Psychosoziale Gesundheit als Gelingensfaktor für erfolgreiche Bildungswege
Beiträge biopsychosozialer Unterstützungssysteme gegen Gewalt und Schulabbruch

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The Neglected Shadow of Emotions and Mental Health Supports
for Engaging the Needs of all Students

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Inclusive Systems in and around schools (Downes, Nairz-Wirth & Rusinaite 2017)

Part I Key Guiding Principles

• 2. Systemic
• 3. Differentiated
• 4. Multidisciplinary
• Students’ voices
• Parents’ voices

Part II Inclusive Systems as Shift from Diametric Spatial Systems to Concentric Spatial Systems
1. A Holistic Curricular Focus on Social and Emotional Education (SEE) : Emotional Awareness and Students’ Voices

A study of more than 213 programs found that if a school implements a quality SEL curriculum, they can expect better student behaviour and an 11 point increase in test scores (Durlak et al., 2011).

The gains that schools see in achievement come from a variety of factors—students feel safer and more connected to school and academic learning, children and teachers build strong relationships.

Durlak et al. (2011) highlight a range of SEE benefits for outcomes on SEE skills, Attitudes, Positive Social Behaviour, Conduct Problems, Emotional Distress and Academic Performance.
Durlak et al. (2011) classroom teachers and other school staff effectively conducted SEE programs so these can be incorporated into routine educational activities and do not require outside personnel.

Sklad et al.’s (2012) meta-analysis of recent, school-based, universal programs concentrated on ones that promote development rather than prevent specific problems such as bullying.
-SEE programs showed statistically significant effects on social skills, antisocial behaviour, substance abuse, positive self-image, academic achievement and prosocial behaviour.

SEE - Not the same as civic or religious education!
Downes (2010) SEE across curricular areas: empathy in history, language and emotion in English, conflict role play in drama etc.
1) HEALTH PROMOTION

2) STRESS PREVENTION

3) THERAPY

Teachers’ role is for 1 and 2, **not 3**
(Downes 2003)
Golding et al., (2013) seek to provide a checklist rather than formal assessment guide to young children’s attachment styles. Detailed attachment profiles of children who are viewed as insecure ambivalent, insecure avoidant and disorganized-controlling are provided.

Intrusive judgment by primary teachers of parents’ parenting skills but additionally whether it invites them to make judgments regarding attachment histories which are neither verifiable within the scope of their work nor even, in principle, observable. (Downes 2017)

Even if a child displays repeated features of, for example, ambivalence or avoidance, it is a major inferential leap for the primary teacher to produce a causal conclusion that these features are due to the attachment bonding problems with the child’s parents. (Downes 2017)
Beyond resilience as foreground superman or wonderwoman!

- Need to shift the popular emphasis on the ‘resilient’ student onto more **systemic** views
Ungar (2008) broadens Rutter’s conception of resilience to a socio-ecological model of resilience:

In the context of exposure to significant adversity, whether psychological, environmental, or both, resilience is both the capacity of the individual to navigate their way to health-sustaining resources, including opportunities to experience feelings of well-being, and a condition of the individual’s family, community and culture to provide these health resources and experiences in culturally meaningful ways.
From Resilient Systems to Inclusive Systems

Ungar’s broader environmental model of resilient systems does not include a focus on State systemic supports, as integrated services (Edwards & Downes 2013), in its role of developing inclusive systems of care.

Ungar’s (2012) socio-ecological broadening of Rutter’s (1987) resilience needs to go further in its systemic concerns:

- to include a systemic focus on outreach to marginalised families (Downes 2014a)
- a relational space of assumed connection between individuals and system supports.
Masuda and Nisbett (2001) presented realistic animated scenes of fish and other underwater objects to Japanese and Americans and asked them to report what they had seen. *The first statement by American participants usually referred to the focal fish (‘there was what looked like a trout swimming to the right’) whereas the first statement by Japanese participants usually referred to background elements (‘there was a lake or pond’).* 

*Japanese participants made about 70 percent more statements about background aspects of the environment.*
Masuda and Nisbett (2001) In a subsequent recognition task, Japanese performance was weakened by showing the focal fish with the wrong background, indicating that the perception of the object had been intimately linked with the field in which it had appeared.

In contrast, American recognition of the object was unaffected by the wrong background.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>I feel like I belong at school, % Agree (S.E)</th>
<th>I feel like an outsider (or left out of things at school), % Disagree (S.E)</th>
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<tr>
<td>OECD Average</td>
<td>78.1 (0.3)</td>
<td>86.2 (0.2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PISA OECD (2017)
I feel like an outsider (general population) Agree/Strongly Agree
Austria 13.9%
Lithuania 30.7%
OECD Average: 17.2%
Differentiated Strategies in Place - for Meeting Individual Needs at Different Levels of Need/Risk for Transition

Universal – *All*
Selected – *Some, Groups, Moderate Risk*
Indicated – *Individual, Intensive, Chronic Need*
The Emotional-Relational Turn for Inclusive Systems: Selected and Indicated Prevention

Even apart from poverty related depression, emotional distress contributes to early school leaving:

**LONELINESS**: Frostad et al. 2015 – intention to drop out

Quiroga et al. (2013) 493 high-risk French-speaking adolescents living in Montreal

*depresion symptoms at the beginning of secondary school are related to higher dropout mainly by being associated with pessimistic views about the likelihood to reach desired school outcomes; student negative self-beliefs are in turn related to lower self-reported academic performance and predict a higher risk of dropping out. Quiroga et al. (2013) “interventions that target student mental health and negative self-perceptions are likely to improve dropout prevention”. 
Recent research suggests that the onset of psychiatric disorders across the life course in nearly a third of cases is attributable to adverse childhood experiences.

Emotional neglect was the most commonly reported childhood maltreatment in their US study.

"the pernicious mental health consequences of childhood maltreatment for mental health across the life course...the prevention of maltreatment, particularly childhood abuse, may have broad benefits for many common mental disorders"
“The range of mental health outcomes for which childhood adversities are risk factors is…broad. It might be quicker to list those NOT predicted by childhood adversity.

Those that ARE include: in childhood – conduct disorder, attention-deficit hyperactivity disorder and oppositional defiant disorder; and in adulthood – depression, anxiety disorders (including generalized anxiety disorder, phobias and posttraumatic stress disorders), eating disorders, sexual dysfunction, personality disorder, dissociative disorder and substance misuse.”

When adjusted for socio-demographic factors, mood disorders (e.g. depression) were significantly related to school dropout

Among anxiety disorders, after controlling for potentially confounding factors, social phobia was a strong predictor of poor educational outcomes

...as indicated by early school leavers themselves, were feeling too nervous in class and being anxious to speak in public, both representing symptoms of social phobia
Selected Prevention – Moderate risk: Groups (Peer supports)

Indicated Prevention – Chronic need: Individual (family), intensive

Such chronic needs may be, for example, high non-attendance at school, intergenerational substance abuse, mental health difficulties, experience of trauma, such as domestic violence, sexual abuse, suicide, bereavement, emotional neglect, children in care, first language delays in development, suspension/expulsion (Downes 2015)

**Specialized trauma and psycho-social supports** – Indicated Prevention Level.

Universal and selected prevention includes a focus on change to systems – school communication practices, family support
Multidisciplinary

The *Alliances for Inclusion* report (Edwards & Downes 2013) reviewed the enabling conditions for the effectiveness of multidisciplinary teams and crosssectoral approaches for early school leaving prevention, building on 16 examples from 10 European countries.

- A policy focus is needed to go beyond multiple agencies

- Need to minimise fragmentation across diverse services ‘passing on bits of the child’ and family (Edwards & Downes 2013)

- The multi-faceted nature of risk requires a multi-faceted response that needs to go beyond referrals to disparate services resulting in this ‘passing on bits of the child’

- For genuine interprofessional collaboration for early school leaving prevention, for example, between schools and multidisciplinary teams of outreach care workers, therapists/counsellors, nurses, speech and language therapists, social workers, occupational therapists, policy-led co-location is not sufficient. Efforts are needed to support inter-professional collaborations and overcome resistance. (Edwards & Downes 2013)
OVERCOMING SYSTEM BLOCKAGE: Need to focus on direct delivery of multidisciplinary teams and to minimise displacement into ‘committee sitting’ (Downes 2013a)

- bridging (mental) health and education expertise

Prevention and early intervention focus
- To engage directly with problems related to early school leaving, for example, non-attendance, trauma, bullying, mental health difficulties, language development, parental support, sleep deficits, substance misuse, suspension/expulsion, conflict with teachers
- Each family has one ‘lead professional’ to link them with others (Edwards & Downes 2013)
Prior and Mason (2010) argue that better outcomes will be achieved when practitioners are equipped with the skills to engage youth in interventions. They note that effective engagement practices include warmth, genuineness, accurate empathy, careful listening, taking concerns seriously, encouraging involvement in decisions and treating youth with fairness and care.

Edwards and Hatch (2003) report that ‘Young people tend to feel on the peripheries of decision-making and the receivers rather than the shapers of services’, indicating that opportunities for youth to be actively engaged in service delivery may be far from commonplace’
Li et al. (2015) highlight that youth perception of service provision (i.e., health services, child welfare services, mental health services, correctional services, and educational supports) is a mediator between risk and psychosocial outcomes for children confronted by adversity.

Liebenberg et al. 2013 challenge a compliance versus noncompliance approach of care professionals to engaging young people with complex needs.

They observe that ‘the motivation to change or reluctance to change were attributed to the clients, while service systems assumed little or no responsibility for client progress’
Part II A Relational Space Focus for Inclusive Systems: Dynamic Concentric Space underpinning Resilience (Downes 2017)

- A spatial preunderstanding or metaphor built into conceptions of resilience as a regaining of shape, a bouncing back into shape (Ungar 2005, 2015).

- Bronfenbrenner’s (1979) framework assumes concentric structured spaces as nested systems of relation, with the ‘ecological environment...topologically as a nested arrangement of concentric structures, each contained within the next’

- This concentric spatial understanding of Bronfenbrenner did not engage with cross-cultural understandings of concentric spatial structures and systems interrogated in more detail by structural anthropologist Lévi-Strauss (1962, 1963, 1973).
A diametric spatial structure is one where a circle is split in half by a line which is its diameter or where a square or rectangle is similarly divided into two equal halves (see Fig. 1).

In a concentric spatial structure, one circle is inscribed in another larger circle (or square); in pure form, the circles share a common central point (see Fig. 2). (Lévi-Strauss 1962, 1963, 1973; Downes 2012)

“The music is not in the notes, but in the silence between.”
— Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart
1) First entailment of the relative differences between concentric and diametric spaces: \textit{Assumed connection and assumed separation}

2) Second entailment of the relative differences between concentric and diametric spatial relation: \textit{Symmetry as unity and mirror image inverted symmetry}

3) Third entailment of the relative differences between concentric and diametric spaces: \textit{Foreground-background interaction versus non interaction} (Downes 2012)
Diametric Space as Bricks in Wall, Knots, Tangled Web of System Blockage (Downes 2014): Assumed Separation, Splitting, Closure, Hierarchy, Mirror Image Reversals

System Change from Diametric Spaces of Exclusion, Closure and Mirror Image Opposites to Concentric Spaces of Inclusion, Openness to Background.

- Transition points in relational space, moving from diametric spaces of splitting to concentric spatial relations of assumed connection across different system levels.

Where are the system splits, closures, exclusions, oppositional labels and hierarchies as diametric space to be restructured towards concentric spatial systems of inclusion?

Concentric structures can be found also in Islamic, Japanese, Russian, Chinese, Jewish, Celtic, African, ancient Greek and Estonian contexts, while Jung locates the concentric mandala structure in Buddhist, Hindu and Christian traditions (Lévi-Strauss 1963, 1973; Downes 2012)
From Resilient Systems (Ungar 2005) to Inclusive Systems as Concentric Relational Space Challenging Diametric Spatial Systems of Blockage and Exclusion

A. Beyond Diametric Space of Ethnic/Migrant Segregation in School
B. Beyond Suspensions/Expulsion as Diametric Structure of Exclusion

C. Beyond Diametric Splitting Fragmentation to Multidisciplinary Teams – Concentric space as outreach and relationship building

D. Diametric Splits as System Blockage in Communication – Beyond Authoritarian Teaching and Discriminatory Bullying as Diametric Spatial Systems – Assumed Separation, Splitting and Mirror Image Hierarchies of US/THEM, GOOD/BAD, POWERFUL/POWERLESS
E. Beyond Diametric Oppositional Space in Bullying to Concentric Assumed Connection of Early Intervention Support Services

F. Challenging Diametric Space as Closure: Opening School as After School Community Lifelong Learning Centre

G. Students Voices to Challenge Hierarchical Diametric Mirror Image Splits as System Blockages in Communication
A. Beyond Diametric Space as Ethnic/Migrant Segregation in School

Cross (2017) recognises that ‘“school integration” can mean children entering the same building in the morning, but then other structural arrangements and school policies resegregate the student body by race and class...more attention needs to be made to the places within the school that facilitate or inhibit social interactions relate to ERI (Ethnic/Racial Identity) development’

B. Beyond Suspensions/Expulsion as Diametric Structure of Exclusion

American Academy of Pediatrics Policy Statement (2013) on this issue recognises that:

‘the adverse effects of out-of-school suspension and expulsion can be profound’ (p. e1001); such students are as much as 10 times more likely to leave school early, are more likely to be involved in the juvenile justice system and ‘there may be no one at home during the day to supervise the student’s activity’ (p. e1002) if the parents are working.
The policy statement continues, ‘They can also be very superficial if, in using them, school districts avoid dealing with underlying issues affecting the child or the district, such as drug abuse, racial and ethnic tensions, and cultural anomalies associated with violence and bullying’ (American Academy of Pediatrics, p. e1002).

Gregory et al.’s (2010) review concludes that the overrepresentation of racial and ethnic minorities in discipline sanctions has not received the attention it deserves.
Markussen et al (2011) longitudinal study following a sample of 9,749 Norwegian students over a five-year period, out of compulsory education and through upper secondary education.

“The higher the students scored on an index measuring deviant behavior, the higher their probability of early leaving as compared to completing”.

Markussen et al (2011 “Students with high scores on an index measuring seriously deviant behavior were in fact less likely to leave early than students with low scores on this index. This last finding is explained by the extra resources, support and attention these students are provided with, making it less probable for them to leave”.
C. Beyond Diametric Splitting Fragmentation to Multidisciplinary Teams – Concentric space as outreach and relationship building

Community outreach and health-education multidisciplinary team bridges for family support and parental involvement

Between 2006 and 2012 approx. 3,000 of the total 9,000 child care centres in the German federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW) are being developed into certified “Familienzentren” (family centres). Family centres are designed to bundle services for families in the local community. (Eurochild 2011, p.44)
Community based ‘one stop shop’ family support centres linked with schools (Eurochild 2011; Downes 2014) potentially also as Community lifelong learning centres.

For parenting support that is close to home and easily accessible, parents in Eindhoven can go to a so-called SPIL centre in their neighbourhood. The name is derived from Spelen (play), Integreren (integration) and Leren (learning) and the Centre is built around primary education, playgroups and childcare. Other services may be added, such as parenting support, child welfare, youth healthcare and social work. (Eurochild 2011).

1 stop shops to combine moderate risk (selected prevention) youth focus, e.g. on arts, and from this to identify indicated prevention chronic need supported on same site (Familibase, Ballyfermot, Dublin)
The Child Welfare Worker will regularly call to the child’s home to

• support the parent implement morning time routines,
• enable the breakfast, uniform and schoolbag preparation,
• ensure the child gets to school on time
• support the parent to be firm and follow through when a child is school refusing.

Work is also carried out with the parents to support them with night-time routines i.e. homework and bedtimes. The Child Welfare Worker will often transport the child to school or arrange for the child to take the school bus when available (Downes 2011).
Petrie’s (1976) recommendation for ‘idea dominance’ if an interdisciplinary team is to succeed, is endorsed by Hall & Weaver (2001) and Hill (1998) in a medical context.

Idea dominance means that a clear and recognizable idea must serve as a focus for teamwork, rather than the traditional focus of each member’s domain of care.

Petrie’s (1976) idea dominance emphasises that the team members must be able to recognize their success and achievements in pursuing their goals; not only must the project succeed but each team member must perceive the he/she is personally achieving or contributing something.
Main features of well-functioning multidisciplinary teams...

• Differentiated and flexible focus on level of need: Move between indicated and selected prevention
• Direct delivery of frontline services not committee sitting
• Assertive outreach to those families most in need
• Idea dominance
  * 1 stop shop location to avoid fragmentation
* Community accessible location linked with schools: Both/And model
...main features of well-functioning multidisciplinary teams

* Avoid proliferation of referrals to different services
* Relational approach rather than a compliance approach – Trust with client group through relational and cultural competence
* Voices of service users/students
* Multidisciplinary teams not fragmented interagency working – build existing capacity of services
* Clear leader to see overview of needs and services to link child/family with services
* Agreed outcomes from team members
Assertive Outreach (Downes 2017a, EPALE): Beyond Information to Abstract Other (Said 1978, Benhabib 1987, Downes 2014) for Engaging Family, Community Systems and High Need Groups

• At times interventions seem to be based on the idea that leaflets, websites, posters and other forms of information will suffice to engage ‘hard-to-reach’ groups.

• Implicit in this very terminology is that when such marginalised groups are not reached by these information-reliant approaches, they are disinterested, and that they are therefore ‘hard to reach’.

• Need to **question the communicative approach itself**, rather than blame the individuals who do not become enchanted by such ‘information’.
Assertive Outreach: Beyond information processing to construction of meaning (Bruner 1992) for concrete other

- Information-based communication approaches focus on the *what* question. But need to focus on the *where*, the *how* and *who* questions:
  - The *where* question asks about the location from which the young person is engaged with.
  - The *how* question asks about the way the person is being communicated with.
  - The *who* question not only asks about the specific needs of the person being reached out to, but also asks who is the person communicating to that young person.

- In some approaches in Europe, there is recognition of the *where* question, through the need for a *community outreach* approach. Services are located in easy-to-access and culturally familiar places to reach those on the edges of society.
Cross Government Cooperation on ELET (Early Leaving from Education and Training): Policy Areas Working with Education at Central/Top-Level, 2013/2014

Austria: Cooperation mechanisms exist/are being developed – Education and Social Affairs

Austria: **No comprehensive strategy/no specific ELET policies/measures** - Education and Health

Not - There is a tradition of cross-government cooperation at central/top-level

Not- Cooperation mechanisms are being tested within projects Cross Government Mental Health/Bullying/ESL Cooperation in Austria for multidisciplinary teams
Teacher discriminatory bullying of students in a sample of 1352 immigrant and Roma students as part of a wider sample of 8817 students across 10 European countries (Bulgaria, Cyprus, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Spain) (Elamé 2013).
Elamé’s (2013) 10 country European study regarding ‘the fundamental importance’ of teacher influence on discriminatory bullying - Those immigrant and Roma students who think the teacher exhibits similar behaviour towards ‘native’ and immigrant and Roma children in the class are those bullied least in the last 3 months.

In contrast, ‘those who declare that their teacher favours native children over immigrant/Roma students are more vulnerable to suffer some form of bullying.

Specifically less than half (48 %) of the 123 [immigrant/Roma] children [across the 10 countries] who sense bias in the teachers’ attitudes towards native classmates declare to have never been subjected to violence’ (Elamé, 2013).
• Discrimination Creates US/THEM Diametric Space of Mirror Image Hierarchy

• Greek study (Kapari and Stavrou, 2010) of 114 secondary school students (58 female, 56 male) drawn from three Greek public middle schools.

• In schools with high levels of bullying, students consider their treatment by adults to be unequal, the rules to be unfair, and student participation in decision-making to be very limited.
Diametric Spatial Systems as GOOD/BAD Identity Splitting and Mirror Image Hierarchies

A school principal from Estonian national report: “schools can create circumstances where unwanted students feel that they have to leave... and they do...” (Tamm & Saar 2010, in Downes 2011).

The secondary education system in Lithuania according to a school management representative: “The attitudes towards students have to change and then they will feel better at schools. [...] at the moment students are selected under the criteria „good“ and „bad“ and those who get the „bad“ label do not want to stay at such school – they leave it” (Taljunaite et al 2010, in Downes 2011)
WHO (2012) Modifications that appear to have merit include:
• establishing a caring atmosphere that promotes autonomy;
• providing positive feedback;
• not publicly humiliating students who perform poorly

No sunlight ! (Downes & Maunsell 2007)

“I can’t wait to leave, I would leave tomorrow if I had the choice because I get picked on by a teacher”

“No some[teachers] think they own the school”
Where are the system splits, closures, exclusions, oppositional labels and hierarchies as diametric space to be restructured towards concentric spatial systems of inclusion?

Concentric and Diametric Spaces as Deep Structures of Space – Primordial Spatial Systems of Relation – Connection/Separation, Openness/Closure, Mirror Image Inversions

Relevant to System Change in Education – Embedded Possibility of Shift from Diametric to Concentric Spatial Systems

Contextually-Sensitive yet Universal Spatial Discourse for System Change

Key Background System Conditions Affecting Foreground Causal Interventions
Teachers’ and Wider Support Services Role in Preventing the Consequences of Bullying (Downes & Cefai 2016): Building on Students’ Experiences

Given the seriousness of the long-term impacts of bullying (Mental Health, Early School Leaving) a prevention strategy needs to encompass not only prevention of the bullying but prevention of the consequences of bullying through system level emotional and social supports.

Supports could intervene at an early stage to prevent the escalation of experiential processes, such as selfdoubting and double victimising, described in a Swedish context (Thornberg et al., 2013).
Radliff et al. (2015) hopelessness as a mediator for bullying. 469 US middle school students, victims reported the highest levels of hopelessness and significantly higher scores compared with students not involved in bullying. Hopelessness was a mediator for victims, but not for bully-victims.

Thornberg’s (2015) Swedish ethnographic fieldwork in two public schools (age 10 to 12 years): Resignation and a range of escape or avoidance behaviour, such as social withdrawal and avoiding others, as well as trying to be socially invisible in the classroom and other school settings.

• Also prevent consequences of aggressive communication for perpetrators through early Intervention (Downes & Cefai 2016)
Serious Consequences of Bullying
There is a growing recognition of the serious impact of school bullying – on mental health, physical health and early school leaving

Victims are likely to experience low self-esteem, anxiety, depression, and suicidal ideation (Gladstone et al., 2006; Klomeck et al., 2009; Nansel et al., 2001; Radliff et al., 2015; Juvonen and Graham, 2014; Ttofi et al., 2011; Swearer et al., 2012; Bjereld, 2014).

Frequent victimisation at age 8 predicted later suicide attempts and completed suicides for both boys and girls, while frequent bullying perpetration at age 8 also predicted later suicide attempts and completed suicides for boys (Klomeck et al., 2009).
On a scale of 1-3 where 3 means at least 80% of schools in your municipality open their doors after school hours for lifelong learning classes and 2 means at least 30% of schools do so and 1 means less than 30% of schools do so – which number best describes the situation in your municipality? (Downes 2014a)

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G. Students Voices to Challenge Hierarchical Diametric Mirror Image Splits as System Blockages in Communication

Article 12 (1) UN Convention on the Rights of the Child
States: Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child.
Empirical argument – widespread potential benefits of SEE to overcome diametric split reason/emotion but:

- Predominantly US based studies (see also Durlak et al.’s 2016 Handbook)
- Little focus on migrant populations
- No differentiation focus on different kinds and needs of migrants
- Need research with children’s voices
- Need research with migrants including their voices regarding SEE and their leadership of SEE
- Risk of pre-packaged programmes not tailored to different cultures or individuals – different levels
- Older students may react against being programmed (Downes & Cefai 2016)

  • Students and minority voices into curricular resources (Downes, Nairz-Wirth & Rusinaite 2017)
  • Recognition in bullying research that not sufficient to ‘age-up’ materials (Downes & Cefai 2016)
AN EMOTIONAL LITERACY APPROACH

Aber et al. (2011): The 4Rs Program: Reading, Writing, Respect, and Resolution

• The 4Rs Program is a universal, school-based intervention that integrates SEL into the language arts curriculum for kindergarten through Grade 5.

* Evolving from the previous stand-alone conflict resolution program that was RCCP, the 4Rs uses high-quality children’s literature as a springboard for helping students gain skills and understanding in several areas including handling anger, listening, cooperation, assertiveness, and negotiation.
After 2 years of exposure to 4Rs, in addition to continued positive changes in children’s self-reported hostile attributional biases and depression, positive changes were also found in children’s reports of aggressive interpersonal negotiation strategies (i.e., their tendency to select aggressive responses in conflict situations), and teacher reports of children’s attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), social competence, and aggressive behaviour.


Downes, P. (2017a). *Bridging the credibility gap: The need for an ‘assertive outreach’ strategy to engage adult early school leavers*. European Commission EPALE ePlatform for Adult Learning in Europe


Hall, P. and Weaver, L. (2001), Interdisciplinary education and teamwork: a long and winding road. Medical Education, 35: 867–875


PISA 2012 Results: Ready to Learn (Volume III) Students' Engagement, Drive and Self-Beliefs. OECD


