Preventing Bullying: Developing And Maintaining Positive Relationships Among Schoolmates

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Abstract

In order to prevent bullying and harm-intended aggression, positive relationships in which students frequently engage in prosocial actions must be developed among students. The more positive the relationships among students (and the fewer the isolated and alienated students) and the more frequently students engage in prosocial behaviors the less likely bullying and victimization will be and the less likely bystanders will be passive and allow bullying to take place. Positive relationships and prosocial behavior among students are created through cooperative learning experiences. Cooperative learning ensures that all students are socially integrated into networks of peer relationships and are involved in and integrated into the academic program of the school. Bullying and victimization, on the other hand, are symptomatic of competition. The greater the competition and the more students are alienated socially and academically, the more likely bullying will occur. The more isolated a student, the more likely he or she will be victimized and the more likely bystanders will be passive. Once students work cooperatively with each other, a major issue becomes the constructive resolution of conflicts. If conflicts among students are resolved destructively, bullying and victimization are likely to increase. The more constructively conflicts are managed, the less the bullying and victimization will tend to be and the more likely bystanders will intervene to stop bullying from occurring. There are two types of conflicts that occur in cooperative situations—academic controversy and conflicts of interests. The former is resolved through the constructive controversy procedure and the latter is resolved through problem-solving negotiations and peer mediation. The more students are skilled in the use of these procedures, the less likely bullying, victimization, and passive bystanding are likely to occur. Finally, cooperative learning experiences and the constructive resolution of conflict inculcate civic values (such as concern for others' well-being as well as one's own and a desire to contribute to the common good) that reduce the likelihood of bullying and victimization taking place.

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Introduction

Preventing bullying depends largely on creating positive relationships among students characterized by prosocial behavior. The theory underlying the prevention of bullying and building positive relationships among students is social interdependence theory. Bullying reflects a competitive context in which individuals are competing for dominance and status. Prosocial behavior and social support reflect a cooperative context in which individuals are striving to achieve joint goals. In this article social interdependence theory will be discussed, the impact of cooperative and competitive situations on positive relationships, bullying, and prosocial behavior will be covered, the need for teaching students how to manage conflicts constructively will be discussed, and the importance of civic values is noted. Recommendations for preventing bullying are then given.

Social Interdependence Theory

Social interdependence theory has its origins in Gestalt Psychology and Lewin's Field Theory. Gestalt psychologists posited that humans are primarily concerned with developing organized and meaningful views of their world by perceiving events as integrated wholes rather than a summation of parts or properties. One of the founders of the Gestalt School of Psychology, Kurt Koffka (1935), proposed that similar to psychological fields, groups were dynamic wholes in which the interdependence among members could vary. Kurt Lewin (1935) subsequently proposed that the essence of a group is the interdependence among members which results in the group being a "dynamic whole" so that a change in the state of any member or subgroup changes the state of any other member or subgroup. Group members are made interdependent through common goals. Finally, Morton Deutsch (1949)

developed a theory of cooperation and competition that serves as the heart of social interdependence theory.

Social interdependence exists when the accomplishment of each individual's goals is affected by the actions of others (Deutsch, 1949, 1962; Johnson, 1970, 2003; Johnson & Johnson, 1989, 2005a). There are two types of social interdependence, positive (cooperation) and negative (competition). **Positive interdependence** exists when individuals perceive that they can reach their goals if and only if the other individuals with whom they are cooperatively linked also reach their goals. Participants, therefore, promote each other's efforts to achieve the goals. **Negative interdependence** exists when individuals perceive that they can obtain their goals if and only if the other individuals with whom they are competitively linked fail to obtain their goals. Participants, therefore, obstruct each other's efforts to achieve the goals. **No interdependence** results in a situation in which individuals perceive that they can reach their goal regardless of whether other individuals in the situation attain or do not attain their goals. Each type of interdependence results in certain psychological processes and interaction patterns which, in turn, determine the outcomes of the situation, including the moral socialization and education of the individuals involved.

The basic premise of interdependence theory is that how goal interdependence is structured determines how individuals interact, which in turn determines outcomes. When positive goal interdependence is structured, **promotive interaction** results (i.e., one's actions promote the goal achievement of others). When negative goal interdependence is structured, **oppositional interaction** results (i.e., participants' actions obstruct the goal achievement of others). When no goal interdependence is structure, there is no interaction. Promotive interaction tends to result in a wide variety of outcomes that may be subsumed into the categories of high effort to achieve, positive relationships, and psychological health. Oppositional interaction tends to result in low effort to achieve by most students, negative relationships, and low psychological health. No interaction tends to result in low effort to achieve, an absence of relationships, and psychological pathology.

Cooperation and competition provide contexts in which either (a) positive peer relationships are formed (characterized by interpersonal attraction, group cohesion, and

belonging) and prosocial behavior is engaged in (accompanied by perspective taking, moral reasoning, moral identity, moral inclusion, justice and fairness, and task engagement) or (b) negative peer relationships are formed and anti-social actions such as bullying occur (see Figure 1).

-----Insert Figure 1 About Here-----

The Power Of Positive Relationships

> *The reason we were so good, and continued to be so good, was because he (Joe Paterno) forces you to develop an inner love among the players. It is much harder to give up on your buddy, than it is to give up on your coach. I really believe that over the years the teams I played on were almost unbeatable in tight situations. When we needed to get that six inches we got it because of our love for each other. Our camaraderie existed because of the kind of coach and kind of person Joe was.*
>
> Dr. David Joyner

Positive interpersonal relationships are related to many important and diverse outcomes. Form infancy to old age, having friends and relating successfully to other people is associated with desirable outcomes in virtually all human domains (e.g., school, work, family, friends, community, society) (Hartup & Stevens, 1997). Positive relationships are associated with mortality rates, recovery from illness, functioning of the immune systems, reactions to stress, psychological health, and life satisfaction (Reis & Collins, 2004). Diener and Seligman (2002) found that the people who are most happy have excellent social relationships, Park, Peterson, and Seligman (2003) found that quality of interpersonal relationships predict life satisfaction, and Lansford (2000) found that high-quality social relationships foster well-being. People tend to experience more positive feelings when they are with others than when they are alone (Pavot, Diener, & Fujita, 1990). Menec (2003) found that frequency of participating in social activities is associated with greater happiness, better functioning, and lower mortality in the elderly.

Having positive relationships with schoolmates and being accepted by one's peers has important outcomes for students. Positive student-student relationships are associated with

school competence (Cauce, 1986), involvement in the classroom (Berndt & Keefe, 1995; Marks, 2000), prosocial behavior (Wentzel, 1994, 1998), self-esteem (Barrera, Chassin, & Rogosch, 1993; Harter, 1994), and lower levels of negative behaviors such as violence, drug use, and teenage pregnancy (Buhrmester, 1990; Resnick, et al., 1997). Students who are liked by schoolmates tend to be well adjusted emotionally, have high-quality friendships, and maintain their psychological health in the future (Rubin, Bukowski, & Parker, 1998). The more positive the interpersonal relationships among students, the higher their achievement tends to be (Goodenow, 1993; Parker & Asher, 1987; Wentzel, Barry, & Caldwell, 2004) as well as the utilization of abilities in achievement situations (Schmuck, 1963, 1966; Van Egmond, 1960), classroom grades (Hatzichristou & Hopf, 1996; Wentzel, 1991; Wentzel & Caldwell, 1997), standardized test scores (Austin & Draper, 1984), and IQ (Wentzel, 1991). Positive student-teacher relationships are associated with enhanced student motivation (Ryan & Grolnick, 1986; Wentzel, 1997) and increased academic interest (Wentzel 1998), participation in class (Voelkl, 1995), and prosocial behavior in school (Wentzel, 1994, 1998).

Somewhat different from being liked, being accepted by schoolmates is positively correlated with willingness to engage in social interaction (Furman, 1977; Johnson & Ahlgren, 1976; Johnson, Johnson, & Anderson, 1978) and the extent to which students provide positive social rewards for peers (Hartup, Glazer, & Charlesworth, 1967). Acceptance by peers is related to utilization of abilities in achievement situations (Schmuck, 1963, 1966; Van Egmond, 1960).

Finally, the more students engage in cooperative and prosocial behaviors, the higher they tend to achieve and the more accepted by schoolmates they tend to be (Wentzel, 1991, 1996).

Isolation from schoolmates is associated with high anxiety, low self-esteem, poor intrapersonal skills, emotional handicaps, and psychological pathology (Bower, 1962; Gronlund, 1959; Horowitz, 1962; Johnson & Norem-Hebeisen, 1977; Mensh & Glidewell, 1958; Schmuck, 1963, 1966; Smith, 1958; Van Egmond, 1960).

The association between antisocial behavior and rejection by the normal peer group, for example, is well documented (Cantrell & Prinz, 1985; Dodge, Coie, & Bakke, 1982; Johnson, Norem-Hebeisen, Anderson, & Johnson, 1984; Roff & Wirt, 1984). Inappropriate harm-

intended aggression leads to rejection by peers (Coie & Kupersmidt, 1983; Dodge, 1983). Rejected children are also deficient in a number of social-cognitive skills, including peer group entry, perception of peer group norms, response to provocation, and interpretation of prosocial interactions (Asarnow & Callan, 1985; Dodge, 1985; Putallaz, 1983). Among children referred to child guidance clinics, 30 to 75 percent (depending on age) are reported by their parents to experience peer difficulties (Achenbach & Edelbrock, 1981). These difficulties are roughly twice as common among clinic children as among nonreferred youngsters. Moreover, referred children have fewer friends and less contact with them than nonreferred children, their friendships are significantly less stable over time, and their understanding of the reciprocities and intimacies involved in friendships is less mature (Selman, 1981). Rejection by peers is related to disruptive classroom behavior (Lorber, 1966), hostile behavior and negative affect (Lippitt & Gold, 1959), increased risk of depression (Feldman, Rubenstein, & Rubin, 1988), and negative attitudes toward other students and school (Schmuck, 1966). Rejection by peers has been linked to lower levels of academic engagement (Marks, 2000) and greater frequency of academic and behavioral problems and academic difficulties (DeRosier, Kupersmidt, & Patterson, 1994; Parker & Asher, 1987; Wentzel, 1991). When rejection becomes extreme, it can be viewed as abusive. Chronic peer abuse tends to be a risk factor in suicidal behavior, depression, and poor mental health (Carney, 2000; Rigby, 2000; West & Salmon, 2000).

While positive peer relationships and peer acceptance are related to numerous positive outcomes and peer isolation and rejection are related to many negative outcomes, there is little explanation as to how to create positive relationships among students. Social interdependence theory provides an explanation. Peer rejection and isolation tend to occur within competitive situations, which are characteristic of negative relationships and bullying. Positive peer relationships and peer acceptance tend to occur in cooperative situations, which are characteristic of prosocial behavior. The impact of competition will next be discussed, followed by a discussion of the impact of cooperation.

Competitive Situations

Within competitive situations relationships tend to be negative, or at least significantly less positive than relationships in cooperative situations. Within the negative relationships bullying and harm-intended aggression tends to occur.

Negative Relationships

Competition is characterized by oppositional interaction. Competitors try to outperform each other while obstructing each others' goal achievement. Under those conditions, relationships tend to be somewhat negative. There is considerable research indicating that individuals dislike each other more and are less supportive of each other in competitive than in cooperative situations (Johnson & Johnson, 1989). In competitive situations, relationships tend to be negative, groups tend to fragment with low morale, a sense of isolation and distrust is created, and antagonism tends to characterize relationships.

Bullying

Bullying is a competitive activity. There is a winner and a loser. The bully is competing for a position of high status within the peer group or for dominance over another person. The more competitive the situation, therefore, the more likely bullying will occur. **Bullying** may be defined as repeated unprovoked behavior that is intended to harm the victim (such as physical [hitting], verbal [teasing, name calling], or psychological [shunning] behavior), who is typically less powerful than the perpetrator (Choi, Johnson, & Johnson, submitted for publication). The key to bullying is **harm-intended aggression**, which is aggressive behavior aimed at inflicting physical, relational, or verbal (affective) harm. While bullying seems to occur everywhere (school, neighborhood, work settings), the most frequent occurrence seems to be between the 6^{th} and 9^{th} grades in school (i.e., middle school), perhaps because of the combination of developmental crises and environmental challenges students face at that time.

Bullies compete for scarce resources, such as a high position in a status hierarchy. A distinction may be made between two types of high-status youth: those who are **sociometrically popular** (i.e., well liked by their peers; they engage in high levels of

prosocial and cooperative behavior and low levels of aggression) and those who are **perceived popular** (i.e., seen as popular but not well liked; they engage in a mixture of aggressive, manipulative, and prosocial behavior) (Cillessen & Rose, 2005). This mixture of prosocial behavior and coercive or aggressive behavior enables the perceived popular students to get what they want in social situations without negative consequences (Hawley, 2003).

To discuss the prevention of bullying it should be noted that there are three types of individuals involved in bullying: the bully, victims, and bystanders (Choi, Johnson, & Johnson, submitted for publication). A **bully** is a person who repeatedly inflicts unprovoked physical, relational, or verbal harm on another, weaker. A **victim** is a person who is the target of harm-intended aggression. **Bystanders** are chance onlookers or observers. Since most bullying is conducted to impress an audience, bystanders are almost always present when bullying occurs.

There may be two types of bullies: Antisocial bullies and strategic bullies. The former is an individual who engages in a variety of anti-social behaviors, such as bullying, smoking and consumption of alcohol and/or drugs, criminal activities, and academic alienation and failure (i.e., poor grades, absenteeism, lack of studying). The more competitive the student, the more frequently the student engages in harm-intended aggression (Choi, Johnson, & Johnson, submitted for publication). Antisocial bullying is not impulsive, however. There is evidence that bullies carefully choose victims they can easily beat in a fight and the bullying is not just aimed at harming the victim but rather as a tool used to gain other rewards (e.g., status, approval) (Berkowitz, 1993; Olweus, 1978). Anti-social bullies tend to alienate their peers and experience diminished well-being (Asher & Rose, 1997; Rigby & Slee, 1993; Slee, 1995) and tend to experience more loneliness, sadness, and anxiety than most students (Hawley, Little, & Pasupathi, 2002). There are costs for engaging in harm-intended aggression. As adults, the anti-social type of bully tend to be depressed, have low self-esteem, and prone to engage in criminal behavior.

A second type of bully tends to be strategic and Machiavellian, using bullying to gain a high position in the dominance hierarchy or to demonstrate their power to an audience.

Bullying seems to be a strategic action in the behavioral repertoire of perceived popular individuals, as they are perceived to engage in physical, verbal, and relationship aggression. They may bully outgroup members to gain status with ingroup members. Many of the ingroup members may join in the bullying, creating scapegoats to torment without guilt. In Columbine High School, for example, where the most famous United States school shooting incident happened, a member of the top clique in the High School was quoted (**Time**, Gibbs, N., & Roche, T. [1999, December 20, p. 154]):

> "Columbine is a good clean place except for those rejects. Most kids didn't want them there. They were into witchcraft. They were into voodoo. Sure we teased them. But what do you expect with kids who come to school with weird hairdos and horns on their hats? . . . If you want to get rid of someone, usually you tease them. So the whole school would call them (names). . . ."

The source of strategic bullying is not so much anti-social behavior as it is gaining status in the ingroup dominance hierarchy by upholding ingroup norms and winning over others.

Two important aspects of bullying, both anti-social and strategic, are harm-intended aggression and destructive conflict. Bullying involves harm-intended aggression. Bullying is a conflict between the bully and the victim. There is, however, more to aggression and conflict than bullying. While bullying needs to be eliminated, conflicts among schoolmates and certain types of aggressive behavior do not need to be eliminated. They may be part of the proactive program to prevent bullying. Both aggression and conflict are discussed next.

Aggression

Aggression is usually defined as showing a readiness or having a tendency to attack or do harm to others. This is known as **harm-intended aggression** (i.e., aggressive behavior aimed at inflicting physical, verbal, or relational harm). There are, however, two secondary definitions of aggression. Being aggressive also can mean (a) assertiveness characterized by determination, energy, and initiative or (b) fast growing. Thus, there is **assertive-aggression** (i.e., assertive behavior aimed at achieving a goal characterized by determination, energy, and initiative) and there is **fast-growing aggression** (i.e., such as an aggressive cancer).

While schools wish to eliminate harm-intended aggression, they may wish to increase the determination, energy, and initiative of their students (i.e., assertive-aggression). It is appropriate for students to be aggressive learners and aggressive scholars. Even harm-intended aggression in a mild or controlled form does not necessarily equal bullying or "bad" behavior.

Children learn to master aggressive impulses within the context of peer relations (Hartup, 1978). A certain amount of aggressive encounters are desirable among students, as it may teach them how to navigate life's inevitable confrontations and manage aggressive people throughout their life. Mild aggressive encounters and even play fighting may be important as they allow students to learn self-control and how to respond appropriately without anyone getting hurt. Rough-and-tumble play, for example, seems to promote the acquisition of a repertoire of effective aggressive behaviors and also establishes necessary regulatory mechanisms for modulating aggressive affect. When children and adolescents experience mild and controlled aggressive encounters they may learn how to manage them without adult intervention.

Conflict

According to the **World Book Dictionary**, a conflict is a fight, struggle, battle, disagreement, dispute, or quarrel. A prominent psychologist, Morton Deutsch (1973), defines **conflict** as existing whenever incompatible activities occur. An activity that is incompatible with another activity is one that prevents, blocks, or interferes with the occurrence or effectiveness of the second activity. Incompatible activities may originate in one person, between two or more people, or between two or more groups. The truth is, conflicts are inevitable. Students might as well try to stop the earth from turning on its axis as to try to eliminate conflicts from their lives. The occurrence of conflicts indicates people have goals they care about and are involved in relationships they value. The absence of conflict often signals a dysfunctional situation where neither the goals nor the relationship are valued. The absence of conflict, therefore, is often a cause for concern.

The inevitability of conflicts need not be a cause for despair. Conflicts have many positive outcomes if they are managed constructively. When conflicts are managed constructively, they can increase (a) individuals' energy, curiosity, and motivation, (b) achievement, retention, insight, creativity, problem-solving, and synthesis, (c) healthy cognitive and social development, (d) clarification of own and others' identity, commitments, and values, (e) quality of relationships, (f) fun and enjoyment of life, and (g) many other positive outcomes (Johnson & Johnson, 2005, 2007).

These constructive outcomes are only realized if the conflicts are resolved constructively. Conflicts are resolved constructively when (a) joint gain is maximized or all parties are satisfied with the outcome, (b) the relationship among disputants has been improved, and (c) the ability of disputants to manage conflicts constructively in the future has been increased. Conflicts are resolved destructively when one person wins and the other loses, their relationship is damaged, and their ability to resolve conflicts in the future is damaged. In order to resolve conflicts constructively, individuals need (a) clear, effective procedures, (b) skills in using the procedures, and (c) the support of community and organizational norms.

While bullying involves a conflict between the bully and the victim, it is a conflict that is being managed destructively. The bully wins and the victim loses, the victim leaves hating the bully and avoiding him or her in the future, and their ability to resolve conflicts constructively is blocked by the anger and resentment generated. This does not mean that all conflicts are destructive. An essential aspect of preventing bullying is teaching students the procedures and values they need to resolve conflicts constructively.

Summary

A competitive goal structure results in oppositional interaction which results in negative relationships and antisocial actions such as bullying. In competitive situations, not only do relationships tend to be negative, but groups tend to fragment from low morale, a sense of isolation and distrust. The oppositional interaction results in antagonism among students. Bullying is defined by physical, verbal, and relational harm-intended aggression towards a less powerful person. It should be noted, however, that not all aggression is undesirable and

not all conflicts are destructive. Some care must be taken, therefore, to increase assertive aggression and the constructive management of conflict. Doing so depends on creating cooperative situations in which students develop positive relationships and engage in prosocial behaviors.

Cooperative Situations

Cooperation is characterized by promotive interaction. Cooperators try to promotive the success of their groupmates, seeking joint benefits rather than individual benefits. They help, assist, support, and encourage each other. Under those conditions, relationships tend to be positive. Within the positive relationships prosocial behavior tends to occur.

Positive peer relationships serve protective and adaptive functions that are too countless and far reaching to describe adequately. Among these protective functions is the prevention of bullying. Individuals do not bully their friends. Individuals who have friends tend not to become victims. Friends of the victim tend not to be passive bystanders. Choi, Johnson, and Johnson (submitted for publication) found that the more cooperative a student, the less likely they were to engage in harm-intended aggression. The negative relationship between cooperativeness and harm-intended aggression is consistent with previous evidence (Bay-Hintz, Peterson, & Quilitch, 1994; Berkowitz, 1989; Napier, 1981; Nelson, Gelfan, & Hartmann, 1969; Tjosvold & Chia, 1989). Cooperative experiences create a history of interactions that creates expectations about future interactions (S. Johnson & Johnson, 1972; Johnson & Johnson, 1972). The interactions evolve into a positive relationship (Hinde, 1976) and a positive bias toward future interactions that reduces harm-intended aggression and increases pro-social behavior.

The prevention of bullying is first and foremost based on positive relationships. There are four aspects of positive relationships: Interpersonal attraction, group cohesion, belonging, and social support. The debilitating effects of isolation are then discussed.

-----Insert Tables 2 and 3 and Figure 1 About Here-----

Interpersonal Attraction

A faithful friend is a strong defense, and he that hath found him, hath found a treasure.

Ecclesiastics 6:14

Caring and committed relationships are not a luxury, they are a necessary. In the United States, recent national surveys indicate that it is feeling valued, loved, wanted, and respected by others that give life meaning and purpose and it is intimate relationships that create happiness. Over 180 studies have compared the impact of cooperative, competitive, and individualistic efforts on interpersonal attraction (Johnson, 2003; Johnson & Johnson, 1989, 2005a). Cooperative efforts, compared with competitive and individualistic experiences, promoted considerable more liking among individuals (effect sizes = 0.67 and 0.60 respectively). When only the methodologically high quality studies are examined, the effect sizes go up to 0.82 and 0.62. Much of the research on interpersonal relationships has been conducted on relationships between white and minority individuals and between nonhandicapped and handicapped individuals. Working cooperatively creates far more positive relationships among diverse and heterogeneous individuals than does working competitively or individualistically.

Group Cohesion

The positive relationships among members promoted by cooperative efforts result in a high level of group cohesion. **Group cohesion** is the mutual attraction among members of a group and the resulting desire to remain in the group (Johnson & F. Johnson, 2006; Watson & Johnson, 1972). Highly cohesive groups are characterized by greater ease in setting goals, greater likelihood in achieving those goals, and greater susceptibility to being influenced by groupmates. The more cohesive a group is, the more its members are likely to stay in the group, take part in group activities, and try to recruit new like-minded members. As cohesiveness increases, absenteeism and turnover of membership decrease, member commitment to group goals increases, feelings of personal responsibility to the group increase, willingness to take on difficult tasks increases, motivation and persistence in working toward goal achievement increase, satisfaction and morale increase, willingness to endure pain and frustration on behalf of the group increases, willingness to defend the group

against external criticism or attack increases, willingness to listen to and be influenced by group members increases, commitment to one another's academic growth and success increases, and productivity increases (Johnson, 2003; Johnson & F. Johnson, 2006; Johnson & Johnson, 1989; Watson & Johnson, 1972). Thus, the more positive the relationships among group members, the more members will strive to conform to group norms, including how they should act towards other people.

Belonging

Belongingness theory posits that humans have a "pervasive drive to form and maintain at least a minimum of lasting, positive, and significant interpersonal relationships" (Baumeister & Leary, 1995, p. 497). Satisfying people's need for belongingness involves frequent, affectionate, pleasant interaction with a few other people in the context of enduring concern for each other's welfare. The belongingness drive is thus a combination of frequent interaction plus persistent caring. Belongingness theory would predict that students will seek to satisfy their need for belonging "until they have reached a minimum level of social contact and relatedness" (Baumeister & Leary, 1995, p. 500). Students are more likely to meet their need for belonging in cooperative situations than in competitive or individualistic situations.

Social Support

Besides liking one another, cooperators give and receive considerable social support to each other (Johnson, 2003; Johnson & Johnson, 1989, 2005a). Since the 1940s, over 106 studies comparing the relative impact of cooperative, competitive, and individualistic efforts on social support have been conducted. Cooperative experiences promoted greater task-oriented and personal social support than did competitive (effect size = 0.62) or individualistic (effect size = 0.70) experiences. Social support tends to promote achievement and productivity, physical health, psychological health, and successful coping with stress and adversity.

Ending Isolation And Alienation

Isolated individuals, who are without friends or comrades, often tend to reject the values being promoted by the educational system. Isolated and alienated individuals tend to engage in antisocial behavior, be deficient in social-cognitive skills, and have psychological problems (Johnson & Johnson, 1989). Disconnected and alienated individuals are at particular risk of negative outcomes (Roseth, Johnson, & Johnson, in press). The protective and adaptive functions of positive peer relationships have been demonstrated in many areas of psychology. There are so many negative consequences of isolation and alienation from peers on both physical and psychological health (as well as on moral development) that an essential aspect of schooling is for all individuals to be accepted and supported by their peers. Through the use of cooperative learning (as well as constructive controversy and the Peacemaker Program), teachers have the power to give every individual an opportunity to make friends and be socially as well as academically integrated into the school.

Positive Relationships And Academic Achievement

While there is evidence that an association exists between positive peer relationships and achievement, the size of the relationship and the conditions under which it may be found have not been demonstrated until a recent meta-analysis. Roseth, Johnson, and Johnson (in press) reviewed 148 independent studies comparing the relative effectiveness of cooperative, competitive, and individualistic goal structures in promoting early adolescents' achievement and positive peer relationships. These studies represented over eight decades of research on over 17,000 early adolescents from 11 countries and 4 multi-national samples. As predicted by social interdependence theory, higher achievement and more positive peer relationships were more associated with cooperative than competitive or individualistic goal structures. Cooperative goal structures were also associated with a strong positive relationship between achievement and positive peer relationships (33% of the variation in the achievement effect size was accounted for by positive peer relationships). When the poor quality studies were removed (i.e., only moderate and high quality studies included), 40% of the variation in the

achievement effect size was accounted for by positive peer relationships. Thus, the more socially integrated students are in middle school, the higher they tend to achieve.

The impact of positive relationships on achievement supports the considerable evidence that cooperation results in higher achievement than does competitive (effect size = 0.67) or individualistic (effect size = 0.64) learning as well as greater task engagement (Johnson & Johnson, 1989, 2005a). Task engagement is reflected in the findings that more positive attitudes toward the task and the experience of working on the task tend to be found in cooperative than in competitive (effect-size = 0.57) or individualistic (effect-size = 0.42) situations. Students working cooperatively (compared to those working competitively or individualistically) also tended to be more involved in activities and tasks, attach greater importance to success, and engage in less apathetic, off-task, disruptive behaviors. Cooperators tend to spent more time on task than competitors (effect size = 0.76) or participants working individualistically (effect size = 1.17).

An important aspect of interpersonal relationships is the degree to which they help, encourage, and assist each other. The positiveness of their relationships may depend on the degree to which students engage in such prosocial behaviors.

Prosocial Behavior

Bullying is an anti-social behavior that is often contrasted with prosocial actions. **Prosocial actions** are actions that benefit other people by helping, supporting, encouraging their goal accomplishment or well being (Shaffer, 2000). There are a cluster of behavioral patterns and values that make up prosocial actions. Prosocial actions are characterized by accurate perspective taking, high levels of cognitive and moral reasoning, a strong moral identity, a positive view of oneself, inclusion of all other students in one's moral community, and viewing other students as having the right to be treated justly.

Cooperative experiences tend to increase the frequency with which participants engage in prosocial behaviors (Blaney, et. al., 1977; Eisenberg & Fabes, 1998; Etxebarria, et. al., 1994; Johnson & Johnson, 1983; Solomon, et. al., 1990). Choi, Johnson, and Johnson (submitted for publication), in a study involving 217 4^{th} and 5^{th} grade students, found that

both cooperative learning experiences and cooperative predispositions predicted the frequency with which the students engaged in prosocial behavior. Competitiveness and individualism, on the other hand, did not predict prosocial behavior (see Figure 3). The mutual responsiveness and shared positive affect typically found in cooperative situations, furthermore, seem to be key elements in the development of prosocial behavior (Kochanska, 2002). There are benefits to being prosocial. Prosocial individuals tend to build positive relationships with peers (Asher & Rose, 1997) and, compared with schoolmates, are intrinsically motivated to build relationships with classmates, believe they are involved in positive relationships, value relationships, and enjoy positive wellbeing (Hawley, Little, & Pasupathi, 2002). Prosocial behavior has been found to be related to academic success during the elementary and high school years (see Wentzel, 1991).

-----Insert Figure 3 About Here-----

Prosocial behavior is not an isolated response to cooperation. It is part of a cluster of behaviors and attitudes that occur within cooperative endeavors. This cluster includes perspective taking, high levels of cognitive and moral reasoning, the development of a moral identity, basic self-acceptance, moral inclusion and a wide scope of justice, and viewing situations as being just and fair.

Perspective Taking

Prosocial actions are more likely when students accurately take each other's perspectives, especially the perspective of victims and outgroup members. More frequent and accurate perspective taking was found in cooperative than in competitive (effect size = 0.61) or individualistic (effect size = 0.44) situations (Johnson & Johnson, 1989). In competitive situations, a person's perceptions and comprehension of others' viewpoints and positions tends to be inaccurate and biased. The opposite of perspective taking is egocentrism and while perspective-taking ability tends to be indicative of psychological health, egocentrism tends to be a sign of psychological pathology (e.g., extreme forms of depression and anxiety result in a self-focus and self-centeredness). The accurate perspective

taking in cooperative situations enhances members' ability to respond to others' needs with empathy, compassion, and support.

Level Of Cognitive And Moral Reasoning

Prosocial actions tend to be more frequent when students use higher levels of cognitive and moral reasoning. More frequent use of higher level cognitive and moral reasoning strategies in cooperative than in competitive (effect size = 0.93) or individualistic (effect size = 0.97) situations (Johnson & Johnson, 1989). There are a number of studies that demonstrate that when participants are placed in a cooperative group with peers who use a higher stage of moral reasoning, and the group is required to make a decision as to how a moral dilemma should be resolved, advances in the students' level of moral reasoning result.

Moral Identity

Prosocial actions tend be more frequent by students who have a strong moral identity. A person's **identity** is a consistent set of attitudes that defines "who I am" (Johnson & Johnson, 2002). One aspect of identity is the view of oneself as a moral person, with character, who acts with integrity. A moral orientation adds an "ought to," obligatory, quality to identity. The social context in which individuals function largely determines their moral identity. Identity in a cooperative context defines the person as part of a community that shares a joint identity. Their promotive interaction tends to reflect egalitarianism (i.e., a belief in the equal worth of all members even though there may be differences in authority and status) and characterized by mutual respect. Identity in a competitive context, on the other hand, defines a person as a separate individual striving to win either by outperforming others or preventing them from outperforming him or her. Thus, a competitor may have an identity involving the virtues of inequality, being a winner, and disdaining losers.

Engaging in prosocial behavior by helping and assisting other group members influences how a person thinks of him- or herself (i.e., moral-identity). Midlarsky and Nemeroff (1995), for example, found that the self-esteem and self-view of people who had rescued Jews during the Holocaust were still being elevated 50 years later by the help they provided. Elementary school students who privately agreed to give up their recess time to work for hospitalized

children saw themselves as more altruistic immediately and a month later (Cialdini, Eisenberg, Shell, & McCreath, 1987). Prosocial behavior tends both to enhance and verify individuals' self-definitions and moral identity (Grube & Piliavin, 2000; Swann, 1990).

Valuing Self

Prosocial actions may be more frequently engaged in by students who have a basic self-acceptance. Participants in cooperative situations tend to see themselves as being of more value and worth than do participants in competitive (effect size = 0.58) or individualistic (effect size = 0.44) situations (Johnson & Johnson, 1989, 2005a). While contingent self-esteem dominates competitive situations, basic self-acceptance tends to dominate cooperative situations.

Moral Inclusion And Scope Of Justice

Engaging in prosocial actions is influenced by moral inclusion and the scope of justice. Each person has a psychological boundary for his or her moral community (or scope of justice) that defines who his or her moral rules apply to (Deutsch, 1985; Opotow, 1990; Staub, 1987). The **scope of justice** is the extent to which a person's concepts of justice apply to others (Deutsch, 1985). Moral considerations guide our behavior with those individuals and groups who are inside our scope of justice. **Moral inclusion**, therefore, is applying considerations of fairness and justice to others, seeing them as entitled to a share of the community's resources, and seeing them as entitled to help, even at a cost to oneself (Opotow, 1990, 1993). **Moral exclusion** occurs when a person excludes groups or individuals from his or her scope of justice, a share of the community's resources, and the right to be helped. When moral exclusion exists moral values and rules that apply in relations with insiders are not applicable. Moral exclusion permits and justifies derogating and mistreating outsiders and is perpetuated primarily through denying that it has harmful effects. The denial includes minimizing the duration of the effects; denying others' entitlement to better outcomes; and seeing one's contribution to violence as negligible (Opotow & Weiss, 2000). Those outside the scope of justice can be viewed as nonentities (e.g., less than human)

who can be exploited (for example, illegal immigrants, slaves), or enemies who deserve brutal treatment and even death.

Bullies and bystanders morally exclude victims and consider them outside the scope of justice. In competitive and individualistic situations, the boundaries between ingroups (in which moral inclusion exists) and outgroups (which are morally excluded) are quite strong and well marked. Cooperative situations, on the other hand, promote a much wider range of moral inclusion and scope of justice. Especially when the members of diverse backgrounds and cultures participate in the same cooperative group, moral inclusion is broadened (Johnson & Johnson, 1989, 2005a). Moral inclusion includes the values of fairness, equality, and humanitarianism. Cooperators tend to see all of humanity as being entitled to fair treatment, justice, and help and may even extend moral inclusion and the scope of justice to other species and life forms. Albert Schweitzer, for example, included all living creatures in his moral community, and some Buddhists include all of nature.

Justice And Fairness

An important aspect of prosocial action is ensuring that benefits are distributed justly (i.e., distributive justice), the same procedures are applied fairly to all members (i.e., procedural justice), and everyone is perceived to be part of the same moral community (i.e., moral inclusion) (Deutsch, 2006). Deutsch (1985) defined **distributive justice** as the method used to grant benefits (and sometimes costs and harms) to group or organizational members. There are three major ways in which benefits may be distributed. The **equity (or merit) view** is a person's rewards should be in proportion to his or her contributions to the group's effort. This view is inherent in competitive situations. The **equality view** is all group members should benefit equally. It is inherent in cooperative situations. The **need view** is group members' benefits should be awarded in proportion to their need. Cooperators typically ensure that all participants receive the social minimum needed for their well being. Whatever system is used, it has to be perceived as "**just**." When rewards are distributed unjustly, the group may be characterized by low morale, high conflict, and low productivity (Johnson & Johnson, 1989, 2005a).

Procedural justice involves fairness of the procedures that determine the outcomes a person receives. Fair procedures involve both that the same procedure being applied equally to everyone and that the procedure be implemented with polite, dignified, and respectful behavior. Typically, fairness of procedures and treatment are a more pervasive concern to most people than fair outcomes (Deutsch, 2006). The more frequent the use of cooperative learning, the more students tend to believe that everyone who tried has an equal chance to succeed in class, that students get the grades they deserved, and that the grading system is fair (Johnson & Johnson, 1989, 2005a). Even when their task performances are markedly discrepant, members of cooperative groups tend to view themselves and their groupmates as being equally deserving of rewards.

Finally, justice involves being included in the moral community. As discussed above, individuals and groups who are outside the boundary in which considerations of fairness apply may be treated in ways that would be considered immoral if people within the moral community were so treated.

Summary

The primary way to increase the frequency of these behaviors and decrease the incidence of bullying and harm-intended aggression is through the predominant use of cooperative learning within the school. Cooperative experiences tend to increase the frequency with which students engage in prosocial behaviors and, therefore, the less likely they are to engage in harm-intended aggression. Competitive experiences, on the other hand, tend to increase the frequency of harm-intended aggression and decrease prosocial behavior. Prosocial behavior tends to be accompanied by a number of competencies and attitudes. Prosocial actions are more likely to occur, for example, when students accurately take each other's perspectives. More frequent and accurate perspective taking tends to occur in cooperative than in competitive or individualistic situations. In competitive situations, a person's perceptions and comprehension of others' viewpoints and positions tends to be inaccurate and biased and students tend to be egocentric, cognizant of only their own point of view. In cooperative situations, students engage in more frequent use of higher level cognitive and

moral reasoning strategies than in competitive or individualistic situations. In cooperative situations, a student's moral identity defines him- or herself as part of a community that shares a commitment to egalitarianism and mutual respect. In competitive situations, on the other hand, a student's identity defines a person as a separate individual seeking inequality, respecting winners and disdaining losers. In cooperative situations students see themselves as being of value and worth. In competitive situations, students see themselves as only having worth if they win. In cooperative situations, the scope of justice tends to be broad with everyone included in the moral community. In competitive situations, the scope of justice tends to be small, with most people excluded from the moral community and therefore viewed as nonentities that can be exploited. In cooperative situations, all students are seen as equally deserving of benefits while in competitive situations only winners are seen as deserving of benefits. In cooperative situations the procedures tend to be the same for everyone, in competitive situations the winners try to create procedures that will disadvantage others.

In order to obtain the benefits of cooperation, cooperative learning must be structured throughout the school. Once cooperative learning is established as the predominant instructional strategy, students should be taught how to resolve conflicts constructively.

Nature Of Cooperative Learning

In order to build the positive relationships among students and increase , cooperative learning must be used the majority of the time. **Cooperative learning** is the instructional use of small groups so that students work together to maximize their own and each other's learning (Johnson, Johnson, & Holubec, 1998, 2008). Within cooperative learning groups students discuss the material to be learned, help and assist each other to understand it, and encourage each other to work hard. Any assignment in any curriculum for any age student can be done cooperatively.

Effective cooperation requires that five basic elements be carefully structured into the situation (Johnson & Johnson, 1989; Johnson, Johnson, & Holubec, 2008) (see Table 1). First, there must be a strong sense of **positive interdependence**, so individuals believe they

are linked with others so they cannot succeed unless the others do (and vice versa). Individuals must believe that they sink or swim together. Positive interdependence may be structured through mutual goals, joint rewards, divided resources, complementary roles, and a shared identity. Second, each collaborator must be **individually accountable** to do his or her fair share of the work. Third, collaborators must have the opportunity to **promote each other's success** by helping, assisting, supporting, encouraging, and praising each other's efforts to achieve. Fourth, working together cooperatively requires **interpersonal and small group skills**, such as leadership, decision-making, trust-building, communication, and conflict-management skills. Finally, cooperative groups must engage in **group processing**, which exists when group members discuss how well they are achieving their goals and maintaining effective working relationships.

There are three types of cooperative learning—formal, informal, and base groups. *Formal cooperative learning* consists of students working together, for one class period to several weeks, to achieve shared learning goals and complete jointly specific tasks and assignments (Johnson, Johnson, & Holubec, 2008). In formal cooperative learning groups teachers:

1. *Make a number of preinstructional decisions.* Teachers specify the objectives for the lesson (both academic and social skills) and decide on the size of groups, the method of assigning students to groups, the roles students will be assigned, the materials needed to conduct the lesson, and the way the room will be arranged.
2. *Explain the task and the positive interdependence.* A teacher clearly defines the assignment, teaches the required concepts and strategies, specifies the positive interdependence and individual accountability, gives the criteria for success, and explains the expected social skills to be used.
3. *Monitor and intervene:* Teachers monitor students' learning and intervene within the groups to provide task assistance or to increase students' interpersonal and group skills.
4. *Assess and process:* Teachers assess students' learning and structure students processing of how well their groups functioned.

Informal cooperative learning consists of having students work together to achieve a joint learning goal in temporary, ad-hoc groups that last from a few minutes to one class period (Johnson, Johnson, & Holubec, 2008). During a lecture, demonstration, or film, informal cooperative learning can be used to focus student attention on the material to be learned, set a mood conducive to learning, help set expectations as to what will be covered in a class session, ensure that students cognitively process and rehearse the material being taught, summarize what was learned and precue the next session, and provide closure to an instructional session. The procedure for using informal cooperative learning during a lecture entails having three-to-five minute focused discussions before and after the lecture (i.e., bookends) and two-to-three minute interspersing pair discussions throughout the lecture.

Cooperative base groups are long-term, heterogeneous cooperative learning groups with stable membership whose primary responsibilities are to provide support, encouragement, and assistance to make academic progress and develop cognitively and socially in healthy ways as well as holding each other accountable for striving to learn (Johnson, Johnson, & Holubec, 2008). Typically, cooperative base groups (a) are heterogeneous in membership, (b) meet regularly (for example, daily or biweekly), and (c) last for the duration of the semester, year, or until all members are graduated. Base groups typically consist of three to four members, meet at the beginning and end of each class session (or week) complete academic tasks such as checking each members' homework, routine tasks such as taking attendance, and personal support tasks such as listening sympathetically to personal problems or providing guidance for writing a paper.

These three types of cooperative learning may be used together. A typical class session may begin with a base group meeting, followed by a short lecture in which informal cooperative learning is used. A formal cooperative learning lesson is then conducted and near the end of the class session another short lecture may be delivered with the use of informal cooperative learning. The class ends with a base group meeting.

Benefits Of Cooperative Learning

A focus on cooperative learning and persistence in implementing it in every classroom is instrumental in laying the foundation for a constructive learning environment (Johnson & Johnson, 1989, 2005a). **First**, cooperative learning ensures that all students are meaningfully and actively involved in learning. Active, involved students do not tend to engage in disruptive, off-task behavior. **Second**, cooperative learning ensures that students are achieving up to their potential and are experiencing psychological success so they are motivated to continue to invest energy and effort in learning. Those who experience academic failure are at risk for tuning out and acting up which often leads to physical or verbal aggression. **Third**, systematic use of cooperative learning promotes the development of caring and committed relationships for every student. Students who are isolated or alienated from their peers and who do not have friends are at-risk for violent and destructive behavior compared to students who experience social support and a sense of belonging.

Fourth, cooperative groups provide an arena in which students develop the interpersonal and small group skills needed to work effectively with diverse schoolmates. Students learn how to communicate effectively, provide leadership, engage in effective decision making, build trust, and understand others' perspectives. **Fifth**, the cooperative base groups provide the arena for discussions in which personal problems are shared and solved. As a result, students' resilience, and ability to cope with adversity and stress tend to increase. Children who do not share their problems and who do not have caring, supportive help in solving them are at more risk for disruptive and destructive behavior. **Sixth**, cooperative groups promote a sense of meaning, pride, and esteem by academically helping and assisting classmates and contributing to their well-being and quality of life. **Finally**, the systematic use of cooperative learning provides the context for resolving conflicts in constructive ways. To constructively resolve conflicts, students, faculty, and staff need a common set of procedures.

Constructive Conflict Resolution

It is almost paradoxical that the more committed members are to the group's goals, and the more caring and committed the relationships among members, the more frequent and intense the conflicts. To maintain cooperative efforts and to maintain positive relationships,

therefore, students have to learn how to resolve conflicts constructively. Faculty and staff need to teach students (and learn themselves) two procedures for managing conflicts: (a) academic controversy and (b) problem-solving negotiation and peer mediation (Johnson & Johnson, 2005b, 2007).

-----Insert Table 3 About Here-----

Academic Controversies

To promote healthy development, teachers can structure academic controversies frequently and teach students how to resolve them (Johnson & Johnson, 2007). A **controversy** exists when one person's ideas, opinions, information, theories, or conclusions are incompatible with those of another and the two seek to reach an agreement. Controversies are resolved by engaging in what Aristotle called deliberate discourse (i.e., the discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of proposed actions) aimed at synthesizing novel solutions (i.e., creative problem solving). Teaching students how to engage in the controversy process begins with randomly assigning students to heterogeneous cooperative learning groups of four members (Johnson & Johnson, 1979, 1989, 2007). The groups are given an issue on which to write a report and pass a test. Each cooperative group is divided into two pairs. One pair is given the con-position on the issue and the other pair is given the pro-position. Each pair is given the instructional materials needed to define their position and point them towards supporting information. The cooperative goal of reaching a consensus on the issue (by synthesizing the best reasoning from both sides) and writing a quality group report is highlighted. Students then:

1. **Research And Prepare A Position:** Each pair develops the position assigned, learns the relevant information, and plans how to present the best case possible to the other pair. Near the end of the period pairs are encouraged to compare notes with pairs from other groups who represent the same position.
2. **Present And Advocate Their Position:** Each pair makes their presentation to the opposing pair. Each member of the pair has to participate in the presentation. Students are to be as persuasive and convincing as possible. Members of the

opposing pair are encouraged to take notes, listen carefully to learn the information being presented, and clarify anything they do not understand.

3. **Refute Opposing Position And Rebut Attacks On Their Own:** Students argue forcefully and persuasively for their position, presenting as many facts as they can to support their point of view. Students analyze and critically evaluate the information, rationale, and inductive and deductive reasoning of the opposing pair, asking them for the facts that support their point of view. They refute the arguments of the opposing pair and rebut attacks on their position. They discuss the issue, following a set of rules to help them criticize ideas without criticizing people, differentiate the two positions, and assess the degree of evidence and logic supporting each position. They keep in mind that the issue is complex and they need to know both sides to write a good report.
4. **Reverse Perspectives:** The pairs reverse perspectives and present each other's positions. In arguing for the opposing position, students are forceful and persuasive. They add any new information that the opposing pair did not think to present. They strive to see the issue from both perspectives simultaneously.
5. **Synthesize And Integrate The Best Evidence And Reasoning Into A Joint Position:** The four group members drop all advocacy and synthesize and integrate what they know into a joint position to which all sides can agree. They (a) finalize the report (the teacher evaluates reports on the quality of the writing, the logical presentation of evidence, and the oral presentation of the report to the class), (b) present their conclusions to the class (all four members of the group are required to participate orally in the presentation), (c) individually take the test covering both sides of the issue (if every member of the group achieves up to criterion, they all receive bonus points), and (d) process how well they worked together and how they could be even more effective next time.

As Thomas Jefferson noted, "*Difference of opinion leads to inquiry, and inquiry to truth.*" Over the past thirty years we have conducted over twenty-five research studies on the impact of academic controversy and numerous other researchers have conducted studies

directly on controversy and in related areas (Johnson & Johnson, 1979, 1989, 2007). The considerable research available indicates that intellectual "disputed passages" create higher achievement (characterized by higher achievement, longer retention, more frequent use of higher-level reasoning and metacognitive thought, more critical thinking, greater creativity, and continuing motivation to learn), more positive interpersonal relationships, and greater psychological health when they (a) occur within cooperative learning groups and (b) are carefully structured to ensure that students manage them constructively. Finally, engaging in a controversy can also be fun, enjoyable, and exciting.

----Insert Table 4 About Here-----

Conflict Resolution Training

Intellectual conflicts are not the only conflicts that occur within a community and must be resolved constructively. There are conflicts based on individuals' differing interests within a situation. **Conflict of interests** exist when the actions of one person attempting to maximize his or her wants and benefits prevents, blocks, or interferes with another person maximizing his or her wants and benefits (Johnson & Johnson, 2005b). Such conflicts are ideally resolved through problem-solving (integrative) negotiation. When negotiation does not work, then mediation is required.

Conflict resolution and peer mediation programs have their roots in four sources (Johnson & Johnson, 2005b): Researchers in the field of conflict resolution, advocates of nonviolence, anti-nuclear war activists, and members of the legal profession. The research-based peer mediation programs began in the 1960s with the **Teaching Students To Be Peacemakers Program** (Johnson, 1970, 1971; Johnson & R. Johnson, 1995, 2005b). It was derived from social interdependence theory (Deutsch, 1949; Lewin, 1951; Johnson & Johnson, 1989, 2005a) and focused on teaching all students in a school the nature and value of conflict, the five strategies for managing conflict (withdrawing, forcing, smoothing, compromising, problem-solving negotiations). how to use an integrative negotiation procedure, and how to mediate peer conflicts. All students then take turns in being a class and school mediator.

Nature And Value Of Conflict

Students are taught to recognize that conflicts are inevitable, healthy, and potentially valuable. Rather than suppressing conflicts, conflicts should be faced and even encouraged given that all students, faculty, and staff are skilled in resolving conflicts constructively. It is a fallacy to try to eliminate all conflict from the school through suppression and avoidance.

Mastering The Five Strategies For Managing Conflicts

Students are trained to keep two concerns in mind when resolving conflicts: (a) the importance of the goals they are trying to achieve and (b) the importance of the relationship with the other person. When those two concerns are present, there are five strategies available for managing a conflict: Withdrawal, forcing, smoothing, compromising, and problem-solving negotiations. In long-term, ongoing relationships maintaining a high quality relationship is usually more important than is achieving one's goals on any one issue.

Problem-Solving Negotiations

All members of the school community need to know how to negotiate constructive resolutions to their conflicts. There are two types of negotiations: **distributive** or "win-lose" (where one person benefits only if the opponent agrees to make a concession) and **integrative** or problem solving (where disputants work together to create an agreement that benefits everyone involved). In ongoing relationships, only a problem solving approach is constructive. The steps in using problem solving negotiations are (Johnson & Johnson, 2005):

1. **Describing what you want**. This includes using good communication skills and defining the conflict as a small and specific mutual problem.
2. **Describing how you feel**. Disputants must understand how they feel and communicate it openly and clearly.
3. **Describing the reasons for your wants and feelings**. This includes expressing cooperative intentions, listening carefully, separating interests from positions, and differentiating before trying to integrate the two sets of interests.
4. **Taking the other's perspective and summarizing your understanding of what the other person wants, how the other person feels, and the reasons underlying both**.

This includes understanding the perspective of the opposing disputant and being able to see the problem from both perspectives simultaneously.

5. **Inventing three optional plans to resolve the conflict that maximize joint benefits**. This includes inventing creative options to solve the problem.
6. **Choosing one and formalizing the agreement with a hand shake**. A wise agreement is fair to all disputants and is based on principles. It maximizes joint benefits and strengthens disputants' ability to work together cooperatively and resolve conflicts constructively in the future. It specifies how each disputant should act in the future and how the agreement will be reviewed and renegotiated if it does not work.

Peer Mediation

Once the problem-solving negotiation procedure is learned, all members of the school community need to learn how to mediate conflicts of interests (Johnson & Johnson, 2005b). A **mediator** is a neutral person who helps two or more people resolve their conflict, usually by negotiating an integrative agreement. Mediation consists of four steps:

1. **Ending hostilities**: Break up hostile encounters and cool off students.
2. **Ensuring disputants are committed to the mediation process**: To ensure that disputants are committed to the mediation process and are ready to negotiate in good faith, the mediator introduces the process of mediation and sets the ground rules. The mediator first introduces him- or herself. The mediator asks students if they want to solve the problem and does not proceed until both answer "yes." Then the mediator explains that mediation is voluntary, he or she will be neutral, each person will have the chance to state his or her view of the conflict without interruption, and everyone must follow the rules of agreeing to solve the problem, no name calling, no interrupting, being honest, abiding by any agreement made, and keeping everything said confidential.
3. **Helping disputants successfully negotiate with each other**: The disputants are carefully taken through the negotiation sequence of (a) jointly defining the conflict by both persons stating what they want and how they feel, (b) exchanging reasons, (c)

reversing perspectives so that each person is able to present the other's position and feelings to the other's satisfaction, (d) inventing at least three options for mutual benefit, and (e) reaching a wise agreement and shaking hands.

4. **Formalizing the agreement**: The agreement is solidified into a contract. Disputants must agree to abide by their final decision and, in many ways, the mediator becomes "the keeper of the contract."

Once students understand how to negotiate and mediate, the peacemaker program is implemented. Each day the teacher selects two class members to serve as official mediators. Any conflicts students cannot resolve themselves are referred to the mediators. The mediators wear official T-shirts, patrol the playground and lunchroom, and are available to mediate any conflicts that occur in the classroom or school. The role of mediator is rotated so that all students in the class or school serve as mediators an equal amount of time. Initially, students mediate in pairs. This ensures that shy or nonverbal students get the same amount of experience as more extroverted and verbally fluent students. Mediating classmates' conflicts is perhaps the most effective way of teaching students the need for the skillful use of each step of the negotiation procedure.

If peer mediation fails, the teacher mediates the conflict. If teacher mediation fails, the teacher arbitrates by deciding who is right and who is wrong. If that fails, the principal mediates the conflict. If that fails, the principal arbitrates. Teaching all students to mediate properly results in a schoolwide discipline program where students are empowered to regulate and control their own and their classmates actions. Teachers and administrators are then freed to spend more of their energies on instruction.

Continuing Lessons To Refine And Upgrade Students' Skills

Additional lessons are needed to refine and upgrade students' skills in using the negotiation and mediation procedures. Gaining real expertise in resolving conflicts constructively takes years of training and practice. Negotiation and mediation training may become part of the fabric of school life by integrating them into academic lessons. Literature, history, and science units typically involve conflict. Almost any lesson in these subject areas

can be modified to include role playing situations in which the negotiation and/or mediation procedures are used. In our recent research, for example, we have focused on integrating the peacemaker training into history units and English literature units involving the studying of a novel. Each of the major conflicts in the novel was used to teach the negotiation and/or mediation procedures and students participated in role playing how to use the procedures to resolve the conflicts in the novel constructively.

Spiral Curriculum From The First Through The Twelve Grades

The **Teaching Students to be Peacemakers Program** is a 12-year spiral program that is retaught each year in an increasingly sophisticated and complex way. It takes years to become competent in resolving conflicts. Twelve years of training and practice will result in a person with considerable expertise in resolving conflicts constructively.

Benefits Of Conflict Resolution And Peer Mediation Programs

We have conducted seventeen studies on implementing the Peacemaker Program in schools involving students from kindergarten through the tenth-grade and several other researchers have conducted relevant studies (Johnson & Johnson, 1996a, 2005b). The benefits of teaching students the problem-solving negotiation and the peer mediation procedures include students and faculty developing a shared understanding of how conflicts should be managed, students learning the negotiation and mediation procedures and retaining their knowledge throughout the school year and the following year, students applying the procedures to their and other people's conflicts, transferring the procedures to nonclassroom settings such as the playground and lunchroom, and transferring the procedures to nonschool settings such as the home. Students' attitudes toward conflict tended to became more positive. Students tended to resolve their conflicts without the involvement of faculty and administrators and, therefore, classroom management problems tended to decreased by about 60 percent and referrals to administrators dropped about 90 percent. Students generally liked to engage in the problem-solving negotiation and mediation procedures. Finally, when integrated into academic units, the conflict resolution training tended to increase academic achievement and long-term retention of the academic material. Academic units, especially in

subject areas such as literature and history, provide a setting to understand conflicts, practice how to resolve them, and use them to gain insight into the material being studied.

-----Insert Table 5 About Here-----

The Third C: Civic Values

The value systems underlying competitive, individualistic, and cooperative situations are a hidden curriculum beneath the surface of school life (Johnson & Johnson, 1996b, 1999). Whenever students engage in **competitive efforts**, for example, they learn the values of (a) commitment to getting more than others (there is a built-in concern that one is smarter, faster, stronger, more competent, and more successful than others so that one will win and others will lose), (b) success depends on beating, defeating, and getting more than other people (triumphing over others and being “Number One” are valued), (c) what is important is winning, not mastery or excellence, (d) opposing, obstructing, and sabotaging the success of others is a natural way of life (winning depends on a good offense--doing better than others--and a good defense--not letting anyone do better than you), (e) feeling joy and pride in one’s wins and others’ losses (the pleasure of winning is associated with others' disappointment with losing), (f) others are a threat to one’s success, (g) a person’s worth (own and others) is conditional and contingent on his or her "wins," (a person’s worth is never fixed, it depends on the latest victory), (h) winning, not learning, is the goal of academic work, and (i) people who are different are to be either feared (if they have an advantage) or held in contempt (if they have a handicap).

The values inherently taught by **individualistic experiences** are (a) commitment to one’s own self-interest (only personal success is viewed as important, others’ success is irrelevant), (b) success depends on one’s own efforts, (c) the pleasure of succeeding is personal and relevant to only oneself, (d) other people are irrelevant, (e) self-worth is based on a unidimensional view that the characteristics that help the person succeed are valued (in school that is primarily reading and math ability), (f) extrinsic motivation to gain rewards for achieving up to criteria is valued, and (g) similar people are liked and dissimilar people are disliked.

The values inherently taught by **cooperative efforts** are (a) commitment to own and others' success and well-being as well as to the common good, (b) success depends on joint efforts to achieve mutual goals, (c) facilitating, promoting, and encouraging the success of others is a natural way of life (a smart cooperator will always find ways to promote, facilitate, and encourage the efforts of others), (d) the pleasure of succeeding is associated with others' happiness in their success, (e) other people are potential contributors to one's success, (f) own and other people's worth is unconditional (because there are so many diverse ways that a person may contribute to a joint effort, everyone has value all the time), (g) intrinsic motivation based on striving to learn, grow, develop, and succeed is valued (learning is the goal, not winning), (h) people who are different from oneself are to be valued as they can make unique contributions to the joint effort.

Constructive conflict resolution promotes the values of subjecting one's conclusions to intellectual challenge, viewing issues from all perspectives, reaching agreements that are satisfying to all disputants, and maintaining effective and caring long-term relationships. In other words, constructive conflict resolution inherently teaches a set of civic values aimed at ensuring the fruitful continuation of the community.

Recommendations

For schools and communities trying to prevent bullying, there are recommendations that they may wish to follow.

1. Structure the majority of learning activities cooperatively. This is the most significant influence on positive relationships and prosocial behavior.
2. Minimize the use of competitive and individualistic situations.
3. Hold regular class meetings in which students discuss issues, plan for improvements, decide on changes, and reflect on the quality of classroom life.
4. Provide explicit opportunities for students to take each other's perspective and to practice perspective-taking.
5. Provide continuous opportunities for students to build positive, caring relationships with each other in which there are high levels of candor and personal interaction.

6. Regularly engage all students in academic controversies.
7. Teach all students how to engage in problem-solving negotiations and mediate their schoolmates' conflicts.
7. Use academic subject matter (such as literature and history) to teach controversy and peace making (conflict resolution) skills and civic values. Role plays and discussions should be open ended rather than didactic.
9. Provide opportunities for students to behave in ways that support the values being taught. Students, for example, should have the opportunity to tell the truth; opportunities to lie should be minimized.
10. Structure cooperation at the class and school levels. Schools should be learning communities in which students care about each other and are committed to each other's success.
11. Structure cooperation between the school and the parents and neighborhood. Students should have the opportunity to use their teamwork and conflict resolution skills and to express their values in settings beyond the school.
12. Faculty and staff should model cooperation, constructive conflict resolution, and expression of civic values. In doing so they make salient and nurture a concern for others, understanding the effects of one's behavior on others, and having the courage to face moral challenges.

Summary

In order to prevent bullying and harm-intended aggression among students, positive relationships must be developed among students in which students frequently engage in prosocial actions. The more positive the relationships among students (and the fewer the isolated and alienated students) and the more frequently students engage in prosocial behaviors, the less likely bullying and victimization will be and the less likely bystanders will be passive and allow bullying to take place.

The theory underlying the prevention of bullying and building positive relationships among students is social interdependence theory. Goal interdependence may be positive (i.e.,

cooperative) or negative (i.e., competitive). The way in which students interact and the resulting outcomes are dependent on which type of goal interdependence is structured into the situation.

The more competitive the situation, the peer group, and the person, the more likely relationships are to be negative, the lower achievement and task engagement tends to be, and the more frequent the anti-social behavior, such as bullying and harm-intended aggression. Bullying and victimization are symptomatic of competition. The stronger the competition, the more likely bullying will occur to achieve status and dominance. The more students are alienated academically and socially due to chronic losing or withdrawal from the competition, the more likely bullying and victimization will occur. The more isolated a student, the more likely he or she will be victimized. Bullying is a competitive activity in which an individual is striving to demonstrate dominance and attain status in a peer group. In competition, it is against the rules to help someone who is losing and bystanders may not want to take sides. Bullying is reflective of egocentrism, low-level moral reasoning, a differential identity (i.e., identity is based on superior to others), contingent self-esteem (i.e., if I win I have value, if I lose I am worthless), moral exclusion (i.e., only ingroup members are part of the moral community), and the view that justice and fairness applies only to oneself or one's group.

The more cooperative the situations, the peer group, and the person, the more likely relationships are to be positive, the higher tends to be achievement and task engagement, and the more frequent the pro-social behavior. Cooperative learning ensures that all students are involved in and integrated into the academic program of the school and are socially integrated into networks of peer relationships. Prosocial actions reflect cooperation in which individuals are striving to promote each other's success and well-being. Victims tend to be supported and bystanders tend to intervene to protect victims. Prosocial behavior is reflective of perspective taking, high levels of moral reasoning, a moral identity, basic self-esteem, moral inclusion, and justice and fairness for all.

The creation of the positive relationships and prosocial behavior among students that prevents bullying and victimization begins with the predominant use of cooperative learning.

In order to create the needed positive relationships and prosocial behavior, cooperative learning needs to be the predominant instructional strategy used in the school. There are three types of cooperative learning: Formal cooperative learning, informal cooperative learning, and cooperative base groups. The success of cooperative learning depends on the carefully structuring of five elements: positive interdependence, individual accountability, promotive interaction, social skills, and group processing. Besides creating caring and committed relationships among students and promoting pro-social behavior, cooperative learning ensures that all students are meaningfully and actively involved in learning, ensures that students are achieving up to their potential, the development of the interpersonal and small group skills needed to develop positive relationships with diverse schoolmates, the arena for discussion and solving of personal problems, a sense of meaning, pride, and esteem by academically helping and assisting classmates and contributing to their well-being and quality of life, and a context for resolving conflicts in constructive ways.

In order to maintain positive relationships and cooperative endeavors, it is necessary to resolve conflicts constructively. Students need to learn how to resolve intellectual disagreements through the constructive controversy procedure (research a position, present it persuasively, engage in an open discussion in which the opposing position is critiqued and challenged, reverse perspectives, and create a synthesis that both sides can agree to. This type of conflict is inherent in all decision making. Students need to learn how to resolve conflicts of interests through problem-solving negotiation and peer mediation. Problem-solving negotiations consist of stating what one wants and feels, stating the reasons underlying one's wants and feelings, reversing perspective by summarizing the opposing position, inventing three possible agreements that maximize joint gain, and selecting one to implement. The mediation procedure consists of ending hostilities, ensuring commitment to mediation, facilitating problem-solving negotiations, and finalizing the agreement. Being competent in resolving controversies and conflicts of interests gives students a developmental advantage that will benefit them throughout their lives. It also ensures that conflicts will be faced and resolved in ways that strengthen and improve relationships.

Finally, engaging in cooperative efforts and resolving conflicts constructively inculcates civic values in students. Cooperation promotes commitment to others' success and well-being, commitment to the common good, and taking joy in other's success and well being. Constructive conflict resolution promotes the values of subjecting one's conclusions to intellectual challenge, viewing issues from all perspectives, and reaching agreements that maximize joint gain.

It is the combination of cooperative experiences, constructive conflict resolution, and civic values that most effectively develop the positive relationships and prosocial behaviors that prevent the occurrence of bullying in schools.

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Table 1

Types Of Cooperative Learning

Formal Cooperative Learning	Informal Cooperative Learning	Cooperative Base Groups
Completes assignment, lesson, unit, project to maximize own and groupmates' learning	Discusses assigned questions for few minutes to focus attention, organize knowledge, set expectations, create mood, ensure cognitive processing & rehearsal, summarize, precue next session, provide closure	Permanent, lasts for one semester, one year, or several years to ensure all members make academic progress and develop cognitively and socially in healthy ways
Teacher Procedure	**Teacher Procedure**	**Teacher Procedure**
Make Pre-Instructional Decisions	Conduct Introductory Focused Discussion	Structure Opening Class Meeting To Check Homework, Ensure Members Understand Academic Material, Complete Routine Tasks Such As Attendance, And Prepare Members For The Day
Explain Task & Cooperative Structure	Conduct Intermittent Pair Discussions Every Ten Or Fifteen Minutes	Structure Ending Class Meeting To Ensure All Members Understand The Academic Material, Know What Homework To Do, And Are Making Progress On Long-Term Assignments
Monitor Learning Groups And Intervene To Improve Taskwork & Teamwork	Conduct Closure Focused Discussion	Members Help And Assist Each Other Learn In-Between Classes
Assess Learning And Process Group Effectiveness		Conduct Semester Or Year Long School Or Class Service Projects

Table 2

Meta-Analysis of Social Interdependence Studies: Mean Effect Sizes

Dependent Variable	Cooperative Vs. Competitive	Cooperative Vs. Individualistic	Competitive Vs. Individualistic
Achievement	0.67	0.64	0.30
Interpersonal Attraction	0.67	0.60	0.08
Social Support	0.62	0.70	-0.13
Self-Esteem	0.58	0.44	-0.23
Time On Task	0.76	1.17	0.64
Attitudes Toward Task	0.57	0.42	0.15
Quality Of Reasoning	0.93	0.97	0.13
Perspective-Taking	0.61	0.44	-0.13
High Quality Studies			
Achievement	0.88	0.61	0.07
Interpersonal Attraction	0.82	0.62	0.27
Social Support	0.83	0.72	-0.13
Self-Esteem	0.67	0.45	-0.25

Source: Johnson, D. W., & Johnson, R. (1989). Cooperation and competition: Theory and research. Edina, MN: Interaction Book Company. Reprinted with permission.

Table 3

Types Of Conflict

Academic Controversy	Conflicts Of Interest
One person's ideas, information, theories, conclusions, and opinions are incompatible with those of another and the two seek to reach an agreement.	The actions of one person attempting to maximize benefits prevents, blocks, or interferes with another person maximizing their benefits.
Controversy Procedure	**Integrative (Problem-Solving) Negotiations**
Research & Prepare Positions	Describe Wants
Present & Advocate Positions	Describe Feelings
Refute Opposing Position & Refute Attacks On Own Position	Describe Reasons For Wants & Feelings
Reverse Perspectives	Take Other's Perspective
Synthesize & Integrate Best Evidence & Reasoning From All Sides	Invent Three Optional Agreements That Maximize Joint Outcomes
	Choose One And Formalize Agreement

Table 4

Meta-Analysis Of Academic Controversy Studies: Mean Effect Sizes

Dependent Variable	Controversy / Concurrence Seeking	Controversy / Debate	Controversy / Individualistic Efforts
Achievement	0.68	0.40	0.87
Cognitive Reasoning	0.62	1.35	0.90
Perspective Taking	0.91	0.22	0.86
Motivation	0.75	0.45	0.71
Attitudes Toward Task	0.58	0.81	0.64
Interpersonal Attraction	0.24	0.72	0.81
Social Support	0.32	0.92	1.52
Self-Esteem	0.39	0.51	0.85

Source: Johnson, D. W., & Johnson, R. (1995b). Creative controversy: Intellectual conflict in the classroom. Edina, MN: Interaction Book Company. Reprinted with permission.

Table 5

Meta-Analysis of Mean Peacemaker Studies: Mean Effect Sizes

Dependent Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation	Number Of Effects
Academic Achievement	0.88	0.09	5
Academic Retention	0.70	0.31	4
Learned Procedure	2.25	1.98	13
Learned Procedure – Retention	3.34	4.16	9
Applied Procedure	2.16	1.31	4
Application – Retention	0.46	0.16	3
Strategy Constructiveness	1.60	1.70	21
Constructiveness – Retention	1.10	0.53	10
Strategy Two-Concerns	1.10	0.46	5
Two-Concerns – Retention	0.45	0.20	2
Integrative Negotiation	0.98	0.36	5
Positive Attitude	1.07	0.25	5
Negative Attitude	-0.61	0.37	2
Quality of Solutions	0.73	0	1

Source: Johnson, D. W., & Johnson, R. (2000). Teaching students to be peacemakers: Results of twelve years of research. Paper presented at the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues Convention, June. Reprinted with permission.

Figure 1

Impact Of Social Interdependence On Relationships, Prosocial Behavior, And Bullying

Cooperative	Competitive
Positive Peer Relationships 1. Interpersonal Attraction 2. Cohesion 3. Belonging 4. Social Support	Negative Peer Relationships 1. Interpersonal Rejection 2. Fragmentation 3. Isolation, Distrust 4. Antagonism From Others
High Achievement, Task Engagement	Low Achievement, Task Engagement
Prosocial Behavior 1. Prosocial Actions 2. Perspective Taking 3. High Level Moral Reasoning 4. Moral Identity 5. Basic Self-Esteem 6. Moral Inclusion & Scope Of Justice 7. Justice, Fairness For All	Antisocial Behavior 1. Bullying, Harm-Intended Aggression 2. Egocentrism 3. Low Level Moral Reasoning 4. Differential Identity 5. Contingent Self-Esteem 6. Moral Exclusion 7. Justice, Fairness For Self & Group
Cooperative Learning	Competitive Learning
Constructive Conflict Resolution	Destructive Conflict Resolution
Civic Values	Differential Values

Figure 2

Outcomes Of Cooperative Learning

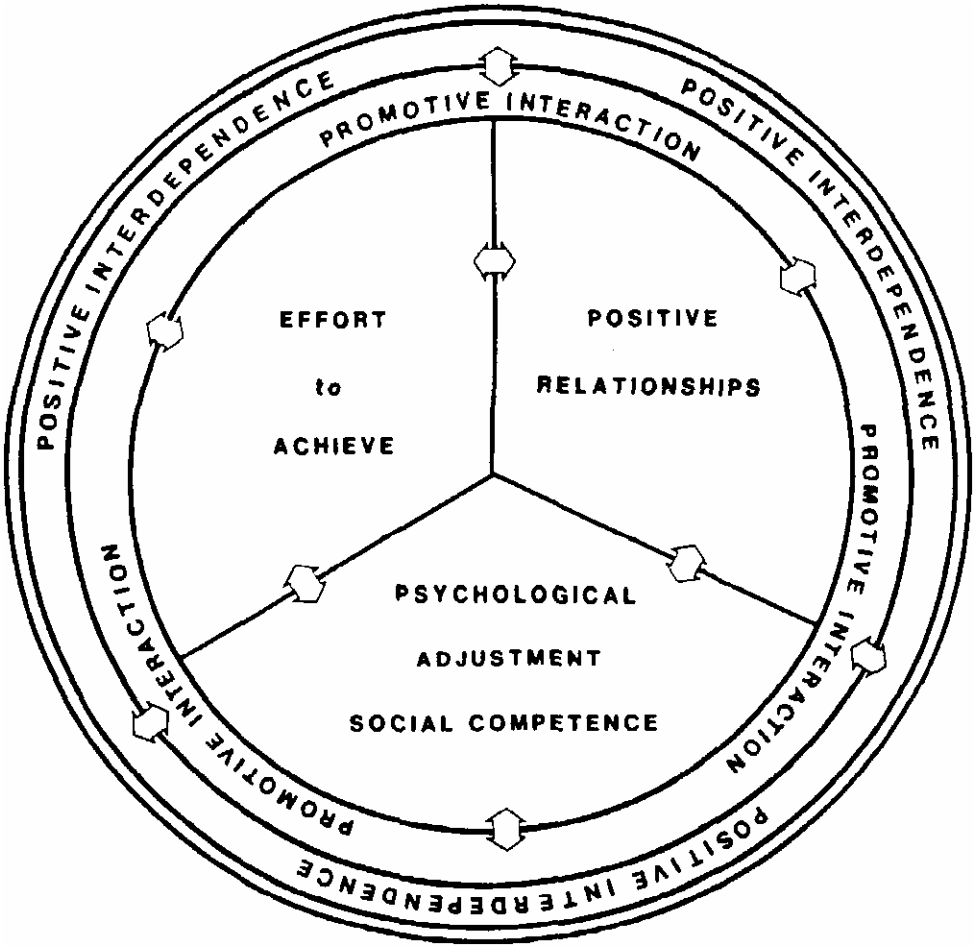

Figure 3: Path Analysis Of Cooperative Experiences And Cooperative Predispositions on Harm-Intended Aggression And Prosocial Behavior