Scaffolding social and emotional learning within the 'shared affective spaces' to reduce bullying: A sociocultural perspective
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Introduction

Schools are recognised as places of academic learning but also a context for social and emotional development. Bullying is a pervasive issue in schools and the negative repercussions can be enduring into adulthood (Rigby, 2007). Early intervention and supporting social and emotional developemnt assists students to reach their academic potential (Bodrova & Leong, 2007). As the peer group constitutes one of the most important contexts for child development and socialization and is critical in the formulation of values and social norms for behaviour (Ladd, Kochenderfer & Coleman, 1996; Lovat, Dally, Clement & Toomey, 2011; Lovat, Toomey, Clement, Crotty & Nielsen, 2009; Rubin, Bukowski & Parker, 2006; Wentzel, 2005) it is appropriate to consider the peer group when addressing bullying. Children are in a vulnerable position to become the victims of bullying when there is an inequality of power amongst peers on a physical, verbal or psychological level (Slee, 2003), accompanied by a deliberate intent to repeatedly harm (Spears, Slee, Owens & Johnson, 2009). If children do not develop positive peer relationships they are more likely to experience social and emotional problems (Ladd & Burgess, 1999) such as loneliness, a low self-esteem or behave aggressively (Schmidt, Demulder & Denham, 2002). Limited social and emotional development affects a child's ability to collaborate and learn effectively with peers (Boyd, Barnett, Bodrova, Leong & Gomby, 2005; Ladd et al., 1996).

Many research studies conceptualise social and emotional learning as an individual endeavour (Elias, 2006; Zins, Bloodworth, Weissberg & Walberg, 2007; Zins & Elias, 2007). Anti-bullying programs often focus on the perpetrators and victims (Bernard, 1996; Cross, 2010) while ignoring the peer group. However, in the current research bullying is conceptualised as a social issue and the collective knowledge of the peer group is viewed as critical to developing prosocial behaviour. The classroom teacher, who was also the researcher, scaffolded students with questions about their behaviour and feelings to foreground the affective elements of learning. Recognising the emotional aspect of classroom research is an area that is often neglected by researchers (Meyer & Turner, 2002, 2006; Goldstein & Friedman, 2003) but it is considered as an enabling factor in scaffolding (Bruner, 1986, Goldstein, 1999; Renshaw, 2013; Rogoff, 1995, 2003). This paper examines scaffolding social and emotional learning by creating 'shared affective spaces' (Goldstein & Friedman, 2003) that supported students' ability to adopt prosocial behvaiour. The notion of zone of proximal development (ZPD), scaffolding and 'shared affective spaces' (Goldstein, 1999) is discussed next to elucidate the links between the sociocultural activities in the classroom and developing students' empathy. Later Rogoff's (1995, 2003) planes provide an analytical framework to discuss the classroom activities that promoted prosocial behaviour.

Sociocultural theoretical framework

Vygotsky's (1978) unique perspective of human development and learning emphasises the social, interpersonal and interactional nature of cognitive development. Thus, sociocultural theory is appropriate to conceptualise social and emotional learning as a social concept to reflect the shared cultural knowledge of students and the teacher/researcher in the classroom. Vygotsky (1978) believed that the purpose of education is to pass on cultural tools such as language to enable children to think clearly and creatively and develop self-confidence in their abilities to express their point of view..

> They begin to plan and organise their own activities, openly express their point of view, provide non-standard solutions for problems, interact freely with other people and, most importantly, believe in themselves and their own abilities. (Dolya, 2010)

Vygotsky's (1978) proposition was that any higher psychological function appears twice, on two planes. Firstly, on the social plane between people (interpsychological) and secondly, on the individual plane (intrapsychological) where the child internalises their learning. Parents and teachers provide the cultural tools for children to access their culture during social interaction. The learner is embedded within the cultural activities of the classroom, family and wider community and learns to make sense of their world but also contribute their ideas. The ZPD is characterised as "the distance between actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers" (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 86). Vygotsky's (1978) ZPD defines the higher mental functions that are in the process of maturation, suggesting changing mental functions that happen over time. Sociocultural activities within the ZPD are where Vygotsky (1978) asserts true learning occurs, providing opportunities for children to internalise higher psychological functions. Goldstein's (1999) and Noddings' (1984) research on 'affect' and 'caring' are discussed in the next section in relation to the affective characteristics of the ZPD to focus on scaffolding the emotional aspect of cognitive development.

Scaffolding within shared affective spaces

The original term of 'scaffolding' is drawn from the research of Wood, Bruner and Ross (1976) and is applied in this paper to the notion of working in the ZPD as "problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers" (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 86). Goldstein (1999) further argues that emotions and relationships are integral to working effectively within the ZPD which is encapsulated in the term "interrelational" zone. This zone is the "shared affective space created by the adult and child in the ZPD" (Goldstein, 1999, p. 651). Goldstein (1999) postulates that caring relationships (Noddings, 1984) are a prerequisite for teachers and students to work within the ZPD. Nodding's (1984) use of the term 'care' identifies specific roles for the person giving care (one-caring) and a person receiving care (cared-for). The one-caring agrees to provide their full attention and is receptive to the perspective and situation of the one-cared. In the current research the teacher/researcher's role is to create shared affective spaces (Goldstein (1999) that establish a 'duality' with the learner where the one-caring sees and feels as the cared for does (Noddings, 1984, p.30). As this process requires a focus on interpersonal relationships it is important to choose research methods that allow participants to freely express their views and feelings.

Qualitative research methodology

The classroom activities were purposely chosen to scaffold students' metacognitive, social and emotional skills to encourage full participation. The type of data collected was about students' perceptions and feelings about each other. Qualitative research methodology was preferred as a less intrusive and flexible method to understand students' different points of view about their relationships and feelings (Burns, 2000; Grundy, 1995; Richards, 2005; Tripp, 1995). In addition the teacher/researcher used an action research process of 'plan, act and reflect' to organise and facilitate data collection in a systematic way from classroom activities (Burns, 2000; Grundy, 1995; Richards, 2005; Tripp, 1995). Data collection sources included the teacher/researcher's observations and students' reflections which were written in

their logs. Semi structured student interviews were conducted using the same open ended questions. Responses were compared to identify emerging themes over the year for the larger study. In this paper the case study (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Patton, 2002; Yin, 2012) of Lindsay and his peers is used to provide a level of detail about the school and classroom context and the participants' that it is argued is unattainable by any other approach (Rogoff, 1990; Sharp, 2009). The data sources from diverse teaching and research tools are listed in Table 1 below and are further elaborated in the discussion and findings.

Table 1 *Overview of the sources and frequency of data collected from diverse teaching and research tools*

Diverse teaching and research tools

Teacher/researcher observations of students' behaviour
- Daily, in the classroom and outside in the playground

Sociograms (five conducted over the year)
- To establish new social groups and document friendship networks

School behaviour records
- Weekly, provided to teachers by the school's administration

Classroom artefacts
- Y charts of class agreements
- Students' seating plans throughout the year
- Weekly supportive notes/'lift ups' to each other

Student interviews
- Informal, as required by teacher/researcher
- Formal, conducted Term 4, week 4 by the teacher/researcher

Student reflection logs
- Weekly, usually completed after the class meeting

Critical friend for the project (deputy principal)
- Ongoing verbal and written feedback about students' behaviour

Parent surveys (questions about changes in their child's friendship networks)
- Term - 2 , 3 & 4

Parent interviews
- Ongoing, initiated by parents and/or the teacher/researcher or administration
- Parent nights (beginning and conclusion of the research)

Data was purposely organised, annotated and cross references into files on a weekly basis to identify possible themes and changes in student behaviour. In the findings data are triangulated from parents and students to support the interpretations of the teacher/researcher, It is argued that the 'observer effect' was a positive presence during the research because the teacher/researcher was respected by the students and encouraged and modelled open and honest communication throughout the year. The process reviewing data on a daily and weekly basis determined the ongoing direction of the research and teaching priorities.

Background to the research

The longitudinal research was conducted at Bushlands elementary state school, situated in the Northern suburbs of the Perth metropolitan area in Western Australia. There were thirty-one students aged 9-10 years old in the composite Year 4/5 research class. Seventeen of the

thirty-one students were drawn from a total of sixty students in the Year 5 cohort that were distributed across four similar composite classes to cope with volume of antisocial behaviour. Most of the students had been at the same school for five to six years, since pre-primary, and many did not demonstrate the prerequisite skills to collaborate. Prior to the current study, values education had been a school priority for four years, with school wide implementation of the commercial social skills program 'You Can Do It! (Bernard, 1996). Vulnerable students also had access to a school chaplain and an adult volunteer mentoring program. The school participated in a larger pilot research project in Western Australia to address bullying (Cross, 2010). Together these activities met with some success but a large cohort of students remained unaffected and bullying persisted.

The teacher/researcher chose sociocultural activities that promoted discussions about bullying as a social issue and encouraged students to actively participate to identify their issues and collectively agree on solutions. The case study of a Year 5 student Lindsay, who was a bully, is presented with extracts from his reflection log that document changes in his behaviour an attitude towards his peers as he developed prosocial behaviour. Firstly Rogoff's institutional/community and interpersonal planes are used to examine classroom activities that provided opportunities to create collective social knowledge that it is argued scaffolded Lindsay's (personal plane) changes in behaviour. The affective nature of learning, working within the ZPD, to develop opportunities for children to internalise higher psychological functions is highlighted in the discussions.

Rogoff's (1995) institutional/community plane for apprenticeship

At the institutional/community plane the five class agreements and social practices of the daily social circle and weekly classroom meetings illustrate the social and cultural practices of the classroom in the context of whole school strategies to address bullying behaviour. Extracts from Lindsay's refection logs about classroom meetings early in the year indicate his perceptions and the impact of collective peer knowledge on his behaviour.

Class Agreements

The foundation for classroom values was embedded in five class agreements: attentive listening; mutual respect; participation or right to pass; appreciating others/ no put downs (Gibbs, 2001) and personal best (Bernard, 1996). They were introduced to students at the beginning of the year to establish the parameters and values underpinning prosocial behaviour and how to build positive relationships. Constructing the 'Y' Charts with students and using their language and background experiences, developed shared understandings about the class agreements. The words (sounds like) and actions (looks like) that embodied each agreement was represented in the collective knowledge of the peer group. Students were also asked to provide emotional responses (feels like) to reinforce the affective aspects of cognitive learning when the agreement was enacted, creating opportunities for 'shared affective spaces'. These charts were displayed as a cultural tool of reference in the classroom and used for reflection during social practices such as the daily social circle. In Table 2 there is a summary of the students' contributions for two class agreements which illustrate the collective data of the peer group and how prosocial values were scaffolded, linking affective learning (Feels like) with knowledge generated by the students for behaviour (Looks like and Sounds like). The process also exemplifies how the teacher/researcher enlisted students' emotions in the scaffolding process and valued their contributions.

Table 2 *Summary for 'participation/right to pass' and 'appreciating others/no putdowns'*

Agreement	Looks like	Sounds like	Feels like/affective
Participation/ right to pass	• Being respectful • People are shy • Allowing people to choose • Encouraging others to join • Allowing people to be quiet, feel safe and not embarrassed	• That's ok • Maybe next time • You can do it • Keep trying and don't give up • Never say never • Once you have-a-go it is easier the next time	• Getting confidence • I am accepted for being me • Trust • Comfortable • Safe • Not giving up
Appreciating others/no putdowns To demonstrate this agreement Lift ups (supportive notes) were written to each other	• We are good people • Everybody is cooperating • People are friendly • People are really listening to each other	• Come and play with us • That's really good • Would you like to play at my house after school? • You're a really good friend • Use lift-ups • Mean what you say	• Excited • Respected • Happy • Appreciated • Proud of myself • Confident • Safe • Valued

The agreements listed above are particularly pertinent in the context of bullying because students need to feel 'safe' to participate in activities but also have the option not to participate. When students received 'Lift ups' (supportive notes) from their peers they perceived as genuine expressions of support because prosocial values were promoted.

Daily social circle

The purpose of the cultural activity of the daily social circle (where students sat in a circle and stated their name and how they felt) was to create a sense of 'togetherness' and belonging to a community (Van Oers & Hännikäinen, 2001) by building students' social knowledge about peers and the teacher/researcher. Each participant spoke in turn while everybody listened attentively; demonstrating Noddings (1984) characteristics of 'caring'. The teacher/researcher modelled 'appreciating others' by using names and thanking students for their contributions to encourage full participation but students had the 'right to pass'. At the conclusion of the activity the teacher/researcher reflected briefly about the general 'feelings' in the classroom to set a positive tone for the day and gave specific feedback about the success of following the class agreements. Despite existing bullying issues, this activity became a valued tradition in the classroom and was rarely omitted from the daily schedule.

Weekly class meetings and collaborative problem solving (CPS)

Weekly class meetings were designed to provide opportunities for the sharing of social knowledge (interpsychological level) to facilitate internalisation (intrapsychological level) (Vygotsky, 1978). Every day understandings could merge with abstract concepts (Vygotsky, 1978) such as the meaning of: positive relationships; bullying; dobbing and telling; annoying behaviours and friendship. Agenda items were written on a whiteboard by both the students and teacher/researcher and prioritised at the beginning of each class meeting so the most urgent items were discussed. As the year progressed more capable peers took increasing responsibility for conducting the meetings so the teacher/researcher facilitated as a 'guide on the side'. In the context of the current study the three core competencies for collaborative problem solving (CPS) were used.

1. Establish and maintain shared understanding.
2. Take appropriate action to solve the problem.
3. Establish and maintain team organisation. (PISA,The Programme for International Student Assessment, 2015)

CPS was taught as an integral part of the sociocultural practices of the classroom, separately from the content domains, to embed the prerequisite skills for collaboration. The construction of the five class agreements, the implementation of the daily social circle and weekly classroom meetings created a forum for students to develop social knowledge but also a vocabulary to express their emotions in the context of developing friendships and prosocial behaviour. Before taking appropriate action to solve problems students offered ideas and learnt to negotiate and reach a consensus. The process established and maintained cohesive relationships based on mutual respect because the teacher/researcher allowed students to make their issues transparent and negotiate how to resolve them. The following extract from classroom meeting agenda item from Week 2 (Term 1) demonstrates how the teacher/researcher scaffolded within the ZPD to create 'shared affective spaces' and promotE respect and concern for others through explicit teaching. The teacher/researcher elaborated on the class agreement of mutual respect with students: *"Why have we made a Y chart for 'Mutual Respect'?" T*hese are some of the students' responses during the classroom meeting.

> We made up this chart to help people know what it is and to use it. (Joey)
> We need to respect and listen to each other. (Angela)
> The teacher wants this stuff in our heads so we use it. (Eileen)
> We want to encourage children to behave better and know the right thing to do. (Jason)
> Two wrongs don't make a right. People have feelings. (Lindsay*)*
> The chart is there as a reminder for us to use if we forget. (Joey)
> Together everybody achieves more. (Jack) (Classroom Meeting, Week 2, Term 1)

The students' responses highlight they understood the purpose for making the Y chart and the intention to create prosocial behaviour even though there was ongoing antisocial behaviour. Angela was fighting with her best friend at the time. Jason was the target of bullying by others. Lindsay was reported for fighting and teasing in the same week in the playground (Teacher/researcher's Reflection log, Term 2). The challenge for the teacher/researcher was to establish social knowledge (interpsychological) in the minds of the students (intrapsychological) so they enacted the prosocial values underpinning the five class agreements. In the next section the formation of social groups based on sociograms, was strategically implemented to promote positive relationships as the basis for scaffolding. Data from school behaviour records indicate changes in friendship groups as well as the success of classroom strategies in the playground.

Rogoff' (1995) Interpersonal Plane for guiding participation

Guiding student participation occurs at the interpersonal plane which is directed by cultural and social values, as well as social partners (Rogoff, 1995). At this plane Goldstein's theory (1999) is useful to focus on the affective ZPD or relational zone when considering how to create (or guide) caring relations that are conducive to learning in the ZPD. Teacher modelling of socially appropriate behaviour enables working within the affective ZPD with students. Similarly, the use of sociograms were based on the assumption that when a child's interpersonal preferences are used, new groups have the potential to be more cohesive and social adjustment is enhanced (Ashman & Gillies, 2003; Bennett & Rolheiser, 2001; Bennett,

Rolheiser & Stevahn, 1991) because students worked with peers that they had chosen and trusted.

Social groups

Students nominated up to four peers and the final social groups consisted of three to six students, after considering equitable gender distribution, peers' acceptance and academic ability. Due to the need for students to experience the positive aspects of being with different peers they stayed in the same groups for a time period of 6-8 weeks. The undercurrent of 'bullying' in the playground persisted for some students (until the last term of the year) so changing groups was also a protective factor to minimise tacit bullying which may not be observable in the classroom and continue to widen students' social networks. This also encouraged greater inclusion of students who in the past had no nominations from their peers. Data from Lindsay's sociogram results in Table 3 below, over the year, revealed the reciprocated friendships that developed but also times when his first nomination was not reciprocated for a 1st 2nd or 3rd choice by a peer, maybe due to the fact that Lindsay maintained his friendship with students who continued to bully.

Table 3 *Lindsay's sociograms preferences*

Lindsay's Nominations	1st nomination	2nd nomination	3rd nomination
Term 1	**Michael** (Yr. 5) (Lindsay's best friend) Reciprocated 1st choice	**Denis** (Yr. 5) (Lindsay's best friend) Reciprocated 2nd choice	**Daren** (Yr. 5) (Lindsay's new friend) Reciprocated 3rd choice
Term 2	**Denis** (Yr. 5) Not reciprocated by Denis	**Michael** (Yr. 5) Reciprocated 3rd choice	**Daren** (Yr. 5) Reciprocated 1st choice
Term 3	**Dean (Year 4)** Reciprocated 2nd choice	**Phuc** (Yr. 4) Not reciprocated	**Peter** (Yr. 5) Not reciprocated
Term 4	**Daren** (Yr. 5) Not reciprocated	**Phuc** (Yr. 4) Not reciprocated	**Peter** (Yr. 5) Not reciprocated

Lindsay, Michael and Denis became friends with Daren and engaged in bullying behaviours at the start of the year. All boys held school behaviour records from previous years. It is interesting to note that even though Lindsay made positive changes in his behaviour and ceased bullying in Term 1, he kept ties with his Year 5 friends Denis and Michael for Term 2 but widened his social network to other Year 4 students (Dean and Phuc) in Term 3 and 4 who displayed prosocial behaviour in the classroom and playground. Lindsay's Reflection Log tracks his changes in values and aspiration for new friends and a leadership role in the classroom. Although he only chose male students he made friends with many of the female students and widened his social network and positive influence as noted in the teacher/researcher log for the second round of tribes where Lindsay was nominated as leader by his peers.

> Lindsay allowed Eileen in Term 2 to do the leading for him but he worked diligently with Daren, his new friend this year. These three students formed a friendship bond at this point that had a positive impact on many other students because of their high social status. Their friendship broke down barriers where students looked beyond gender to their peers' personal attributes. Eileen received the most nominations from both boys and girls for all the sociograms conducted throughout the year. (Teacher/researcher log, Term 2, 2004)

The focus on friendships was a recurring theme in Lindsay's reflection log early in the year (Week 2, 12.2.04 & Week 4, 26.2.04) and continued throughout the year so the teacher/researcher considered this may be a motivating factor for Lindsay to adopt prosocial behaviour. Lindsay stated that he valued his friendships; often naming his peers. In addition he stated his peers were his friends because he didn't bully them and he wanted them in his next group. The next two extracts demonstrate that Lindsay is experiencing positive feelings about the class meetings and his new groups because he is sitting next to his friend Michael and new friend Daren.

> The class meeting was good today because everybody got to say what they really felt about the group. I like sitting next to Michael. (Reflection Log, Lindsay, 25th March, 2004)
> I have got a new friend Daren. Our group has self-control. I got one of people that I chose to sit next to. (Lindsay's Reflection Log, Term 2, 29th April, 2004)

In previous years Lindsay's school reports indicated that he was underachieving and behaving in a disruptive manner. At the beginning of the Year 5 Lindsay demonstrated antisocial behaviour at the first class meeting where he was rolling his eyes and grinning disrespectfully when peers spoke (Teacher'/researcher's log, Term 1, Week 1). However the school behaviour data indicated there was a positive shift in Lindsay's attitude when he chose not to engage in bullying in the playground and requested during Term 2 not to be seated in the same group as Denis in the classroom (Teacher/researcher's reflection log, Term 2).

> I have got a new friend Daren. Our group has self-control. I got one of people that I chose to sit next to. (Lindsay's Reflection Log, Term 2, 29th April, 2004)

One can assume that Lindsay was appropriating prosocial values that were actively promoted at classroom meetings and taking responsibility for his behaviour to work as part of a group. This trend for Lindsay was also evident in the school behaviour data which is discussed next.

School behaviour data

As part of the Administration's efforts to improve and reward prosocial behaviour each class was issued with a Playground Behaviour Chart. There were ten circles (one for each week) the size of a sticker which was awarded if there were no behaviour reports recorded. Due to the established track record of bullying and teasing with this group of students, the research class had a concession of up to three events per week for the first two terms to encourage students who were behaving appropriately. The research class earned 4, 2, 8 and 9 stickers respectively for the four terms, showing a general sustained improvement for the second half of the year when there were no concessions. The school behaviour records indicated that Denis had been involved in a total of twenty four bullying incidences in 2004 (6, 12, 6, 0 entries for Term 1, 2, 3 & 4 respectively). In Term 2, Denis's anti-social behaviour intensified, when most of his peers, including Lindsay, had made a decision not to engage in anti-social behaviour. By Term 4 there were no recorded misdemeanours for nine consecutive

weeks for any students, including Denis. In the next section entries from Lindsay's reflection logs are examined in three parts, at the beginning of the study, during the study and at the conclusion of the study, to illustrate the dynamic and longitudinal nature of changing student behaviour.

Rogoff's personal plane for participatory appropriation

At the beginning of the study

The personal focus of analysis enables observation of the elements from the institutional/community and interpersonal planes that intersect and mutually constitute each other. Lindsay's appropriation of social knowledge (interpsychological level) is evidenced in his words and actions which are triangulated with data from teacher/researcher and parent observations and the critical friend to the project to strengthen the claims made. After interviewing Lindsay's parents in Week 2 (Term 1) the teacher/researcher noted that his parents blamed Lindsay's antisocial behaviour on his peer group, in particular Denis. They requested assistance to encourage him to make new friends. (Teacher/researcher's log, Term 1, 2004)

On the first day of school there was a lunchtime incident where Lindsay was sent to administration for teasing and physically assaulting another student. As a punishment the consequence was time out of the playground the next day to think about his behaviour (School Behaviour Data, Term 1). Similar disruptive behaviour ensued during a class team building activity where Lindsay deliberately broke the thread from the ball of wool being used to create a class web. Yet he reflects he enjoyed this activity.

> The best thing about school so far is that two of my friends *(referring to Denis and Michael)* are in this class. This week I have felt mainly annoyed because I am not sitting next to my friends. The activity I enjoyed the most was the ball of wool because it was fun and challenging. I would like to see everyone sit next to who they want to. I am going to be good. (Reflection Log, Lindsay, 5th February, 2004)

By the end of the first week the teacher/researcher had established Lindsay's friendship group and had documented evidence of how he had led them to participate in bullying behaviours such as: teasing; fighting and throwing sticks and sand (School Behaviour Records, 2nd February to 18th March, 2004). By the end of the second week Lindsay was starting to follow his parents' advice to disassociate himself from Denis in the playground. Denis's writes about Michael and Lindsay in the past tense and that he needs to make new friends.

> The best thing about school is nothing because I got into trouble. I have been friends with Michael and Lindsay in the playground… My goal for this week is to make new friends. (Denis's Reflection Log, Term 1, 12.2.04)

During the study

Both Lindsay and Denis were underachieving at school and when they sat together in the classroom they reinforced each other's antisocial behaviour. Now both boys were seeking to make new friends they were separated into different groups. At weekly classroom meetings suggestions were made by their peers to start an extrinsic reward system called 'Cooperative Marbles in a Jar' to which both boys responded positively.

> My group is fabulous because I can get on with my work. I think my group will win. (Denis's Reflection Log, Term 2, 29.4.04)

I agree with points and stickers. I like prizes because it is good to earn something. It is fun to get a reward for your good behaviour or good work. I want prizes and outside games as rewards because it is fun and it is something different from doing work. (Lindsay's Reflection Log, Term 1, 20.5.04)

Even though there had been improvements in the classroom, Denis's antisocial behaviour was unrelenting and he was sent to administration from the classroom for deliberately bullying another student (School behaviour record, 31.5.04). After a class discussion about what to do if you don't have a friend Lindsay wrote thirty one ideas in his reflection log which included:

If someone doesn't have friends make friends with them. Introduce them to your new friend. Have a conversation with them. *Think about their feelings. Respect their cultures. Say nice things so they feel included.* Don't get them in trouble. *Make them happy* by telling them jokes. Don't spread rumours. Tell the truth. Don't bully. Be yourself. Apologise. *Don't blame people.* Don't show off. Don't mimic. *Be fair.* Follow through on promises. Don't pull faces and don't retaliate. (Extract from Lindsay's Reflection Log, Term 2, 31.5.04)

These ideas not only reflect the collective knowledge from classroom discussions (Term 1 & 2) but also his developing empathy for his peers (see italicised words above). The teacher/researcher observed Lindsay befriending younger students in the classroom including Dean and Phuc (Year 4 students) by helping them with their work. He also nominated them in the Term 3 and 4 sociograms (see Table 3.). When the students reflected on the second round of Tribes (end of Term 2), Lindsay's statements were reinforced by his group members, Tara and Denis that he was a good leader and everybody had become friends.

It has been fun being a group leader and I have been happy. It has been different because people know each other better and we have been more friends. I was happy straight away because I had a friend and then I became a leader. My group listened and cooperated with me and with each other… I learnt that I could behave when I wanted to. I leant that I can behave in the playground and the class as the same time. For my next tribe I want to have a good group leader and I want to be group leader again. (Lindsay's Reflection Log, Term 2, 9.6.04)

When Daren and Lindsay felt left out, because there were only two boys and five girls, us girls made feel comfortable in the group. (Tara's Reflection Log, Term 2, 9.6.04)

I have been happy because I had a good friend [Lindsay] in my tribe that I get along with. We get more work done because we had a lot of boys in our other tribe and we talked a lot. I wouldn't like to be in my other tribe because we didn't get any work done. I have already been a leader and I learnt if you have a lot of boys they will talk a lot. (Daren's Reflection Log, Term 2, 9.6.04)

Different group dynamics contributed to expanding Lindsay's understandings of his peer's feelings. He also learnt that he could have a positive influence on some of his friends who bullied other students but not on others such as Denis. At the conclusion of a discussion in Term 3 about the 'messages you give other people about yourself' Lindsay wrote the following statement about himself:

I am a friendly person and I show it by making friends easily and I don't give them a hard time. *If they get hurt I would see if they were all right. I would help them.* If they're stuck on their work I would try to tell them what to do. I play fair with other

people. I don't tease anyone on their disadvantages. That is why I think that I am liked by other people in the school. (19.8.04)

Being a friend means letting them play in your games and being nice to them. (Lindsay's Reflection Log, Term 3, 6.9.04)

I don't like individual stuff. *I like working as a team* (Lindsay's Reflection Log, Term 3, 16.9.04)

These reflections demonstrate that Lindsay was appropriating the collective knowledge of his peers by actively behaving in a positive manner to help them and demonstrating empathy (see italicised words above) which was confirmed by the positive classroom behaviours observed by the teacher/researcher and other teachers.

At the conclusion of the study

By Term 4 Lindsay had made more friends, had not engaged in any bullying for over eight months and was behaving in a prosocial way. He was a Tribe leader in Term 2 and 4 and the teacher/researcher wrote these concluding observations about peer relationships.

Lindsay was a leader with Claire and this tribe worked in harmony all term as all members had been leaders and had well developed skills to resolve issues. (Teacher/researcher's journal, Term 4)

The critical friend to the project wrote a letter, after attending the final parent meeting and noted the 'huge change' in the students' behaviour and how 'happy' they were to be at school because it was 'safe and supportive environment'.

Students have developed very sophisticated understandings of friends and how friendship groups work... students have developed personal practical knowledge that they have transferred to outside the classroom (playground and home) in order to use their developed skills to solve problems… some students were regular offenders… When students are interviewed by the administration they are polite, assertive and honest which allows the problem to be sorted out rapidly. (Critical friend, 7.12.04)

The following extracts from student interviews reaffirmed their understanding and application of collaborative values to solve problems and recognised the importance of mutual respect by appreciating the diversity amongst their peers.

I learnt stuff about people when they are being left out, and if people are not getting along. When I listened to people's problems I started to think for myself and I would sort out my problems. (Lindsay, 10.11.04)

I learnt to not to argue and be sensible. I listened to other people's opinions and I learnt that we are all different and how to get along with each other. (Denis, 11.11.04)

Lindsay's case study illustrates the changes in his thinking and behaviour through the appropriation of collective social knowledge (interpsychological level) which he interpreted and internalised (intrapsychological level) to change his behaviour. More importantly, Lindsay expressed empathy towards his peers in his reflection log entries as he 'learnt stuff about people' so he stopped bullying but he also started to think for himself and develop the courage not to engage in antisocial behaviour. He remained friends with Denis who made the choice to stop bullying by the end of the study.

Conclusions

The social aspect of developing positive relationships is paramount to addressing bullying issues as the basis to develop students' confidence to express their point of view without fear of ridicule. Peer groups are fundamental to child development and socialization and it is argued that the teacher has a role to structure the classroom to support prosocial behaviour to facilitate scaffolding learning (Bruner, 1986). Nodding's (1984) notion of 'caring' highlights the duality of the teacher and learner where the teacher (one-caring) has a responsibility to the learner (one cared for) by providing full attention to understand the learner's needs. Understanding different students' perspectives is integral to a teacher's role to reduce bullying but can be extended to teacher scaffolding students to understand their peers' perspectives too.

Vygotsky's (1978) unique view of learning as primarily a social concept reinforces the value of sociocultural activities that contribute to developing students' social knowledge and personal aspirations to make new friends; work had and become role models in small social groups for their peers. The interpersonal nature of learning and collaboration is highlighted by other researchers who concur that positive relationships are at the heart of true learning that engages the heart and mind (Goldstein, 1999; Meyer & Turner, 2002, 2006; Noddings, 1984; Rogoff, 2003). The scaffolding process has been extended in this study to highlight the emotional and interpersonal nature of scaffolding social and emotional development to reduce bullying. This demonstrates 'that learning with and from others can be as much about building a relationship as it is about mastering a specific skill' (Renshaw, 2013). When the emotions are enlisted through sociocultural activities such as constructing class agreements (Feels like section on the Y chart) students are provided with a model of the affective links between feelings and behaviours. The five class agreements established what prosocial behaviour 'looked like', 'sounded like' and 'felt like'. The discussions of emotions and feelings about behaviour legitimised an approach to enlist the support of all peers to personalise what happens during bullying for the victims and perpetrators. This process made explicit that students' words and actions have positive and negative consequences and elicit prosocial and antisocial behaviour in the future with their peers. The widening f friendship groups, promoted through the daily social circle and small social groups in the classroom allowed further scaffolding amongst peers to develop social and emotional skills. The collective viewpoint was sought through weekly classroom meetings. The teacher's intention was made explicit during the research to shift students' values and attitudes about bullying by enlisting their emotions, to develop empathy, alongside developing their social knowledge about each other. The teacher/researcher used sociograms and observations from the field to create the conditions to scaffold learning within shared affective spaces to support students' aspirations to change their behaviour and make new friends.

There are limitations to the generalisability of the findings of this study it was conducted in a single classroom. Nonetheless the classroom social strategies could be adapted by teachers who are keen to promote prosocial behaviour; though a holistic approach that includes social and emotional learning. A distinction made in the current research is the notion of connecting with children's emotions to develop empathy rather than a focus solely on developing social skills. This approach differs from using a commercial anti bullying program that promotes a generic set of social skills which may or may not resonate with the students' current needs. Students in the current research had been engaged in previous years with commercial social and emotional programs but this had little effect on a large group of students who continued to bully others. In this paper it is argued that a holistic approach in the classroom, where

students talked about their emotions and linked their behaviour with feelings promoted a deeper level of understandings of what bullying behaviour is and why it needs to stop. Sociocultural theory (Vygotsky, 1978) melds the social and emotional aspects of cognitive learning, foregrounding learning as a social concept and the role of emotions as an enabling factor in scaffolding (Renshaw, 2013). Understandings how teachers' expertise can be developed: to create 'shared affective spaces' to engage students' emotions as well as mind, to scaffold learning is an important area for future research and a challenge for educators Goldstein & Freedman, 2003; Renshaw, 2013).

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