Bullying,

through a Human Rights Perspective

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to gain a deeper understanding of how the judgement of causes of bullying affects teachers' decisions to intervene in bullying situations. In spite of much effort to prevent bullying, approximately 50,000 children are bullied in Norwegian schools every day, and there is no indication that these numbers are going to decrease. Teachers are obligated by the Educational Act to intervene and stop bullying whenever they discover it. Thus, every teacher has a responsibility to protect victims from harm. By viewing bullying through a human rights perspective, the obligation to promote an even stronger effort at prevention is established. Another additional purpose of the study was to investigate theoretical and empirical explanations for causes of bullying and how these findings influence the views and beliefs of teachers. Furthermore, there seems to be much mystification surrounding the bullying, which might further complicate an already complex issue. The use of negative terms to describe victims, such as having a "personality disorder" or "social incompetence", might also contribute to stigmatizing the victims. By taking a human rights perspective, we are able to focus on protection and respecting the dignity of every child exposed to bullying. There is one key question that needs to be addressed when it comes to our understanding of bullying. Given that personal characteristics are presented as an explanation for the cause of bullying, why are victims with these characteristics not then bullied across situations and times?

The study was conducted in two schools in a local community outside Oslo. The research question was addressed through a qualitative research design using a semi-structured interview according to phenomenological principles.

Results from the literature review suggest that in spite of consensus about the definition of bullying, there seems to be no single theory that explains the cause of bullying, which would enable a better prediction of bullying situations and effective preventions thereof. The results of the qualitative research suggest that teachers trust their own judgement when it comes to intervention in bullying situations. Instead of attributing the causes to personal characteristics, teachers focused on bullying behaviour and emphasized handling the bullying situation before becoming out of their control.

Key words: bullying, human rights, victimization, decision making, intervention.

Forword

Oslo, May 2014

Torword				
Thanks to my respondents for sharing their view and beliefs about the topic. Also, thanks to my supervisor Erling Kokkersvold for ideas and advices in the beginning of the thesis.				
Kind Regards				
Claus Bjørndalen				

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1 Introduction

In this thesis I will examine the phenomenon of bullying, first theoretically by reviewing the literature and then by investigating how teachers understand the causes of bullying and how this understanding affects their interventions in bullying situations. Furthermore, I will examine bullying from a human rights perspective.

Bullying in school settings may have serious outcomes for children who are the victims. Being exposed to bullying can have a negative impact on psychological functions, general wellbeing, academic results, and future life conditions.

Despite the effort at bullying prevention through general focus, an improved educational act, and governmental incited manifest, a significant number of children are bullied in Norwegian schools every day. The estimated figure is 50,000, according to school research (elevundersøkelse, 2012). The high prevalence of bullying calls for new perspectives on how we approach the phenomenon, starting from the victim's perspective and his or her needs and rights to protection. The very nature of bullying and the negative outcomes for the individual victim actually prove to be a violation of human rights. This kind of perspective may raise awareness of the phenomenon and the obligation to promote an even stronger effort at protecting our children against bullying. However, what teachers actually do in real-world bullying situations is more important than what is stated in the school policy and other relevant papers. Teachers are considered to be the most important people in a school setting and have a strong influence when it comes to the school climate and creating a positive learning environment. However, previous studies and reports have suggested that many children do not tell their teachers about bullying cases, since they do not believe it will make a difference. Some even believe telling will make the bullying worse (Rigby, 2002; Tikkanen and Junge, 2004).

The pioneer researcher in the field, Dan Olweus (1993), has argued for forty years that the nature of bullying is a violation of human rights. He has also claimed that we have sufficient knowledge to end bullying. The key question is, why haven't we managed to stop it? Indeed, in an interview, former education minister Kristin Halvorsen admits that there has not been any progress since 2009 when she called for a new campaign to stop bullying. In fact, seven

per cent of students in Norway claimed they had been bullied in 2012.(*Aftenposten*, 6 August 2013).

One possible answer for the lack of progress is that we focus only on some aspects of bullying; another is that we don't know the causes, so we only focus on symptoms or effects of bullying. That is, ignoring the social context and only focusing on individual characteristics may be too narrow of an approach to understanding the causes of bullying. As stated above, if personal characteristics can explain the causes of bullying, why aren't all children with a certain set of characteristics bullied at all times and places?

There is also a potential for stigmatization and negative outcomes due to the negative terms surrounding the victim. Official governmental advisers claim that it is difficult to distinguish between victims of bullying, individuals who suffer from social incompetence and those who need psychiatric help (Dahl, Fylkesmannen i Oslo og Akershus, 2004).

Historically, there have been attempts to explain unwanted behaviour due to race and other personal characteristics. Such explanations are not acceptable today. Why are we still trying to explain victimization by pointing to personal characteristics of the victims? These labels can cause stigmatization and discrimination and should be avoided, especially in an inclusive school setting where all students are supposed to be equal in a diverse world where individual differences are welcomed.

1.1 Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study was to gain a deeper understanding of how teachers' views and beliefs about the causes of bullying affect their interventions. Because they are the ones closest to bullying situations, teachers have the greatest potential for stopping instances of bullying. Thus, their judgement and decision making on the issue are crucial for a successful intervention outcome. I also hope to gain more knowledge about intervention processes, which can be helpful for the prevention of bullying.

Since there seems to be little known research on this topic, I have chosen to conduct explorative research in order to gain an understanding of the phenomenon. In order to address the research question, I have chosen to use a qualitative semi-structured interview from a phenomenological perspective.

I also provide a literature review in order to examine whether research findings can explain causes of bullying and whether these findings influence teachers' views and beliefs about such causes. I also intend to use the study to encourage further research on the topic.

If the research results reveal any patterns, the findings will be important to practitioners and other stakeholders.

1.2 Background

In my contact with schools, I have heard sensible explanations for the causes of bullying but also many irrational explanations. Otherwise reasonable people seem to fail when it comes to rationally explaining bullying. Without even considering the context or focusing on victim protection, people attribute causes and negative characteristics to the victim in order to justify the existence of bullying. Thus, the responsibility is placed on the victim rather than the perpetrator, as in other cases of violence. Attributing the responsibility for bullies' actions to the victim is not in accordance with a basic sense of justice or human rights.

Furthermore, our understanding of the causes of bullying influences pedagogical interventions in different ways. Whether a child's problem is attributed to contextual factors or to a certain predisposition determines how we can approach the intervention effectively. There is no use in trying to change a child's behaviour if there are situational or contextual factors that cause the problem. The effort should then be aimed at changing the context. On the other hand, if a dispositional factor is the cause, then the effort should be made to change the child's behaviour.

However, if a dispositional factor seems to be the cause, then the question is whether children are bullied because of who they are or how they behave. Moreover, who they are may be difficult to change and how they behave can also in many cases be difficult to change, since disabilities may undermine their responsibility for their behaviour.

It is unreasonable to blame the victim for bullying, and there is no empirical or theoretical evidence for such a claim. Likewise, using negative, loaded terms to label children does not adhere to a human rights perspective.

As a student in the Master of Philosophy in Special Needs Education programme, which emphasizes basic human rights for all, this is an opportunity for me to place bullying in a human rights perspective. Inclusionary education for all requires a bully-free school environment. International Convention on the Rights of the Child states that all children shall be protected from exposure to violence, and this is the underlying ethos of this thesis.

Delimitation and research question

I have chosen to investigate teachers' views and beliefs about the cause of bullying and how this affects the judgement and decision making that leads to an intervention. Because they are the ones closest to bullying situations, teachers have the greatest potential for stopping instances of bullying.

There are some theoretical shortcomings to explaining bullying, which makes bullying difficult to predict. That may have led to an emphasis of personality characteristics when explaining the cause of bullying.

One of the key question in response to such a claim is, given that the victims are responsibility for being bullied. Why are victims that are bullied in one context not bullied in all kinds of contexts? The answers to these questions are examined in the two sub-questions listed below.

1.3 Research question

I have chosen to investigate teachers' views and beliefs about the cause of bullying and how this affects the judgment and decision making that leads to an intervention.

Are people bullied for who they are or for what they do? If they are bullied for what they do, what should be done if they cannot change what they do?

Given that the victims are often seen as responsible for being bullied, why are victims that are bullied in on context not bullied in all kinds of context? The answers to these questions are examined in the two sub-questions below.

1.3.1 Main research question

"How do teachers' views and beliefs about the causes of bullying affect their interventions"?

1.3.2 Sub-questions

What is the theoretical explanation of the cause of bullying?

How does human information processing/cognition form our views and beliefs about bullying?

1.4 Outline of the thesis

The present chapter has offered an introduction to the thesis topic, background, aim, and research questions. The second chapter is a theoretical review of the bullying literature, examining relevant theories about judgements and decision making and how biases and errors influence our views and beliefs on a topic. Chapter three presents bullying through a human rights perspective, while chapter four describes the methodological process, design, method, and sampling. In chapter five I present the data material from the survey project. Finally, chapter six provides some discussion and a conclusion.

Delimitation

This thesis focuses on the victims of bullying and their human rights. The perpetrator therefore does not receive a lot of attention. Still, in order to ensure that human rights are maintained, it is important to focus on and judge the perpetrators' behaviour and not the human behind it. There are many interesting prevention programmes in schools, but they are not in the scope of this project and are therefore left out. Cyber bullying is another form of bullying that has emerged in the last few years, but it would require another approach and therefore is not within the scope of this thesis.

2 Theory

In this chapter I will review the bullying literature in order to uncover the origin and the nature of bullying and investigate whether there is a theoretical foundation for the empirical claims in the literature. Furthermore, I will explore how social competence and personal characteristics have been causally linked to bullying. This chapter also presents theories about cognitive information processing, judgement, and decision making, as well as how biases and errors may impede these processes.

2.1 Reviewing the bullying literature

2.1.1 Origin of bullying research

Today's bullying research has ts origins in Sweden in the late 1960s and the early 1970s under the designation "mobbing" (Olweus, 2010). In 1969, the board of "Hem och Skola" in Stockholm discussed why adults had stopped intervening in mobbing cases where they would normally intervene (Pikas, 1976). In this debate, Heinemann (1972), a Swedish school physician, wrote some articles and finally a book about mobbing and its negative effects on school children that he had encountered in his work. The approach was not scientific, but rather personal. It fuelled a debate that tapped into the strong societal interest in the phenomenon of peer harassment. Heinemann viewed mobbing as a group phenomenon and used the ethnographic term "mobbing", which the ethnologist Lorenz had used in describing a collective attack by a group of animals on an enemy. Lorentz further used the term "mobbing" to characterize the action of a school class or a group of soldiers ganging up on a deviant individual. Heinemann argued that mobbing is irrational; its sole purpose is to plague the victim without reason.

Moreover, Heinemann argued that mobbing usually takes the form of "all against one". The term is also known from social psychology to describe a relatively large group joined in a common activity. The "mob" is usually formed by accident, is loosely organized, and exists

only for a short time. Also, members of the mob usually experience strong emotions, and their behaviour is considered irrational (Olweus, 2010).

The debate also sparked interest in the phenomenon of bullying from a scientific point of view. Olweus (1973) argued that the perspective on mobbing was limited by its definition as systematic abuse against a victim over time. Olweus offered an alternative position, viewing bullying from the perspective of aggression and expressing some doubt about how the term was used in ethnology/social psychology to describe the kind of peer harassment that occurred in schools. He was especially concerned that the focus on the group versus its individual members could lead to inappropriate conclusions about the phenomenon of bullying, with certain aspects of the problem being overlooked. The notion of a collective act of aggression by a relatively homogenous group, according to Olweus, obscured the relative contributions made by individual members. Olweus argued further that the role of particularly active perpetrators or bullies could be overlooked within the group framework. He questioned how often the "all against one" situation actually occurred compared to bullying by a small group or an individual.

Olweus's main concern was that if bullying by a small group or an individual was more frequent than mobbing by a mob, a teacher would have problems identifying bullying in his or her classroom, making it more difficult to determine which individuals were responsible for the bullying.

Another concern of Olweus "was that the concept of mobbing will almost automatically place responsibility for potential problems with the recipient of the collective aggression, the victim, who is seen as irritating or provoking the majority of ordinary students in one way or another" (Olweus, 2010). Olweus also accepted the view that temporary emotional outbreaks from groups of school children can occur, but found it more important to focus on bullying in which an individual student is exposed to aggression systematically and over longer periods of time, whether it is done by another individual, a small group, or a whole class (Olweus, 2010).

Additionally, Olweus criticized the lack of theory and empirical findings that could shed light on the many issues and concerns involved in the general debate about bullying. Against this background, he initiated the first systematic research prospect on bullying by peers. The result was published in his book *Hackkylingar och oversittare* (1973), also published as *Aggression in Schools: Bullies and Whipping Boys* in 1978.

Olweus's (1973) research findings indicated that bullying did not occur in all types of school classes. Furthermore, the findings suggested that there were different individual characteristics among bullies, victims, and students who were not involved in bullying. Olweus concluded that if there are no individuals with characteristics typical of bullies, bullying will not take place.

Four different school class environments were represented in his model: 1) Classes with victims and bullies being problematic; 2) Classes with victims being problematic; 3) Classes with bullies being problematic; 4) Classes without any problems. The first environment is, according to Olweus, the most common. In interactions between children conflicts and tension create low-level aggression when children explore power dynamics through play situations. Usually this tumble play remains at a normal level, but when a bully is around, the play will turn more aggressive. If there is a potential victim in the play, the bully will spot him or her and the bullying will begin.

Olweus suggested that the teacher's job is to identify possible bullies and victims by their personal characteristics. The bully is aggressive, physically strong, tough, and with high self-esteem, while the victim is nonaggressive, weak, and low in self-esteem. Recognizing these personality types will increase the possibility of preventing bullying.

Pikas (1976) argued that bullying is easy to fight. His approach was client centred; an individual is afflicted and needs help now. That is, first intervene and then research. Pikas

indicated further that he was not uninterested in research findings about the causes of bullying, but that knowledge of the causes of bullying is not necessary in order to intervene in bullying cases.

Olweus worked on his research relatively on his own until 1980 when other Scandinavian researchers started studying school bullying. At the same time, Peter Smith from the United Kingdom and Kenneth Rigby from Australia began offering their contributions to school bullying research. Late in 1980, David Perry began research in the United States and was soon followed by others such as Coie (Olweus, 2013). Today school bullying research is common in many countries around the world.

Overall, early research offered contradictory definitions of bullying and causal explanations of the phenomenon. Particularly ambiguous was the delineation between the terms "mobbing" and "bullying", and whether or not these were the same construct (since these terms describe different aspects of bullying). The research was very individualized and focused on personal characteristics and home environments in order to explain school bullying

2.2 DEFINING BULLY

Many problems arise when we attempt to understand the concept and issues that surround the term "bullying". Such problems centre on definitions and theoretical causes and effects. There seems to be no consensus on how to define bullying, and there is no one theory that can explain all the different aspects of bullying.

However, in this thesis, using Olweus's (2013) latest definition, bullying is defined as when another student, or several other students:

- Say mean and hurtful things or make fun of a student or call him or her mean and hurtful names
- Completely ignore or exclude a student from their group of friends or leave him or her out of things on purpose

- Hit, kick, push, shove, or lock a student inside a room
- Tell lies or spread false rumours about a student or send mean notes and try to make other students dislike him or her
- Other related hurtful things

When we talk about bullying, the examples listed above happen repeatedly, and it is difficult for the student being bullied to defend him- or herself. We call it bullying when a student is teased repeatedly in a mean and hurtful way. But we do not call it bullying when the teasing is done in a friendly and playful way. Also, it is not bullying when two students of about the same strength or power argue or fight (Olweus, 2013, p. 756). That is, it is not children's rough-and-tumble play that may escalate into aggression and conflict. It is also important to distinguish bullying from friendly teasing.

This definition uses the three criteria below (see Rigby, 2008; Roland and Vaaland, 2003; Olweus, 2001; Otprp.nr. 72, 2001–2002), which also are widely used in other definitions of bullying:

- 1. An intention of action of psychological and/or physical behaviour.
- 2. Repetition over time.
- 3. Imbalance of power between bully and the victim

Further, in this thesis I will use imbalance of power, intentional acts, and repeated over time in describing bullying.

2.3 CAUSALITY

In this section I will investigate causes of bullying as presented in research findings. Early research concentrated much more on personal characteristics related to both personality and behaviour. However, I question whether this is the most effective approach to identify causes of bullying.

Roland (2009) argued that Olweus's main focus was on prevalence of bullying in different schools and schools environments, personal characteristics, and home environments of the bullies and victims. Based on this data he developed and elaborated on his understanding of causal mechanisms. Olweus argued that specific negative home environments stimulate aggression and lead to bullying of vulnerable children (Roland, 2009, p. 18).

It has been suggested that victims of school bullying are socially unskilled (Fox and Boulton, 2005). Elliot (1991) argued that victims of bullying are "lacking the qualities that ease every day social interactions" and that victims of bullying "lack social skills, have no sense of humour, have a serious demeanor and are incapable in the relaxed give and take of everyday life" (Elliot, 1991, p. 11). However, these claims were not supported by systematic evidence, but were important since they stimulated focused studies (Fox and Boulton, 2005). Much of the research focusing on social skills has supported the view that victims tend to have limited social skills.

Parault, Davis and Pellgrini (2007) "take the viewpoint of Coie (1990) who argues that children's social behaviours, and their social competence, underlie victimization". In her study of the social context of bullying and victimization, Coie (1990) defined social competence as one's ability to function successfully in social situations.

The sociometric method of this research approach was mainly peer nominations defined as "like most" and "like least". Students who received very few "like least" and very few "like most" nominations were labelled "rejected", while students who received a large number of "like least" and very few "like most" were also labelled "rejected". Students who received a large number of "like most" and few "like least" were labelled as "popular". Students who were labelled "rejected" are often involved in bullying either as victims or bullies. Another method used was teachers' evaluations of internal and external behaviour (Parault, Davis and Pellgrini, 2007, p. 148).

In sum, the social competence approach emphasizes that social competence underlies victimization. Victims of bullying are less able to function successfully in social situations. The research mainly used peer rating as a method of identifying victims. Measurements of "like least" and "like most" identified popular and unpopular children in accordance with their ideas. Teacher evaluation about internal and external behaviour was also used.

2.3.1 Why contextual factors are needed in explaining the causality of bullying

Taki (2010) argues that research in Europe in the 1980s and early 1990s emphasized the causality of bullying. The causal model suggested that family and/or personal innate factors are the main causes of bullying and victimization. Child characteristics, temperament, and family factors influenced bullying behaviour. Child rearing conditions could also affect aggressive tendencies in children. These causality models have been extended to recent studies of bullying.

Furthermore, Taki argues that "such previous and recent bullying research share a common approach, including (a) using a single survey with children by a self-report questionnaire; (b) categorizing children as either a bully, victim, or bully/victim according to their reported bullying experiences; (c) comparing a number of factors regarding the category; (d) speculating on the causality of bullying on the basis of merely statistical significant differences; and (e) concluding that fixed factors like family, and/or personal innate factors as the main causes of bullying" (Taki, 2010, p. 151). In addition, Taki speculates that there is an implicit premise in such causality models and research approaches. Since innate factors related to family and/or children are being studied, such factors should theoretically be present in the past and in the future and not only at the time of the survey. That is, students who are categorized as bullies and/or victims at one survey point should also be bullies and/or victims in the past and also in future. These kinds of intrinsic characteristics do not easily change. Taki also questions whether a single survey can justify the claims of the causality model. Instead, Taki suggests longitudinal methodology when testing causality in bullying research (Taki, 2010, p. 151).

Another critical view emphasizes the limitations of the self-report survey. The use of anonymous self-report surveys places a severe limitation on research seeking to identify causes and consequences of bullying, since such surveys can only be correlated with characteristics that are measured at the same time. This method is also limited when other important aspects of bullying, such as developmental background, family characteristics, and school outcomes, are left out (Cornell and Bandyopadhyay, 2010, p. 270).

2.3.2 THEORETICAL UNDERSTANDING

Rigby (2004) argued that there is no one theory that "can claim to provide a complete explanation for bullying behaviour in schools, nor form the basis for a comprehensive approach to the problem" (Rigby, 2004, p. 287). However, Rigby has identified five different theoretical perspectives: 1) bullying as an outcome of individual differences between students; 2) bullying as a developmental process; 3) bullying as a socio-cultural phenomenon; 4) bullying as a response to peer pressure within the school; and 5) bullying from the perspective of restorative justice. Rigby claims that no one theoretical approach could alone explain the bullying mechanism. However, each could contribute in some way towards a theoretical model. It might be that each theoretical stance is useful for explaining different aspects of bullying.

2.4 Characteristics of victims as causes

There seem to be some drawbacks when it comes to how personal characteristics and behaviour are casually linked to victims of bullying. Methodological disagreement about how to conceptualize and measure constructs makes it difficult to compare research findings. However, researchers are suggesting that personal characteristics and social competence have a causal relationship to the likelihood of someone becoming a victim of bullying. Furthermore, I will analyse in this section the constructs of personality and social competence and how they are linked to victims of bullying.

Personality

The key questions in this section revolve around how personality is related to victims of bullying. What is personality, how does the victim's personality explain bullying, and how can personality predict bullying?

Seligman (2001) argues that "personality is used to refer to the relatively stable psychological and behavioural characteristics of an individual". Moreover, personality influences "the way the person views the world and relates to it", and "personality remains, more or less the same across situations" (Seligman, 2001, p. 371).

The five-factor theory developed by Costa and McCrae (1978) suggests that personality traits can be measured through five dimensions: "Extroversion (Warm, gregarious, assertive, active, excitement-seeking, positive emotions); Neuroticism (Anxious, angry, hostile, depressed, self-conscious, impulsive, vulnerable); Openness (Imaginative, moved by art, emotionally sensitive, novelty-seeking, tolerant); Agreeableness (Trusting, straightforward, altruistic, co-operative, modest, tendermined); Conscientiousness (Competent, orderly, dutiful, motivated to achieve, self-disciplined, thinks before acting)" (Cooper, 2010, p. 111).

The idea behind the theory is that personality is reflected in how individuals score on the five dimensions. Low, middle, or high scores on different dimensions create a trait profile that researchers suggest can predict behaviour and reactions in social contexts. However, the drawback is that the five-factor model and other theories suggestion that personality theory is supposed to explain behaviour for adults, but not children.

That is, it may be difficult to describe children's personalities since personality is not fixed before people are in their twenties. Researchers mostly agree that personality is made up of genetic predispositions and environmental factors, which are supposed to interact in the development process. However, there is no consensus on how strongly the genetic or environmental factors contribute to determining personality. According to Roberts, Wood and Caspi (2008) children's temperaments can predict personality traits. Behavioural patterns observed in early childhood are linked to personality traits in adulthood. However, the link is rather weak; small or modest correlation effects between 0.1–0.3 have been found.

The trait of neuroticism, which includes the descriptors anxious, angry, hostile, depressed, self-conscious, impulsive, and vulnerable, is especially of interest in bullying research.

Research has suggested that victims of bullying are anxious and depressed and that this is the causal link to victimization.

However, anxiety and depression are both personality disorders and raise the question of whether these constructs refer to traits or states. Both are psychiatric diagnoses in the DSM-IV manual and require clinical treatment. This brings us back to problematic methodology issues. Research on bullying has mainly used self-ranking or peer-ranking questionnaires, which are statistical correlation studies. Correlation studies can only reveal correlations and are not designed for casualty. That is, statistical analysis cannot uncover the cause or effect of the relationship.

However, it is also well established in accordance with research findings that personality disorders are influenced by both genetic factors and experiences (Seligman, 2001). Children who may have a genetic predisposition for the development of depression or anxiety and who experience bullying may therefore be vulnerable to developing these disorders. According to this view, bullying may be a risk factor for development of depression or anxiety, and not the other way around.

In sum, depression and anxiety are best seen as risk factors or as effects of being exposed to bullying. The explanation that victims' personalities are a cause of victimization by bullying is rather weak in relation to methodological evidence, since studies have not been conducted in order to identify causality in the first place. Another important issue is how the research findings are used, since the studies do not make a clear distinction between symptoms and personality disorders and therefore have the potential to further harm the victim.

Social competence

The key questions in this section are as follows: How is social competence related to victims of bullying? What is social competence, how does social competence explain bullying, and how can social competence predict bullying?

The definition of social competence is controversial among researchers, and therefore rather difficult to explain. There seems to be no consensus about a proper understanding of the

construct. Another problem is that social competence is used synonymously with social skills and social intelligence, which makes it difficult to compare research findings and to clarify what social competence actually describes and how to make proper use of the concept.

The construct has a long history. As early as 1920 Thorndike used the concepts of social intelligence, along with abstract and mechanical intelligence, to explain human nature: "In his classical formulation: By social intelligence is meant the ability to understand and manage men and women, boys and girls – to act wisely in human relationship" (Kihlstrom and Cantor, 2000, p. 359).

Social competence has since been adopted in psychopathology and psychiatric institutions even before being taught in school settings. Furthermore, social competence is used to describe inappropriate behaviour in different settings.

Zigler and Philips (1961) studied social competence and outcomes in psychiatric disorders and called for a theoretical framework to meet the standard of methodological requirements. Inconsistent and frequently contradictory findings made it difficult to compare results of studies. Social competence was "defined by the variables age, intelligence, education, occupation, employment history, and marital status as an approximation of personal and social maturity" (Zigler and Philips, 1961, p. 265). However, Zigler and Philips's position was that a relationship between social competence and the incidence and form of mental disorders exists.

Furthermore, social competence has also been given a role in disability classification, since social intelligence has always played a part in the concept of mental retardation. The psychiatric diagnoses of mental retardation require not only evidence of subnormal intellectual functioning (i.e. IQ < 70) but also demonstrated evidence of impairment in areas such as communication, self-care, home living, and social and interpersonal skills (Kihlstrom and Cantor, 2000, p. 373). According to Gresham and Reschly (1986) social competence has long been a criterion in the area of mental retardation. In addition, school students with mild disabilities have been evaluated for special educational services when they have not met teachers' expectations or standards for social behaviour (Gresham et al, 1997).

Gresham (1981) suggested characterizing personal competence, namely academic competence, social competence, and physical competence, as relevant for school settings.

Students with mild disabilities experienced challenges with academic and social abilities, while students with more severe disabilities also experienced challenges with physical competence.

Moreover, Gresham, Sugai and Horner (2001) emphasize that social competence has been a fundamental criterion used to define and classify students with high-incidence disabilities, such as diagnosis of mental retardation. High-incidence disability groups include students with specific learning disabilities, mental retardation, emotional disturbance, and attention deficit/hyperactivity. "A social validity conceptualization defines social skills as socially significant behavior exhibited in specific situations that predict important social outcomes for children and youth" (Gresham, Sugai and Horner, 2001, p. 333). Socially significant behaviour is further described as what parents, teachers, and peers consider as important and desirable behaviour that predicts an individual's standing on socially important outcomes.

In sum, social competence is then established as a part of psychopathology that is also related to students with mild and severe disabilities. But we have not been able to establish a proper definition of the social competence construct. So much will depend on the view of the perceiver.

DEFINITION

Gresham and Reschly (1987) used five different instruments to measure social competence in their study of the dimensions of social competence and concluded that there was a relatively weak relationship between the different methods used. The findings strongly suggested that the method, setting, and content of adaptive behaviour and social skills influenced the obtained data.

Nevertheless, Gresham (1986) has conceptualized social competence as being composed of three subdomains: adaptive behaviour, social skills, and peer acceptance. Furthermore, Gresham and Elliott (1990) defined social skills as "socially acceptable learned behavior that enables a person to interact effectively with others and to avoid socially unacceptable responses". Coie (1990) defined social competence "as one's ability to function successful in

social situations". Later on Gresham and Elliott (1990) presented five dimensions of social skills in their rating system: cooperation, assertion, responsibility, empathy, and self-control.

According to Gresham, Sugai and Horner (2001), "social skills are behavior that must be taught, learned and performed whereas social competence represents judgment or evaluations of these behaviors within and across situations" (Gresham, Sugai and Horner, 2001, p. 333). Ogden (2009) emphasized that there is disagreement among theorists as to whether social competence is situationally determined or a more universal competence. Social competence can be, in Ogden's view, anything you want it to be, since there is no consensus about the phenomenon's definition and content. At the same time, Ogden (2009) defines social competence as "a relative stable hallmark of knowledge, skills, and attitudes that makes it possible to establish and maintain social relations. It also leads to a realistic understanding of one's own competence, is a condition for social mastering, and for gaining social acceptance or to establish close and personal friendship" (Ogden, 2009, p. 207).

Kokkersvold (2006) argue according to this definition the term social competence can sees as a social construction that that are dependent of context and who to judge the competence to be appropriate. The term is not static and not independent of social values, norms and rules.

Orpinas and Horne (2006) emphasized that different researchers present slightly different definitions of the social competence concept, and as a result there are opportunities for various interpretations. Social competence is defined "as a person's age-appropriate knowledge and skills for functioning peacefully and creatively in his or her social environment" (Orpinas and Horne, 2006, p. 108). This definition suggests that social competence depends both on the students' own skills, as well as the characteristics of the environment. That is, some children may be socially competent in one environment but not in another. Students' social skills may be appropriate for one environment, but inappropriate for another.

Gresham, Sugai and Horner (2001) argue that training in social skills is a popular intervention for students with high-incidence disabilities; however, the evidence for effectiveness is rather weak. A persistent problem seems to be the inability to demonstrate consistent and durable gains in and maintenance of social skills across settings and over time.

How social competence is related to becoming a victim of bullying

Research in the social competence literature gives little evidence for the causal relationship between social competence and becoming a victim of bullying. However, social competence is suggested as a causal factor and is attributed to the victim as a deficit.

In order to illustrate the difficulties of finding a causal link between low social competence and being exposed to bullying, Egan and Perry's study is a useful example. According to Rigby (2002) the study assessed children's self-perceived social competence, which is one aspect of self-regard and one that seems most likely to be related to bullying. They hypothesized that children who had low self-regard of this kind were more likely to be bullied than others. "The fact that victimization and self-perceived peer social competence influence each other suggests a vicious cycle in which low self-regard and abusive treatment by others are mutually reinforcing. ... Given this scenario, it seems improbable that the cycle of peer abuse will stop without intervention" (Egan and Perry, 1998, p. 307). Rigby states, "so we have, thanks to Egan and Perry, good evidence that self-regard is related to peer victimisation as both cause and effect. But the question remains. How can we explain this process?" (Rigby, 2002, p. 141). He adds, "It is easy to see how one's perception of social competence would take a dive after being bullied" (Rigby, 2002, p. 141).

In sum, it seems that being socially competent is easier in a friendly environment than in an unfriendly environment where bullies are present. If we have high standards for social behaviour without any consideration about the situational social context, no one will fit in.

Taken all together, social competence is clearly related to exceptional children. For example, is it easy to claim that children with mental retardation are socially incompetent since one of the criteria of the diagnosis is lack of social competence. Nonetheless, how social competence is related to students with high-incidence disabilities, such as specific learning disabilities, is not that easy to detect. Generalizations about social deficits in groups of children with different disabilities because one group has difficulties in the social arena may obscure

individual differences. What these individuals have in common is the need for individual educational programmes in accordance with their needs.

There are several problematic issues with the concept of social competence. Methodological consideration concerning how to describe the concept makes it difficult to compare research findings. Are we talking about the same concept or is it a different aspect of a concept we are comparing? So long as there is no consensus about the concept's definition, can the concept actually be used in a pragmatic manner?. That is, each researcher interprets the concept in his or her own way and uses it for his or her own intentions. The lack of agreement also makes it difficult to predict the outcome of social competence. Another problem is how social competence is individualized regardless of the kind of environment in which the behaviour takes place. It may be easier to behave in a socially competent way in a friendly environment where other students treat others with respect regardless of differences.

Given that social competence is meant to be a protective skill, it is still difficult to see how this can be useful in a social context where bullying takes place. The three bullying criteria are imbalance of power, intentional acts, and negative behaviour repeated over time. The notion that a victim might stand calm while being bullied, maintaining eye contact and having a compassionate attitude towards the bully, does not seem realistic in a real-world setting.

Cooper (2010) argued that "given that the aim of psychology is to describe, explain and predict the behavior of people", it is necessary to understand both the setting in which the behaviour occurs and the relevant differences among the individuals (Cooper, 2010, p. 2). Furthermore, Cooper (2010) argues that "the observer may simply be wrong, or they may fail to take account of situations. For example the people who were perceived as being anxious may all have been in some stressful situations. It may be that the situation (rather than the person) determines how they react" (Cooper, 2010, p. 2).

Since there seems to be no agreement about the structure of bullying, how can personal characteristics such as anxiety be understood as causal if it is not a clearly important aspect of bullying in the first place? Psychological phenomena must be understood and explained from the context in which they arise (Bastiansen, 2004, p. 18).

2.4.1 Theoretical considerations

The use of qualitative research where informants answer questionnaires retrospectively has been common in bullying research. However, what such findings mean and how can we analyse and interpret such data are matters of concern. For example, how should we interpret the results that show a correlation between victimization and measures of personality characteristics?

The basic problem is that correlation between two variables does not tell us anything about the causal relationship (if any) between the variables. We do not know whether A causes B or whether C causes A and B to be related to each other. So, even when we have tested and retested and confirmed beyond a reasonable doubt that certain qualities tend to be linked to being victimized more than others, we have the difficult problem of how to interpret the nature of the relationship. We may ask, for instance, whether having low self-esteem causes one to be bullied, or whether being bullied causes one to have low self-esteem (Rigby, 2002, p. 141).

Which means that they are using statistics to claim that there are certain characteristics among the bully and victim, but with no further explanatory factor for why and how bullying occurs. Given that a psychological theory should define, explain, and predict, the research done so far is rather lacking.

The more the theory explains about why bullying occurs, the stronger the theory is. According to Whetten (1989) a complete theory must contain four essential elements: What, how, why, and who-where-when. "What" refers to comprehensiveness (i.e. are all relevant factors included?). "How" is about relationships among the "what" factors. "Why" is about the underlying psychological conditions. The "who-where-when" is about generalization. Do we get the same results in another setting with the same factors involved? Similar findings of data describe which empirical patterns were observed, and theory explains why empirical patterns were observed or are expected to be observed (Sutton and Straw, 1995).

In sum, when theoretical explanations are missing, assumptions are made.

Interactional explanations

There is an interaction between the persons and the context that needs to be considered in a bullying situation. How people react in a situation depends partly on who they are and also the situation. People bring with them a predisposition, such as personality traits or prior histories. A person can perceive a situation as threatening due to something about the situation that reminds him or her of a previously unpleasant encounter. This can lead to a reaction that another person, with a different personal history, in the same situation would not experience (Funder, 1999).

2.4.2 Alternative explanations

In this section I will identify some alternative explanations for bullying. Viewing bullying as an abnormal situation, and victims' reactions as natural and sound, provides a different perspective and opportunities for other explanations. A bullying situation is not a pleasant place to be. A bully is not friendly and does not behave in a pro-social manner towards the target victim. Models which not consider the environmental aspect of a bully situation may miss some important information about the cause and effect.

A contextual model provides a framework for bullying situation that considering the influences of social norms and values, and how school, and peer group contribute to a situation which the imbalance of power, intentional acts, are repeated over time towards a victim.

Peer groups

Woolfolk (2010) refers to peer cultures as groups of children with their own rules and norms. Different groups of students have a set of "rules" for how to dress, language, music, appearance and interact with others. The group also determines which other students are in or out of favor. Conformity to the group rules is obligated for the members.

The process of bullying

Rigby (2002) suggests that the cycle of bullying begins when a child is seen as relatively weak and vulnerable. A more powerful student or a group of students decides to target potential victims. It may start with teasing and less serious forms of negative actions towards the victim. If the victim shows signs of being disturbed or upset, this is evidence that the bullying is succeeding. If there is approval from bystanders, the bullies continue without any concern for the victim. It all seems like fun. The cycle is likely to continue, and the harassment may become more intense and the means of bullying more elaborate (Rigby, 2002, p. 66).

Why does bullies bully?

It is useful here to note how bullies describe the reasoning for their behaviour. Rigby (2008) collected bullies' responses, listed below. Interestingly, responses were not different between boys and girls. The reasoning included:

- They annoyed me
- To get even
- For fun
- Others were doing it too
- The people I bullied were wimps
- To show how tough I am
- To get things or money from people

(Rigby, 2008, p. 45).

Social learning theory

Bullying can be seen as model learning. Through observation of consequences for behaviour, a student learns observer reinforcement. Students who observe bullying learn how it is done, who becomes a victim, who the bully is, and also whether the bullying results in any form of

reward or punishment. If there are no negative consequences to a bully's behaviour, the observer learns that there are no consequences to bullying others. Bullying may even lead to positive reinforcement such as higher status by peers. Bullying is then seen as a behaviour that merits a reward (Skaalvik and Skaalvik, 2008, p. 43).

Salmivalli (2010) identify four different roles of bystanders in a bullying incident. The four participants roles were assistants of bullies, reinforcers of bullying, outsiders and defenders of the victim. Assistant join inn when the bully incident occur, reinforcers provide positive feedback suck as laughing and cheering, outsiders withdraw from the incident and defenders defence the victim. When there is a high degree of reinforcers the rewards are high, at the other hand if there are a high degree of defenders the rewards are low and put an end to the bullies.

A bully case

Recently, a clique of popular girls has made life miserable for several of their former friends, which now finding them self being rejected. The discarded friends have committed the social sins of not fitting in any more, since they wear the wrong clothes or aren't pretty enough or aren't interested in boys yet. The popular girls start to spread gossip about their former friends in order to keep the status distinctions clear between themselves and the "the new outgroup". The popular girls start releasing the intimate secrets revealed when the "out" girls and the "in" girls were best friends-only a few months ago. In order to stop the bullying, one of the rejected girls has written a long, hart baring e-mail to her former best friend and asking why she is "acting so mean". Instead of answer the e-mail, the now popular and former best friend forwarded the e-mail to the entire school and the rejected girl is humiliated (Woolfolk, 2010, p. 65).

A case study of a group of pupils with learning difficulties

Bartlett and Burton (2012) studied students in a class and found that, for various reasons, some of them do not initially take to reading and writing. They are soon identified by their teachers as needing extra support. They are put into a group with other students with similar needs and have a teacher assistant working with them for most of the time. Sometimes they are even taken out to a small group-room called the special learning unit. Their peers soon see these students as different and start calling them names associated with low ability. They are

easily mocked by peers when they make mistakes and are laughed at when they participate in class discussions. Soon they become unsure of themselves and accept that they are not very clever at school. After a while they might start avoiding writing and participating in class. The students are labelled in a particular way and start to behave as expected. Their self-confidence disappears and the reinforcement cycle begins (Bartlett and Burton, 2012, p. 265).

Strong situation

Larsen and Buss (2010) referring to the term strong situation which suggest that some situations are so strong that nearly all people reacts in the same way. A bully situation may be experience as a strong situation for victims. Which may be explaining the inappropriate behaviour that often occur as a reaction to being exposed for bullying. Some of them are referred to as automatic reflexes or the fight or fly response (Seligeman, 2001). According to Beck (1985), anxiety is a built-in system of responses to threat and danger in which physiological arousal leads to flight, fight, or freeze reactions (Beck, Emery, Greenberg, 1985). Stimulation to a small area of the brain called the amygdala seems to trigger emotional reactions such as the "fight and flight" response. Human emotion are the outcome of physiological responses triggered by the brain, combined with the interpretation of the situation and other information. (Woodfolk, 2010, p. 396). In addition, arousal involves both psychological and physical reactions, change in brain wave patterns, blood pressure, heart rate, and breathing rate (Woodfolk, 2010, p. 397)

Taken it all together, bullying may be a complex issue. However, being at the wrong place at the wrong times seems to be the cause in many bully situations. Emphasis the environmental context which bullying taken place, bring a better understanding of the phenomena than when only focus on characteristics of the victim. We may all be vulnerable in some way, and some are more vulnerable than others in a specific situation. The likelihood of ending up as a victim depends highly on the values and norms in the social context were the bullying is taken place.

For example, students with special educational needs will be at risk if the peer group not accepts children with learning difficulties or disability as equal human. Being seen different from the normal may be the factor that trigger the bullying. Thus, contextual factors are better predictors than individuals factors. "school environment make a difference in terms of bullying behavior "(Parault, Davis, and Pellegrini, 2007, p. 167).

Focus on changing the victims or make them less vulnerable may then not be an effective solution for stopping the bullies. The bullies may only seek elsewhere for another victim that they can bully.

"However, bullying by definition occur in a social context and is jointly influenced by individual characteristics of the child and the characteristic of the setting." "Therefor, examining the impact of individual characteristics apart from contextual influences offers a limited view of bullying, highlighting personal qualities instead of contextual features that facilitate bullying incidents" (Cook, Kirk, Guerra, Kim, and Sadek, 2010, p 75).

For example, in assessing children's social competence it may be important to know something about the other contexts in which children can display their social competence. A bullying situation is not a context in which victims feel welcome or included, or where they thrive. Expecting the victimized children to be calm and exhibit empathy towards the bully may not be realistic in a real-world setting.

It is important to emphasize that everyone is vulnerable in some way. People that have particular predispositions require fewer stressors to yield a negative outcome, while people without such predispositions require more exposure to stressors before they have a negative outcome. This may explain why some are more sensitive to negative peer behaviour than others.

2.4.3 Abnormal psychology

Within an academic environment children with special educational needs may often experience socially created and reinforced interpretations of differences and normality. Professional labelling which distinguish them from their normal peers and may result in that they are viewed negative and are treated differently from their peers and teachers. (McCoy & Banks, 2012)

Scientific perspective provides the framework for understanding the causes and treatment of mental disorders. Science is the most important source of information guiding the work of psychologists in clinical practice. Each person that suffers from a mental disorder is unique. Many believe that it is no longer the "nature versus nurture" dichotomy that should be used as

a way to understand mental disorders, but rather the interplay between mind and body, between experience and brain function (Seligman, Walker and Rosenhab, 2001, p. xviii).

Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-VI)

What is normal? There is no clear definition. Still, the DSM-VI lists these seven characteristics that determine whether an action or a person is abnormal (Seligman et al., 2001).

- -Suffering: A depressed student feels miserable. We are likely to call people abnormal if they are suffering psychologically, and the more they suffer, the more certain we are about their abnormality. Suffering is not a sufficient condition for abnormality because suffering is commonplace in the normal course of life. If no other elements of abnormality are present, then grief and suffering will not be judged as abnormal. Suffering is an element that counts towards the perception of abnormality. But it is neither necessary nor sufficient. The context in which the suffering occurs counts heavily towards whether it is seen as abnormal.
- Maladaptiveness: Whether a behaviour is functional and adaptive how well it enables the individual to achieve certain goals is a fundamental element in deciding whether the behaviour is normal or abnormal. Behaviour that strongly interferes with individual wellbeing is maladaptive and counts as a factor in assessing abnormality. By individual wellbeing, we mean the ability to work and the ability to conduct satisfying relationships with other people. Depression and anxiety interfere with love and work, and, almost always, with an individual's sense of wellbeing. The stronger the presence of this harmful dysfunction, the clearer the abnormality.
- Irrationality: When a person's behaviour seems to have no rational meaning, we are inclined to call that behaviour and that person abnormal.
- Unpredictability and loss of control: We expect people to be consistent and predictable from one occasion to the next, and very much in control of themselves. In a predictable world, we can maintain a sense of control. In an unpredictable one, we feel vulnerable and threatened. The judgement that behaviour is out of control will be made under two conditions: 1) when ordinary guidelines for behaviour break down; 2) when it is unclear what causes a particular behaviour. Imagine coming upon someone who is raging and screaming in the streets. There may be good and socially acceptable reasons for such anger. But if we do not know those

reasons and are unable to elicit them at the time, we are likely to consider that person out of control and to designate those actions as abnormal.

- Rareness and unconventionality: Generally, people recognize as acceptable and conventional those actions that they themselves are willing to do. Behaviours that are rare and undesirable are often considered abnormal. It hardly matters whether the behaviour actually is rare, so long as it is perceived to be rare. Depression is a common disorder, as are anxiety states, and both are considered to be abnormal. But behaviour that is both rare and socially undesirable is often seen as abnormal.
- Observer discomfort: People who are very dependent on others, ingratiating, or hostile, create discomfort in observers. Their behaviour often enables them to feel more comfortable, but the psychological conflicts they create are painful for others. We are most likely to experience vague observer discomfort when someone violates his or her culture's unwritten rules of behaviour (Scheff, 1966). Violation of those rules creates the kind of discomfort that leads to the designation "abnormal".
- Violation of standards: There are times when behaviour is assessed not against our judgements of what is common and conventional but against moral standards and idealized norms that are believed to characterize all right-thinking and right-acting people. This view starts with the notion that people ought to behave in a certain way despite whether they really do or not and it concludes with the view that it is normal to behave in the way one ought to, and abnormal to fail to behave properly. It is abnormal to be too aggressive or too restrained, too shy or too forward, too ambitious or not sufficiently ambitious. (Seligman et al., 2001).

2.5 Labelling victimized children

Terms such as "depression", "anxiety", and "social incompetence" are negative, loaded labels that may contribute to stigmatizing children who are already in a vulnerable situation.

Depression and anxiety are both diagnoses in the DSM-IV manual. Attributing such labels to children is risky business, especially when it is done by teachers and others with no legal right to do so in the first place. In order to receive a psychiatric diagnosis, a disorder must generally

result in significant impairment of educational, social, or daily functioning. Being socially incompetent is also associated with psychological maladjustment. The primary features of depression in children, according to the DSM-IV TR, are sadness, irritability, and flat effect, which may be accompanied by feelings of hopelessness, helplessness, and worthlessness. Children with generalized anxiety and OCD tend to show extreme inhibition and fearfulness and preoccupation with potential danger.

How do these labels influence our beliefs about the causes of bullying? Prejudice, stereotypes, and discrimination can create hostile environments, including a climate of rejection, fear, anxiety, and insecurity. Related to the labelling process, the concept of self-fulfilling prophecy indicates how the categories that teachers use to label children can powerfully influence their behaviour (Bartlett and Burton, 2012, p. 266).

Many of the terms that we use to describe people involved in bullying are vague, ambiguous, and dependent on the particular person and context. When we fail to deliver accurate information about people with disabilities, we are in danger of employing stereotypes (such as labelling people as "abnormal"). As a result, people with disabilities may be viewed as a burden to society, as well to the local community and their families. Dehumanization leads to marginalization of individuals or groups. Stigmatizing victims of bullying by implying that they need to change their behaviour is then an unethical and risky solution. We also risk performing interventions in response to symptoms instead of creating solutions to the causes of bullying.

Goffman argue that by definition we believe that the person with a stigma is not quit normal. On this assumption we exercise various of discrimination. We construct a stigma theory to explain his inferiority and account for the danger he represent. We use specific stigma terms such as cripple, bastard, moron in our daily discourse as a source of metaphor and imagery, typically without given thought to the original meaning (Goffman, 1990, p.15).

According to Grenn (2008) have the victims been targeted for remedial work in the arena of social skills and cooping strategies. In her view is this approach alone usually insufficient to alleviate the problem because it inadvertently places the blame on the victim.

Kirk et al., (2005) argued that "Unlike children with other disabilities, children with emotional and behaviour disorders are often blamed for their condition. This affects their

interaction with people around them" (Kirk, Gallagher, Coleman, & Anastasiow, 2009, p.214).

In addition, Befring (2005) argued that "With a diagnostic philosophy, certain children will be branded, and some problems will be blown out of proportion". "The most serious stigma of all is undoubtedly the label "behavioural problems". Based on what we know today about the negative snowball effect of being stigmatized, it would be wise, ethically and professionally, to show greater caution in making this kind of diagnosis" (Befring, 2005, p.148).

Taking together, when describing victims, the use of language can become extremely pedantic. When using terms such as social incompetence or personality disability, which are also used in clinical pathology to diagnostic, the potential for stigma is boundless.

2.6 Possible consequences of victimization

The Self

One's understanding of oneself is a result of prior experiences of interaction with other people. These experiences form the basis of one's opinions about what one knows, believes, and feels about oneself. A self-concept can be defined as "individuals' knowledge and beliefs about themselves, their ideas, feelings, attitudes, and expectations" (Woolfolk, 2010, p. 89). One's sense of self, as a victim of bullying, is vulnerable, since the experience is directly attached to one's developing sense of identity. When victims internalize the cause of bullying and start blaming themselves, this is a major threat to the self and possibly can cause irreversible harm.

Self-fulfilling prophecies which refer to "the tendency for people to conform to others' expectations of them" (Seligman et al., 2000), may be the result of bulling. Making the situation even worse for the victims self-worth.

Another issue is how children are affected if they are continuously being told that there is something wrong with them and thus have to change. Learned helplessness; victims believe that they cannot control or improve the situation (Seligman et al., 2000), can occur when

children lose faith in the teacher and believe that it is futile to report bullying to a teacher because nothing will change.

Other consequences

There is considerable evidence for the harm bullying can cause. Despite the debate of identifying cause and effect have longitudinal studies confirmed or strongly supported the list of effects of bullying (Rigby, 2008). These include:

- Increased level of anxiety
- Loss of self-esteem and confidence
- Depression
- An increase of psychosomatic symptoms such as headaches, mouth sore, and a general deterioration in physical health
- Self-harm and suicidal thinking
- Feelings of alienation in the school environment (Rigby, 2008, p. 48).

Another issue is academic lose that may have a negative influence on educational opportunities and further life condition.

"The target of school bullying usually report thinking negatively about them self, they report feeling stupid, ashamed, and unattractice as well as lonely and abandoned at school, being the target of bullying behavior can have immediate effects, such as avoidance of school and other social situations. In addition, victimization in school can have long-term effects in that childhood social adjustment has been shown to be a significant predictor of later adjustment" (Parault, Davis, & Pellegrini, 2007, p.166).

2.6.1 Children at risk

Being at the wrong place at the wrong time put children at risk for being bullied. That is, just being at school is a risk factor. Having low self-esteem can attract bullying. However, it is also a fact that the bulling is making it even worse. Many children with excellent mental health are also sometimes bullied (Rigby, 2008).

All of the identified "causes" of bullying are actually risk factors, not causes (Orpinas and Horne, 2006, p. 34). Risk factors are characteristics of an individual or an environment that increase the likelihood that the individual will behave in a certain way. Protective factors are characteristics of an individual or an environment that help diminish the possibility that the individual will engage in detrimental behaviour or help reduce the likelihood of disease and injury (Orpinas and Horne, 2006, p. 34). Children, for example, may have a genetic predisposition to anxiety or depression that develops through environmental conditions. Furthermore, a child may experience several unpleasant situations, such as bullying, in a particular setting, which increases the likelihood that he or she may develop feelings of fear, depression, or anxiety compared to others who do not have the same experiences. These conditions are risk factors and not causes.

2.6.2 Prejudgment and discrimination

Some children are seemed different from others

Discrimination can be defined as "treating or acting unfairly toward particular categories of people" (Woodfolk, 2010, p. 171). Prejudice can be defined as prejudgement or irrational generalization about an entire category of people (Woodfolk, 2010, p. 170). Prejudice influences our beliefs, emotions, and behaviour towards a target group. For example, prejudice against victims of bullying is driven by believing they are socially incompetent (belief), the feeling of disgust towards the victims (emotion), and the refusal to help them (behaviour) (Myers, 2002, p.5) "One source of prejudice is the human tendency to divide the social world into two categories us and them, or the in-group and the out-group". Other sources of prejudice are self-justification, emotional reactions, or a set of cultural values (Woolfolk, p.170, 2010).

People have a tendency to justify their privilege by assuming that they deserve to have because they are superior to the have-nots, who don't deserve to have. This can lead to blaming the victims. People who are bullied are seen as causing their problems by their behaviour. Thus, they get what they deserve (Woolfolk, p.170, 2010).

There are many members of minority groups who are at risk of being bullied simply because of the group they belong to. For example, students with special needs are vulnerable to becoming victims. Students with special needs are not a homogenous group but present a range of different needs, some severe, but mostly mild or moderate. Some of these students have needs that are caused by issues that they are unable to handle due to genetic predispositions. They therefore have little or no influence over their own behaviour. They can in some cases behave in a so-called provocative way and thereby become victims of bullying. Teachers may have prejudices based on how the victims behave, cause problem, or create an extra workload. Therefore, teachers sometimes do not intervene to help the victim. As a result hurtful bullying are ignored and never confronted.

2.7 Teachers' expectations

In this section I will explain how teachers' expectations are influenced by their own views and beliefs and how these may be affected by different sources. Some beliefs are so ingrained that even the believer is unaware of them. I will use a framework of decision making theories such as Cognitive Information Processing and Attribution theories when examine social perception and theirs biases.

2.7.1 Information Processing/Perception

The social and cognitive psychological literature suggests that stereotypes fulfil the function of helping to explain a complex world and to save cognitive energy, due to limited cognitive information processing capacity or social shared group beliefs, which become normative beliefs (McGarty, 2002).

Research has suggested that humans use two different information processing systems for perception. Due to capacity limits in the cognitive system, we cannot pay attention to

everything that we sense. Much of the input is handled by prior knowledge, experiences, and schemas that give us information about what is typical of a category or what to expect from an object or situation. Schemas also give us information through scripts of what to do in different situations. We use selective attention and concentrate on particular elements and ignore others. We use bottom-up processing to filter the input of raw data and organize information into categories. Data that do not seem to need further attention are processed automatically. Issues that require more attention and elaboration are processed through the controlled cognitive top-down system (Helstrup and Kaufman, 2000). Thus, prior knowledge and experience stored in schemas help us make the world more predictable when we encounter new situations. Problems arise if we infer more about an individual based on their membership to a particular group.

Biases and errors in decision making

A weak spot in human judgement and decision making is that much of the information processing occurs without overt attention, and thus never reaches controlled processing. Prior knowledge influenced by our views, beliefs, and attitudes impact new situations without our own awareness of it, and thereby may lead to biases and errors in our judgement and decision making.

Stereotypes

Both categorization and stereotyping are useful in most situations, but are also prone to errors and biased outcomes. A stereotype can be defined as a "schema that organizes knowledge or perceptions about a category" (Woodfolk, p.171, 2010). However, stereotypes also help explain a complex world, supporting limited information processing capacity, and form socially shared group beliefs.

When we meet a person, we attribute certain personality traits/characteristics to them only because they belong to a particular group. Inferences about an individual based on their group membership may be wrong, since a stereotype obscures individual differences.

Shared stereotypes may be useful for predicting and understanding the behaviour of members of a group. However, when a stereotypical view becomes a normative belief, such as the stereotypes used to explain bullying, such beliefs may lead to incorrect conclusions.

Stereotypical explanations of causes of bullying, for example that victims behave in a way that invites bullying, may not be factual. The view that victims are socially incompetent or have other negative characteristics that lead to bullying is a dangerous stereotype that can be used to justify bullying.

Stereotyping becomes really problematic when incorrect stereotypes are shared by colleagues in a school setting, and may have a major impact on our judgement and decision making when it comes to how we intervene in different situations. Social or cultural norms may further reinforce stereotyping of individuals who belong to a particular group. Organizations and cultures influence people's views and beliefs and how to react to different issues, and demand conformity of its members. Overall, stereotypes may lead teachers to unintentionally act on biases or make errors in judgement and decision making.

Self-fulfilling prophecy and Confirmation bias

Myers (2002) argues that teachers do have higher expectations of some students than of others. The Pygmalion effect (Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968) suggests that misconceptions ultimately prove true in school settings when it comes to grading students. Moreover, other research suggests that social beliefs may be self-confirming in that we help construct our own social realities. Behavioural confirmation is a kind of self-fulfilling prophecy whereby people's social expectations lead them to act in ways that cause others to confirm their expectations.

According to Plous (1993) confirmation bias is defined as the tendency to search for information that confirms one's preconceptions. Confirmations bias and self-fulfilling are the two biggest treat to reality when processing information about a target.

ATTRIBUTIONS

How people generally establish causal attributions is important in understanding the judgements and decisions people make about the causes of bullying in a school setting.

According to Kelley's (1967) ANOVA model of causal attribution, people generally explain behaviour in terms of three possible causes: First, there is something about the person that may have caused the behaviour (person). Second, there is something stable about the situation that may have caused the situation (situation). Lastly, there is something about the particular occasion that may have caused the behaviour (time). Kelley argued further that these three

attributions are based largely on three sources of information. First, do other people respond similarly in the same situation? (consensus). Second, do other situations or stimuli elicit the same behaviour? (distinctiveness). Lastly, does the same thing happen every time? (consistency) (Citied in Plous, 1993, p. 174).

In sum, if most children behaved identically when confronted with the same situation, should consensus information about the environment lead teachers to make situational attributions? On the other hand, if teachers attribute behaviour to personal characteristics rather than to situational factors, are they making the wrong attribution and therefore biased decisions?

The fundamental attribution error

According to Myers, "the fundamental attribution error is the tendency for observers to underestimate situational influences and overestimate dispositional influences upon other behaviour" (Myers, 2002, p. 84). Ross (1977) argued that focus on actors and their behaviour leads observers to over-attribute behaviour to dispositional factors, such as abilities, traits, and motives, and underestimate the influence of situational factors. This happens partly because when we focus the attention on the person, the situation becomes relatively invisible.

According to Plous (1993) research has shown that base rate information is often ignored and thus suggests that the fundamental attribution error may be very resistant to change.

In Addition, Ferraro, Ppeffer, and Sutton (2005, p.12) suggest that there may be three mechanism which theories can become self-fulfilling. 1) "the design of management practice, 2) the transformation of theoretical assumptions into social norms about behaviour, 3) the language we use, which can shape what we notice and the categories we use to interpret the world around us". In a school setting, this model explain how teachers conform to an school policy which may or may not being based on a narrow approach towards victims of bullying.

Teachers take their expectations, based on their beliefs, into the initial meeting with a victim of bullying. Their judgements about the bully situation are also influenced by the view of their colleagues and headmaster, and the schools ethos. Whether the outcome become beneficial for the victim, is then depending strongly on the views and beliefs of the teacher involved.

Stereotypes undoubtedly sometimes lead to errors, biases, self-fulfilling prophecies, and a variety of unfair and unjustified outcomes (Jussim, Cain, Crawford, Harber, and Cohen, p.203).

Overall, human perception is prone to inaccurate and misleading information processing due to how the cognitive systems function. While categorizing and stereotyping help us to make the world predictable, they are also a source of biases and errors in judgement and decision making. Furthermore, the ways in which we attribute causes are prone to errors since we overestimate personal disposition and underestimate situational factors, and shape the extent to which biased beliefs are expressed.

3 Human Rights in the School system

In this chapter I will first establish that bullying is a violation of human rights. Second, I will investigate possible violation at the individual teacher level and the system level.

Bullying, through a Human Rights perspective focus on the victims right for protection against being exposed for violence. Bullying threatens children's human rights by compromising their safety, inclusion and welfare (Grenne, 2006).

Norwegian have signed and ratified the Convention for protection of Human Rights and the Convention on the Rights of the Child. These Conventions, in addition to the Educational Act and the school Curriculum is every child in Norwegian schools protected against being a victim of bullying. They also protect children for being labelled and stigmatized for being a victim of bullying. Being exposed for bullying are violation of the Human Rights, and the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and the section § 9a-3 of the Educational Act. All of these governmental documents give all children in Norway legal protection when it comes to be exposed for bullying. The teachers and the school are obligated to protect all children without any doubt.

The school curriculum, Educational Acts and other steering documents describe in different ways how to work with a basic set of common values in Norwegian schools when it comes to Human rights and democratic ideals. Bullying, violence, insulting and offensive behaviour, racism and discrimination are not compatible with democratic ideals (Frånberg, 2002).

Bullying is by definition violation of Human Rights. Behaviour which include abuse of imbalance of power, intentional acts, and repeated over time against someone which is not able to defend him or herself is against children right for a safe school environment. Whether the cause to bullying is explained by victims' social incompetence, personality, learning difficulties, disabilities, race, sexual orientation, and religion, they all have the right to protection. Bullying is not only about intentional acts of causing harm, but also about the actually harm that may be the result of bullying.

Children's right include protection against.

Article 2 (1) "States Parties shall respect and ensure the rights set forth in the present Convention to each child within their jurisdiction without discrimination of any kind, irrespective of the child's or his or her parent's or legal guardian's race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national, ethnic or social origin, property, disability, birth or other status." (2):" States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure that the child is protected against all forms of discrimination or punishment on the basis of the status, activities, expressed opinions, or beliefs of the child's parents, legal guardians, or family members."

Article 16 (1):

"No child shall be subjected to arbitrary or unlawful interference with his or her privacy, family, or correspondence, nor to unlawful attacks on his or her honour and reputation

Article 19(1): "States Parties shall take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse, while in the care of parent(s), legal guardian(s) or any other person who has the care of the child."

Another, guidance is the educational act that state

"The school shall make active and systematic efforts to promote a good psychosocial environment, were individual people can experience security and social belonging. If any school employee learns or suspect that a pupil is being subjected to offensive language or act as bullying, discrimination, violence or racism, he or she shall investigate the matter as soon as possible and notify the school leader and, if necessary and possible, intervene directly." (The educational Act section § 9a-3

Lovdata, 2011, p.X).

There may be several issues that are in conflict with the human rights, such as the intention to harm, second the actually harming and lastly, blaming the victim /labeling and stigmatization.

First, the intention to harm a victim is a violence of the victims rights for a safe protected environment. Second, the actually harming of victims that cause psychological and/or physical distress and well-being. Third, the school situation and academic result. Fourth, when schools don't acknowledge the victims rights and needs for belonging. Fifth, further stigmatization through labeling characteristics to victims and making of this characteristic causes. Sixth, dehumanization of victims.

Rye (2001) argue that "one of the most important requirement for children to thrive in school, learn, and develop socially and emotionally, Is that they feel secure and enjoy being in the classroom" (Rye, 2001, p.98). Further, argue Rye that some basic psychological needs, such as being seen, met, understood, accepted, and acknowledged has to be considered in a learning context.

The school System through a Human Rights Perspective

When bullying situations occur, the school becomes a legal part and is obligated to intervene according to legal procedures. According to the law the school is obligated to have routines and procedures in order to handle the bully case in an adequate way. And they are obligated to use them actively as well. Most schools are believed to handle bullying cases in accordance with the Educational Act, and thus, contributing to the welfare of the child.

However, approximate 50 000 children are bullied in Norwegian schools each day (Elevundersøkelsen, 2012). Which mean that not all schools take the bullying phenomena seriously. One of the criteria in the bullying definition, repeated over time, is especially difficult to come around without the knowledge of a teacher or other staff.

Rigby (2008) argued that there are schools that not accept the proportion that bullying occurs in all schools, including their own. Further, there have been good deals of denial of this obvious fact. The reason may be that school leaders fear that the school reputation will suffer if the world goes around that there is bullying going on at the school.

Since the school becomes a legal part when bullying occur, it may be beneficial for the school to act unethical and self-protectiveness on the behave of the child

School leaders which address bully cases with abuse of authority have several tools to use:

- Neglect that there is bullying going on
- Redefine bullying as a conflict, since there are none legal legislation when it comes to conflicts.
- They deny any responsibility for bullying taken place
- Attributing victim characteristics as causes, such as social incompetence or personality

- They try to justify bulling behavior blaming the victim.
- They don't take any responsible

Telling the teachers

Teachers is believed to be the significant other that actually can stop a bullying process.

There have been many studies that confirm the tendencies that telling the teacher don't get any better or the bullying get even worse (Olweus, 1993;Rigby, 2008; Fekkes et al., 2005;)

In a Dutch study by Fekkes et al., (2005) children who reported being bullied were asked if they spoke about this with the teachers or with their parents. A substantial number of teachers were unaware of the bullying, and teachers which knew only succeeded to stop it in 49% percent of the cases.

In their study about "prospective teachers attitudes towards bullying and victimization" Craig, Henderson, and Murphy (2000, p.7) argued that 25 percent of the teachers did not define name calling, spreading rumors, intimidation by starting or taking other's belonging as bullying. Additional, a significant proportion of teachers did not view social exclusion as bullying either.

In sum, it is likely that teachers do not intervene if they don't define behavior as bullying. However, attitudes also influences teachers likelihood of intervention.

In another study, Kochenderfer-Ladd and Pelletier (2008, p.3) investigated teachers' views of bullying regarded to three general beliefs: 1) assertive beliefs, children would not be bullied if they would stand up for themselves; 2) bullying is normative behavior that help children learn social norms, and 3) avoidant beliefs children, would not be bullied if they avoided mean kids. The findings suggested that teachers with normative beliefs were less likely to punish acts of aggression, telling he victim to ignoring the bullies, or expecting children to work it out themselves. Thus, normative beliefs imply that nothing is wrong so intervention is not necessarily.

Olweus asserted, "there is an increasing recognition in most countries that children have a basic human right to feel safe at school" (Olweus, 1993, in Rigby and Bauman, 2010). As far back as 1983, Olweus argued that teachers did relatively little to counteract the considerable problem of bullying in schools. The large group of victims of bullying is to a great extent neglected by the school (Olweus, 1993). "To refrain from actively counteracting bully/victim problems in school implies a tacit acceptance [of it]" (Olweus, 1993, p. 49).

Olweus argued further that we know that many youngsters are targets for harassment over long periods of time, often for many years. And the effect of being in a state of anxiety and insecurity, and with poor self-esteem, can sometimes become so overwhelming that victims see suicide as the only possible solution. "Every individual should have the right to be spared oppression and repeated, intentional humiliation, in school as in society as large". Olweus further elaborated that "no student should have to be afraid of going to school for fear of being harassed or degraded, and no parents should need to worry about such things happening to his or her child" (Olweus, 1993, p. 48).

The problem of bullying also relates to the broader society. A student who is repeatedly bullied by other students without interference from adults is learning a more general societal attitude towards violence and oppression. Similarly, a student who for long periods of time is allowed to harass others without hindrance from adults is also learning about society's attitudes regarding violence and oppression (Oweus, 1993).

Teachers as bullies

In Olweus (1996) study among pupils between grade 6-9 is become clear that teachers bullied pupils. 10 percent of the teachers bullied 2 percent of the pupils in the study. There was none indication that the pupils was noisy or behaved negatively as a cause for being bullied by the teachers. The characteristics of the bully teacher however were: Hugh personal problems or problem with their role as teachers; been in opposition to one or more pupils;

under severe pressure from stress or burnout. There may be much underreported cases of teacher – pupil bullying since there is little focus about this issue.

Rigby (2008) argue that teacher bullying pupils occur occasionally. Hostile environment which teachers and administrators implicitly or explicitly support through making a hostile climate is a source for bullying. Teachers dismissive treatment of children that is different or don't meat academic standard make a bad role figure in the classroom and among peers. Greene, 2006).

Further, argue Hayes "that teachers have a duty of care towards pupils and have to take reasonable steps to prevent pupils from being verbally or physical abused" (Hayes, 2006, p.27).

4 Methodology

In this chapter I will explain why I chose the methods and strategies of the research design in order to answer my research questions and additional sub-questions:

How do teachers' views and beliefs about the causes of bullying affect their interventions?

How does human information processing form our views and beliefs?

Is there a theoretical explanation for the causes of bullying?

4.1 Literature review

A literature review was conducted to explore the current knowledge and previous research findings in the bullying research field. By doing this I was able to compare findings such as differences and similarities, gaps, etc., between different approaches and perspectives.

4.2 Qualitative research design

Dalen (2011) argues that the main principle for qualitative research is to develop an understanding of the phenomena that is connected to people and situations in the real word. In my research I chose to use a qualitative research design utilizing a descriptive phenomenological approach. Phenomenological research approach focuses on the subjective experience of the individuals studied. The goal is to understand how individuals construct reality (Edmonds, 2013).

The phenomenological research approach is developed from the philosophical position of Edmond Husserl, which emphasis that starting point for knowledge was the self's experience of phenomena, and sensations which arise from experience (Edmonds, 2013).

The basic gathering of data will be through a phenomenological approach based on a semistructured interview.

4.3 Qualitative interview as research method

I used a semi-structured interview guide in order to answer my research question. Robson (2002) argues qualitative interviews are most appropriate when the study focus on the meaning of particular phenomena to the participants. A qualitative research interviews try to understand the real world setting from the respondents' point of view, how they receive their world (Kvale and Brinkman, 2009). A semi-structured interview has predetermined questions, but the questions can be modified or additional question can be given upon the interviewer's perception of what seems most appropriate (Robson, 2002). This gives the researcher and the informant an opportunity for a common understanding and agreement of the topic and items that are presented.

4.4 Sampling of respondents

Teacher's in middle schools (3-5 grad) are the target population in this research. Since, incidence of bullying has been found to peak at this age (9-11 years group), and thus, they may have great experiences when it comes to bullying situation. I wanted to interview teachers about their views and beliefs when it comes to causes of bullying and how factors influence the intervention.

4.4.1 Sample size

Smith, Flowers and Larkin (2009, p.51) argued "that there is no right answer to the question of the sample size. The issue is quality, not quantity, and given the complexity of human phenomena, studies usually benefits from a concentrated focus on a small focus of cases". However, three cases is a very useful number, since it allows the researchers to conduct a detailed analysis of each case and similarities and differences between the cases.

4.4.2 Sampling

My first aim was to reach four to six teachers from two different schools, prompting me to send out an enquiry to the headmasters of seven schools in Oslo. Schools were chosen based

on criteria of heterogeneous mixes of student from different ethnic backgrounds in Groruddalen. None of the target schools wanted to participate. Only one school actually responded, saying they were too busy to participate. I then received some information from a social teacher in another school that the headmaster of her school would be interested. But ultimately that school was unable to participate as well. Finally, I used a version of convenient sapling, which results in that three teachers responded to an enquiry sent by a friend of a friend, and the research could begin. Later, two other teachers wanted to participate, but were excluded because they wanted to see the interview guide upfront and wanted to answer questions by telephone. Thus, they did not fit the criteria for semi-structured interview design that I had chosen

4.4.3 Sampling result

Three teachers are respondents in this study. They have between 17 - 25 years of experience as teachers in middle school. They come from two different schools in a community just outside Oslo, with a heterogeneous mixes of student from different ethnic backgrounds. The schools have approximately 350 students, and have classes from first to tenth grade. The teachers all have classes in the middle school.

4.5 Preparation and data collection

4.5.1 The interview guide

In this research project I used a semi-structured questionnaire. I chose this format because of the research questions. The research question was operationalized into nine main questions and included a series of sub-questions.

"How do teachers' views and beliefs about the causes of bullying affect their interventions"?

- 1: How do you define bullying?
- 2: What is your point of view when it comes to explaining causes of bullying?
- 3: Are you influenced by this explanation when and if you intervene?
- 4: Does the school have routines and/or procedures about how to handle bullying?

- 5: Do you distinguish between conflict and bullying?
- 6: Do you have personal knowledge about the law concerning bullying?
- 7: Do you have personal knowledge about the UN's definition of human rights, which includes the right to not be exposed to bullying?
- 8: What did you do the last time you discovered or received information about a bullying situation?
- 9: Do you intervene because the law demands you to or because you feel it is the right decision to make?

4.5.2 Pilot research

I first conducted a pilot study to develop questions for the interview. Since the study was expected to touch on many sensitive issues, I used a convenient approach – interviewing pedagogues who were available.

I first created a questionnaire in order to get some ideas about following up with subquestions in the interview. I created a schema about attitudes towards causes of bullying and how interventions should be conducted. For each question, participants expressed their agreement on a 5-point Likert scale by marking the number on the scale that best represented their agreement with the question, with high scores indicated high agreement (5=very much, 1=not at all, 0=don't.

I had five respondents among master's students and a special pedagogue. The answers provided first-hand information about how to craft my sub-questions. There was some consensus among finding depending on the questions.

4.5.3 Interview situation

The interviews took place at each teacher's school. I allowed the teacher to choose whether they would come in to University of Oslo or another place that was more suitable. They all chose to do the interview at their workplace. I presented myself and let them know about the procedure and that they were free to quit the interview at any time if they wanted to. They were also told that if they changed their mind at any time, they could later rescind their agreement to have their answers used in the research. Lastly, they signed a letter of informed acceptance. They were also asked whether they accepted that the interview would be taped in order to make the transcription process more accurate, which they all agreed to. The interviews lasted for 35–40 minutes. The informants also agreed to be contacted if anything was unclear or if they needed any additional information.

4.5.4 Validity

Validity in qualitative research is "the extent to which the research uses methods and procedures that ensure a high degree of research quality and rigor" (Gall et all., 2007, p. 657).

Maxwell's (1992) suggest different aspects of validity for qualitative research: descriptive validity, interpretive validity, theoretical validity, and evaluative validity.

In securing the validity of my study I found Maxwell's suggestion for descriptive and interpretive validity must relevant. Descriptive accuracy from notes or tapes in the interview is important for the validation of the transcription done. Did he or she really makes such a statement or did you mishear, mistranscript or misremenber the respondents words. In my study I wrote down all the recorded data materiel, and compared it with mu field's notes. Another threat to validity is in the interpretive section. Misinterpretation of the respondents view and beliefs is an important threat to validity. Both when you taking notes in the interview situation and when you later analysing the data materiel can misinterpretation happened. Have you described what the respondents understanding about the phenomena or is it you as a researchers understanding that have been written down is issues to consider. Also when categorization is happen is accuracy a must for validation. In this study I am using a phenomenological research approach, which mean that the respondents understanding that is emphasised and the accuracy of description of his or her view. (Maxwell, 1992).

4.6 Analysis of the data

In this section I explain how I handled the findings of data. The analysis is based on the empirical material. I applied a descriptive form of analyses based on the principle of phenomenological research approach. The aim is to describe the teachers view and beliefs about causes to bullying. What are theirs experience with causes and the nature of bullying and in what context they experienced it is issues that are going to be explored in this section.

4.6.1 Transcriptions

In this section I describe the transcription from my tape recording and notes of the interviews. Transcription is a concrete transformation of oral speech into written text (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). The aim is to get the text becomes structured and prepared for analysis.

The phenomenological approach, which I have, chosen in this study emphasis to describe the respondents meaning from their understanding of the phenomena under study. Therefor I have decided to wright down the data material word right from the tape recording and the notes.

Categories

I chose to interview teachers because they are the ones closest to bullying situations and thus have the greatest potential for stopping instances of bullying. As a consequence, teacher's competence, willingness to act according to the law and other steering documents, and school climate were factors that affected the teachers' decisions about whether or not to intervene.

The next step to do is to read through the data materiel and get a feeling for what is being said and identifying key terms in the text. Further, I will divide these questions into three categories. The first, view and beliefs of causes: individual or social context. The second, knowledge about law, refers to human rights, the educational acts, and the curriculum. The last, school climate, is measured according to the learning environment.

5 Presentation of findings

In this section, I will describe the finding from the perspective of the informant. The data is from interview transcriptions and the notes that were taken under the interview. Three categories were made from the interview guide. Further, I explored the data and organized them into the three categories.

The main research question: How teachers views and beliefs about the cause to bullying affect their intervention do? Was answered in this process.

For reasons of confidentiality, I refer to my informants as "Teacher 1 - 3".

- 1: How do you define bullying
- 2: What is your point of view when it comes to causes to bullying
- 3: Do you get influenced by this explanation when and if you intervene
- 4: Does the school have routines and/procedures about how to handle bullying
- 5: Do you distinguish between conflict and bullying
- 6: Do you have personal knowledge about the law concerning bullying
- 7: Do you have personal knowledge about UN's human rights which gives the individual rights to not being exposed to bullying
- 8: What did you do the last time you was discover or got information about a bullying situation
- 9: Do you intervene because the law is demand you or because you feel it is a right decision to do sow

These questions were reduced into three different categories.

Category 1: view and beliefs about: bullying, description, explanation of causes, refers to question 1 - 2.

Category 2: view and beliefs about intervention in the social context where the bullying is taken place, Refers to question 3-5-8-9.

Category 3: regulations in curriculum, laws and international HR, refers to question 4-6-7.

Findings

Q1: How do you define bullying

T1: a student is bullied when plagued over time and not are able to solve the situation.

T2: bullying is something that are repeated over time

T3; student are plagued over time from other students.

Q2: What is your point of view when it comes to causes to bullying

T1: I have heard many odd explanations from different teachers throughout my career. Everyone can be bullied for all kind of reasons. I can't see a single cause. However, I believe that someone is able to see that someone is vulnerable, and are using this for bullying someone. The bullies may have some need for hurting others. Children in general do challenges social norms in order to watch the consequences. Children can be really mean to other children.

Sub question 2-1: Social competence is not an issue when it comes to bullying. Both victims and bullies may have social competence but still become victims and bullies.

T2: There are none single cause. Children that are more powerful indentify children that are less powerful and bullying them. Especially children that accept that they are bullied are bullied.

Sub-question 2-1: What about social competence?

Social competence is not a cause, a better explanation is that children that over a long period have been bullied are vulnerable, and become very sensitive to hurtful behaviour from peers. And then the circle is going on.

T3: there are many causes. A climate of accept in the school environment. Children that is unsafe. Class leadership, school environment, children that is different, children that didn't understand social clues. In some classes is it accept for being different in other not. Many children are different due to all kind of reasons, however they are still not bullied. Popular inn and out groups competition. Sometimes bullying is discovered first when the victim do some

inn-appropriate behaviour. Teachers haven't' paid attention and intervene in order to stop it. However, children that are safe are not bullied.

Sub-question 2-1: What about social competence?

T3: Social competence is not an issue when it comes to bullying. Both victims and bullies may have social competence but still become victims and bullies. Social competence is not a cause, a better explanation is that children that over a long period have been bullied are vulnerable, and become very sensitive to hurtful behaviour from peers. And then the circle is going on. Both children with and without social competence are bullied. Children that are safe are good at communicate their feelings

Q3 : Do you get influenced by this explanation when and if you intervene

T1: of cause I stop all bullying cases. Violation of rules get consequences, bullying is strictly forbidden. However, I difference the reaction out from degree of seriousness

T2: if I watch unacceptable behaviour I confront the children. However, children are good at hiding cases. They have to tell me or take responsible for each other. The best way is to stop potential bullying before it get started.

T3: Yes I intervene different towards different situations. It can be explained by how serious the bullying is. I found in important to intervene before it comes out control. The focus is mainly on supporting the victim. And get parent involved in serious cases. There is none accept for plaguing of student no matter what he or she hade done before the attach stared-

Q4: Does the school have routines and/procedures about how to handle bullying

T1: There are routines and procedures. I can't tell I have a book about is. However, teachers are communicating when we worry about a child.

T2: Yes, routines are an issue at the beginning of the school year. We also have a social pedagogic team to handle serious bullying cases.

T3: Yes each year when the school begins. The school has used three years to establish routines and procedures.

Q5: Do you have personal knowledge about the law concerning bullying

- T1: Yes I make a distinction between conflict and bullying. It all depends on the degree of seriousness. Bullying is use of power over time towards less powerful students.
- T2: Yes, I make a distinction between conflict and bullying.
- T3: Yes absolutely. However, bullying can start as a conflict that increases to become bullying. However, many parent doesn't distinction between a conflict and bullying.
- Q6: Do you have personal knowledge about the law concerning bullying
- T1: Yes I have heard about it, we must have an action plan in school.
- T2: As a teacher you are obligated by the law to intervene in bullying cases. You can become in trouble with the law if you don't.
- T3: Should have said yes, but I am not sure. It is wrong if me but I shall suddenly finding it out.
- Q7: Do you have personal knowledge about UN's human rights which gives the individual rights to not being exposed to bullying
- T1: Yes, I belief that bullying is a violation of human rights.
- T2: I have though about it, however, I belief it is a human right not to be bullied. Children convention, FN-day.
- T3: Yes, it is in the children convention. We work a lot with it in class. However, I seldom think about bullying as a violence of human rights. I also noticed that it was only low status children that were bullied.
- Q8: What did you do the last time you was discover or got information about a bullying situation
- T1: It happened in another school for many years ago. I hold the bully who was really angry and actually throw a chair on me and hurt me.
- T2: Difficult to answer, in my own class there was a potential bully case. However, it was stopped before it get serious. I had a conversation both with the children involved and their parents.

T3: in the last bullying case I had a conversation with the victim first and then with the bullies. Continue to follow the case for weeks.

Q9: Do you intervene because the law is demand you or because you feel it is a right decision to do so

T1: I intervene because I belief that it is the right thing to do. When I have inspection I watch the children play. If I watch something suspicious I ask are you friends?

T2: I intervene personal as a human being. Its better to help one time to much than to less. Children at that age are very vulnerable when they reach puberty. I belief that it is must important to consider the climate in class when it comes to bullying. Most children are at different development levels which may create tension in the classroom.

T3: I have the job I have, therefore I intervene, it is horrible to watch children that suffer. Children can't handle bully cases by them self, they need help. I give it to them.

5.1.1 Categories

In this section I will transform the finding from the interview into categories.

The first category

The first category: view and beliefs about: bullying, description, explanation of causes, refers to question 1 - 2 - 2.1 in the questionnaire.

A student is bullied when plagued from other students over time and not are able to solve the situation. I have heard many odd explanations from different teachers throughout my career. Everyone can be bullied for all kind of reasons. I can't see a single cause. However, I believe that someone is able to see that someone is vulnerable, and are using this for bullying someone. The bullies may have some need for hurting others. Children in general do challenges social norms in order to watch the consequences. Children can be really mean to other children. There are none single cause. Children that are more powerful indentify children that are less powerful and bullying them. Especially children that accept that they are bullied are bullied. A climate of accept in the school environment. Children that are unsafe. Class leadership, school environment, children that is different, children that didn't understand social clues. Many children are different due to all kind of reasons, however they

are still not bullied. Popular inn and out groups competition. Sometimes bullying is discovered first when the victim do some inn-appropriate behaviour. Teachers haven't' paid attention and intervene in order to stop it. However, children that is safe are not bullied.

Social competence is not an issue when it comes to bullying. Both victims and bullies may have social competence but still become victims and bullies. Social competence is not a cause, a better explanation is that children that over a long period have been bullied are vulnerable, and become very sensitive to hurtful behaviour from peers. And then the circle is going on. Both children with and without social competence are bullied. Children that are safe are good at communicate their feelings.

The second category

The second category: view and beliefs about intervention in the social context where the bullying is taken place, Refers to question 3-5-8-9 in the questionnaire.

I stop all bullying cases. Violation of rules get consequences, bullying is strictly forbidden. However, I difference the reaction out from degree of seriousness if I watch unacceptable behaviour I confront the children. However, children are good at hiding cases. The best way is to stop potential bullying before it get started. Yes I intervene different towards different situations. I found in important to intervene before it comes out control. The focus is mainly on supporting the victim. And get parent involved in serious cases. There is none accept for plaguing of student no matter what he or she have done before the attach stared-

Yes I make a distinction between conflict and bullying. It all depends on the degree of seriousness. Bullying is use of power over time towards less powerful students. Yes, I make a distinction between conflict and bullying. Yes absolutely. However, bullying can start as a conflict that increases to become bullying.

It happened in another school for many years ago. I hold the bully who was really angry and actually throw a chair on me and hurt me Difficult to answer, in my own class there was a potential bully case. However, it was stopped before it get serious. I had a conversation both with the children involved and their parents. in the last bullying case I had a conversation with the victim first and then with the bullies. Continue to follow the case for weeks.

I intervene because I belief that it is the right thing to do. I intervene personal as a human being. It's better to help one time to much than to less. I have the job I have, therefore I intervene, it is horrible to watch children that suffer. Children can't handle bully cases by them self, they need help. I give it to them.

The third category

The third category: regulations in curriculum, laws and international HR, refers to question 4-6-7.

There are routines and procedures. I can't tell I have a book about is. Yes, routines are an issue at the beginning of the school year. The school has used three years to establish routines and procedures.

Yes I have heard about it, we must have an action plan in school. As a teacher you are obligated by the law to intervene in bullying cases. You can become in trouble with the law if you don't. Should have said yes, but I am not sure. It is wrong of me but I shall suddenly finding it out.

Yes, I belief that bullying is a violation of human rights. I have thought about it, however, I belief it is a human right not to be bullied. Children convention, FN-day. Yes, it is in the children convention. We work a lot with it in class. However, I seldom think about bullying as a violence of human rights.

6 Discussion and concluding remarks

In his Chapter I will first have a discussion about the finding in the literature review and in the qualitative study. The main research question: How do teachers' views and beliefs about the causes of bullying affect their interventions will be relevant in both discussions, while the two sub-research questions: What is the theoretical explanation of the cause of bullying, and how does human information processing/cognition form our views and beliefs about bullying, will be relevant for the literature review discussion.

6.1 Discussion of the literature review

Rethinking, and see bullying through a new perspective would be a more human way of addressing the bullying phenomena. Away from old thought about individual characteristic in explaining causes to bullying. We are living in a diverse world were acceptance of differences and inclusion is the ideal. History have told us that measure individual characteristic and use them as causes for behavior have later on seen to be wrong. Isolating individual characteristic from the context which they occur in is a limited way to understand the bullying situation.

Explanation of bullying need to consider the context were the bullying taken place. Recent research have focus on the involvement of the group that whiteness bullying and how they contribute to another understanding of the processes that underlie bullying. Alternative explanation such as social learning theory suggest bullying as a group process where the bully get reinforcement from the peer group that witness the bullying.

"An important message from these studies is that in order to reduce victimization, we do not necessarily have to change the victims and make them less vulnerable. Also, the behavior of the bullies might be almost impossible to change if the peer context is ignored. By influencing the behaviors of classmates, we can reduce the rewards gained by the bullies and consequencely, lower their motivation to bully in the first place" (Salmivalli, 2010, p.521).

Alternative explanation do not have all the answers, however, they take away the focus from individual causes when they bring inn contextual factors. Other explains bullying by focus on

popular issues such as inn and out groups. Peer acceptance and peer rejection is highly influenced by the social norms and values that the high status group decides.

However, according to Rigby (2009 is there none research perspective that can explain bullying fully, all theories contribute with different aspects of the bully phenomena.

Another critical issue is that risk factors are used as causes, risk factors are only risk factor that putting children at risk, nothing more than less.

"However, bullying by definition occur in a social context and is jointly influenced by individual characteristics of the child and the characteristic of the setting." "Therefor, examining the impact of individual characteristics apart from contextual influences offers a limited view of bullying, highlighting personal qualities instead of contextual features that facilitate bullying incidents" (Cook, Kirk, Guerra, Kim, and Sadek, 2010, p 75).

How you define a person, decide how you treat the person. A negative label may have serious outcome for the child. Especially, if the label is used inn attributing causes to the victim.

Social competence is a positive term, whereas, social incompetence is a negative loaded term. Social term have its origin in psycho pathology and was used in diagnosing and institutionalizing of persons. Today it is also commend used in school setting to describe behavior. However, the stigma potential is great and should therefore been used with caution when attributed toward children that is victims of bullying.

In an inclusive setting where differences are wanted is it time for rethinking how we describe human, and human behavior. All in accordance with basic human rights.

6.1.1 Qualitative research study

The results of the descriptive phonological approach imply strong knowledge claims because the result include descriptions of findings rather than theories or hypotheses (Giogi, 2009, p.131). Main research question "How do teachers' views and beliefs about the causes of bullying affect their interventions"? Was answered in this research. Since I have chosen a descriptive phonological approach there will be none need for further discussion than already done in the research finding section in this chapter. Key finding are covered in the next section.

6.2 Concluding remarks

The concise definition used in this study describes bullying as imbalance of power, intentional acts and repeated over time. Human Rights perspective is about individual rights and protection of individual differences. Every human being is unique and equal and the human worth is inviolable. The UN intendant principle of inclusion in schools, welcome diversity between groups and individual differences within groups.

6.2.1 Key findings and implication

The key findings in the literature review

- How we address the bullying phenomena gives us different suggestions about causes
- The literature review diverse between those who point at individual characteristic in explaining bullying, such as the sociometric approach and those which point at contextual factors in explaining bullying. None of the approaches have the complete answers.
- Different research perspectives have different view about what normal behavior is.
 What is appropriate behavior in a bullying situation? Victims are human being and react according to the treat they are exposed for.
- There is lots of potential stigmas surround bullying, so we need to take away the
 mystification and stigma that surround bullying.
- Victims are human beings that have the rights not to be treated as a group category and attributed common personal characteristics.
- Resent research focus on the context where bullying is taken place. This gives a more
 realistic view of the bullying process. People interact and influence each other in all
 kind of situation. In and out group competition, and low and high status and popularity
 issues gives information that we don't get from approaches that focus on peer
 acceptance and rejection.
- There is still none single theory that can describe, explain and predict bullying.

The key findings in the qualitative study.

In general, the study contradicted all the negative findings from the literature review. The research question: How do teachers' views and beliefs about the causes of bullying affect their interventions was answered in the interview.

- The respondents did not see individuals as causes for becoming victims
- The respondents did not see social incompetence as a cause for being victim
- The respondents did not focus on individual characteristics
- The respondents did focus on the environment where the bullying takes place
- The respondents focus on a safe environment and a healthy climate
- The respondent focused on helping children that was bullied
- The respondents focus on creating and maintaining a healthy environment for all

6.2.2 Limitations/Afterword

In this thesis I have tried to provide a conceptual understanding of important issues in bullying research. I have tried to avoid books and articles that have a morality attitude and used books and articles that have well-supported empirical evidence or are important for historical reasons. The findings are limited by the sampling methodology. The number of participants was low and participants were not randomly sampled. However, the respondents answered the questions very sincere and I believe they have consequently contributed to a deeper understanding of the research question:

"How do teachers' views and beliefs about the causes of bullying affect their interventions"?

I am also very pleased that the respondents contradicted to the rather upsetting finings in the literature review related to teachers that ignore children need for help.

6.2.3 Ethical reflection

In this study I attempted to maintain a high ethical standard by following the research ethical guidelines from the National Research Ethics Committee for the Social Science.

Which also gave me the permission for doing this research. I have respected the participants' views and beliefs and never judge them for not having the right "answer".

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Appendix 1: interview guide in English

Interview Guide

- 1: How do you define bullying?
- 2: What is your point of view when it comes to explaining causes of bullying?
- 3: Are you influenced by this explanation when and if you intervene?
- 4: Does the school have routines and/or procedures about how to handle bullying?
- 5: Do you distinguish between conflict and bullying?
- 6: Do you have personal knowledge about the law concerning bullying?
- 7: Do you have personal knowledge about the UN's definition of human rights, which includes the right to not be exposed to bullying?
- 8: What did you do the last time you discovered or received information about a bullying situation?
- 9: Do you intervene because the law demands you to or because you feel it is the right decision to make?

Appendix 2 Interview guide in Norwegian

Intervjuguide, semi-strukturert

- 1: Hva er din definisjon på mobbing?
- 2: Hva legger du i begrepet mobbing
- 3: Hva er ditt synspunkt når det gjelder årsak til mobbing
- 4: Lar du deg påvirke av denne årsaksforklaringen når og hvis du gripper inn
- 5: Har skolen rutiner og/eller prosedyrer om hvordan mobbing skal håndteres
- 6: Skiller du mellom konflikt og mobbing
- 7: Har du kjennskap til lovverket som omhandler mobbing
- 8: Har du kjennskap til FN's menneskerettigheter som gir individet rettigheter til og ikke å bli utsatt for mobbing
- 9: Sist gang du observerte eller fikk kjennskap til mobbing, hva gjorde du
- 10: Griper du inn fordi loven krever det eller fordi du mener det er riktig å gripe inn

Appendix 3 Permission from NSD

Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste AS

NORWEGIAN SOCIAL SCIENCE DATA SERVICES



Erling Kokkersvold Institutt for spesialpedagogikk Universitetet i Oslo Postboks 1140 Blindern 0318 OSLO

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Vår dato: 21.09.2011 Vår ref: 27845 / 3 / KS Deres dato:

KVITTERING PÅ MELDING OM BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 30.08.2011. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

Behandlingsansvarlig Daglig ansvarlig Student

A study of Teachers Attitudes to Human Rights and Bullying

Universitetet i Oslo, ved institusjonens øverste leder

Erling Kokkersvold Claus Henrik Bjørndalen

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger er meldepliktig i henhold til personopplysningsloven § 31. Behandlingen tilfredsstiller kravene i personopplysningsloven.

Personvernombudets vurdering forutsetter at prosjektet gjennomføres i tråd med opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet, korrespondanse med ombudet, eventuelle kommentarer samt personopplysningsloven/helseregisterloven med forskrifter. Behandlingen av personopplysninger kan settes i gang.

Det gjøres oppmerksom på at det skal gis ny melding dersom behandlingen endres i forhold til de opplysninger som ligger til grunn for personvernombudets vurdering. Endringsmeldinger gis via et eget skjema, http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/forsk_stud/skjema.html. Det skal også gis melding etter tre år dersom prosjektet fortsatt pågår. Meldinger skal skje skriftlig til ombudet.

Personvernombudet har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet i en offentlig database, http://www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/prosjektoversikt.jsp.

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 01.06.2012, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Vennlig hilsen Vigdis Namtvedt Kvalheim

Atrine Utaaker Segadal

Kontaktperson: Katrine Utaaker Segadal tlf: 55 58 35 42

Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering

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Appendix 4 Request

Hei,

jeg er en student ved Institutt for spesialpedagogikk ved universitetet i Oslo som søker respondenter til min masteroppgave. Oppgaver tar for seg mobbeproblematikken og hvilke faktorer som påvirker hvordan lærer griper inn i en mobbesituasjon. Prosjektet har som mål å oppnå mer kunnskap i et område som er lite belyst, og er dermed viktig for forebyggende arbeid mot mobbing.

Jeg er ute etter en - tre lærere som kunne tenke seg å delta i et intervju som tar ca. ½ time. Intervjuene vil foregå på et tidspunkt som passer inn i respondentenes tidsplan. Prosjektet følger de forskningsetiske retningslinjer som gjelder ved Universitetet i Oslo og er videre innrapportert til Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig datatjeneste (personvernombudet for forskning), der prosjektets behandling av personvern er godkjent.

Både skolen og respondentene vil bli behandlet strengt konfidensielt og er sikret full anonymitet. Det vil således ikke være mulig å spore hvem eller hvilken skole respondentene kommer fra i oppgaven eller ved presentasjon av prosjektet. Deltakelse er helt frivillig og samtykket om deltagelse kan trekkes tilbake så lenge prosjektet foregår uten å oppgi grunn. Alt materiell vil bli slettet innen utgangen av juni 2012.

Jeg håper rektor kan være behjelpelig med å skaffe respondenter blant lærer kollegiet som har tid og anledning til å delta og videre bringe min kontaktinformasjon for avtale om tid og sted. Vennligst ta kontakt hvis det ønskes flere opplysninger.

På forhånd takk for hjelpen.

Vennlig hilsen

Claus Bjørndalen

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