two groups, about named members of the target group, about one named member of the perpetrator group, and about an incident that could be construed as mild bullying – a negative message sent from the perpetrator’s group to the target, ‘We hate u, [child’s name]’. The message was the same across the two age groups. Names of the scenario characters were chosen such that no child at the school went by them.

Eight-year-olds. Girls read a scenario about a walk home from school made by Melanie’s group and Jenny’s group. During this walk, the target finds a note in her pocket from Jenny’s group. Boys read the same scenario, but with ‘Melanie’ and ‘Jenny’ replaced by ‘John’ and ‘Pete.’ A copy of the scenario for eight-year-old males assigned to the unkindness norm condition is given in Appendix D.

Eleven-year-olds. Girls read a scenario about a walk home from school made by Melanie’s group and Jenny’s group. During this walk, Jenny, supported by other members of her group, sends an unkind text message to a named member of Melanie’s group. Boys read the same scenario, but with ‘Melanie’ and ‘Jenny’ replaced by ‘John’ and ‘Pete.’

The perpetrator’s group norm was manipulated by varying information about the typical behaviour of the perpetrator’s group, such that in the kindness norm condition children read that the group was known for being kind to others, whereas in the unkindness norm condition they read that the perpetrator’s group sometimes teased other children. The scenario ended by making it clear that the target was upset.

Scenarios were followed by the remaining questionnaire items. Most items took the form of statements. Children were asked to indicate (by placing a tick) their response on 5-point scales, ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) (older group) or from '1 – (NO) to 5- (YES) (younger group).

The first set of items related to the behaviour described in the scenario, starting with two manipulation check items about the story characters' group affiliations (for example: 'Which group was [Perpetrator] a member of?') and asking respondents to report their own group membership. There was also a check concerning the norm of the perpetrator's group: '[Perpetrator]'s group is *always* kind to other children.'

The final paragraph of the scenario, describing the bullying incident, was then repeated. Following this came items measuring judgments of the behaviour, of the intentions of the characters, and whether the behaviour of the named bullying character and of the perpetrator's group could be classed as bullying. The wording was designed to be accessible to the child participants.

Ingroup identification was measured using a 5-item scale (based on the work of Barrett et al., [2007], J.E. Cameron [2004], and Leach et al. [2008]), example items being 'I am glad to be in my group,' 'It is important to me to be in my group,' and 'I feel very close to others in my group.' Further items concerned measures that are not relevant to the current paper.

Procedure

The study was conducted in school classrooms, one class at a time. A teacher was always present. Experimental sessions began with an explanation that the researcher was interested in finding out about children's friendship

groups. The activities in which children would take part if they wished to help with the study were described, and children were reminded that their participation was voluntary.

Children were then ostensibly allocated to one of the groups on the basis of the dot estimation task. Each pupil was then given a copy of the scenario and questionnaire booklet relevant to his/her gender and age group and asked to work through it. Participants were given 30-40 minutes to complete this. Some children were assisted in scenario and questionnaire reading, so as not to exclude those with reading difficulties. Before the questionnaire was completed, the researcher highlighted her interest in pupils' opinions about the story. It was stressed that answers would be kept confidential, and not read by staff at the school.

At the conclusion of the session, which lasted approximately one hour, participants were debriefed about the research and the reasons for the deception concerning allocation to groups. Any questions were answered by the researchers, and pupils were reminded of positive strategies for dealing with any experiences of bullying. Participants received a pencil as a thank-you for their participation, and each participating school received £50 in the form of book vouchers.

Results

Data Screening

The data were first screened for missing values and outliers. Two outliers on initial identification were removed prior to further analysis. Following the

recommendations of Aiken and West (1991), means-centred scores were used throughout.

Comprehension Checks

Twelve children failed to identify correctly the author of the message, and 26 children failed to identify correctly the group to which the target belonged. These children were randomly distributed across experimental conditions, and running analyses without them did not lead to qualitative differences in results. All participants were therefore retained for the main analyses.

Perpetrator's Group Norm Manipulation Check

A three-way (Perpetrator's Group Norm X Group Membership x Age) ANOVA on the perpetrator's group norm manipulation check revealed only a significant main effect of perpetrator's group norm $F(1, 162) = 49.26, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .233$. Those in the kindness norm condition perceived the perpetrator's group to be kinder than did those in the unkindness norm condition ($M_s = 3.72$ and $2.26, SD_s = 1.37$ and 1.36 , respectively).

Was the Behaviour Seen as Bullying?

Sixty-nine percent of the younger participants either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, '[Perpetrator] is a bully;' the corresponding figure for the older group was 81%. Sixty-eight percent of the younger group either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement '[Perpetrator]'s group are bullies;' the corresponding figure for the older group was 67%.

Effects on Identification

We predicted that there would be an effect of the perpetrator's group norm on ingroup identification among children in the perpetrator's group, and

that this would be moderated by initial identification with the group. To test this hypothesis we performed a 2 (Group Membership: perpetrator's group or target's group) X 2 (Perpetrator's Group Norm: kind or unkind) X 2 (Age: 11 years vs. 8 years) X Initial Identification (measured and used as a continuous predictor) ANOVA. This analysis revealed several lower order effects, all of which were qualified by two higher-order interactions. The first was between group membership, perpetrator's group norm, and initial identification, $F(1, 150) = 4.88, p = .029, \eta^2_p = .032$. This was decomposed by examining the simple effects of the perpetrator's group norm at different levels of group membership and initial identification. The simple effects are illustrated in Figure 5.1.

Further analysis revealed that the interaction between the perpetrator's group norm and identification was marginally significant for the perpetrator's group, $F(1,74) = 3.50, p = .065$, but not for the target's group, $F < 1$. Simple effects analysis revealed that for children who were relatively strongly identified ($M + 1 SD$) with their group prior to the bullying scenario, there was a simple effect of the perpetrator's group norm within the perpetrator's group, $F(1, 150) = 4.33, p = .039, \eta^2_p = .028$. In keeping with our predictions, perpetrator's group members in the kindness norm condition identified more with their group in the face of the intergroup bullying than did those in the unkindness norm condition ($M_s = 4.26$ and 3.60 , respectively). The effect of the perpetrator's group norm was also marginally significant in the perpetrator's group among children whose initial identification was relatively low ($M - 1 SD$), $F(1, 150) = 3.39, p = .068, \eta^2_p = .022$. These children showed higher identification after the bullying incident when the perpetrator's group norm was for unkindness compared to when it was for

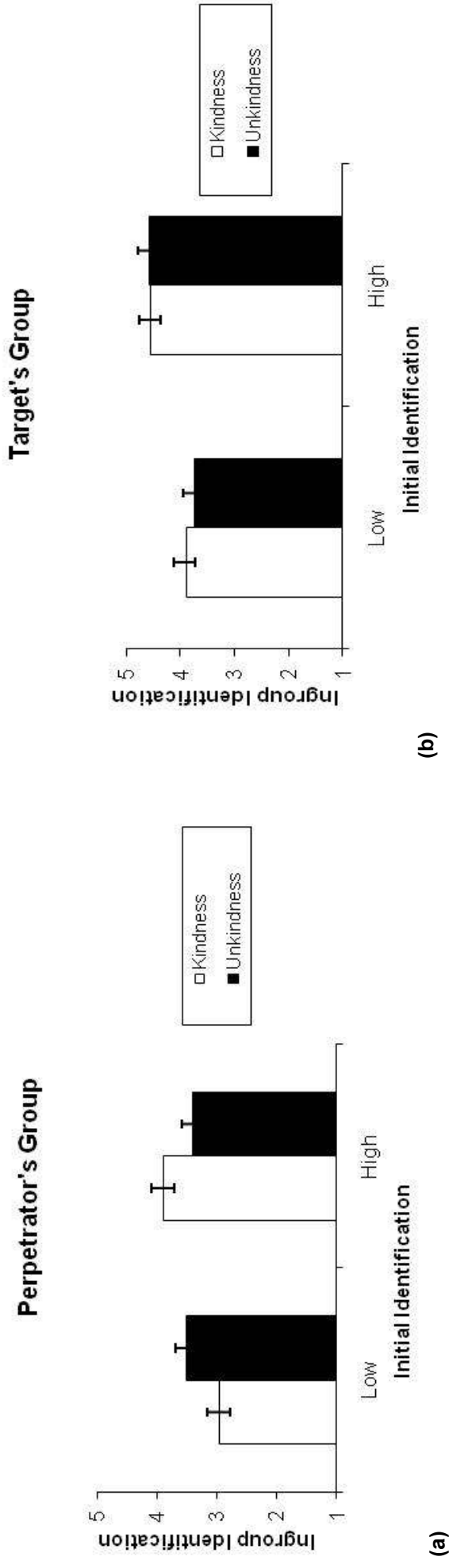


Figure 5.1. Simple effects for the three-way interaction for identification between group membership, perpetrator's group norm and initial identification (before scenario reading). Bars represent estimated means at specific levels of initial identification and perpetrator's group norm. Error bars represent one standard error.

kindness ($M_s = 3.31$ and 2.72 , respectively), in contrast to the pattern among those whose initial identification was high.

The second interaction was that between age and identification, $F(1, 150) = 5.66, p = .019, \eta^2_p = .036$. This was examined by considering the simple effect of age at different levels of identification. The effect of age was significant at low ($M - 1 SD$), $F(1, 150) = 12.24, p = .001, \eta^2_p = .075$, but not at high, $M + 1 SD$, $F < 1$, levels of identification ($M_s = 4.23$ for 8-year-olds and 4.18 for 11-year-olds, $SE_{diff} = 0.72, p = .746$). This interaction is graphed in Figure 5.2.

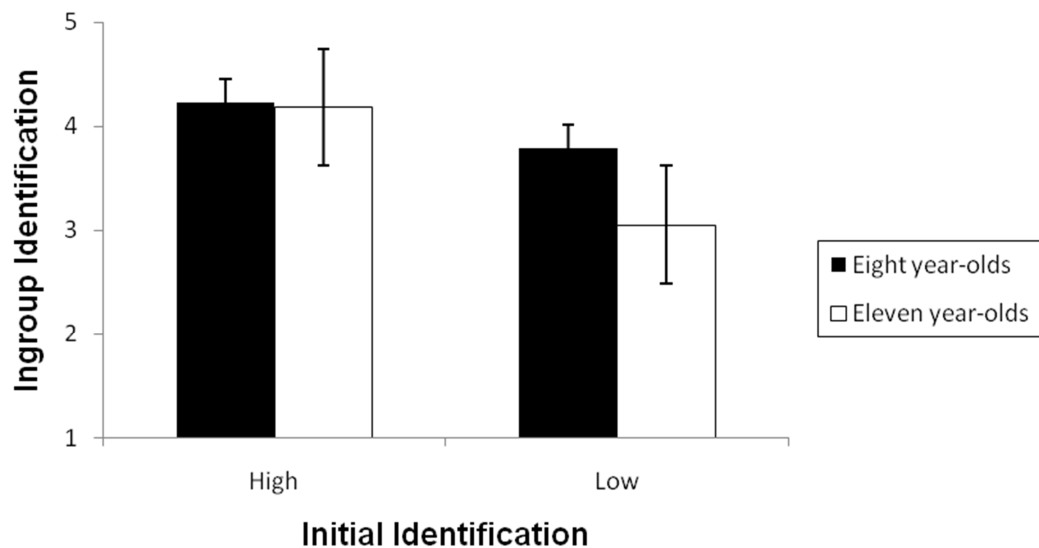


Figure 5.2. Simple effects for the two-way interaction for identification between age and initial identification (before scenario reading). Bars represent estimated means at specific levels of initial identification and age. Error bars represent one standard error.

Pairwise comparisons showed that the difference in estimated means between the 11-year-old and 8-year-old age groups at low identification was significant, $M_s = 3.05$ and 3.79 , respectively, $SE_{diff} = 0.21, p = .001$. Thus,

among children who had low initial identification with their group, children aged 8 years identified more strongly with their group in the face of intergroup bullying than did those aged 11 years.

Discussion

We investigated the effect of a bullying incident on children's ingroup (peer group) identification as a function of their membership in a perpetrator's group or target's group, and the perpetrator's group norms. We found, as predicted, that the impact of these factors on identification was moderated by children's initial identification with their group. Specifically, there was an effect of the perpetrator's group norm among perpetrator's group members, but not target group members, and the direction of this effect depended on initial levels of identification. Ingroup identification was higher when the perpetrator's group norm was for kindness than when it was for unkindness, but only among children whose initial identification was high. In contrast, ingroup identification was lower when the perpetrator's group norm was for unkindness than when it was for kindness among children whose initial identification was low.

Identity Management

It could be argued that it is not necessary to explain the present findings as a norm-contingent reaction to that incident. Instead, it could be that between-condition differences simply reflect participants' reactions to the perpetrator's group norm, rather than to the incident itself. Thus, high initial identifiers identify less when the perpetrator's group norm is for unkindness, because it is less desirable to be part of the group than when the norm is for kindness. However, this explanation does not account for the opposing pattern that

emerges for low initial identifiers, who identified *more* with the perpetrator's group following the bullying incident when its norm was for unkindness. The overall pattern cannot therefore be explained as a reaction to the perpetrator's group norm *per se*; rather, it is more satisfactorily explained as a reaction to the bullying incident and as being shaped by the perpetrator's group norm and participants' initial level of identification. Specifically, we suggest that this pattern represents a strategic response to an incident that has implications for the image of the group, but the precise meaning of which is framed by group norms.

Thus, the manner in which children react to a bullying incident depends on the norm of the group, and specifically whether it is consistent or inconsistent with that bullying incident. In turn, high and low identifiers react differently depending on the norm-consistency of the event. In other words, our findings demonstrate that strategic reactions to negative ingroup behaviour (e.g., bullying) can include affiliation to the ingroup (Cialdini et al., 1976; Cialdini & Richardson, 1980), but also – crucially – that such strategic reactions depend on norm consistency and on initial levels of identification (Ellemers et al., 1997). High identifiers stuck to the group in the face of norm inconsistent behaviour; low identifiers did not. This research extends Nesdale, Milliner et al.'s (2009) finding that group members liked their group less when it had a norm for aggression, compared to when it had no such norm. In a separate study, Nesdale et al. (2008) showed that groups with a norm for inclusion are liked more than those who have a norm for exclusion. In the present study, we compared norms for kindness versus unkindness and showed that ingroup liking (i.e., high initial

ingroup identification) is maintained by group members even where the behaviour is norm inconsistent. In other words, it is not simply the case that 'nicer' groups are liked more; when group members are highly identified with a group and the group norm was one of kindness, they liked the group even after learning that some of its members had acted unkindly. This reaction might be driven by members' sense of high investment in the group, and a willingness to brush off, or even to turn a blind eye to, 'out of character' events. When it came to low-identifying group members, however, when a normally kind group was described as acting unkindly, members who had low initial identification with the group identified less with their group. Perhaps low identifiers are more pragmatically or instrumentally concerned with whether they should be affiliated with the group at all, and thus display low identification when faced with norm inconsistent behaviour. The processes that might mediate the different reactions of high *versus* low-identifying group members according to the norm-consistency of a group-relevant event were not examined here, and remain an avenue for future research.

Age. There was also evidence that the bullying incident influenced younger and older participants' identification with the ingroup differently, to the extent that they had low initial identification with their group. Among low initial identifiers, younger children identified more strongly after reading about the incident than did older children. Any interpretation of these findings remains speculative. This pattern may have emerged because older children were already highly identified with their school and felt less need than their younger counterparts to get involved with a group. However, it is worth bearing in mind

that for ecological validity reasons there was a confound between age and bullying method (11-year-olds read about text message bullying, 8-year-olds read about verbal bullying). It is therefore possible that the age effects reflect this difference in method. Further research is needed to determine the reason for age effects in identity management when it comes to bullying.

Practical Implications

The present findings suggest that anti-bullying interventions should consider the perpetrator's group norms. First, there is evidence that peer group norms affect responses to bullying. Encouraging children to be critical of peer group norms (with a view to bringing them into line with school norms emphasizing cooperation) might be one avenue for intervention. This seems particularly important given that the perpetrator's group norms interact with identification with the group.

The key finding, however, is that – paradoxically – when the group has positive norms regarding how to treat other children, members who identify with the group will show commitment to the group when a group member acts inconsistently with these norms. Further research and intervention could focus on the conditions under which high identifiers in turn seek to maintain prosocial norms by challenging negative ingroup behaviour (cf. Stott, Adang, Livingstone & Schreiber, 2007; 2008).

Conclusions

Our findings support the idea that children's responses to a bullying incident can take the form of differential identification with an ingroup implicated in the bullying. These responses are shaped not only by their group membership, but

also by the norms of the perpetrator's group. The specific effect of the perpetrator's group norms, in turn, depended on initial levels of ingroup identification. This suggests that identification has more than a moderating role when it comes to bullying, as explored in previous chapters of this thesis: identification is an important outcome of group processes, too. Children's responses to bullying are not simple; rather, they are nuanced and strategic, reflecting dynamics that have previously been studied adults. Meeting the challenge of bullying therefore requires interventions that are equally nuanced and sensitive to the social identity concerns of those involved.

Chapter 6

Bullying is in the Eyes of the Bystanders

How Peer Group Norms Influence Appraisals of Group Behaviour

Chapter Overview

Previous chapters in this thesis have highlighted the role of group processes in shaping responses to bullying, when that bullying is overtly negative in its intent and its impact on the target. The role of group norms, and of norm consistency, has also been examined. In Study 4, only high identifiers showed high identification with a group, following a norm-inconsistent bullying incident. In Study 3, when the perpetrator group's behaviour and group norms were aligned, individual appraisals (of nastiness) had less impact. When there was inconsistency between norms and the perpetrator group's behaviour, it seemed that individual appraisals had more of a role.

To further the above findings, in this chapter I examine children's reactions to two types of intergroup behaviour, when it is misaligned or aligned with group norms. In Study 5b the perpetrator's group behaviour is ostensibly

positive. In Study 5a it is ostensibly negative, as in previous chapters. Children in both studies were randomly assigned to one of two groups: a perpetrator's group or a target's group. They then read a scenario in which the norm of the perpetrator's group (to be kind or unkind towards others) was manipulated, and an instance of ostensibly negative (Study 5a) or ostensibly positive (Study 5b) cyberbullying between the perpetrator's group and a member of the target's group was described. In both studies group membership and perpetrator's group norms influenced group-based emotions and action tendencies in line with predictions derived from social identity and intergroup emotion theories. Critical to this influence were children's appraisals of the bullying as high or low in nastiness, such that group behaviour interpreted as norm-consistent evoked more pride and less shame. The implications of these findings for our understanding of the ways in which behaving consistently with peer group norms influences reactions to bullying are discussed.

Ambiguity in Bullying

The peer group processes that underpin bullying episodes have attracted an increasing amount of attention (e.g., Hawkins et al., 2001). As seen in earlier chapters of this thesis, research has drawn on social identity (SIT; Tajfel & J. Turner, 1979) and intergroup emotion (IET; E.R. Smith, 1993) theories to enhance our understanding of this phenomenon. The role of group-based emotions is an important addition to research on bullying as a group process, because emotional reactions to bullying have motivational and behavioural implications (e.g., Mackie et al., 2000). However, relatively little attention has been paid within this framework to potentially more insidious forms of bullying,

in which behaviour that is ostensibly positive may be construed as negative in intent. In this chapter we examine both ostensibly negative bullying and ostensibly positive forms of bullying, to gauge the role of group processes in shaping emotional responses to these different forms of bullying.

Children, like adults, understand that bullying is harmful, and display anti-bullying attitudes when questioned (e.g., Brown et al., 2005). This is a robust finding that has been replicated in different countries (Boulton et al., 1999; Menesini et al., 1997). However, there is no universal agreement about what constitutes 'bullying' among adults or children (e.g., Monks & Smith, 2006). This may reflect the fact that negative intergroup behaviour can take different forms; in some instances it might be unambiguously nasty (e.g., hateful text messages or physical attacks), but in others it can be more subtle, involving behaviour that could be regarded as positive. For example, teasing, which in some forms can be seen as bullying, can be ambiguous in quality (Kruger, Gordon, & Kuban, 2006). Teasing may be hurtful when taken at face-value, but the teaser often teases with the aim of strengthening social bonds; they are "just kidding" (Kruger et al., 2006, p. 412). Equally, some remarks might ostensibly appear positive, but be said sarcastically with the intent of harming the recipient.

Appraising Ambiguity

One factor that has been shown to shape perceptions of the intention behind ambiguous intergroup interaction is the group-level perspective from which the behaviour is viewed: Mendes, Major, McCoy, and Blascovich (2008) showed that black versus white participants responded negatively to different-race participants' social rejection than to same-race social rejection. Thus, the

same behaviour may be construed differently by members of an ingroup or an outgroup. Among children, Jones et al. (2008) found that the same bullying incident was viewed differently by perpetrating (ingroup) and third party group (outgroup) members. Perpetrator group members concluded that one child was deserving of punishment for a bullying incident, whereas third party group members concluded that the whole perpetrating group was punishable. Similar results have also been reported by Quiles, Leyens, and Rodriguez (2001), who showed that members of perpetrating groups appraise a negative intergroup interaction at an individual level of analysis, whereas target group members appraise the same act at the group-level.

While group membership clearly helps to shape the way in which a group-relevant event is appraised, such events are not always obvious in terms of their content, the intent of the actor, or their implications. In other words, group-relevant events can be ambiguous, leaving room for variation in how they are appraised by group members. For example, Quiles et al. (2001) also found that the effects of group membership were accentuated to the extent the behaviour is seen as ambiguous. This mirrors research among adults. For example, research on 'benevolent sexism' (e.g., Glick & Fiske, 1996) shows that ostensibly positive remarks about women as a group, e.g., 'women are good communicators,' can be positively received by some women, but negatively regarded by others. In the current research we test the hypothesis that when ambiguity is involved in a 'bullying incident,' there is more scope to appraise the behaviour in different ways. It follows that the role played by group processes will be more salient when an incident is ambiguous.

Group Processes Shape Responses to Ambiguity

Another factor that potentially influences how children respond to a bullying incident is the normative behaviour of the perpetrating group. Children are aware of group norms relating to bullying, and their responses to bullying vary according to what is normatively acceptable (e.g., Henry et al., 2000, Ojala & Nesdale, 2004). Moreover, work on reputation management theory (RMT; Emler & Reicher, 1995, 2005) suggests that people can re-construe a 'negative' reputation (or ingroup norm) in positive terms. For example, group members who see their group as responsible for a negative behaviour that is in line with their negative reputation might regard that behaviour as something to be proud of rather than something of which to be ashamed.

In summary, reactions to negative intergroup behaviour are likely to vary across normative contexts (Werner & Hill, 2010). When an ingroup member's behaviour is clearly consistent with the ingroup norm, group members are likely to respond positively to the behaviour. When the behaviour is inconsistent with group norms, appraisals are also likely to affect group members' emotional responses to the behaviour. Relevant appraisals here include whether there were intentions to harm the target(s), and whether the behaviour was justified (see Jones et al. 2009). An ostensibly 'positive' behaviour perpetrated by a normatively kind group is likely to be appraised positively, whereas the same behaviour perpetrated by a normatively unkind group is likely to be appraised negatively.

Accordingly, this chapter aims to look further at the role of ambiguity in interpreting bullying incidents, by manipulating the valence of a text message a

target receives. This is done such that in Study 5a, the message is ostensibly negative (as in previous chapters) and sent by a normatively unkind group (norm-consistent) or by a normatively kind group (norm inconsistent / ambiguous). Conversely, in Study 5b, the target receives an ostensibly positive message sent by a normatively unkind group (norm-inconsistent/ambiguous) or by a normatively kind group (norm consistent). Thus between them the two studies permit the examination of two different forms of ambiguity arising from the conflict between group norm and the ostensible valence of a group's behaviour.

A further issue to be addressed in this chapter is the moderating role of group identification. Researchers working in the social identity tradition have argued that the extent to which one identifies with a group influences the intensity of one's reaction to a group-relevant event (e.g., Yzerbyt et al., 2003). The importance of group identification has also been observed in children. For example, Jones et al. (2009) and previous chapters of this thesis, found that identification influenced group-based emotional responding, such that more intense emotions were expressed with increasing ingroup identification. In the present studies we predict that high identifiers within each group are more likely than their low-identifying counterparts to appraise and respond to situations in ways that defend the image and reputation of the group and its members.

Present Studies of Ambiguity and Responses to Bullying

We examined the effects of group membership and the norm consistency of the behaviour of a perpetrating group on group-based emotions when the behaviour was either ostensibly negative (Study 5a) or ostensibly positive (Study

5b). We expected that appraisals of nastiness and legitimacy, and ingroup identification, would moderate the effects of norm consistency. Thus children in the perpetrator's group who perceive the ostensibly negative behaviour of their fellow group members to be high in nastiness should show negative group-based emotions when the behaviour is inconsistent with perpetrator's group norms (ambiguous), but not when it is consistent with perpetrator's group norms.

Where the behaviour is ostensibly positive, appraisals of nastiness should clearly moderate the effects of perpetrator's group norm. When the behaviour is judged to be consistent with perpetrator's group norms (i.e., a positive behaviour from a normatively kind group) positive emotions should be reported by perpetrator's group members. In contrast, when the behaviour is judged to be inconsistent with perpetrator's group norms (i.e., a positive behaviour from a normatively unkind group) it should elicit negative emotions. In line with previous research (e.g., Jones et al., 2009) the appraisals we measured were perceived nastiness in the case of pride and shame, but *legitimacy* in the case of group-based anger, since this is the appraisal that is most relevant to anger in the adult group-based emotion literature (see H.J. Smith et al., 2008).

In keeping with past research (e.g., Jones et al., 2009, and previous chapters in this thesis) group-based emotions should be associated with certain action tendencies. Specifically, pride should be associated with a tendency to seek out others, and to talk about one's achievements (here, to affiliate with the perpetrator's group; Tracy & Robins, 2004), whereas anger should be associated with tendencies to act against a harmful group (here, to tell an adult; Mackie et al., 2000). Further, shame should typically be associated with a tendency to

distance oneself from the source of one's shame (here, to keep away from the perpetrator's group; Tangney & Dearing, 2002)

Study 5a

Method

Participants. Following approval from the School of Psychology Ethics Committee, consent forms were sent to parents of Year 6 children (aged 10-11 years) in six schools, resulting in a sample of 68 children (33 male and 35 female) whose mean age was 11.00 years ($SD = 0.28$ years). Children were equally and randomly distributed among the experimental conditions.

Design. The study had a fully between-subjects factorial design, where the two manipulated factors were the norm of the perpetrator's group in the scenarios (either to be kind or unkind), and the group membership of the participants (target's group or perpetrator's group). Children's gender was also taken into account. Participants' identification with their assigned group, the perceived nastiness of the behaviour of the perpetrator's group, and the perceived legitimacy of the bullying behaviour were measured for inclusion as continuous moderators. The dependent variables were group-based emotions (pride, shame and anger), and action tendencies (affiliate with perpetrator, make reparations to target, distance oneself from the group, and tell an adult what had happened).

Materials and Procedure. The study was conducted in school classrooms or school halls, with one class group at a time, each consisting of between 13 and 45 pupils. A teacher was always present. The session began with an explanation that the researchers were interested in finding out about

children's friendship groups. The three activities involved in the study were then described, and children were reminded that their participation was voluntary.

Dot Estimation Task. Children were randomly allocated to one of the three group membership conditions. This was done using a dot estimation task (Tajfel et al., 1971). Each child was introduced to the activity, and subsequently shown five slides, each displaying between 20 and 100 yellow dots on a blue background. Each slide was presented for three seconds. Participants were asked to record the number of dots they estimated to be on each slide.

Children were instructed that their responses to the dot estimation task would be used to place them into one of two groups. The researcher exchanged each participant's response sheet for one assigning them (in reality, at random) to a particular (gender-consistent) group. The sheet also contained information about that group. Membership of each group was indicated by the statement that, "Your guesses tended to be too small. Most children in [Name of child's group] also tend to make guesses that are too small. [Name of child's group] are an [active/fun-loving] group of [girls/boys], who [enjoy listening to music together/watching DVDs together]." The descriptions were devised so as to encourage participants to identify with their group and participants were instructed to keep this information private.

Practice Items and Identification. Each child was then given a copy of the relevant gender-consistent questionnaire booklet. Instructions were then read to the children, who proceeded to work through the practice questions. Following this was a 2-item measure of participants' identification with their assigned group ('I feel close to others in my group'; 'I am glad to be in my group');

$r(66) = .558, p < .001$). Children were then asked to work through the rest of the booklet carefully and quietly. Participants were given approximately 30 minutes to complete the booklet. Some children were assisted in scenario and questionnaire reading, so as not to exclude those with reading difficulties.

Scenarios. Children read one of four scenarios. The scenarios provided information about the groups, about named members of the target's group, one named member of the perpetrator's group, and about an incident that could be construed as text-message bullying. Names of the scenario characters were chosen such that no child at the school went by them. Girls received a scenario about a walk home from school made by Melanie's group and Jenny's group. During this walk, Jenny, supported by other members of her group, sends an ostensibly negative text message ('U were rubbish in PE today, [Child's Name]) to a named member of Melanie's group. Boys received the same scenario, but with 'Melanie', and 'Jenny' replaced by 'John' and 'Pete',

The perpetrator's group norm was manipulated by varying information about the typical behaviour of the perpetrator group, such that in the kindness norm condition children read: '[Name of perpetrator]'s group. They were known for being kind to others'; whereas in the unkindness norm condition they read: '[Name of perpetrator]'s group. They were the cool group in the school, who liked to pick on others'. The scenario ended by making it clear that the target was upset. Scenario characters were always described as attending a school similar to the participants'.

Questionnaires. There were two versions of the questionnaire, one for the female scenario, and one for the male scenario. Most items took the form of

statements. Unless otherwise stated, children were asked to indicate their responses on 5-point scales, ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*).

The first set of items related to the behaviour described in the scenario, starting with manipulation check items relating to the named story characters' group affiliations (for example: 'Which group was [Perpetrator] a member of?') and asking respondents to report their own group membership. There was also a manipulation check concerning the group norm of the perpetrator's group: 'The perpetrator's group is *always* kind to other children'.

The final paragraph of the scenario, describing the bullying incident, was then repeated. Then came items calling for judgments of the behaviour, of the intentions of the characters, and whether the behaviour of the named bullying character and of the perpetrator's group could be classed as bullying (for example, '[Perpetrator] is bullying [Target]'). These included a 2-item scale measuring the nastiness the participant perceived in the behaviour:

'[Perpetrator] was mean to [Target],' and 'In the story, [Perpetrator] was kind to [Target]' (reverse scored), $r(60) = .472, p < .001$. The appraised legitimacy of the group's behaviour was also measured using a 2-item scale: '[Perpetrator's group's] behaviour towards [Target] was fair' and '[Perpetrator's group's] behaviour towards [Target] was OK', $r(66) = .52, p < .001$. Emotions (pride, shame, and anger) were measured on a 5-point response scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*). Three items assessed pride: 'I [feel proud about/admire/ respect] the way [Perpetrator]'s group behaved on the way home', $\alpha = .92$. Two items assessed shame: 'I feel [ashamed of/bad about] the

way [Perpetrator]'s group behave', $r(66) = .40, p = .001$. Two items assessed anger; 'I feel [angry/annoyed] about the text message sent to [Target]', $r(66) = .66, p < .001$).¹¹

Action tendencies were assessed by asking participants what they would have done had they been present when the incident took place. Items included tendencies to apologise ('I would say sorry to [Target]'); to avoid the perpetrator's group ('I would keep away from [Perpetrator] and his or her group'); to share pride in the incident ('I would tell my friends proudly about what [Perpetrator] and his/her friends did'); and to tell an adult ('I would go and tell an adult what happened'). The final section of the questionnaire asked participants to report their age and year group.

At the conclusion of the session, which lasted approximately 45 minutes, participants were debriefed about the research and the reasons for the deception concerning allocation to groups. Any questions that pupils had were addressed by the researchers, and pupils were reminded of positive strategies for dealing with any experiences of bullying. Participants were thanked and received a pencil for their participation, and each participating school received £50 in book vouchers.

Results

Data Screening. Prior to analysis, the data were screened for patterns in missing values, for outliers, and for violations of parametric data assumptions.

Three univariate outliers were excluded from the analyses of the variables in

¹¹ An attempt was made to assess group-based guilt. However, the items did not correlate strongly, or significantly, together $r(63) = -.13, p = .305$. This might be because one of the items tapped an appraisal indicative of guilt 'My group are to blame for the way [Perpetrator] and his/her group behaved on the way home', rather than the emotion. For these reasons, guilt was not further analysed.

question. Mean-centred scores were used for measured moderator variables (Aiken & West, 1991).

Comprehension Checks. Analyses indicated that 67 children passed the check asking 'Who sent the nasty text message to [Target]?', correctly identifying the sender of the message, and one child failed to do so. Sixty children passed the check asking 'Which group is [target] a member of?', correctly identifying which group the target belonged to, and eight children failed to do so. The children who failed these checks were removed from subsequent analyses.

Perpetrator's Group Norm Manipulation Check. A two-way (Perpetrator's Group Norm X Group Membership) ANOVA on the norm manipulation check revealed only a significant effect of perpetrator's group norm, $F(1, 63) = 35.50, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .360$. Those in the kindness norm condition perceived the perpetrator's group to be kinder than those in the unkindness norm condition ($M_s = 3.63$ and $2.00, SD_s = 1.05$ and 1.13 , respectively).

Appraisals of the Incident. Three-way (Perpetrator's Group Norm X Group Membership X Identification with Assigned Group) ANOVAs (with identification entered as a continuous variable) on appraisals of the nastiness and legitimacy of the behaviour of the perpetrator group revealed no significant effects. Mean levels of nastiness and legitimacy are reported in Table 6.1.

The pattern of correlations was largely as anticipated. The correlations between the emotion scales are of reasonable magnitude, but not sufficiently high to call into question the use of separate measures of these constructs.

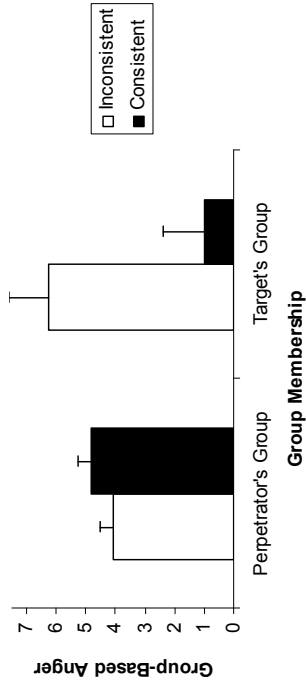
Table 6.1

Mean Scores, Standard Deviations and Correlations for Dependent Variables (below diagonal, Study 5a; above diagonal, Study 5b)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Mean Study 5a (SD Study 1)	3.91 (0.89)	4.21 (0.95)	1.71 (0.89)	1.71 (0.94)	3.56 (1.00)	4.08 (1.00)	2.37 (1.26)	3.98 (1.10)	4.37 (0.71)	4.02 (1.05)
Mean Study 5b (SD Study 2)	3.91 (0.73)	2.29 (1.04)	3.39 (1.04)	3.27 (1.11)	2.42 (1.09)	1.98 (1.13)	3.40 (1.26)	3.38 (1.37)	3.63 (1.41)	3.72 (1.31)
1. Identification with assigned group		-.206	-.024	-.061	.022	-.132	-.045	-.160	-.072	.006
2. Perceived Nastiness	.078		.654**	-.474**	.390*	.550**	-.502**	-.523**	.222	.212
3. Perceived Legitimacy	-.065	-.607**		.614**	-.499**	-.487**	-.318**	-.522**	-.263	-.270
4. Group-Based Pride	.027	.658**	.656**		-.618**	-.412	.656**	-.599**	-.126	-.355**
5. Group-based Shame	.148	-.429**	-.484**	-.535**		.251	-.393*	.426**	.172	.242
6. Group-Based Anger	.205	.499**	-.328**	-.445**	.342*		-.487**	.395*	.285*	.090
7. Affiliating with the perpetrator	-.141	-.227	.191	.322*	.279*	-.249		-.528**	-.133	-.110
8. Keeping away from the perpetrator	.150	-.554**	-.429**	.289	.218	.454**	-.404*		.441**	.359*
9. Apologizing to the target	.250	.016	-.188	-.267	.383*	.380**	.002	.133		.441**
10. Action against the perpetrator	.173	.251	.034	-.047	.161	.395**	-.079	.244	.444**	

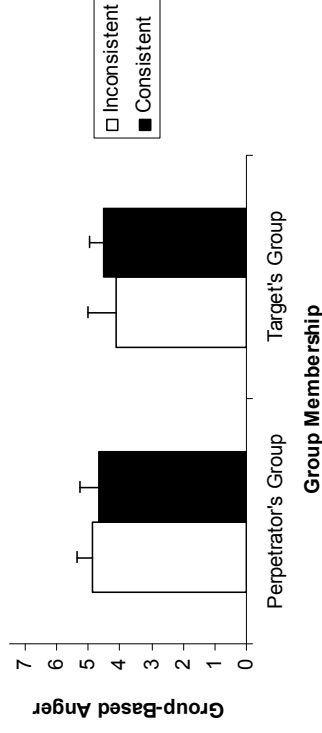
* $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.001$

Low Perceived Legitimacy, Low Identification



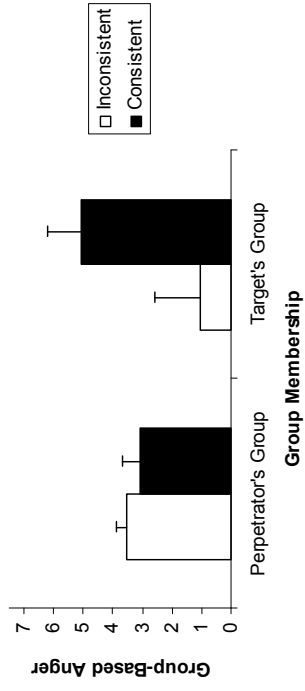
(a)

Low Perceived Legitimacy, High Identification



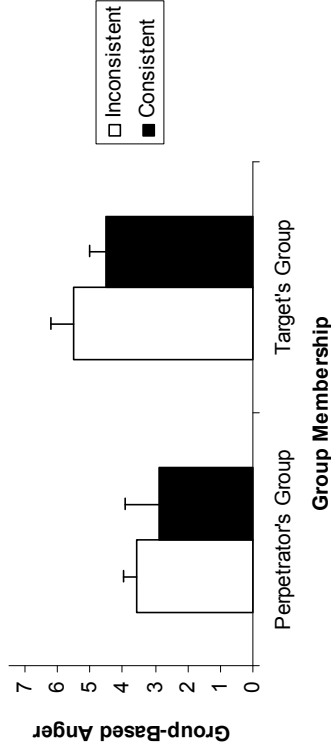
(b)

High Perceived Legitimacy, Low Identification



(c)

High Perceived Legitimacy, High Identification



(d)

Figure 6.1. Simple effects of the four-way interaction for group-based anger between group membership, norm consistency, perceived nastiness of behaviour of the perpetrator's group, and identification. The bars represent estimated means at specific levels of perceived nastiness and identification. (Study 5a). Error bars represent one standard error.

Group-Based Emotions. We hypothesised that group membership would affect the emotions children reported after reading the scenarios, and that this effect would be moderated by the norm of the perpetrator's group, by children's level of identification with their assigned group, and by their appraisals of the perceived nastiness of the behaviour of the perpetrator's group in the cases of pride, and shame, and by their appraisals of the legitimacy of the bullying incident, in the case of anger. To test this hypothesis, each emotion was submitted to a 2 (Group Membership: perpetrator's group or target's group,) X 2 (Perpetrator's Group Norm: kindness or unkindness) X Perceived Nastiness (measured) [or Legitimacy (measured)] X Identification with Assigned Group (measured) ANOVA. For illustrative purposes, simple effects are reported below at $+1 SD$ or $-1 SD$ about the mean of each continuous variable. Mean scores, standard deviations and correlations between each of the dependent variables in the ANOVAs are reported in Table 6.1.

Anger was the only measure for which significant effects were found. Several lower order effects were qualified by a four-way interaction between group membership, perpetrator's group norm, identification and legitimacy, $F(1, 44) = 5.88, p = .020, \eta^2_p = .118$. This interaction is depicted in Figure 6.1.

Further analysis showed that the three-way interaction between perpetrator's group norm, group membership and legitimacy was significant when identification was low ($M - 1 SD$), $F(1, 44) = 9.24, p = .004, \eta^2_p = .174$, but not when identification was high ($M + 1 SD$), $F < 1$. When identification was low ($M - 1 SD$), the two-way interaction between group membership and

perpetrator's group norm was significant at low, $F(1, 44) = 10.11, p = .003, \eta^2_p = .187$, and at high levels of legitimacy, $F(1, 44) = 4.60, p = .038, \eta^2_p = .095$

Simple effects analysis showed that the effect of *perpetrator's group norm* was significant when legitimacy and identification were low in the target's group, $F(1, 44) = 8.13, p = .007, \eta^2_p = .156$, but not in the perpetrator's group, $F = 1.94$. Anger was higher among target group members when the norm was one of kindness rather than unkindness ($M_s = 6.26$ and 0.98 , respectively). The simple effects at high levels of legitimacy and low identification were not significant, although the pattern of results (see Figure 6.1, panel c) indicated that, for those in the target group, when the behaviour was inconsistent with the perpetrator's group norm, anger was inhibited relative to when the behaviour was consistent with the perpetrator's group norm. In sum, anger was lower among low-identifying members of the target group who appraised the behaviour as illegitimate in the unkindness norm condition (where the behaviour was norm consistent), relative to the kindness norm.

Relations Between Group-Based Emotions and Action Tendencies.

The correlations between emotions and action tendencies are shown in Table 6.1. Owing to high correlations between the emotions, correlation rather than regression was used to determine the relation between emotions and action tendencies. As predicted, group-based pride was positively correlated with a tendency to affiliate with the perpetrator's group, $r(57) = .322, p = .028$; this tendency was not significantly associated with group-based shame, or anger. Contrary to our prediction, shame was not correlated with a tendency to keep away from the perpetrator's group. Instead, this tendency was positively

correlated with group-based anger, $r(57) = .454, p < .001$. Anger, as predicted, was significantly correlated with a tendency to tell an adult about what had happened, $r(57) = .395, p < .001$. No other emotion was associated with this tendency.

Discussion

We tested the hypothesis that group membership would affect the intensity of group-based emotions felt in relation to unkind intergroup behaviour, and that this effect would be moderated by identification with the group, the norms of the perpetrator's group, and perceptions of perceived nastiness (or legitimacy, in the case of anger) of the nasty behaviour. Consistent with this hypothesis, the findings show that the extent to which children identified with a peer group membership, together with the perceived legitimacy of the behaviour and the norm of the perpetrator's group affected how angry children were after reading the scenario.

The finding that anger was lower among low-identifying members of the target group who appraised the behaviour as illegitimate in the unkindness norm condition (where the behaviour was norm consistent), relative to the kindness norm, is likely to reflect their feelings towards a group who consistently behave this way, coupled with their low involvement in the group: they presumably regarded the bullying as nothing out of the ordinary, or worth getting angry about.

Anger, then, arose among target's group members unless they did not identify highly with their own group, and (a) perceived the act as illegitimate but the behaviour originated from an unkind group; or b) appraised the behaviour as

legitimate, and the behaviour originated from a kind group. In the latter case, there is no reason for anger (the behaviour is legitimate). In the former case, anger presumably does not arise because the children do not feel so attached to the group, and they are resigned to unkind behaviour from the perpetrator's group (so why bother getting angry).

Contrary to expectations and to previous research (e.g., Jones et al, 2009, and previous chapters in this thesis) there were no effects on group-based pride or shame. As in previous research (Jones et al., 2009, and previous chapters in this thesis), pride was correlated with wanting to affiliate with the perpetrator's group, and anger was associated with a tendency to take action to stop the bullying.

Study 5b

In Study 5b we used the same general methodology as in Study 5a, but this time in relation to a scenario in which a perpetrator, supported by his or her group, sends the target a text message that is ostensibly positive but could be seen as sarcastic and therefore intended to be nasty. Children were assigned to membership of the perpetrator's group or the target's group, and the norm of the perpetrator's group (to be either kind or unkind towards others) was manipulated as in the previous study. Responses to the scenario were measured in the same way as they were for Study 5a.

Method

Participants. Following approval from the School of Psychology's Ethics Committee, consent forms were sent to parents of Year 6 children (aged 10-11

years) in six schools, resulting in a sample of 72 children (26 male and 46 female) whose mean age was 10.98 years ($SD = 0.33$ years).

Materials and Procedure. The only difference from Study 5a was the scenario that children were asked to read. Children again read one of four scenarios. As in Study 5a, the scenarios provided information about the groups, about named members of the target's group, and about one named member of the perpetrator's group. As before, girls received a scenario about a walk home from school made by 'Melanie's group' and 'Jenny's group.' During this walk, Jenny, supported by other members of her group, sends a text message to a named member of Melanie's group. Boys received the same scenario, but with 'Melanie', and 'Jenny' replaced by 'John' and 'Pete.' This time, however, the text message was ostensibly positive (U were great in PE today, [Child's Name]).

Questionnaires. The questionnaire items were identical to those distributed in Study 5a. The items assessing identification correlated significantly, $r(69) = .320, p = .007$, as did those measuring appraised nastiness, $r(58) = .53, p < .001$; appraised legitimacy, $r(70) = .47, p < .001$; shame, $r(70) = .53, p < .001$; and anger, $r(70) = .63, p < .001$. The three items assessing pride formed a reliable scale, $\alpha = .810$.

Results

Data Screening. Data were screened for patterns in missing values, for outliers, and for violations of parametric data assumptions. One univariate outlier was identified for each dependent variable and was removed for the corresponding analyses. Mean-centred scores were used for measured moderator variables (Aiken & West, 1991).

Comprehension Checks. Seventy children correctly identified the sender of the message, while two children failed to do so. Sixty-six children correctly identified which group the target belonged to, and six children failed to do so. Children who failed these checks were removed from subsequent analyses.

Perpetrator's Group Norm Manipulation Check. A two-way (Perpetrator's Group Norm X Group Membership) ANOVA on the perpetrator's group norm manipulation check revealed only a significant effect of perpetrator's group norm, $F(1, 60) = 63.73, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .515$. Those in the kindness norm condition perceived the perpetrator's group to be kinder than those in the unkindness norm condition ($M_s = 3.93$ and $1.81, SD_s = 0.90$ and 1.17 , respectively).

Appraised Nastiness. A three-way (Perpetrator's Group Norm X Group Membership X Identification with Assigned Group) ANOVA (with identification entered as a continuous variable) on the appraised nastiness revealed only a significant effect of perpetrator's group norm, $F(1, 54) = 10.78, p = .002, \eta^2_p = .166$. Those in the unkindness norm condition perceived the behaviour of the perpetrator's group to be nastier than those in the kindness norm condition ($M_s = 3.63$ and $1.97, SD_s = 0.90$ and 1.08 , respectively).

Appraised Legitimacy. A three-way (Perpetrator's Group Norm X Group Membership x Identification with Assigned Group) ANOVA (with identification entered as a continuous variable) on appraised legitimacy revealed only a significant effect of perpetrator's group norm, $F(1, 55) = 11.80, p = .001, \eta^2_p = .177$. Those in the unkindness norm condition perceived the behaviour of the

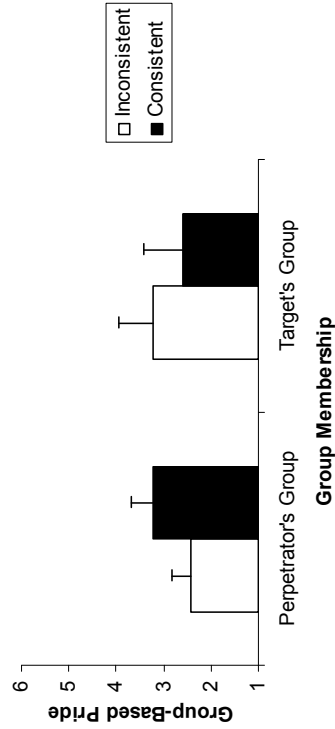
perpetrator's group to be less legitimate than those in the kindness norm condition ($M_s = 2.90$ and 3.80 , $SD_s = 0.98$ and 0.91 , respectively).

Group-Based Emotions. Each emotion was submitted to a 2 (Group Membership: perpetrator's group or target's group) X 2 (Perpetrator's Group Norm: kindness or unkindness) X Perceived Nastiness (measured) [or Legitimacy (measured)] x Identification with Assigned Group (measured) ANOVA. For illustrative purposes, simple effects are reported below at +1 *SD* or -1 *SD* about the mean of each continuous variable. Mean scores, standard deviations and correlations between each of the dependent variables in the ANOVAs are shown in Table 6.1 (p.159). The pattern of correlations is largely as anticipated. As in Study 5a, the correlations between emotion scales are not sufficiently high to call into question the use of separate scales to measure these constructs.

Pride. Analysis revealed a four-way interaction between perpetrator's group norm, group membership, perceived nastiness and identification, $F(1, 46) = 5.38$, $p = .025$, $\eta^2_p = .105$ on group-based pride. This interaction is illustrated in Figure 6.2.

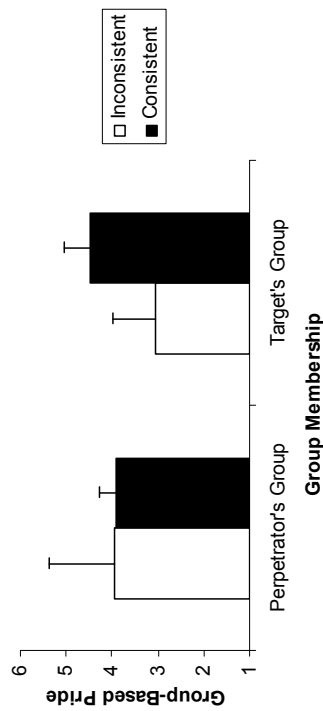
Further analysis showed that the three-way interaction between perpetrator's group norm, group membership and nastiness was significant at high, $F(1, 46) = 4.65$, $p = .036$, $\eta^2_p = .090$, but not at low levels of identification, $F < 1$. In turn, where identification was high, the two-way interaction between perpetrator's group norm and group membership was not significant at high nastiness or at low nastiness, $F < 1$.

High Perceived Nastiness, Low Identification



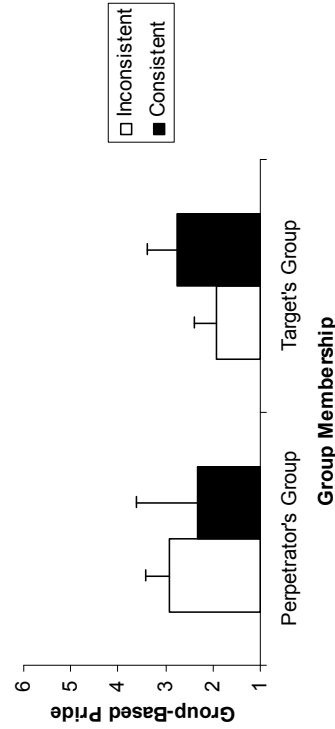
(a)

Low Perceived Nastiness, Low Identification



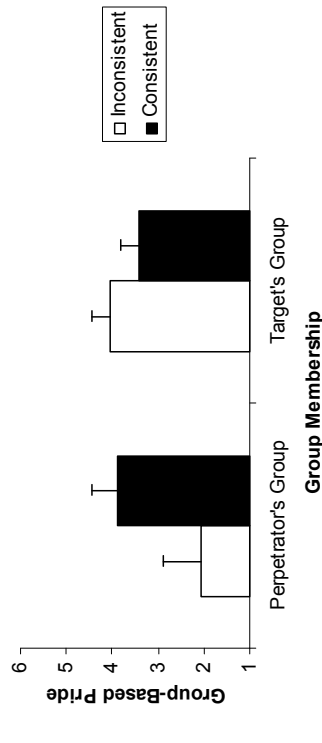
(b)

High Perceived Nastiness, High Identification



(c)

Low Perceived Nastiness, High Identification



(d)

Figure 6.2. Simple effects of the four-way interaction for group-based pride between group membership, norm consistency, perceived nastiness of the behaviour of the perpetrator's group, and identification. The bars represent estimated means at specific levels of perceived nastiness and identification (Study 5b). Error bars represent one standard error.

Nonetheless, simple effects analysis revealed a marginal effect of perpetrator's group norm in the perpetrator's group when identification was high and perceived nastiness was low, $F(1, 46) = 3.21, p = .080, \eta^2_p = .065$, reflecting the fact that those in the kindness norm condition tended to be more proud than were those in the unkindness norm condition, $M_s = 3.88$ and 2.05 , respectively.

Shame. A three-way interaction between group membership, identification, and perceived nastiness, $F(1, 46) = 4.70, p = .035, \eta^2_p = .093$ on group-based shame was qualified by a four-way interaction between group membership, group norm, identification and perceived nastiness, $F(1, 46) = 5.15, p = .028, \eta^2_p = .101$. This interaction is illustrated in Figure 6.3.

Further analysis showed that the three-way interaction between group membership, perpetrator's group norm and nastiness was not significant when identification was low ($M - 1$ SD), nor when it was high ($M + 1$ SD), $F < 1$.

Nonetheless, simple effects analysis showed that when identification was high and perceived nastiness was low there was a significant effect of perpetrator's group norm among perpetrator group members, $F(1, 46) = 8.27, p = .006, \eta^2_p = .152$. Shame was higher in the unkindness ($M = 4.80$) than in the kindness ($M = 1.86$) norm condition.

Anger. There were no significant effects for group-based anger.

In sum then, regarding group-based emotions, when behaviour was positively-evaluated, it elicited greater pride among those who were highly identified with their group, when that behaviour was norm consistent; by

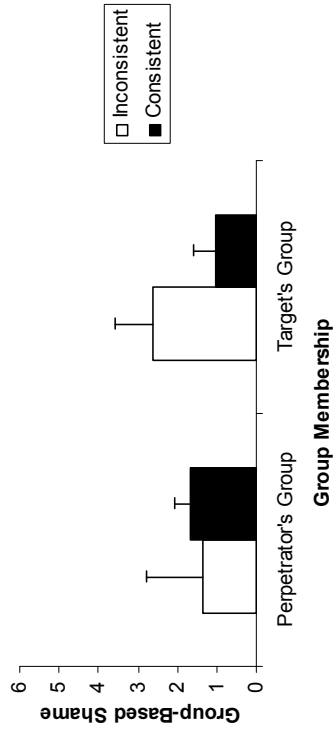
contrast, their high-identifying counterparts who also appraised the same behaviour as 'nice' reported less pride when that behaviour was norm-inconsistent (ambiguous). Regarding group-based shame, high-identifying children in the perpetrator's group, who saw the behaviour as low in nastiness, reported more shame when their ingroup was normatively unkind than when it was normatively kind.

Relations Between Group-Based Emotions and Action Tendencies. The correlations between emotions and action tendencies are reported in the upper half of Table 6.1. Pride was positively correlated with the tendency to affiliate with the perpetrator's group, $r(63) = .656, p < .001$. Shame was positively correlated with the tendency to keep away from the perpetrator's group, $r(62) = .426, p < .001$. However, anger was not significantly correlated with the tendency to tell an adult about what had happened.

Discussion

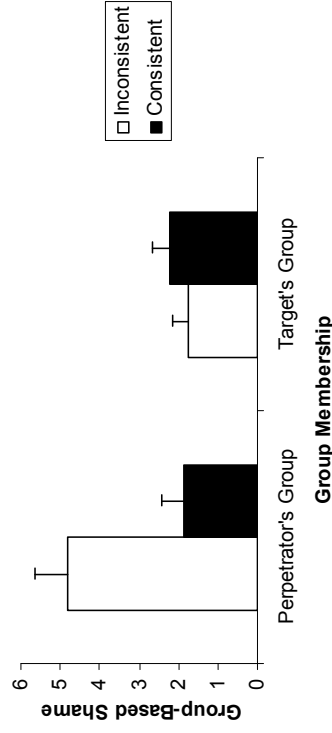
We examined how children's emotional reactions to ostensibly positive intergroup behaviour varied as a function of group membership, perpetrator's group norm, and perceptions of the nastiness of this behaviour (given the potential ambiguity of the message in the unkindness norm condition). Specifically, we tested the hypothesis that the perpetrator's group norm would affect the intensity of emotions felt in relation to the behaviour, and that this effect would be moderated by group membership, identification with the group, and appraisals of the nastiness (or legitimacy, in the case of anger) of the behaviour. The findings show that the extent to which children identified with a

Low Perceived Nastiness, Low Identification



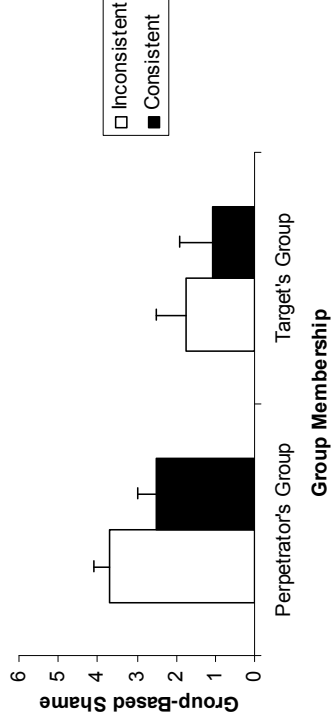
(a)

Low Perceived Nastiness, High Identification



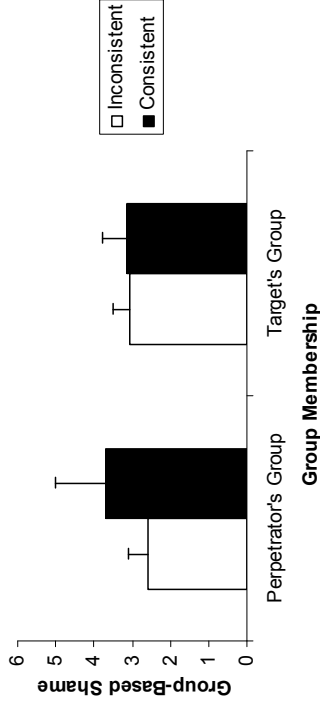
(c)

High Perceived Nastiness, Low Identification



(b)

High Perceived Nastiness, High Identification



(d)

Figure 6.3. Simple effects of the four-way interaction for group-based shame between group membership, norm consistency, perceived nastiness of the behaviour of the perpetrator's group, and identification. The bars represent estimated means at specific levels of perceived nastiness and identification. Error bars represent one standard error

peer group membership, in combination with the perpetrator group's norm and how the behaviour was appraised did affect their responses to the behaviour.

Perpetrator's Group Members. The four factors interacted to determine levels of group-based pride. This effect was driven by individuals in the perpetrator's group who identified highly with their group, believed the group to be normatively kind, and saw the behaviour as low in nastiness. These children were prouder of the behaviour than were their counterparts who believed their group to be normatively unkind. Thus positively-evaluated behaviour elicited greater pride among those who were highly identified with their group when it was norm consistent; by contrast, their high-identifying counterparts who also appraised the same behaviour as 'nice' reported less pride when it was norm-inconsistent (ambiguous).

These findings were mirrored when it came to group-based shame. Here, high-identifying children in the perpetrator's group, who saw the behaviour as low in nastiness, reported more shame when their ingroup was normatively unkind than when it was normatively kind. Thus, ostensibly positive behaviour elicited shame among high identifiers when it was appraised as positive and therefore as inconsistent with the group's negative norm. These findings are in line with reputation management theory (RMT; Emler & Reicher, 1995, 2005), in that a positive behaviour that was evaluated as relatively benign was a source of shame for children belonging to a group that was normatively unkind to other children.

Target's Group Members. None of the examined simple effects reported for Study 5b were driven by differences among target's group members. The fact that there were no effects at all for anger is probably due to the ostensibly positive nature of the behaviour. Even where the perpetrating group has an unkind norm, the nature of the behaviour makes it difficult to interpret as straightforwardly negative. Research with adults has shown that when an event is ambiguous, anger responses are inhibited (e.g., de Lemus, Spears, & Moya, 2009). This is reflected in the low overall level of anger in this study *vis-à-vis* Study 5a ($M_s = 1.98$ and 4.08 respectively). Where the behaviour is ambiguous, anger is inhibited; where the behaviour is seen as kind, anger is unwarranted.

The action tendency findings also reflect the ambiguous nature of the interaction between the two groups. Although pride was correlated (as in Study 5a) with wanting to affiliate with the perpetrator's group, and shame with staying away from them, there were no significant associations between emotions and more 'active' action tendencies, such as apologizing to the target, or stopping the 'bullying' behaviour. This is likely to be because 'active' actions would speak louder than more passive actions such as staying away or drawing near to a group. That is to say, apologizing or telling an adult confirms a construal of the events as negative. As the act here is ostensibly positive, one cannot be sure that other children would share that construal, leading to reticence in apologizing and denouncing the behaviour. This interpretation is expanded upon in the discussion below.

General Discussion

Previous research (Jones et al., 2009, and studies in this thesis) has demonstrated that the extent to which children identify with a group membership, in combination with the group's norm, and the extent to which a bullying incident is seen as nasty (or illegitimate) affect their group-based emotional responding to that incident. However, such past research has not explicitly considered less clear-cut forms of behaviour, ones that could be perceived negatively or positively, depending on the normative context. Here, we addressed this shortcoming by looking first at an ostensibly negative bullying incident and then at an ostensibly positive intergroup interaction. In both cases we found that children's perceptions of the nastiness of the event, in interaction with the degree to which the event was norm consistent, affected their group-based emotional responses to the intergroup interaction to some extent.

Group-based pride was only affected by norm consistency where the behaviour was ostensibly positive (Study 5b). Here, higher pride was expressed by perpetrator's group members in the kindness norm who identified highly with their group when the behaviour was seen as norm consistent (low in nastiness). In contrast, perpetrator's group members in the unkindness norm who identified highly with their group and believed the behaviour to be inconsistent with group norms (low in nastiness) expressed higher shame. Shame was relatively high for perpetrator's group members across norm conditions when the behaviour was ostensibly negative. As in previous research, reports of group-based anger (in Study 5a) differed among target's group members (who felt especially angry about norm inconsistent nasty behaviour).

The lack of differences in expression of group-based anger in Study 5b is likely to be due to the ambiguous nature of the act. For example, in de Lemus et al.'s (2009) research, when hostile sexism was accompanied with a smile, anger at the sexism was inhibited. An alternative explanation for the null findings regarding anger is that there was not enough power in the design, to enable the four-way interaction to be detected as it was in Study 5a. To test this alternative, we conducted a post hoc power analysis with the program *G*Power* (see Erdfelder, et al., 1996). The power to detect the four-way interaction of the size present in Study 5a ($\eta^2_p = .114$) was determined to be 0.85, critical $F(1, 46) = 4.01$; observed $F(1, 46) = 0.20$, $p = .661$. Thus the lack of four-way interaction on anger in Study 5b was not due to a lack of power in the design. Conversely, it is also worth noting that the lack of effects on shame and pride in Study 5a, was also not due to a lack of power in the design. Here, post-hoc power analysis showed that the power to detect a four-way interaction was 0.83, critical $F(1, 41) = 4.03$.

Thus, the effects of certain forms of ostensibly 'positive' behaviour, like benevolent sexism, might be insidious because they inhibit reactions – such as anger – that can prompt the target to address any negative intent on the part of the actor. Moreover, the absence of a correlation between anger and telling a teacher in Study 5b suggests that this inhibition is two-pronged. Not only were *mean* levels of anger reduced, but the extent to which anger translated into proactive resistance was diluted too. In other words, ambiguous behaviour also makes it harder to *act upon* anger that one feels. The consequences of this are also potentially negative. If targets are less likely to react angrily to ambiguous

forms of bullying, they may later find themselves on the receiving end of nastier forms of attack. Whitney and P.K. Smith (1993) found that some episodes of bullying had continued for over two years, while the targets of bullying researched by Gamliel, Hoover, Daughtry and Imbra (2003) in a series of case studies, reported how bullying got more severe with time. It is possible then, that the ambiguity of initial incidents prevents targets from appreciating what is happening; by the time they do so, it is much more difficult to resist behaviour that has become increasingly normative for both perpetrators and target alike.

Consistent with this analysis, Garandeau, and Cillessen (2006) have suggested that bullying might originate in ambiguous comments made about a target; if peers focus on the negative component of such comments, they may view the target more negatively, thereby legitimizing subsequent bullying. This kind of process may also apply to bystanders who witness ambiguous behaviour and who do not intervene to stop it because it does not meet their definition of what constitutes bullying. Even if the event does make one feel angry on behalf of the victim, it may still be difficult to enlist the help of others – including teachers – because they may not necessarily share one’s own interpretation of the event. Consistent with this view, Boulton (1997) found that teachers readily saw verbal or physical threats as bullying, but were reluctant to identify ostracism (a more passive and ambiguously negative behaviour) as bullying. Similarly, Bauman and Del Rio (2006) found that trainee teachers would punish relational bullying less severely than more overt (verbal or physical) forms of bullying. It is also worth bearing in mind that any failure to intervene may be retrospectively justified by invoking negative attributes of the target, in an effort to reduce cognitive

dissonance. The ambiguity of negative interpersonal or intergroup behaviour may play an important role in the development of bullying. If the behaviour is ambiguous at the outset, and as a consequence escapes negative sanction, it may escalate over time.

The present studies demonstrate the importance to children of *peer group norms* as a reference point for judging *potentially* negative behaviour, including bullying. An ostensibly positive behaviour perpetrated by a normatively unkind group elicited relatively high levels of group-based shame and relatively low levels of group-based pride among perpetrator's group members, presumably because it was inconsistent with the group's norms. Furthermore, this ostensibly positive behaviour was appraised as nastier and less fair when it was perpetrated by a normatively unkind rather than a normatively kind group. This suggests two avenues for future research. Research could examine the extent to which children use peer group norms in their evaluations of different behaviours, and how behaviours in turn shape perceptions of group norms. How aware are children of norms within their peer group? How explicitly are these norms shared with others? What are the consequences for normative and counter-normative behaviour? And do these consequences differ depending on whether you are a typical or peripheral group member?

Chapter 2 argued that groups and social identities are as much part of the solution to bullying as they are part of the problem. As in that study, we found that when bullying was ostensibly negative, children were more likely to feel group-based anger about a bullying incident to the extent that they saw themselves as sharing a group membership with the target. This finding suggests

that children can work together to surmount bullying because, as in Chapter 2, group-based anger was associated with a tendency to stop this behaviour, and to support and befriend the target. This was not the case, however, when the intergroup behaviour was ostensibly positive. Here, there was no association between reporting group-based anger and tendency to stop the bullying; rather, group-based anger was associated with the tendency to apologize to the target and to keep away from the perpetrator's group, both of which represent more individualistic strategies. A possible focus for intervention would be to encourage children who appraise behaviours in negative terms (due to their ambiguous nature *vis-à-vis* group norms) to share these appraisals with fellow group members, in order to mobilize the group to act against it.

Conclusions

Whether the behaviour of a group member is regarded as consistent or inconsistent with the norms of that group shapes children's responses to group-relevant behaviour. We demonstrated that the likelihood that group members condone or reject the bullying depends on the norms of the perpetrating group and how these norms relate to the behaviour. Group behaviour appraised as norm-consistent induced more pride and less shame. However, anger and associated tendencies to stop the behaviour and make reparations for it were only reported when the behaviour was ostensibly negative, and enacted by an unkind group. These findings suggest that children are sensitive to the normative reputation of a group when evaluating a group's ostensibly positive behaviour, but even when they interpret it negatively they are less inclined to act as a group to resist it, in contrast to children who are confronted by ostensibly negative

behaviour. Helping children to identify and take a stand against more insidious forms of bullying is a possible way to strengthen anti-bullying interventions.

Ganging Up or Sticking Together Revisited:

Teachers' Qualitative Reports of School Bullying

Chapter Overview

Research on bullying – including that reported in this thesis – has confirmed that social identity processes and group-based emotions are pertinent to children's responses to bullying. However, such research has been done largely with child participants, has been quantitative in nature, and has often relied on scenarios, rather than actual bullying. The present chapter departs from this methodology by examining group processes in qualitative reports of bullying provided by teachers. Thirty-nine teachers completed an internet-based survey about a bullying incident at a school where they worked. Thematic analysis of survey responses revealed three core themes in the reports: (a) children ganging up on another child; (b) children sticking together; and (c) promoting a shared understanding of bullying. Thus there was evidence that teachers understand bullying to be a group phenomenon, and that it is responded to in schools at the group-level. However, there was little evidence that teachers understood the group processes that precede bullying, such as peer group normative influence, or affective responses to witnessing or perpetrating bullying (as opposed to being the target of bullying). The implications of these findings for anti-bullying interventions are discussed.

Bullying as a Group Phenomenon

Since the publication of Atlas and Pepler's (1998) observational study, which revealed that peers were present in 85% of all bullying episodes on a school playground, a burgeoning research literature has confirmed that it is helpful to regard bullying as a group process. For example, Espelage, Holt, and Henkel (2003) used peer nomination techniques (for a review see Hymel, Vaillancourt, McDougall, & Renshaw, 2002) to identify peer groups of middle school children, and followed them longitudinally for a year. They found that members of peer groups that engaged in bullying increased their own bullying behaviours over time.

Additionally, using peer nomination techniques as part of the participant-role approach, it has been shown that peers may form groups that work collectively to resist bullying: Sainio, Veenstra, Huising, and Salmivalli (2011) found that targets who had one or more classmates defending them when they were bullied were less anxious, less depressed, and had higher self-esteem than undefended targets, even when the frequency of the bullying incidents was taken into account. In line with the above research findings, in recent years the *zeitgeist* in terms of responses to bullying in schools has changed from a focus at the level of the individual to interventions focused at the school level (for a review of group-level interventions, see Horne et al., 2007).

A Social Identity Account of Bullying

In addition to the use of observational and peer nomination techniques to explore the group nature of school bullying, and as seen in Chapter 1, other empirical work has sought to understand the processes that underpin group bullying. One body of work has used social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & J. Turner,

1979) as a means of understanding why children might work in groups to (a) bully, and (b) overcome bullying. This theory proposes that a person's group memberships are an important part of their identity and, as a consequence, group members will try to enhance their own self-esteem by seeking to maintain a positive image of their group. The more strongly one identifies with a given group membership, the more likely one is to act on behalf of the (positive image of) the group. The group image is epitomised by a set of group norms to which its members are expected to adhere (Turner, 1999). As such, group members are likely to be rewarded for adherence to group norms, or rejected by the group when they fail to adhere to them (Morrison, 2006).

Building on this, it was hypothesized (e.g., Jones et al., 2008; Nesdale, 2007) that bullying might be a set of behaviours that is motivated by social identity processes, including levels of ingroup identification, and adherence to group norms. In line with this hypothesis, a number of studies have indicated the role of social identity processes in maintaining bullying. These studies have been mainly conducted using the minimal group paradigm (Tajfel et al., 1971), in which children are assigned to a group at random (but ostensibly on the basis of some activity, such as a dot-estimation task) and their responses to hypothetical intergroup events are recorded (see Dunham, Baron & Carey, in press, for a review of minimal group research with children). Ojala and Nesdale (2004) demonstrated that children understand the need for group members to behave normatively, even if this involves bullying. They gave children scenarios to read, and found that children understood that story characters who engaged in bullying would be rejected by a group with an anti-bullying norm, but accepted by a group with a pro-bullying norm. Evidence

from Jones et al. (2008), using the minimal group paradigm, showed that children encouraged to identify with a perpetrating group in a scenario concluded that one bullying child from that group was deserving of punishment for a bullying incident, whereas third party group members concluded that the whole of the perpetrating group was punishable. Furthermore, Nesdale et al., (2008) showed, in a minimal group study, that children's intentions to engage in bullying were greater when they were assigned to a group that had a norm of outgroup-disliking, rather than a norm for outgroup-liking. Thus, social identity processes might account for children's responses to bullying, in terms of a need to maintain a positive ingroup image, and to adhere to ingroup norms.

Teachers' Awareness of Group Processes in Bullying

Despite research showing that group processes might be involved in bullying, little research effort has been spent examining teachers' awareness of processes underlying bullying (Nesdale & Pickering, 2006). This lack of research attention is problematic in light of the finding from a study by Whitney and P.K. Smith (1993), which found that less than half of teachers intervened when a pupil was being bullied. This is despite the fact that it is a recommended government policy for children to be actively encouraged to talk to adults about bullying, to see that it is stopped (Department for Children, Schools and Families, 2007). More worryingly, teacher intervention in bullying decreases in likelihood as pupils get older (O'Moore, Kirkham, & M. Smith, 1998), and incidences of bullying increase with age (Horne et al., 2007). It is possible that this lack of intervention is because teachers fail to recognize the signs that bullying is taking place until a pupil or parent reports the behaviour to them directly. This, in turn, may be due to a lack of understanding by

teachers of the nature of bullying. Given this, and that empirical research shows that social identity processes are relevant to bullying, it seems timely to explore whether teachers' narratives about bullying include mention of the role of groups, and whether teachers' choice of intervention strategies address the group dynamics of bullying.

Study 6

We sought to examine teachers' accounts of school bullying, with a particular focus on the way in which bullying involving more than two children was described. Owing to the paucity of previous research on teachers' perceptions of bullying, this study was exploratory in nature. We used qualitative research methods as a means to explore the way in which teachers represented bullying episodes among pupils, and as a way of investigating the content of the bullying episodes and the approaches that were used to deal with them. Qualitative research methods thus enabled us to consider a *range* of bullying episodes in order to determine whether there was any evidence that the processes that were investigated in other empirical chapters in this thesis were echoed in teachers' reports of school bullying.

Accordingly, teachers were invited to complete an internet-based survey of their experiences of children's bullying at a school where they had worked. Through a series of open-ended questions, they were asked to recall the details of a bullying incident. They were asked questions about (a) the reporting of the bullying incident, (b) the nature of the bullying, (c) the extent to which children involved in the bullying were familiar to each other, and (d) the response of the school to the bullying incident. There were also closed-response questions about

the age of the children involved, the sex of the teacher, school type, school and class size, and about whether the school had an anti-bullying policy.

Methods

Data Collection and Participants

Following ethical approval, teachers were invited to take part in an online survey (hosted by Survey Monkey). To encourage participation, links to the survey were hosted on anti-bullying sites, social networking sites, and on discussion forums aimed at teachers. One hundred and fifty-six participants responded to the questionnaire. Responses from 39 teachers (25% of the total number of respondents) were sufficiently complete (i.e., had answered, in a meaningful way, at least one open-ended question concerning the bullying incident) to be usable in analyses. Of these, 24 were female and 12 were male (three unspecified). Ten teachers taught at primary schools, 24 at secondary schools (5 unknown). All teachers taught at state schools; 35 teachers were based in the United Kingdom, with the remaining four based outside the United Kingdom. With one exception (response: 'don't remember'), all teachers said that there was an anti-bullying policy in place at the school at which the bullying incident occurred.

Children and Schools

Participants provided data concerning the children involved in the bullying incident and the schools in which these incidents took place.

Age of Children. The number of children in each age group who were represented in a bullying incident is shown in Figure 7.1.

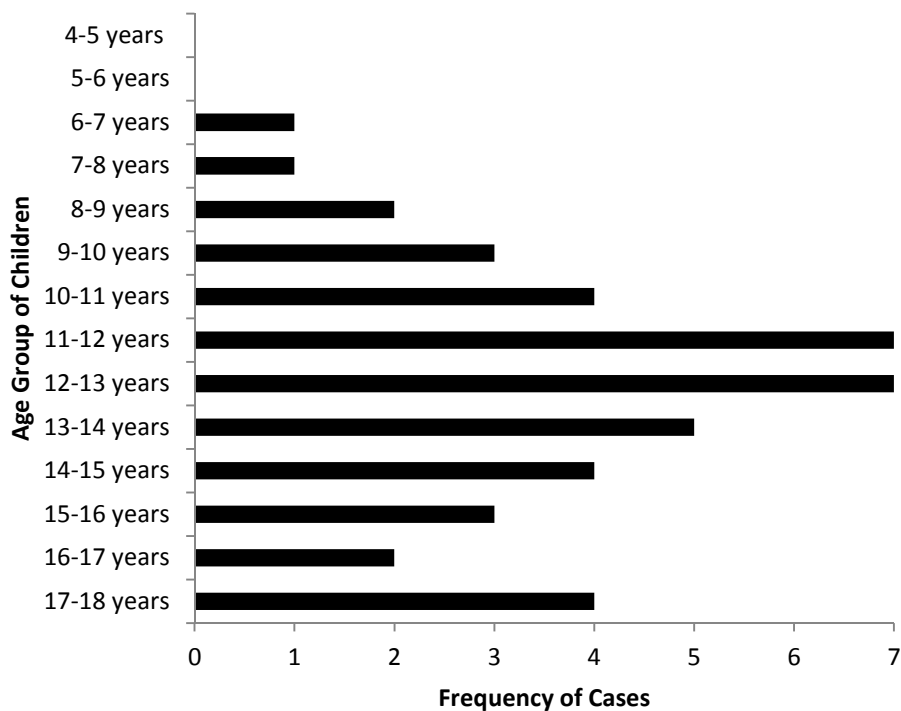


Figure 7.1.¹² The number of bullying incidents reported by participants as a function of age group.

As may be seen from Figure 7.1, bullying incidents were most frequently reported among 11-13 year-olds, and were not reported among 4-6 year-olds.

Size. Details of school and class sizes are shown in Figure 7.2. The modal school size was over 1000 pupils ($N = 11$), while the modal class size was 20-29 pupils ($N = 16$). Bullying incidents were most frequently reported in this sample in schools with over 1000 pupils where the class size was between 20-29 pupils.

¹² Total N is greater than 39, because six of the bullying incidents reported involved more than one age group.

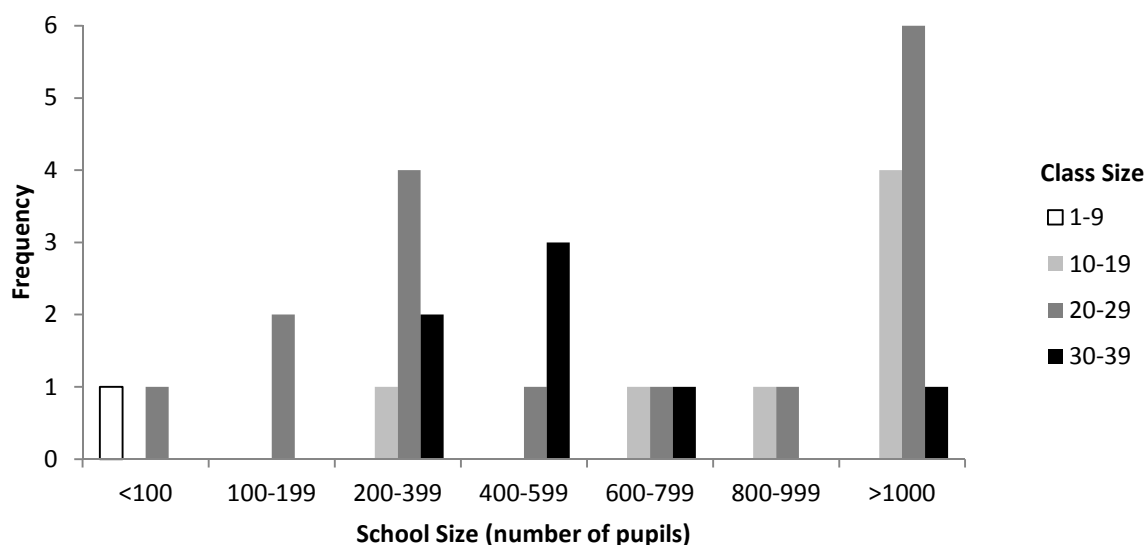


Figure 7.2.¹³ The number of bullying incidents reported by participants as a function of class size and school size.

Questionnaire Items

Questionnaire items concerned the details of a bullying incident that had occurred at a school in which they had worked. Four open-response questions asked for details about (1) the reporting of the bullying incident, (2) the nature of the bullying, (3) the extent to which children involved in the bullying were familiar to each other, and (4) the response of the school to the bullying incident. Following this were closed questions about the age of the children involved, sex of the teacher, school type, school and class size, and about whether the school had an anti-bullying policy.

Data Analysis Strategy

All usable data from open-response items were transferred to NVivo, and then submitted to a thematic analysis. Two themes used to inform the analysis

¹³ Total *N* is less than 39, due to missing data.

were guided by the research previously reported in this thesis: 1) children ganging up on another child, and (2) children sticking together. The third theme around which the data were organized emerged from the data: (3) the need for a shared *post-hoc* understanding of the bullying incident among perpetrators, targets, parents, and teaching staff.

The analysis first involved organizing the data into categories according to the number of perpetrators involved. Of the 39 incidents reported, four involved only two children (one perpetrator and one target) and 35 cases involved more than one perpetrator. Because this thesis focuses on group processes in bullying, subsequent analyses concentrated on the latter 35 cases. Data from these cases were coded under descriptive categories, such as “school journey” or “cyberbullying” in order to reduce the data to analyzable form (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). Extracts from the data were coded for each category to ensure that later abstractions would ‘fit’ the data (Straus & Corbin, 1998). These descriptive categories were then arranged around the three primary themes, reflecting the nature of the bullying and the processes involved in understanding and dealing with a bullying incident, as indicated in the teachers’ reports. Illustrative extracts of each primary theme are reported below.

Results

Primary Themes

The following primary themes were examined in analysis of the teachers’ reports: (1) children ganging up on another child, (2) children sticking together, and (3) the need for a shared *post-hoc* understanding of the bullying incident among perpetrators, targets, parents, and teaching staff. These are outlined in

more detail below, along with illustrative extracts. In parentheses immediately following each extract is the participant number, participant sex, and the age of the children involved in the bullying.

Ganging up. Particularly common in teachers' accounts of bullying involving more than one perpetrator was the way in which children were seen as 'ganging up' on their target. This theme could be divided into three sub-themes; multiplicity of (a) perpetrators, (b) methods, and (c) places. The first subtheme concerned the multiplicity of the *perpetrators* doing the bullying:

I discovered that a group of girls in my class were bullying one particular child ... there were about 7 or 8 involved altogether (P30, Female, 10-11 years).

A Year 8 boy [was] repeatedly called homophobic names by a number of class peers (P22, Female, 12-13 years).

The [bullying] group involved two girls and four boys (P4, Male, 12-14 years).

The majority of the bullying occurred between perpetrators and a target who were members of the same class group, and who were sometimes described as close friends before the bullying started, but who would then gang up on a target:

they appeared to be good friends at the start of the year and sat next to each other in class. They certainly had several classes together (P 25, Female, 11-12 years).

bullying between girls that had been friends ... the main three girls had been close friends (P2, Female, 15-16 years).

same class, close friends (P3, Female, 11-12 years)

the target student had previously been good friends with the bullies ... children involved were in some of the same classes (P8, Female, 17-18 years).

same class ... child being bullied was friends with those showing bullying behaviour (P14, Male, 9-11 years).

Ganging up was also apparent in the multiplicity of *methods* (the second sub-theme) that were used to bully the target according to many reports,:

name-calling, nasty comments, bringing student to tears, getting others to ignore student, hiding student's possessions (P28, Male, 13-14 years).

the bullying was mostly gossiping, rumour-spreading and withdrawing friendships (also encouraging others to withdraw friendships) (P2, Female, 15-16 years).

bullying included name-calling, throwing small objects [and] trying to split up friendship groups (P19, Unknown, 11-13 years).

Among the reports, it was rare for one 'type' of bullying to be administered to a target. Also prevalent was that bullying occurred not just at school, but in multiple *places* (the third sub-theme):

bullying began in school and then moved to outside school and through e-mail and IM [instant messaging] (P29, Female, 12-14 years).

Bullying spilled over into extra-curricular activities (P14, Male, 9-11 years).

The bullying took place mostly at home but intimidation followed in school (P31, Unknown, 17-18 years).

This happened in school and continued out of school (P32, Female, 12-13 years).

The effects of 'ganging up' were seen in the emotional experiences of the targets, as reported by the teachers:

the target had been devastated by the bullying (P4, Male, 12-14 years).

They [parents] said he was very distressed and did not want to return to class as he was too afraid (P5, Female, 15-16 years).

Name calling (about appearance)...is what upset the girl (P10, Male, 11-12 years).

Thus, bullying is construed as a set of activities whereby a group of children 'gang up' on another child, as illustrated by the multiplicity of the perpetrators involved, the acts that take place, the spaces they take place in, and the way in which children can turn upon former friends, with negative emotional reactions sometimes directly induced by the perpetrators, and often evident in the targets' responses.

Sticking together. In parallel with 'ganging up' on the part of the perpetrators, in the majority of cases, children who found themselves to be the target of bullying were supported by their peers. Peers often showed solidarity with the target, independently of support of adults, in reporting the bullying to a teacher:

Children (friends of the bullied) approached me and told me about what had happened, giving me names of the bullies, also of other children who could corroborate their story. [T]hey had not approached any other teachers or informed their parents (P19, Unknown, 11-13 years).

a child reported the bullying – a friend of the child reported it (P3, Female, 11-12 years).

his friend (not the target) reported to me an incident of verbal and physical bullying of the pupil (P17, Female, 13-14 years).

Five of the boy's friends were all supportive of the bullying claims and spoke to the teacher about it (P26, Female, 14-15 years).

Peers also encouraged targets to report bullying for themselves, because they saw the bullying behaviour as illegitimate:

she was supported by a small number of peers who had encouraged her to complain and felt her treatment was unfair (P10, Male, 11-12 years).

In one case alternative friendship groups were effective in dissipating negative effects of bullying:

[he] found a different friendship group that seemed to be more effective than the school intervention (P20, Male, 11-12 years).

There is evidence, then, that some children who are aware of bullying going on in their class appraise the situation as unfair, and work together as a group to 'stick by' the target in order to overcome the bullying.

Shared understanding. Prevalent in teachers' reports was a desire to resolve the situation, once it had come to their attention that the situation was serious, as indicated in one teacher's frustration:

It is hard to work out if it's kids being kids and it's a one-off or if it is ongoing and more serious (P25, Female, 11-12 years).

Developing a shared understanding between children and staff concerning what is going on was important. For one teacher, this took the form of role play, where former perpetrators took the role of the target:

in the role play this leader [of the perpetrators] played the part of the target and was roughly handled by other members of the group, both physically and mentally (P4, Male, 12-14 years).

The aim of such role play and group discussions was often said to be developing empathy on the part of the perpetrators, so that they would understand the effect they were having:

the perpetrators (particularly the leader) came to realize the effect the bullying was having on the target ... helping them to understand the effects of their words and actions, their attitude changed and the bullying stopped (P4, Male, 12-14 years).

Bullies were talked to, not blamed, but asked to contemplate their actions and how they would feel if they were the targets (P14, Male, 9-11 years).

As well as focusing on the understanding of the perpetrators concerning their actions, teachers were keen to ensure that classes and indeed schools understood as a group that bullying is unacceptable. This was sometimes effected through reinforcing school policy rules concerning bullying:

students were reminded through the tutor group system that the college has zero tolerance for bullying (P1, Male, 17-18 years).

In all the tutor groups we reminded students about the College's zero tolerance policy towards bullying (P9, Female, 16 -17 years).

Other teachers engaged children in whole class/school activities aimed at tackling bullying:

In this instance I spoke to the whole class as well as the girls involved. I also did my next class assembly on bullying so that it was kept in the forefront of their minds (P30, Female, 10-11 years).

The matter was discussed in the class with the children (P6, Female, 8-10 years)

Whole year group received a number of anti-homophobia forum theatre and in-class support resources (P22, Female, 12 -13 years).

There was a whole Year 7 assembly on cyberbullying and how it was easy for comments to have an effect. There was also a PSE [Personal and Social Education] session on cyberbullying that linked in with this (P25, Female, 11-12 years).

Some teachers implemented interventions that also involved school pupils' parents in understanding the bullying, both in terms of enforcing the norms surrounding the bullying:

We then did a lot of work on cyberbullying, we had meetings for parents where they got taught about cyberbullying and ... a letter also went home to all parents to say that this type of bullying would not be tolerated (P21, Female, 10-11 years).

The perpetrators' parents were informed (P20, Male, 11-12 years).

and in supporting punishment :

Parents of bullies seen and [their] support gained (P22, Female, 12-13 years).

Once we realized that the allegations were true we involved parents of the children involved (P30, Female, 10-11 years).

It was also interesting to note that when, in addition to other interventions, punishments were administered to children perpetrating the bullying, this could involve exclusion from the class or the school:

A senior member of staff spoke to all involved ... and simply excluded them from the college (P1, Male, 16-17 years).

Some were given ... time in an isolation unit [internal exclusion] (P2, Female, 15-16 years).

One bully had three days' exclusion and is not allowed in [the] same form as [the] bullied pupil (P17, Female, 13-14 years).

His father was called in immediately and the child was excluded from school for a week (P21, Female, 10-11 years).

Thus, there was a drive among teachers to reach a common understanding among children, themselves and, in some cases, parents regarding the bullying. Reference was made to the school rules in this process, and those who had broken the rules were sometimes excluded from the school. In sum, a largely group-level response to the bullying emerged.

Discussion

The vast majority of cases that were reported by teachers for this research involved more than a two-person perpetrator-target dyad. The data presented above provided a different perspective on the ways in which social identity processes might be relevant to the problem of school bullying than that provided by previous experimental work in this thesis. Specifically, it emerged that from the teachers' perspective, bullying in groups has a substantial intragroup dynamic, with bullying sometimes occurring among former friends. This bullying took multiple forms, and happened in multiple spaces. Despite this, there was evidence that children work together in groups to overcome bullying. In terms of dealing with bullying, it was apparent that teachers' reactions also appealed to some of the group-level processes – such as setting and maintaining anti-bullying norms – emphasised throughout this thesis.

Bullying Within Groups

A novel insight for research looking at social identity processes in bullying is that bullying occurs between children who were former friends. Situations were described by teachers whereby two or more children would target someone who was previously perceived to be part of their friendship group. Notwithstanding possible misconceptions by teachers regarding friendship groups, this finding is consistent with recent research by Mishna, Wiener, and Pepler (2008), whose interview data showed that children were sometimes targeted by their friends. This finding prompted the authors to pose further research questions concerning how friendships might become bullying relationships, as well as how children deal with such bullying. From a social

identity perspective, one might also ask about the group dynamics entailed in such bullying. Jetten, Branscombe, Spears, and McKimmie (2003) coined the term *peripheral group members* to describe new group members, or those who represent the group's prototype less well. It may be the case that the children who are bullied from within friendship groups are peripheral group members who want to become closer to the friendship group, but are bullied because they are unsure of the norms of that group. Or, relatedly, bullying within groups may represent a way of policing friendship group norms, such that those who are bullied are those members who fail to conform to such norms. Alternatively, is it the case that each friendship group contains multiple alliances between children such that the group is made up of one superordinate, and several subordinate groups, between which bullying occurs? And is it possible, in line with research on group schisms (splits) as a response to counter-normative behaviour (see Sani, 2008) that subordinate friendship groups have emerged because some larger friendship groups have split in response to bullying? These are all questions that could be addressed in future research.

Dealing with Bullying

Teachers' responses to the bullying seemed overwhelmingly to stem from a need to ensure that key messages concerning bullying were understood at a group level. In some instances this understanding remained 'local' and involved supervised discussion time between the perpetrators and target. More often, however, more extensive group-level interventions were executed, in order to reinforce anti-bullying messages among class groups, year groups, the whole school and, sometimes, parents. Individual sanctions, where present, involved

short-term exclusion from school, again reinforcing the message that 'bullying is not acceptable here'. Indeed, the ways in which the schools responded to bullying may be linked to the social identity-based research literature on group norms. More specifically, the findings lend ecological validity to the research described in Chapter 4, examining the role of school norms in bullying, by showing that school-wide action against bullying often takes place, and is underpinned by anti-bullying norms. Nonetheless, the question regarding what extent these work in harmony with or at cross purposes to other aspects of the school's ethos (e.g., competitiveness, see Study 3) remains open. It is not clear whether the anti-bullying strategies noted above are part of a coherent norm-based strategy, or an *ad-hoc* reaction to the bullying. Thus, from a social identity perspective, it would be interesting to consider more carefully the processes of formation, dissemination, and acceptance of school-wide anti-bullying norms among school pupils and staff.

Practical Implications

The research reported here has implications both for research into bullying and for practice. For researchers, it is apparent that one bullying episode is not always of a single type (e.g., verbal bullying, physical bullying, emotional bullying, or cyberbullying) as classified in the literature (e.g., Rigby, 2007). Although Rigby recognized that these forms of bullying may co-occur, scenario-based research, such as Rutland et al.'s (2007) work on social exclusion, or Jones et al.'s (2009) work on cyberbullying has typically focused on just one form of bullying. It may be advisable in future research to represent various forms of bullying as happening concurrently, in order to represent more

accurately the ways in which children ‘gang up’ on a peer. Similarly, given the evidence reported above that children often show a supportive response to targets of bullying, this type of reaction could be investigated in scenario-based research: specifically, when there are children in support of a target, and children in support of a perpetrator, what factors (e.g., power, prototypicality, group entitativity) determine bystanders’ reactions?

At a practical level, this study points to a potential avenue for intervention in terms of teachers’ responses to bullying. While the bullying described frequently happened among groups of children, and interventions were primarily at the group-level, what was absent in the teachers’ accounts was evidence of an awareness of the group dynamics that possibly led to and sustained the bullying. It also became apparent in this research that ‘bullying’ is not self-evident to teachers, but rather is a construal on their part – ‘it’s hard to work out if it’s kids being kids...or if it’s ongoing and more serious’. Interventions should therefore (a) seek to raise teachers’ awareness of group dynamics, as outlined by social identity research, and of the (group-based) emotional responses of children other than the target, and (b) help teachers determine why and when they construe incidents as bullying. Together this will help them deal with more insidious forms of bullying (such as those examined in Study 5b) and will help teachers to be more aware of the social group interactions in their classrooms. In this way, teachers might be better attuned to the group dynamics of the classroom and thereby be better positioned to ‘nip bullying in the bud’ before it escalates.

Conclusions

The main aim here was to explore how teachers described bullying episodes in which they had been involved, with a particular focus on the role of the group in perpetrating, dealing with, and stopping these bullying episodes. The qualitative analysis employed here was well suited to this aim. Although it does not permit conclusive statements regarding the broader picture of group bullying, for example concerning how commonly bullying episodes involve the group, or the specific characteristics of those children who are involved in group bullying, it does permit exploration of the *content* of bullying episodes. Previous scenario-based research had shown that social identity concerns may be relevant to bullying. What is evident from the present study is that children bully in groups and work together to resist bullying. The teachers' reports also provide insight into the specific activities that children engage in in order to bully or support other children. Although the teachers addressed bullying primarily at the group level, they did not show knowledge of the group processes that preceded the reporting of a bullying episode. The research could therefore be used as a basis for (a) helping teachers to understand better the nature of bullying, and (b) researchers to represent the group processes that children engage in a more realistic and more nuanced way in empirical work.

Chapter 8

General Discussion

This thesis has examined the role that group processes - namely, group membership, group norms, appraisals, and group-based emotions - play in the maintenance and the resistance of school bullying among children. The research was in part motivated by previous work on social identity and group-based emotion theories in adults, which established that different group-based emotions and action tendencies arise from different appraisals of intergroup events. It was also motivated by a smaller body of research on children, showing that the tenets of social identity theory can be meaningfully applied to school settings. The relevant research was reviewed in Chapter 1, which also explored how these two lines of research might be combined in a novel way to tackle the pervasive issue of school bullying.

Following from the arguments set out in Chapter 1, in Study 1 I hypothesized that peer group membership and the perpetrator's group norm would determine group-based emotions following an intergroup cyberbullying incident. Children were randomly assigned to one of three groups: a perpetrator's group, a target's group, or a third party group; and the norm of the perpetrating group was manipulated. It was found that group membership,

perpetrator's group norms and the antecedents of the group-based emotions of pride, shame and anger (but not guilt) influenced group-based emotions and action tendencies in ways predicted by social identity and group-based emotion theories. That those in the target group who identified highly with that group expressed more anger, and a tendency to stop the behaviour, showed that feeling that one is part of a group can be helpful in overcoming the negative effects of bullying.

Having shown that peer group norms have an effect on group members' responses to bullying in Study 1, in Study 2 I looked at whether the effects of the wider normative context might temper the effects of peer group norm. Participants were again randomly assigned to the group of a perpetrator, target, or third-party group member described in a scenario. They then played a game designed to induce a cooperative, competitive, or neutral norm. Children exposed to a cooperative norm expressed less pride and more regret and anger about the bullying than did those in other conditions. Regret was linked to a tendency to make reparations to the target. This study showed that the influence peer groups have on bullying can be attenuated by the introduction of a cooperative normative context to the school setting.

Having revealed that competitive and cooperative norms, peer group norms, and the extent to which children identify with their ingroup determine emotional responses to a bullying incident, in Study 3 I manipulated both peer group norms and school norms, showing that the peer group and school norm to which children had been exposed combined to influence their responses to a bullying scenario. Both the extent to which children identified with their group

and their perceptions of the negativity of the event moderated the intensity of the levels of group-based guilt and shame that they reported in response to the bullying incident, showing that school-wide norms can impact upon responses to bullying behaviour.

My research in Studies 1-3 showed that children's group identification is relevant to how they respond to group-level bullying. Research with adults shows that group-relevant events affect ingroup identification, and that the influence of such events is moderated by prior levels of identification (Ellemers et al., 1997). To find out whether children respond similarly to group-relevant events (namely, a bullying incident), in Study 4 children were randomly assigned to either a perpetrator's group or a target's group. They read a scenario in which an incident was described in which a member of the perpetrator's group bullied a target group member. The incident was either consistent or inconsistent with the norms of the perpetrator's group. How strongly perpetrator's group members identified with that group was determined by their initial identification. However, initial identification was moderated by perpetrator's group norm. Children reacted to the bullying behaviour by identifying more or less strongly with the group, depending on initial identification and the norm of their group. Thus, children are *strategic* in their group-based responses to bullying.

If children are strategic in their responses to bullying, are they also sensitive to more subtle forms of bullying, and do they respond differentially to subtle *versus* overt forms of bullying? In Study 5, I compared ostensibly negative (Study 5a) with ostensibly positive bullying (Study 5b). In both studies, group

membership (perpetrator's or target's group) and perpetrator's group norms (kind or unkind) influenced group-based emotions and action tendencies in ways predicted by social identity and intergroup emotion theories. Critical to this influence were children's appraisals of the bullying as high or low in nastiness, such that group behaviour interpreted as norm-consistent evoked more pride and less shame.

The evidence from Studies 1-5 suggested that group processes are relevant to school bullying, yet could not speak to what is actually happening in schools. To address this limitation, in Study 6 I departed from the experimental paradigm used in the prior studies by reporting the findings of a qualitative online study of teachers' reports of school bullying. The findings highlighted that a bullying episode in schools can take multiple forms; that bullying is reported, investigated and resolved in schools at the peer group level; and that children involved in bullying incidents may form part of a group that bullies another child, or that acts to support a target of bullying.

Group Processes and Bullying

In broad terms, this thesis has added empirical weight to the hypothesis that bullying may be meaningfully conceptualized as an intergroup process that is structured by social identity-related processes (Ojala & Nesdale, 2004), and has implications for social identities (e.g., Nesdale & Pelyhe, 2009). It extends this research not only to the domain of group-based emotions, but also to (albeit artificial) friendship groups in a literature which has so far dealt mainly with social identity in children through examination of gender- (e.g., Park & Killen, 2010) or ethnic group-based (e.g., Abrams, Rutland & Pelletier, 2009; De Amicis,

2009; Nesdale, Durkin et al., 2005) scenarios. More specifically, this thesis contributes to our understanding of the ways in which bullying may be maintained and resisted in schools by groups, and of the subtle changes in group contexts to which children are sensitive. This contribution is explored in more detail below.

Maintaining Bullying

When one considers the group processes that maintain bullying in schools, across Studies 1-5 it was group-based pride and shame that were indicative of the willingness of participants to stand by their group, and protect its reputation, in the face of bullying. Specifically, in Study 1, relatively low pride and relatively high shame were reported when the ingroup had a negative reputation (a norm for unkind behaviour) but was perceived as having low responsibility for the behaviour. This finding was echoed in Study 3, where those assigned to the competitive school norm and the unkind peer group norm reported markedly higher shame when they identified highly with their group and perceived the behaviour as low in negativity. High identifiers in the competitive school norm were fully aware of the norms of their peer group, and of the way in which they were seen by others. However, on this occasion some children saw the behaviour as low in negativity. As in Study 1, these children may have recognized that they could be held responsible for the incident, given their ingroup norm, and reported high shame.

Thus it seems that children assigned to a perpetrator's group will act in ways to protect the reputation of their group, deflecting attention away from themselves if a negative act has been committed. This emotional response could

be seen as a conciliatory. If highly identified group members believe that they are not responsible for negative behaviour that could be regarded as normative for their group, it might be functional to express low pride and high shame in order to avoid punishment. In contrast, this is not necessary when the group does not have a negative reputation (reducing the likelihood of being blamed), or when identification is low (reducing the motive to strategically defend the group's image). If this is the case, it provides an explanation for why shame is not consistently linked with withdrawal from the group in Studies 1-5: on this account, the expression of shame is a functional reaction, reflecting an underlying desire to *support* the group in its actions. In this way, the current research provides support for reputation management theory (RMT; Emler & Reicher, 2005), which aims to show how marginalized groups, including street gangs who engage in violence, may create an alternative social identity amongst themselves that holds their group in a positive light. It also extends work by Rutland and colleagues (e.g., Fitzroy & Rutland, 2010) in which it was found that children take account of the possible reactions of others in asserting their values, by showing that this consideration extends to emotional-level responding.

In Study 2, identification also moderated the influence of group membership on pride, regret, (and anger) among perpetrator's group members who had been exposed to the cooperative normative context and who perceived that the perpetrator was not to blame for what happened (as in Study 1, indicative of low responsibility). Those who identified strongly with their group reported significantly more pride, less regret (and indeed less anger) than those who identified less strongly. This was despite the fact that their fellow group

member's behaviour contravened the norm established in the game. In doing so, they showed solidarity with a fellow ingroup member and a willingness to stay true to the reputation of the group, despite the prospect of blame and negative consequences. Theoretically, pride is linked with a tendency to affiliate with other group members and to boast about the group's achievements. In four studies, group-based pride significantly predicted a tendency to affiliate with the perpetrator and his or her group. There is therefore consistent evidence in this thesis that among children, as among adults, group-based events evoke group-based emotions that in turn evoke tendencies to act in certain ways.

The current research also suggests that children's responses to the bullying depended not only on their group membership, but on the specific relation that they had to the group, as individuals. In Study 4, children's responses were framed by whether or not the bullying was consistent with the norms of the perpetrator's group. The specific effect of norm consistency, in turn, depended on initial levels of ingroup identification, with only high identifiers showing high identification with a group, following a norm-inconsistent bullying incident. This again reflects the adult literature, where it has been shown that events with positive implications for group identity can lead ingroup members to report higher levels of identification, whereas an event that has negative implications for group identity can be managed by identifying less strongly with an ingroup by low identifiers: only high identifiers stick by a group in the face of norm inconsistent behaviour (Ellemers, 1993). In the same way, children responded as group members in Study 4 according to the extent that they initially identified with the group.

Resisting Bullying

Across studies, group-based anger was linked with a tendency to stop the behaviour by reporting it to an adult. This suggests that groups can be as much part of the solution to bullying as they are part of the problem. In Studies 1, 2 and 5a, to the extent that children who were not themselves targets of bullying saw themselves as sharing a group membership with the target, they were more likely to feel group-based anger about the bullying incident. Anger was further accentuated among target's group members when the behaviour was inconsistent with the perpetrator's group norms (Study 5a) or when the target's group had a cooperative norm (Study 2). That groups have an important role to play in resisting bullying was further underlined in Study 6. Here, many case reports from teachers cited groups of children who approached them on behalf of a target to inform them of an incident of bullying.

However, Study 5 showed that groups do not always feel able to resist bullying. Anger and associated tendencies to stop the behaviour and make reparations for it were reported among children in this study only when the text message was ostensibly negative. This association disappeared when the text message was ostensibly positive (Study 5b). These findings suggest that children are sensitive to the normative reputation of a group when evaluating a group's behaviour but even when they interpret it negatively (e.g., seeing the ostensibly positive text message as high in nastiness) they are less inclined to act as a group to resist it, by comparison with children who are confronted by ostensibly negative behaviour.

Practical and Policy Implications

There are of course existing anti-bullying interventions at the group level (e.g., Horne et al., 2007). Moreover, Study 6 showed that teachers are aware that bullying occurs between ‘groups’ of children, and overwhelmingly sought to tackle bullying at a group level. Accordingly, one might ask what value the research presented in previous chapters adds to the drive to tackle bullying in schools. In response I would argue that although the bullying described in Study 6 frequently happened among groups of children, and although the interventions involved groups of people, notably absent from the teachers’ accounts was evidence of any real awareness of the group dynamics that led to and sustained the bullying. What is clear from Studies 1-5 is that peer group memberships have an important bearing on what children feel, and that these feelings are linked to what children think they would do in response to bullying. Arguably then, future interventions should seek to raise teachers’ awareness of group dynamics, as outlined by social identity research, and of the (group-based) emotional responses of children other than the target. In this way, the research presented in previous chapters points to novel methods for tackling bullying behaviour, at both the peer group and school level. Interventions aimed at tackling bullying that may be motivated by this thesis are explored in more detail below.

Peer Group Interventions

Peer group processes are involved in the support of bullying. If a peer group has a norm for unkind behaviour, and acts in accordance with it, greater pride is elicited from group members (Study 2). Effective intervention might therefore involve encouraging children to question *peer group norms* that

condone treating other children badly. Given that there was a strong and replicated association between pride and a propensity to affiliate with the perpetrators (Studies 2, 3, 5a and 5b), it might be worth asking children why they might experience a sense of pride if they were part of a peer group engaging in bullying, and how best to act (or not act) upon this feeling.

Also important when it comes to interventions at the peer group level is the role of *peer group identification*. Study 4 showed that when a group has positive norms regarding how to treat other children, members who identified with the group showed commitment to the group when a group member acted inconsistently with these norms by bullying a child from another friendship group. Intervention should therefore focus not only on peer groups with pro-bullying norms, but also on members of friendship groups with prosocial norms. Specifically, the issue to be addressed is how highly identifying group members seek to maintain their group's prosocial norms, with a view to encouraging them to challenge, as opposed to accept, negative ingroup behaviour.

From a different perspective, the research reported in this thesis suggests that peer groups and social identities can be helpful in solving the problem of bullying. To the extent that children who are not targets of bullying saw themselves as sharing a group membership with a target, they were more likely to feel group-based anger about a bullying incident, and in turn wanted to take action to stop it (Studies 2 and 3). This finding was echoed in Study 6, where teachers reported students' feelings of illegitimacy leading them to act on behalf of a target.

These findings underline the value of existing interventions that encourage social identifications among children and promote positive social interactions, such as peer support systems (e.g., Cowie et al., 2002; Naylor & Cowie, 1999). Such programmes train children in mediation and ‘befriending’ techniques because friendship has been shown to reduce the likelihood that children will be targeted again (Boulton, et al., 1999). The research presented in this thesis provides a theoretical and empirical foundation for peer support interventions, by invoking the role of group-based emotions, which to my knowledge have hitherto been overlooked in anti-bullying interventions. Moreover, the finding that social identities can act as a means of resisting bullying is consistent with research on collective action in adults, where social identities have been shown to have the potential to evoke collective reactions that resist bullying (cf. van Zomeren et al., 2008).

Whole School Interventions

The research reported in this thesis showed that the normative context in which a bullying incident occurred affected children’s reports of group-based emotions. Viewing the incident in the context of an overarching competitive norm can encourage emotions and action tendencies that endorse bullying; such reactions were not apparent in the absence of a competitive norm, or in the presence of a cooperative one (Study 3). Cooperative norms rather than competitive ones are more in line with what children are taught about bullying (i.e., that it is unacceptable) and thereby might, through this avenue, work to undermine the influence of any assumption that their own peers are more accepting of bullying (see Sandstrom & Bartini, 2010). In line with the results of

Studies 2 and 3, anti-bullying interventions might usefully promote a cooperative school ethos, through mottos, classroom tasks, or games that encourage children to work together, rather than compete against each other.

To achieve this aim, it is also worth bearing in mind that, in Study 3, the cooperative context constrained group-based responding, such that children who were members of the perpetrator's group did not respond with as much emotional intensity as their counterparts did when the context was competitive. It is possible that this was the result of a diffusion of responsibility among those who shared the cooperative norm – “others could act”. Beyond instilling a cooperative norm, it is crucial that schools also raise children's awareness of how others in their group are appraising the situation, responding emotionally, and feeling compelled to act, in order to reduce this diffusion of responsibility. It will also be important to highlight children's individual responsibility to adhere to a cooperative school ethos, or to act collectively under its banner. Encouraging the sharing of appraisals becomes particularly pertinent when the bullying is more insidious, in order to mobilize the group to act against it (Study 5b).

Limitations and Future Directions

As one of the first series of studies to examine group-based emotions in children, the research reported in this thesis is simply the beginning of what will presumably be a much longer story. The research set out in previous chapters highlights several refinements that should be made to future studies, and paves the way for several avenues of future research in the area of group processes and bullying. Here I will explore these options in more detail.

Perhaps the most salient criticism of the research in Studies 1-5 was highlighted at the start of Chapter 7. That is, research into group-based emotions, social identity, and bullying in children has relied almost entirely on variations on the minimal group paradigm (cf. Tajfel et al., 1971). It is striking that large differences such as those in Studies 2 and 3 are found between children's responses to bullying, simply as a result of assigning them to different groups in this paradigm. Using this method also afforded a high level of control over the group-level factors in the research. The fact remains that the groups in these studies were artificial ones, thereby limiting the ecological validity of the findings.

Although it can be argued that the research reported in Chapter 7 goes some way to addressing this limitation, use of this paradigm does not allow this thesis to speak directly to the way in which children's actual friendship groups might respond to a genuine intergroup bullying incident, for several reasons. First, children's social networks and friendship groups are likely to be much more complicated and fluid over time, *vis-à-vis* the intergroup setting to which children were exposed in Studies 1-5: Children may belong to multiple groups, of mixed gender, which may be nested within each other, and which may extend across classes, or schools. Investigating bullying between and within children's actual friendship groups is an important challenge for future work.

As manipulating the norms of pre-existing groups is hard, and as normative influence is stronger in self-relevant groups, children in this study were assigned to 'new' groups. However, it is possible that the children who took part in Studies 1-5 were particularly sensitive to group norms precisely because

the groups involved in the studies were new to them, and they were keen to fit in with their group as soon as possible. It is therefore not clear from this thesis whether children are more sensitive to group norms in (a) new groups, or (b) groups with which they are highly identified. This is another issue that will be important for future research to disentangle, in order to better predict children's responses to bullying.

Third, for reasons of experimental control, an attempt was made to strip the groups depicted in Studies 1-5 of any overt status or power relations. However, children's friendship groups are highly unlikely to be devoid of these factors, and investigating group-based emotional responses to bullying between groups with different power and status relations is an important task for future research, given that social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) makes specific predictions concerning group members' behaviour as a function of these relations, particularly regarding the stability of group status relations (where unstable group status is more likely to be challenged).

Relatedly, another criticism that may be levelled against the research in Studies 1-5 is the use of scenarios to elicit responses about bullying, given that children's beliefs about what they might do may bear little relation to what they would actually do (Finch, 1987): actual behaviour was not measured. There is nevertheless evidence that the ways in which people respond to emotion-arousing vignettes corresponds to the ways in which they react to 'real-life' events. Robinson and Clore (2001) found high convergence between participants' reactions to pictorial emotional stimuli and to written descriptions of those stimuli. The convergence was seen not only in the reported emotions,

but also in the appraisals accompanying these emotions. Indeed, participants who read only written descriptions reported slightly more anxiety in response to slides that engendered anxiety. Furthermore, van Zomeren et al. (2008) in their meta-analysis showed that there is good correspondence between intentions and behaviour in the context of collective action research. Thus, it seems that there is a good basis, among adults at least, for assuming that responses to vignettes bear a reasonable resemblance to real-life emotional experience.

Nevertheless, the vignette methodology necessarily constrained the type of bullying that was described in Studies 1-5. What was evident from the teachers' reports in Study 6 was that the bullying actually experienced by children is multi-faceted. It may involve different numbers of children, may escalate with time, and is likely to involve more than one 'method'. The focus on cyberbullying in the current thesis was decided upon in view of its increasing prevalence (P.K. Smith et al., 2008). Furthermore, as highlighted in Chapter 2, cyberbullying may be particularly driven by group dynamics, because it has a greater potential than more traditional forms of bullying for the perpetrators to remain anonymous. It would nonetheless be worth studying the extent to which group processes are pertinent to other forms of bullying, and (retrospectively) the extent to which they were pertinent to actual bullying episodes.

No substantive gender differences were found in children's responses to bullying in the studies reported in this thesis. This is consistent with some work on cyberbullying indicating that girls and boys experience similar cyberbullying (e.g., Li, 2007), but is at odds with the wider literature on bullying. For example, Naylor, Cowie, Cossin, de Bettencourt, and Lemme (2006) noted that the two

genders are equally likely to see physical abuse as a form of bullying, but that girls are more likely than boys to regard verbal abuse and social exclusion as forms of bullying. This is reflected in the prevalence rates of the different types of bullying endured by males and females. Wolke, Woods, Stanford, and Schultz (2001) found that girls were more likely than boys to encounter group and relational forms of bullying, but less likely than boys to be victims of physical bullying. Thus, absence of evidence for gender differences in group-based emotional responses to bullying in the present thesis should not be seen as evidence of the absence of gender differences in the real world. It will be important for further research to extend work on group-based emotions to a range of bullying methods, to detect possible gender differences, leading to more nuanced intervention measures. Furthermore, given that research on adults (e.g., Baron-Cohen & Wheelwright, 2004) has consistently found empathy to be higher in females than in males, it will be worthwhile examining gender differences in a range of different group-based emotions.

At a more practical level, it will be important for future work to standardize measures of the constructs used in this thesis, and to investigate the extent to which children acquire an understanding that groups react to events at an emotional level. This point is particularly pertinent for group-based guilt, which seems to be the most elusive of the group-based emotions studied thus far. Study 3 was the only study in which effects on guilt were found. This reflects the wider group-based guilt literature (see Branscombe & Doosje, 2004, for a review), in which it has been shown that group-based guilt is hard to elicit, involving as it does an acknowledgement that one's group has acted in a harmful

and perhaps immoral way. A resistance to reporting guilt, coupled with a possibly limited understanding of the term in children in this age range, might help to explain the lack of effects on guilt in the current research. Investigating the conditions under which children do and do not report feeling guilt in group contexts would be a fruitful avenue for future research.

Beyond the above criticisms, it might be argued that this thesis generates broader research questions concerning children's socio-emotional development in the context of bullying. It would be particularly interesting to extend our knowledge of children's ability to process others' emotions at the group level. The current research took a first-person perspective on bullying: in Studies 1-5 children were told that they were members of a group that had engaged in, or been on the receiving end of bullying, and were asked about the group-based emotions they imagined they would feel as a result of that situation. Research on social appraisal theory has shown that one's own emotional reaction to an event may change as a function of what one believes others are feeling (Manstead & Fischer, 2001). To apply this to a bullying context, it would be interesting to examine not only what group-based emotions children are experiencing as group members in response to bullying, but also what group-based emotions they imagine their fellow group members are experiencing, and to investigate whether they are motivated to bring their own emotional reactions into line with those of other children. If it were discovered that children, like adults, are influenced by others' emotions in this way, this would add a further dimension to the anti-bullying interventions outlined above. Investigating the extent to which social appraisal processes are affected by ingroup identification and group

norms would also be a way to marry group-based emotion and social appraisal theories.

Conclusions

This thesis has explored the group processes that underpin group-based emotional reactions to bullying and the action tendencies associated with these emotions. It did so from the perspective of social identity and group-based emotion theories. The research reported here shows that children are sensitive to the nuances of intergroup relations. In their responses to bullying, children take account of the norms of a perpetrating group as well as the wider normative context. They also consider different possible appraisals of the bullying where it is ambiguous, in light of group norms, and adjust their levels of ingroup identification in response to intergroup bullying. This research has also indicated that, despite apparent intervention at the group-level, teachers seem unaware of the group processes that are entailed in bullying at school. Accordingly, successful anti-bullying interventions demand an appreciation not only of the group-level nature of bullying, and the involvement of bystanders, but also of the group processes by which children (a) come to be involved in bullying in the first place, and (b) are motivated or empowered to resist it.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Study 1~ Scenario and Questionnaire Booklet (Female, Unkindness Norm)



SCHOOL OF PSYCHOLOGY

- In this booklet you are asked to read a story, and then to answer some questions about the story.
- This should take about 30 minutes.
- Please do NOT put your name on this booklet.
- Your answers will be anonymous. That is, nobody will be able to tell that they are *your* answers.
- You do not have to answer these questions if you don't want to, and you can skip any questions you do not want to answer.
- Please work through this booklet one page at a time.
- If you are unsure about anything, please ask the researchers.

When you are ready to begin, please turn the page and start.

My Group

Practice Questions:

For the next questions, you should **TICK (✓)** the box underneath the words that best describe your reaction to the statement.

For example: I like eating chocolate.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

If you don't like chocolate at all, you should tick the box under "disagree strongly". If you are not sure whether you like or dislike chocolate, you should tick the box under "neither agree nor disagree". But if you really like chocolate you should tick the box under "agree strongly".

Now please answer this practice question: I like to watch television.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

These questions ask how you feel about being in your group.

1. I am glad to be in my group.

disagree strongly

disagree

neither agree nor
disagree

agree

agree strongly

2. It is important to me to be in my group.

disagree strongly

disagree

neither agree nor
disagree

agree

agree strongly

3. I feel very close to others in my group.

disagree strongly

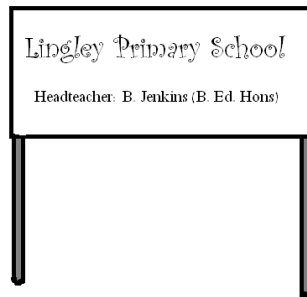
disagree

neither agree nor
disagree

agree

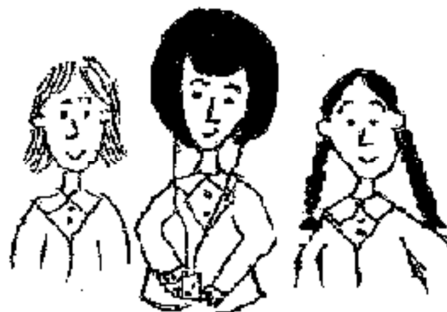
agree strongly

Please read the following story carefully.



“Here, kitty,” Debbie called to the cat on the wall ahead of her. The cat turned and looked at her before disappearing over the other side of the wall. Debbie shrugged, and carried on walking home.

Debbie went to Lingley Primary School; a big school in Wales, with two classes in each year group. Most children who went to the school lived nearby, and older children usually walked home from school together with their friends.



“It was fun being in Melanie’s group.”

Debbie looked ahead and saw two of her friends; Melanie was one of them. She ran ahead to catch up with them. They turned round and stopped for her. Melanie had her MP3 player with her, and they were taking it in turns to listen to music. They offered the earphones to Debbie. She smiled: it was fun being in Melanie's group.

Bess's group were walking home, too, on the other side of the road. They were swapping cards as they walked along, and didn't see Melanie's group at all.



"Bess's group were swapping cards as they walked along".

Debbie turned round suddenly. Melanie turned off the music and looked behind her, too: Jenny's group. They were the cool group in the school, but occasionally teased others. "It's OK, Debbie, they won't hurt us, they're miles away", said Melanie.

Now please answer this question.

Jenny's group is **unkind** to other children.

disagree strongly

disagree

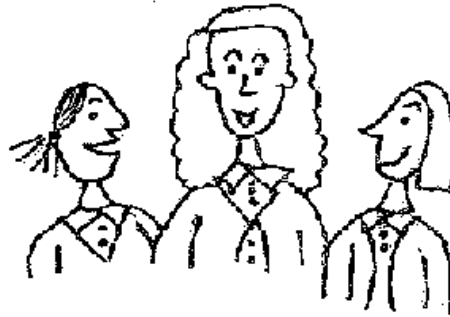
neither agree nor
disagree

agree

agree strongly

“Yes, you’re right”, decided Debbie, and they put the music back on again. Jenny’s group were looking at something together over Jenny’s shoulder as they walked; all three of them.

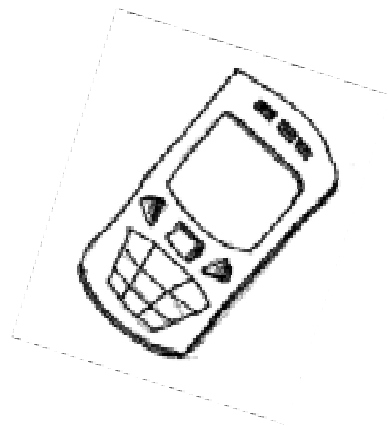
They all laughed.



“Jenny’s group all laughed.”

Debbie’s ‘phone beeped: a text message. She fished it out of her bag, and read the message;

**How r u, Debbie? Who cares?
U r such a loser!**



It was from Jenny and her group. Debbie wiped away a tear, and put her ‘phone away quickly. She had hoped things would be alright tonight. Shakily, she said good bye to the others, pushed open her garden gate, and let herself into the empty house. She started to cry to herself.

Now you will be asked some questions about the story you have just read.

Please work through the questions one page at a time.

If you are unsure about anything, please ask the researchers

Remember:

For the next questions, you should **TICK (✓)** the box underneath the words that best describe your reaction to the statement.

Please answer these questions:

1. On the basis of the dot guessing task, which group were **you** put in?

Jenny's group

Melanie's group

Bess's group

2. Which group is Debbie a member of?

Jenny's group

Melanie's group

Bess's group

3. Who sent the text message to Debbie?

Jenny

Melanie

Bess

4. Jenny's group is **usually** kind to other children.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

5. After the incident, Jenny's group will still want her to be one of their friends.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Below is a section from the story you just read:

Debbie's 'phone beeped: a text message. She fished it out of her bag, and read the message;

How r u, Debbie? Who cares?

U r such a loser!

It was from Jenny and her group. Debbie wiped away a tear, and put her 'phone away quickly. She had hoped things would be alright tonight. Shakily, she said good bye to the others, pushed open her garden gate, and let herself into the empty house. She started to cry to herself.

Here are some questions about what happened. Please answer in the same way as before, by ticking one of the boxes.

6. Jenny's behaviour towards Debbie is mean.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

7. In the story, Jenny's group is kind to Debbie.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

8. Jenny's behaviour towards Debbie was fair.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

9. It is OK to behave as Jenny's group did.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

10. Jenny is a bully.

disagree strongly

disagree

neither agree nor
disagree

agree

agree strongly

11. Jenny is bullying Debbie.

disagree strongly

disagree

neither agree nor
disagree

agree

agree strongly

12. Jenny's group are bullies.

disagree strongly

disagree

neither agree nor
disagree

agree

agree strongly

13. Jenny's group are bullying Debbie.

disagree strongly

disagree

neither agree nor
disagree

agree

agree strongly

14. Jenny's behaviour should be punished.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

15. Jenny's group should be punished for their behaviour.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

16. Jenny is to blame for Debbie being upset.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

17. Jenny's group is to blame for Debbie being upset.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

The next few questions ask you about your feelings towards the groups and characters in the story.

Now please answer these questions.

18. I like Jenny.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

19. I would like Jenny to be my friend.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

20. I like Debbie.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

21. I would like Debbie to be my friend.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

22. I like Bess.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

23. I would like Bess to be my friend.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

These questions ask how you feel about being in your group.

24. I feel happy about being in my group.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

25. I would feel sad if someone said something bad about people in my group.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

26. I am glad to be in my group.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

27. Being in my group is an important part of who I am.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

28. It is important to me to be in my group.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

29. I have a lot in common with others in my group.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

30. People in my group are very similar to each other.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

31. I feel very close to others in my group.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

32. Which group do you think you are most similar to?

Jenny's group	Melanie's group	Bess's group
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

The next few questions ask for your feelings about what happened in the story.

33. I feel proud of the way Jenny's group behaved on the way home.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

34. I admire the way Jenny's group behaved on the way home.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

35. I respect the way Jenny's group behaved on the way home.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

36. I feel ashamed of the way Jenny's group behave.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

37. I feel awful about the way Jenny's group behave.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

38. I feel bad about Jenny's group.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

39. I feel guilty about the way Jenny's group behaved on the way home.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

40. I feel sorry about the way Jenny's group behaved on the way home.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

41. I feel bad about the way Jenny's group behaved on the way home.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

42. I feel angry about the text message sent to Debbie.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

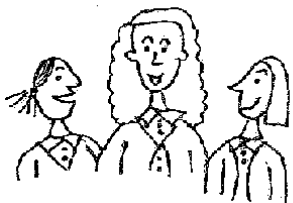
43. I feel annoyed about the text message sent to Debbie.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

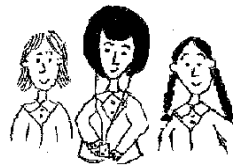
44. I feel irritated by the text message sent to Debbie.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

These questions ask you about Jenny's group and Melanie's group.



Jenny's group



Melanie's group

45. Jenny's group are similar to each other.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

46. Jenny's group all want similar things.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

47. Jenny's group spend a lot of time together.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

48. Melanie's group are similar to each other.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

49. Melanie's group all want similar things.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

50. Melanie's group spend a lot of time together.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**Here are some questions that ask what you think you would do, if
Debbie told you about the text message.**

51. I would help Debbie and Melanie's group.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

52. I would try to make friends with Jenny's group.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

53. I would tell my friends proudly about what Jenny's group did.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

54. I would do nothing at all after Jenny and her group laughed at Debbie.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

55. I would go and tell an adult what had happened.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

56. I would say sorry to Debbie.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

57. I would try to keep away from Jenny and Jenny's group.

disagree strongly

disagree

neither agree nor
disagree

agree

agree strongly

Questions about you:

58. What month and year were you born in? (example: June1997 = 06/1997)

M	M	/	Y	Y	Y	Y
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

59. What Year Group are you in?

Year 5

Year 6

.

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This is the end of the questionnaire – thank you!

**If you have finished, please go back and check that you have answered
all the questions you meant to.**

Appendix B

Study 2 ~ Scenario and Questionnaire Booklet (English Translation, Males)



SCHOOL OF PSYCHOLOGY

- In this booklet you are asked some questions about the story you have just read.
- Answering the questions should take about 25 minutes.
- Please do NOT put your name on this booklet.
- Your answers will be anonymous. That is, nobody will be able to tell that they are *your* answers.
- You do not have to answer these questions if you don't want to, and you can skip any questions you do not want to answer.
- Please work through this booklet one page at a time.
- If you are unsure about anything, please ask the researchers.

When you are ready to begin, please turn the page and start.

Practice Questions:

For the next questions, you should **TICK (✓)** the box underneath the words that best describe your reaction to the statement.

For example: I like eating chocolate.

disagree strongly	Disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

If you didn't like chocolate at all, you should tick the box under "disagree strongly". If you were not sure whether you liked or disliked chocolate, you should tick the box under "neither agree nor disagree". But if you really liked chocolate you should tick the box under "agree strongly".

Now please answer this practice question: I like to watch television.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Please answer these questions:

1. Before reading this story you were asked to discuss something. Please indicate below what the topic was, by ticking one of the options.

Being competitive	Being cooperative	Playing sport
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Please read the following story carefully:

Volta Primary School is one of the schools in a small town near the Italian seaside. It is quite a large school, with two classes in each year.



Today the teacher is a bit late because of the traffic. In one Year 6 class, the students are waiting: some of them are reading, others are playing with electronic games, others are listening to music or are using their mobile phone.

Victor wants to draw with his friends and they are preparing to use two tables joined together, a lot of colours, pencils, stickers, and drawing paper. As drawing materials belong to the school, all the students can use them, as long as they leave them in the same place for the next person. They want to prepare a piece for the drawing competition which will be happening next week, in which all the Year 6 students' work will be judged. The prize is a new digital camera.

As they are starting, Bruno arrives with his friends and demands to use the same drawing materials. They have to prepare their work for the competition too, and want to do it now. Bruno knows Victor and his friends got there first but the competition is very important and they want to do their best.



Victor and his friends don't allow Bruno and his friends to use the drawing materials so they push him and sweep all the colours and paper he was using onto the floor. They start to laugh at Victor's drawing skills. Victor looks hurt, and stares angrily at them and all his friends with him but the teacher arrives and all the students go to their seats.

Below is a section from the story you just read:

Victor and his friends don't allow Bruno and his friends to use the drawing materials so they push him and sweep all the crayons and paper he was using onto the floor. Then they start to laugh at Victor's drawing skills. Victor looks hurt, and stares angrily at them and all his friends with him, but the teacher arrives and all the students go to their seats.

Here are some questions about what happened. Please answer in the same way as before, by ticking one of the boxes.

2. Bruno's behaviour towards Victor and his friends is kind.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3. Bruno's behaviour towards Victor and his friends is unkind.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

4. The behaviour of Bruno's friends towards Victor and his friends is kind.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

5. The behaviour of Bruno's friends towards Victor and his friends is unkind.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

6. When Bruno's friends laughed at Victor, they meant to upset him.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

7. Bruno is a bully.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

8. Bruno is bullying Victor .

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

9. Bruno's friends are bullies.

disagree strongly	Disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

10. Bruno's friends are bullying Victor .

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

11. Bruno's behaviour should be punished.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

12. Bruno's friends should be punished for their behaviour.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

13. Bruno is to blame.

Disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

14. Bruno's friends are to blame.

Disagree strongly	Disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

15. After the incident, Bruno's friends will still want to be friends with him.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

16. Victor feels lonely.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

17. Victor feels helpless.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

18. Victor feels angry towards Bruno and his friends.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	Agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

19. Victor feels embarrassed.

disagree strongly	Disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

20. Bruno's group are similar to each other.

disagree strongly	Disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

21. Bruno's group want similar things.

disagree strongly	Disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

22. Bruno's group spend a lot of time together.

disagree strongly

Disagree

neither agree nor
disagree

agree

agree strongly

The next few questions ask you about your feelings towards the groups and characters in the story.

23. I like Victor.

disagree strongly

disagree

neither agree nor
disagree

agree

agree strongly

24. I would like Victor to be my friend.

disagree strongly

disagree

neither agree nor
disagree

agree

agree strongly

25. I like Bruno.

disagree strongly

disagree

neither agree nor
disagree

agree

agree strongly

26. I would like Bruno to be my friend.

disagree strongly

disagree

neither agree nor
disagree

agree

agree strongly

27. I feel like being Victor's friend.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

28. I feel like being Bruno's friend.

Disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

The next few questions ask for your feelings about what happened in the story.

29. I feel proud about the way Bruno behaved toward Victor and his friends.

Disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	Agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

30. I like the way Bruno behaved toward Victor and his friends.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

31. I feel ashamed about the way Bruno behaved toward Victor and his friends.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

32. I feel bad about the way Bruno behaved toward Victor and his friends.

disagree strongly disagree neither agree nor
disagree Agree agree strongly

33. I feel embarrassed about the way Bruno behaved toward Victor and his friends.

disagree strongly disagree neither agree nor
disagree agree agree strongly

34. I feel sorry about the way Bruno behaved toward Victor and his friends.

disagree strongly disagree neither agree nor
disagree agree agree strongly

35. I feel annoyed about the way Bruno behaved toward Victor and his friends.

disagree strongly disagree neither agree nor
disagree agree agree strongly

36. I feel irritated about the way Bruno behaved toward Victor and his friends.

disagree strongly disagree neither agree nor
disagree agree agree strongly

37. I feel furious about the way Bruno behaved toward Victor and his friends.

Disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	Agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

38. I feel displeased about the way Bruno behaved toward Victor and his friends

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

39. I feel upset about the way Bruno behaved toward Victor and his friends.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Imagine that you were there in the classroom, too. Here are some questions that ask what you think you would do. Please answer in the same way as before, by ticking one of the boxes.

40. I would be afraid of Victor .

Disagree strongly	Disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

41. I would be afraid of Bruno.

disagree strongly	Disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

42. I would be worried that Bruno and his friends will be unkind to me, too.

Disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

43. I would help Victor and his friends.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

44. I would laugh with Bruno and his friends.

Disagree strongly	disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

45. I would go and tell Bruno later that I liked what he did.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	Agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

46. I would do nothing at all after Bruno and her friends laughed at Victor.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

47. I would go and tell a teacher what had happened.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

48. I would say sorry to Victor .

disagree strongly	Disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

49. I would keep away from Bruno and his friends.

disagree strongly	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	agree strongly
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Questions about you:

50. What month and year were you born in? (example: June1997 = 06/1997)

M	M	/	Y	Y	Y	Y
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

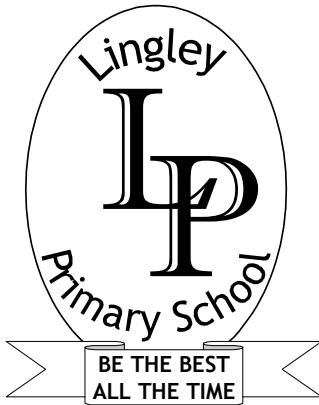
51. What Year Group are you in?

Year 5	Year 6
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Appendix C

Study 3 – Scenario for Females (Unkind, Competitive Condition)

Life at Lingley Primary School



Lingley Primary School is a [small city] school in Wales, with [two] classes in each year group. Children at Lingley Primary have a school badge that they wear on their uniform. It says “be the best all the time”. All the children at the school like to try and be the best at everything that they do. They are proud of their school.

Now please answer this question

Children at Lingley Primary School like to be the best all the time.

disagree
strongly

disagree

neither agree
nor disagree

agree

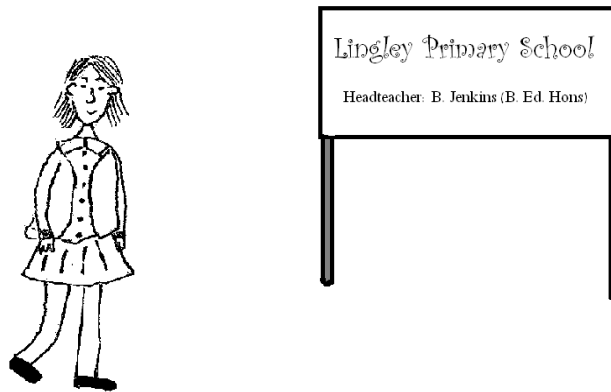
agree strongly

On the way home

Now imagine that you are a pupil at Lingley Primary School.



Please read the following story carefully, all the time imagining that you go to Lingley Primary School.

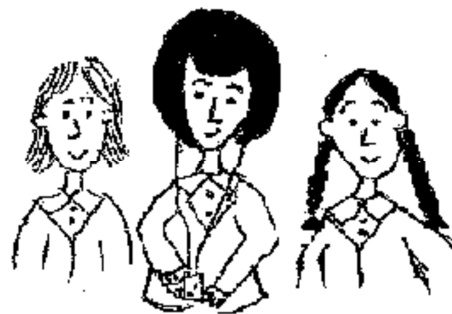


Debbie went to Lingley Primary School. That day at school the children had been working on a piece for a drawing competition; everyone had to enter their own, very best work, their teacher had said,

“Be the best all the time, remember?”

The prize for the competition was a digital camera. Everyone was putting in lots of effort because they wanted to win!

Most children in Debbie’s class lived nearby, and older children were allowed to walk home from school together with their friends.



“It was fun being in Melanie’s group.”



Debbie looked ahead and saw two of her friends; Melanie was one of them. She ran ahead to catch up with them. They turned round and stopped for her. Melanie had her MP3 player with her, and they were taking it in turns to listen to music. They offered the earphones to Debbie. She smiled: it was fun being friends with these two girls.

Debbie turned round suddenly. Melanie turned off the music and looked behind her, too: Jenny and her friends. They were the cool group in the class, and sometimes teased others. “It’s OK, Debbie, they won’t hurt us, they’re miles away”, said Melanie.

Now please answer this question

Jenny’s group is **always** kind to other children.

disagree
strongly

disagree

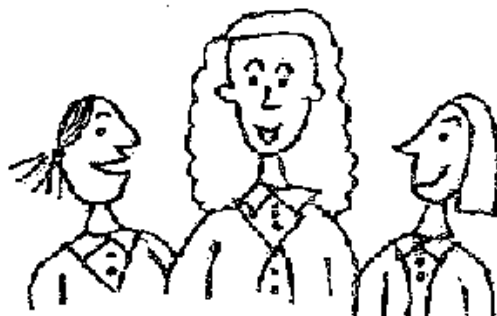
neither agree
nor disagree

agree

agree strongly

“Yes, you’re right”, decided Debbie, and they put the music back on again. Jenny’s group were looking at something together over Jenny’s shoulder as they walked; all three of them.

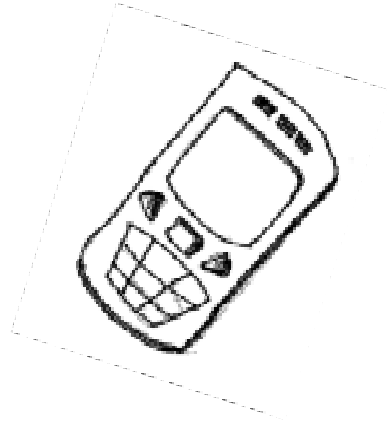
They all smiled.



“Jenny’s friends all smiled.”

Debbie's 'phone beeped: a text message. She fished it out of her bag, and read the message;

We h8 u, Debbie!



It was from Jenny and her friends. Debbie wiped away a tear, and put her 'phone away quickly. She had hoped things would be alright tonight. Shakily, she said good bye to the others, pushed open her garden gate, and let herself into the empty house. She started to cry to herself.

When you are ready, please turn the page.

Appendix D

Study 4 ~ Scenario and Question Format

(Eight-Year-Old Males, Unkindness Norm)



SCHOOL OF PSYCHOLOGY

- In this booklet you are asked to read a short story and answer some questions about it.
- Answering the questions should take about 25 minutes.
- Please do NOT put your name on this booklet.
- Your answers will be anonymous. That is, nobody will be able to tell that they are *your* answers.
- You do not have to answer these questions if you don't want to, and you can skip any questions you do not want to answer.
- Please work through this booklet one page at a time.
- If you are unsure about anything, please ask the researchers.

When you are ready to begin, please turn the page and start.

My Group

Practice Questions:

For the next questions, you should **TICK (✓)** the box underneath the words that best describe your response to the statement.

YES - I agree very much

no – I disagree

yes – I agree

NO – I disagree very much

maybe – I'm not sure

For example: I like eating chocolate.



NO	no	maybe	yes	YES
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

So, the person who answered the question liked chocolate very much.

Now please answer this practice question:

I like to watch television.



NO	no	maybe	yes	YES
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

These questions ask how you feel about being in your group.

1. On the basis of the dot guessing task, which group were **you** put in?

John's group

Pete's group

2. I am glad to be in my group.

NO

no

maybe

yes

YES

3. It is important to me to be in my group.

NO

no

maybe

yes

YES

4. I feel very close to others in my group.

NO

no

maybe

yes

YES

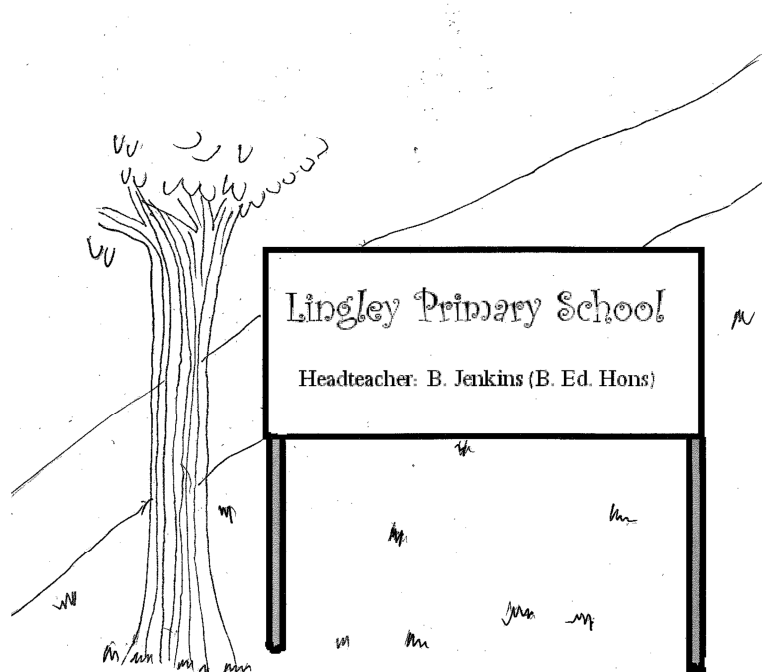
Now please read this story carefully:

The Coat Pocket.

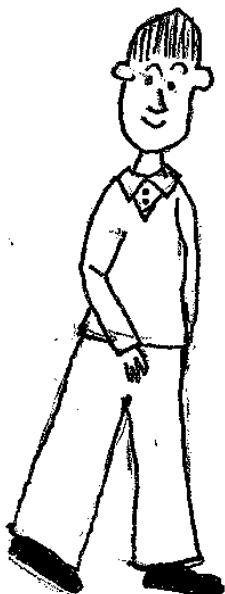


“Here, kitty,” Simon called to the cat on the wall ahead of him. The cat turned and looked at him before disappearing over the other side of the wall. Simon shrugged, and carried on walking home.

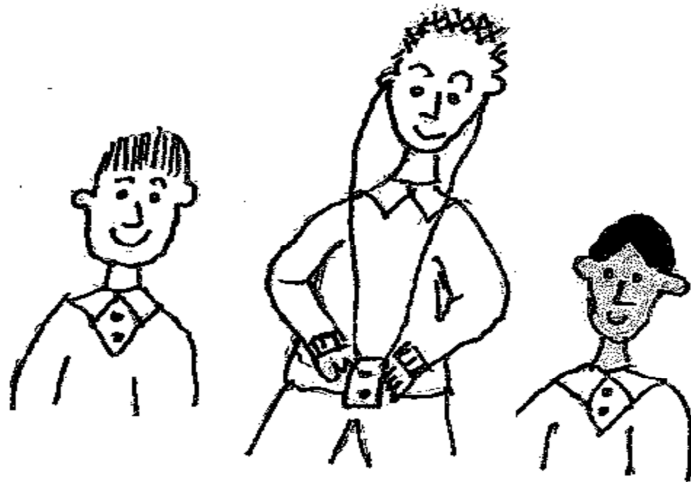
Simon went to Lingley Primary School; a small school in Wales, with one class in each year group.



Most children who went to the school lived nearby, and older children usually walked home from school together with their friends.



Simon looked ahead and saw two of his friends; John was one of them. He sighed with relief. They turned round and stopped for him.



John had his MP3 player with him, and they were taking it in turns to listen to music. They offered the earphones to Simon. He smiled: it was fun being in John's group.

Simon turned round suddenly. Simon turned off the music and looked behind him, too: Pete's group. They were the cool group in the school, though they occasionally picked on others.

Now please answer this question.

Pete's group is **always** kind to other children.

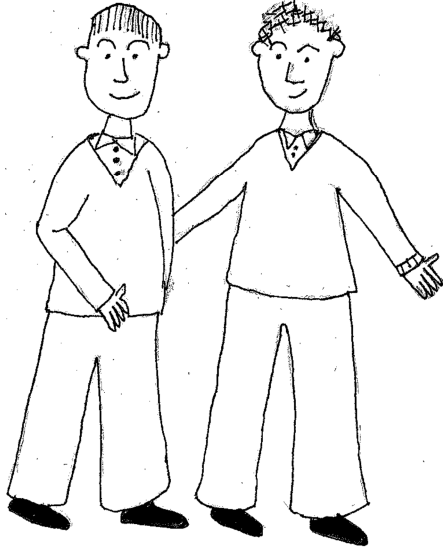
NO

no

maybe

yes

YES

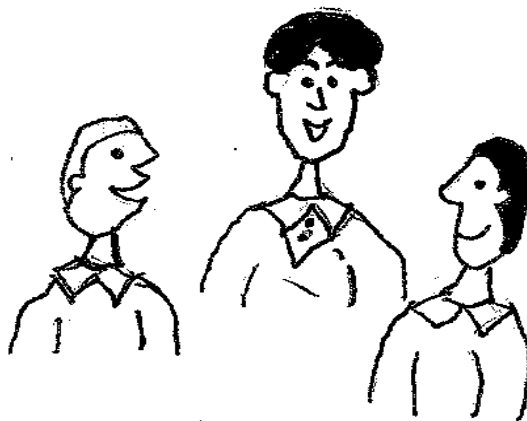


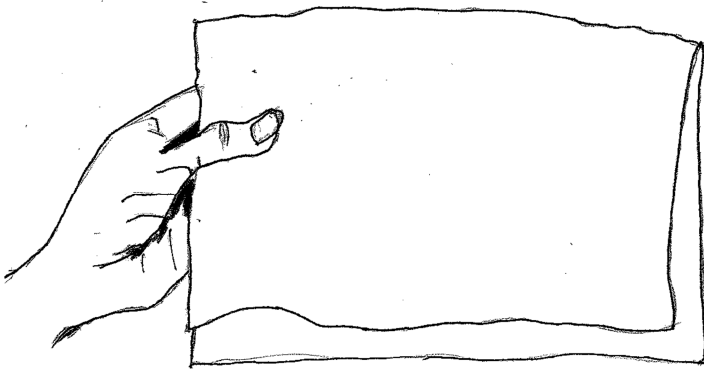
“It’s OK, Simon, they won’t hurt us, they’re miles away”, said John.

“Yes, you’re right”, decided Simon, and they put the music back on again.

Pete’s group were looking at something together over Pete’s shoulder as they walked; all three of them.

They all laughed.





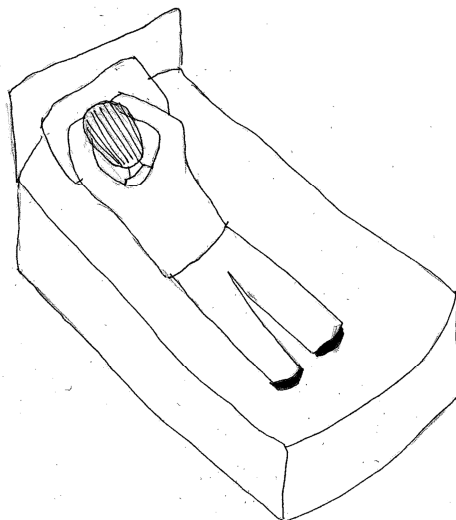
Simon's hand felt something in his coat pocket. He pulled it out to see what it was. A note.

He hung behind the others and unfolded it.

It said:

We hate you, Simon!

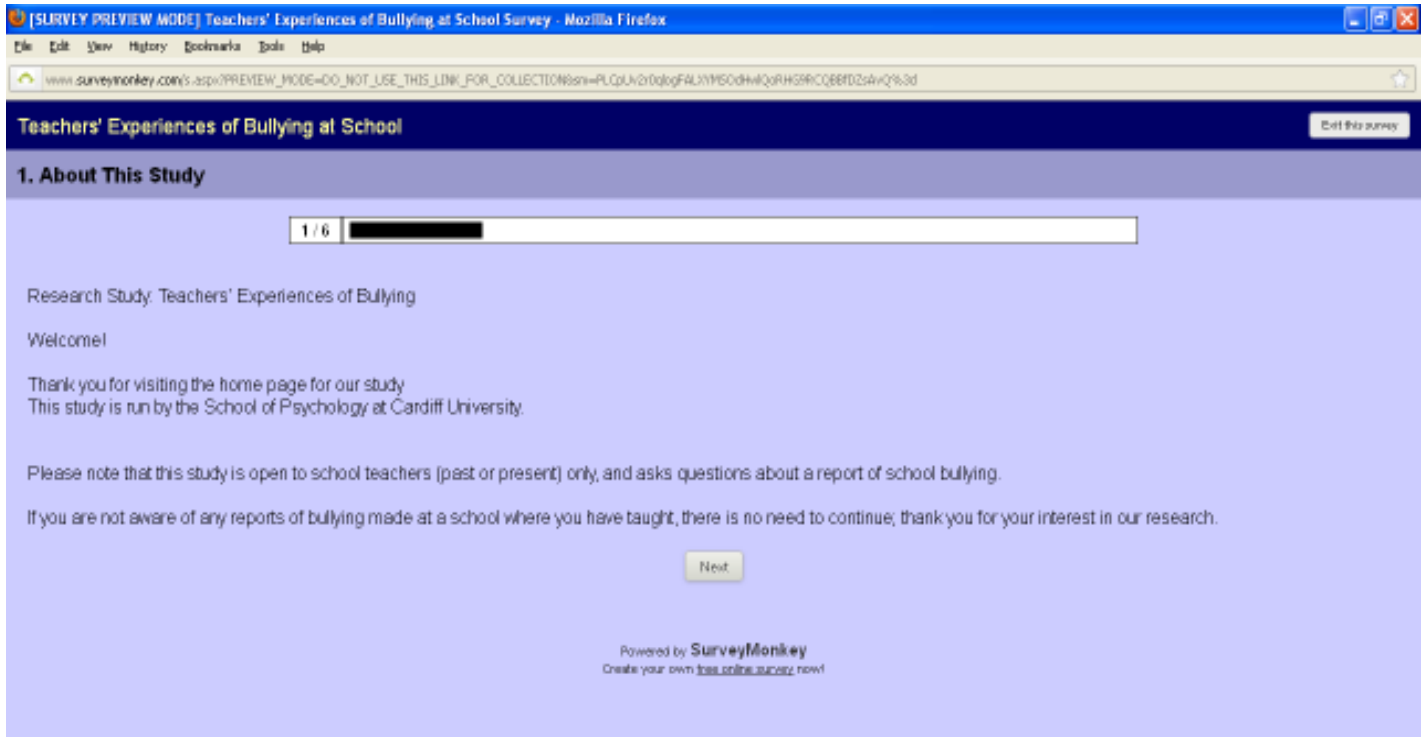
It was from Pete and his group. Simon wiped away a tear, and put the note away quickly. He had hoped things would be alright tonight. Shakily, he said good bye to the others, pushed open his garden gate, and went into his house.



He ran upstairs to his bedroom and started to cry to himself.

Appendix E

Study 6 ~ Online Questionnaire Format



[SURVEY PREVIEW MODE] Teachers' Experiences of Bullying at School Survey - Mozilla Firefox

www.surveymonkey.com/s.aspx?PREVIEW_MODE=00_NOT_USE_THIS_LINK_FOR_COLLECTION&sm=PLQJLk2tdgFALyM50dH4QrH59RC0BFDZ5vQ%3d

Teachers' Experiences of Bullying at School

3 / 6

3. About Your Experiences of Bullying

We would like you to think about ONE of the reports of bullying among children that you have known of during your time as a teacher. It may be one that you dealt with directly, or one that you know your colleagues were involved in dealing with. It would be helpful to us if you answer the questions below, focusing on this report of bullying in your answers.

3. What ages were the children involved in the incident? (Please select all that apply.)

<input type="checkbox"/> 3-4 years	<input type="checkbox"/> 9-10 years	<input type="checkbox"/> 15-16 years
<input type="checkbox"/> 4-5 years	<input type="checkbox"/> 10-11 years	<input type="checkbox"/> 16-17 years
<input type="checkbox"/> 5-6 years	<input type="checkbox"/> 11-12 years	<input type="checkbox"/> 17-18 years
<input type="checkbox"/> 6-7 years	<input type="checkbox"/> 12-13 years	<input type="checkbox"/> I'd rather not say
<input type="checkbox"/> 7-8 years	<input type="checkbox"/> 13-14 years	
<input type="checkbox"/> 8-9 years	<input type="checkbox"/> 14-15 years	

4. Please describe, in as much detail as you can, what you know about the reporting of the bullying incident that had taken place.

It is helpful if you can tell us -

- whether parents, or children, or both parents and children, told the school about what was happening
- how many children told the school about what was happening
- whether, if children reported the bullying, the children who reported the bullying were close friends with each other (and/or with the target of the bullying).

If there is anything you'd rather not say, please feel free to omit. If you'd rather not answer this question, please leave the box blank.

[SURVEY PREVIEW MODE] Teachers' Experiences of Bullying at School Survey - Mozilla Firefox

www.surveymonkey.com/s.aspx?PREVIEW_MODE=00_NOT_USE_THIS_LINK_FOR_COLLECTION&sm=PLQJLk2tdgFALyM50dH4QrH59RC0BFDZ5vQ%3d

5. We would like some information about the nature of the bullying.

It is helpful if you can tell us:

- whether the children involved in the incident were in the same or different classes.
- whether you would say that the children doing the bullying were close friends with each other.
- the number of children involved.
- where the bullying took place
- the type of bullying that was happening
- how long the bullying had been taking place.

If there is anything you would rather not say, please feel free to omit.

Appendices

6. Please describe, in as much detail as you can, the response of the school to the bullying incident.

It is helpful if you can tell us -

- How the school responded to the target of the bullying
- How the school responded to the perpetrators of the bullying
- Whether the school spoke to the whole school (or class) about the bullying
- Any specific intervention strategy used.
- Whether, to your knowledge, the school's response was effective in stopping the bullying.

If you'd rather not answer this question, please leave the box blank.

Prev Next

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[SURVEY PREVIEW MODE] Teachers' Experiences of Bullying at School Survey - Mozilla Firefox

www.surveymonkey.com/s/...PREVIEW_MODE=00_NOT_USE_THIS_LINK_FOR_COLLECTION&sn=PLQjUz70dgyFALXNHS0dHwQzRH3fACQ66FDz4wQ%3d

Teachers' Experiences of Bullying at School

4 / 6

4. About The School

We'd like some further information about the school where the bullying incident took place.

7..

	Yes	No	I don't remember	Id rather not say
Was this school in the UK?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Was it a state school?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Did it have an anti-bullying policy?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Was this school attended by children aged approximately 4-11 years?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Was this school attended by children aged approximately 11-15 years?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

8. Approximately how many children...
 ...attended the school? ...were in each class (on average)?

1-9	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
10-19	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
20-29	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
30-39	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
40-49	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
50-99	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
100-199	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
200-399	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
400-599	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
600-799	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
800-999	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
1000+	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

